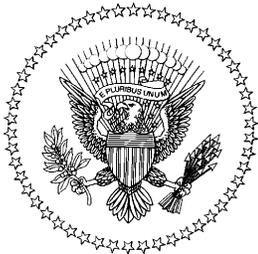


Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, May 30, 1994  
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## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, May 27, 1994

**Remarks at the University of  
California in Los Angeles, California**  
*May 20, 1994*

Thank you so much for allowing me to be part of this wonderful occasion and for the university medal. You know, for a person like me who is a diehard basketball fan, just walking in Pauley Pavilion is a great honor. I dreamed of being here for many years, but I never thought that it would be on this kind of occasion. [*Laughter*] I'm proud to be here to honor the university's 75th anniversary and to honor your chancellor on his 25th anniversary of service. It is the sort of commitment our country could do with more of, and I honor it, and I know you do, too.

To my good friend Mayor Riordan; President Peltason; Regent Sue Johnson; President Shapiro; to Carol Goldberg-Ambrose, the chair of your Academic Senate; to Kate Anderson and Khosrow Khosravani—we had a great talk over there. I hope we didn't earn any conduct demerits. But the two students told me a lot about UCLA. [*Laughter*] To all of you, I thank you for the chance to be here. The spirit in this room has been truly moving to me today.

This is a sad day for our country and for my family because we mourn the loss of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. She was a remarkable woman of courage and dignity, who loved things that ennobled the human spirit. She and President Kennedy inspired me and an entire generation of Americans to see the nobility of helping others and the good that could come in public service. In later years, and particularly in this last year, it was my family's privilege to get to know her personally and to see that the image which was projected to all the world was more than met by the true person behind the image. Today, as we offer our prayers and best wishes to her family, I think it well to remember that Jackie Kennedy and her husband called us to a time when the world was full of chal-

lenges that we saw in terms of possibilities, not problems. We saw our own lives in terms of promise, not pessimism. We thought our job here on Earth was to build up, not tear down; to unite, not to divide.

I say to the students who are here from this magnificent institution, you now have an education as fine as the world can afford. The question now is, as you go out into the world, what is your attitude about yourselves, each other, your country, and your future.

UCLA, as I watched that slide show it was clear to me again, is an example of America's faith in the future, the thing that's kept us going for 218 years now. Seventy-five years ago, this was just a tiny 2-year teachers college on a dirt road in Hollywood. Now, it's one of the leading research institutions in the world and a bridge to the future for tens of thousands of Americans and people who come from all around the world to be here.

There's no better place to discuss the future than here in California, America's last frontier. For all of your present difficulties, don't ever forget that California is still America's America, the cutting edge for a nation still a symbol of hope and optimism throughout the world.

I want to say that I very much envy those of you who are beginning your future here and now, on the edge of this new century. Many say that this generation of college graduates is filled with pessimism, with a sense of generational despair that our glory days are behind us. Americans of my generation have been bombarded by images on television shows, and even one book, about the so-called Generation X, filled with cynics and slackers. Well, what I have seen today is not a generation of slackers but a generation of seekers, and I am much encouraged.

To be sure, you are beginning your journey in uncertain times. Many of the college graduates of 1994 were born in 1973. That was a watershed year in American life. You see, from the end of World War II until 1973,

family income doubled in America, and we lived in an era of prosperity that we almost came to take for granted. The middle class grew ever larger and more secure; our country was stronger. People just took it for granted that they could get jobs they could hold for a lifetime, that they would always do better every year than they did the year before, that they would be able to afford to send their children to college, to have a comfortable retirement, to own their own homes, and to take care of their parents.

Since then, most Americans have worked harder and harder for the same or lower incomes. Our society has suffered unbelievable stresses as broken homes and unwed mothers have become commonplace. In many places devastated by poverty and despair, we have seen the absolute collapse of families and work itself and the sense of community. And in that vacuum have rushed gangs and drugs and violence, the kind of random violence that today often makes neighbors seem like strangers and strangers thought of as enemies.

In the time that many of you went from the first grade through high school graduation, when all this was going on, your National Government was embroiled in a sense of gridlock and paralysis and high rhetoric and low action. The deficit quadrupled, but there were no investments made adequate to the challenges of the future, and many of our tough problems were talked about but not acted on.

Here in this county, you've experienced earthquakes of all kinds, not just the real earthquake of January but social and economic upheavals. The trends that are shaking and remaking our entire society have hit California first and hardest.

Next month many college graduates will move on to their first full-time jobs. And I wonder how many of you have, like me, laughed and almost cried reading that wonderful Doonesbury comic strip—that is, on some days I think it's wonderful; some days I'm not so sure—[laughter]—which means I probably feel the same way about Mr. Trudeau that he feels about me—[laughter]—you know, the great Doonesbury strip about the students at the college graduation trading stories about their job openings and

whether they're going to be selling blue jeans or flipping hamburgers. [Laughter] Well, it's funny, but it's not quite accurate. The truth is that education still makes a huge difference in what you can do with your lives and your future. It is still the key, indeed, more the key today than ever before.

The truth also is that your destiny will be filled with great chances and great choices. As with every new generation in this country, you will make your mark by exploring new frontiers. Once the challenge was settling a new continent. Now it is preparing for a new century. And you face the next American frontier, which you can see here at UCLA all around you, living with people who may seem different, working with technologies that may seem difficult, pursuing markets and opportunities that may seem distant.

For the rest of your lives you will face this choice. In the face of bewildering, intense, sometimes overpowering change, you can recoil. You can hope to do as well as you can for as long as you can simply by trying to hold the future at arm's length. Or you can act in the spirit of America or the State or this great university of which you are a part, the spirit of the families who sacrificed so much to bring you here. You can embrace the future with all of its changes and engage in what the late Oliver Wendell Holmes called "the action and passion of your time." The choice you make as individuals and as a generation will make all the difference.

Three times in this century alone our Nation has found itself a victor in global conflicts, World War I, World War II, and the cold war. Three times America has faced the fundamental question of which direction we would take, embracing or rejecting the future. Seventy-five years ago, when this university was founded, we faced one of those pivotal moments. At that time, just after the end of World War I, there was also wrenching change and enormous anxiety. The Nation's hottest new novelist was a man named F. Scott Fitzgerald. He described the so-called lost generation, the first that would graduate from UCLA. He said that they grew up, and I quote, "to find all gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken." America withdrew from the world, seeking security in isolationism and protectionism. An ugly

withdrawal occurred here at home as well, a retreat into the trenches of racial prejudice and religious prejudice, of class bigotry and easy convenience, and a simple refusal to prepare our people to live in the world as it was.

Ten years later, just 10 years later in 1929, that decade of neglect produced the Great Depression. And soon we learned we could not withdraw from a world menaced by dictators, and we found ourselves again in a world war.

At the end of the Second World War, we made a very different choice as a people. We decided to reach out to the future together, together here at home and together with nations around the world. As Franklin Roosevelt said of the generation of my parents and the graduates' grandparents, they believed history was, I quote, "a highway on which your fellow men and women are advancing with you." Abroad, we lifted former allies and former enemies from the ashes. At home, investment in the future began with the returning warriors. The GI bill helped millions of Americans to get an education, to buy homes, to build the great American middle class. We made a solemn covenant: We would help those who would help themselves.

The wise decisions of that time built four decades of robust economic growth and expanding opportunity and laid the foundation for us to be able to win the cold war. Now, we stand at our third pivotal moment in this century. And you are designed to play the leading role. The cold war is over. It is up to all of us to keep the American dream alive here at home, even as it advances abroad. But this miracle of renewal must begin with personal decisions.

I sought the Presidency in large measure because I thought my generation had not yet done its job for America. I did not want my daughter to grow up to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents. As we were becoming more wonderfully diverse, I did not want her to live in a country that was coming apart when it ought to be coming together. I wanted to forge the two great sources of strength that our Nation has: the power of our representative Government, as manifested in the Presi-

dency, to address the challenges of every age and time and the far, far greater power of the American people themselves to transform themselves, their families, and their communities, to seize the future and make it theirs.

My generation's responsibility to you is heavy, indeed. We are working in Washington to meet it, working to turn around the economic difficulties. And we have made a good beginning: 3 million new jobs in 15 months; 3 years of deficit reduction, 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President; at the end of this budget cycle, the smallest Federal Government in 30 years, since John Kennedy was President, with all the savings going back to you to make America safer with more police officers on the street and programs to help our children stay out of crime and have a better future. We are investing in the technologies of tomorrow, from defense conversion to environmental protection to the information superhighway; with new attacks on our profoundest problems, from AIDS to women's health problems, to homelessness, to the deed to have enterprise development among the poor in cities and rural areas, to the terrible difficulties of our health care system. We are building education for a lifetime, from dramatic expansions in Head Start to permanent retraining programs for displaced adults. We are looking for new markets for our products and services with new trade agreements and new opportunities to sell our best efforts here around the world.

My fellow Americans, this country is on the move, and California is coming back. But the real problem I believe we have today is the problem I came to talk to you about: What will the attitude of your generation be, and how will you approach the future that is before you?

Jackie Kennedy and her husband made us believe that citizenship was a wonderful thing, that we all had the capacity to be better people and to work together, and that the things we could do together would make a very great difference indeed. If President Kennedy were alive today, he would be absolutely shocked at the pessimism, the negativism, the division, the destructive tone of public discourse in America today.

We know we can do better. But if we are to do better, you will have to lead us by looking around at all this diversity you have celebrated today, by this devotion to community you have exhausted, and bringing it out of us.

Just before I came here, I stopped briefly at Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino, which, as you know, was one of the bases closed, to announce the progress we are making at rebuilding that community with a new computer center there, with turning over the land to a new airport and for other public purposes and eventually for economic development. And it's the first one of these bases in the country that the Government has finally said, let's help people build their economy instead of dragging this out 'til kingdom come. And it was a celebration that knew no party lines, knew no philosophical lines, knew no racial lines. Nobody was out there talking about left and right and liberal and conservative and Republican and Democrat. They were talking about how we could deal with the real problems and opportunities of those people, to pull that community together and push it forward into the future. That is what we must do as a people. And that is what your generation must do in order for America to fulfill its promise.

Now, to do that in a great democracy, where there are a myriad of complex problems and legitimate differences of opinion, we must learn to do something as a people that we often take for granted in the university. We have to learn to talk to each other and to listen to each other, not to talk past each other and to scream at one another.

We have been caught up in what the Georgetown professor Deborah Tannen calls a culture of critique. One sure way to get instant public standing in our popular culture is to slam somebody else. If you work on bringing people together and you talk about it, you're likely to elicit a yawn. But if you bad-mouth people, you can get yourself a talk show.

This country was not built by bad-mouthing. Go back and look at the history of the Constitutional Convention. Go back and look at how people got together wildly different points of view and argued heatedly but always with a common love of this country and

the values of freedom and mutual respect. We have to find a way in this age and time to restore that kind of discourse and that kind of respect. We cannot afford to engage in the citizenship of division and distraction and destruction. We have a future to build, and you must lead the way. You know you can do it, because of the way you have been educated here and the people from whom you have learned and with whom you've learned. And you can lead the way for the whole future of this country.

It was because I believe that so strongly that I put at the center of what symbolizes our administration the national service corps, what we call AmeriCorps, the opportunity for tens of thousands of young people to work where they live or where they go to school, solving the problems of America at the grass-roots, learning from each other, reaching across lines that divide them, and earning money for their educations at the same time. Rebuild America and educate a new generation—it's sort of a domestic GI bill and a domestic Peace Corps all rolled into one. It was inspired by efforts that I saw all over America over the last few years, efforts like the California Campus Compact, which your chancellor helped to found, which now commits more than 50 colleges and universities in this State to helping students serve their communities. At UCLA alone some 4,000 of you are working in more than 40 service programs, and I honor you for that.

This summer 7,000 young Americans will work in a summer of safety, helping their communities to be less violent. Last summer in our first summer of service, thousands of people all over the country, including here in Los Angeles, taught young people everything from how to stay away from drugs to how to stay safe in an earthquake.

Service creates heroes. I was interested in the three people acknowledged there by Chancellor Young, and I appreciate what he said. Let me say that there's one project I'd like to mention in particular which one of the young students is involved in, Saru Jayaraman, along with another student, Desiree DeSurra. They helped to found the Women In Support of Each Other, acronym WISE. This program, WISE, helped high school girls to make wise decisions to pursue

their education and not to become single mothers. Desiree was one of three students selected to win this year's Chancellor's Humanitarian Award.

Now, let me tell you what that means to me. That is America at its best, people helping people, telling people, "Look, maybe the President should do something, maybe the chancellor of the university should do something, maybe the mayor should do something, but in the end, you also have to take responsibility for your own lives. You have to make good decisions in order to be part of a good future."

Thousands of young people just here on this campus alone have made a decision to make a difference. Beginning this September, AmeriCorps will enable tens of thousands of more to do that. I hope I live long enough to see hundreds of thousands of people in this program every year, earning their way to a better education by rebuilding America every day at the grassroots level.

The point of all that I have said is this: The future is not an inheritance, it is an opportunity and an obligation. It is something you have to make in every generation, and it will be your achievement, not only for yourselves individually but for your generation, for your community, and for the larger community that is America.

If you look around you at this incredible campus where minorities make up a majority, something that will be true for whole States in the not too distant future, you see the future. LA County with over 150 different racial and ethnic groups, thousands of people in this county celebrating this month as Asian-Pacific American Heritage Month because of the number of people who live here; a few days ago in America we celebrated the Cinco de Mayo celebration, Mexican Independence Day, and it is now as big a celebration in America as it is in Mexico because of our diversity. Will it be a source of our strength in the global village, or will we permit it to divide us? I believe I know the answer. And I think you do, too.

There's no reason to be cynical about the future, no matter how difficult our problems are. Look what's just happened in the last 4 or 5 years since many of you came to the university here, the end of the cold war; the

fall of the Berlin Wall. Just in the last year, Russia and the United States agree not to point nuclear weapons at each other anymore; Rabin and Arafat agree to self-government for the Palestinians in Jericho and the Gaza; the jailer and the jailed, de Klerk and Mandela, agree that South Africa free, united is more important than anything else.

In just a few days from now, I will go to represent you at the 50th anniversary of the D-Day invasion. Just a few days ago, I was able to speak on the 40th anniversary of the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. It is very important for a great country to remember those moments. But remember this, my fellow Americans: When our memories exceed our dreams, we have begun to grow old. And it is the destiny of America to remain forever young.

So I ask you this, young graduates, especially: When you see in a few days the glories of D-Day recounted, one of the most masterful mobilization of people to achieve a common objective, one of the most stunning examples of personal courage in all of human history, remember that it was the work of citizen soldiers who were mostly between the ages of 18 and 25, people who had grown up in the false prosperity of the twenties and the bitter realities of the thirties, people who read books and movies that portrayed them as slackers and the future as dark and cynical. But they rallied that day to a cause larger than themselves. And when they had done the job they were sent to do—to save their country, to save freedom, to save a civilization—they came home and got on with the business of making lives for themselves, their children, and their children's children.

Thanks to them and to God Almighty, you will probably never have to face that kind of challenge in your life but, instead, to face the challenges unique to your generation, the challenges of a new and wide-open world, the challenges of breakdown here at home that we must reverse.

I believe you are ready for that test and that you will meet it. You have the educational tools to meet it. You must now make sure that deep down inside you have the spirit, the drive, the courage, the vision. We are all depending on you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:24 p.m. in Pauley Pavilion at the 75th anniversary convocation. In his remarks, he referred to Charles E. Young, chancellor, University of California-Los Angeles; Mayor Richard Riordan of Los Angeles; Jack W. Peltason, president, and Sue Johnson, board of regents vice chairperson, University of California; Harold T. Shapiro, president, Princeton University; Kate Anderson, president, UCLA Undergraduate Student Association; and Khosrow Khosravani, external vice president, UCLA Graduate Student Association. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at a Fundraiser for Senator Dianne Feinstein in Beverly Hills, California**

*May 20, 1994*

Thank you very much to my friend Willie Brown and to Sally Field for those wonderful comments, to Ron and Jan Burkle for inviting us here to their beautiful place, to Dick Blum and all the other supporters of Senator Feinstein's campaign.

There are two remarkable things about this evening for me. The first is, this is the third time I have been here, and every time I come, when I go back to the White House, I feel like I'm in reasonably nice public housing. [*Laughter*] The second thing is that I want Dianne Feinstein to be reelected so badly that I have spoken at two of her fundraisers, but this is the first one where she's showed up. [*Laughter*] It's a humbling job I've got. [*Laughter*]

You know, Hollywood discovers stars all the time, and now America is beginning to discover Dianne Feinstein. [*Applause*] You can clap for that. She's sort of replacing Tommy Lasorda as the person people think of when they think of California. [*Laughter*] You know, before I started running for President, that's what I thought of in California. I'd see Tommy Lasorda getting smaller and smaller and smaller on television, saying he'd shrunk himself with that Slim-Fast. That's what we're trying to pour into the Federal budget. [*Laughter*] Now the deficit is down; the Dodgers are in first place. I've asked

Lasorda to take over the lobbying for health care reform. [*Laughter*]

I don't know—before we get to Dianne's main event we'll have to watch this primary with Bill Dannemeyer and Michael Huffington, who spent \$5½ million of his own money in the last election. And now he's spent \$2 million to go on television to review Bill Bennett's book. I don't know how she can hope to meet and defeat a person who is foursquare for virtue. But I want to say a little more about that in a moment. I think Dianne Feinstein works for virtue and embodies virtue, and I hope she will be returned on that basis.

I want to say something serious, if I might. This is a, actually, kind of tough day for me to give a speech. I had the opportunity, as Senator Feinstein said, to go with her and Senator Boxer and others to the Inland Empire today to talk about how we could revitalize San Bernardino after the Norton Air Force Base closure and what is being done there, which is truly astonishing, and then to go to UCLA and speak to some wonderful young people at their convocation. But this is a sad day for Hillary and for me because Jackie Kennedy Onassis passed away last night, and she was not only a great symbol of courage and grace and dignity for our country, but she was a real friend of ours and a special friend of my wife and very kind to our wonderful daughter. And like many of you, when I heard last night that she had lost her fight, my mind began to race over the last 30 years, back to how it was then, back to how it is now, back and forth, what happened in between.

One thing that Jackie and John Kennedy surely did was to make us all believe that somehow together we could make a difference, that what we did mattered, that our role as citizens was important, and that if we gave ourselves to public service, that was the sign of good judgment and compassion. It was a fine thing to do. In other words, we lived in a time then when there was much less cynicism and pessimism and skepticism and in which public discourse was a thing of honor, not a shouting match bent on destruction and division and distraction.

I honestly believe that our ability to bring this country into the 21st century as strong

as it needs to be and as united as it needs to be depends perhaps more than anything else on our uncommon strength of purpose which we have mustered in times past, this time to muster on our own state of mind, to fight against all the forces that seek to drag us down and pit us against one another, and to somehow elevate our sense of common purpose.

It isn't easy, and there are lots of folks who hope it won't happen for all kinds of reasons. But if you think about this race in which Dianne Feinstein is involved, it is an example of what we plainly have to do. I'll never forget last fall when she was fighting for the assault weapons ban. And she called and she said, "Now, you said you were for this, Mr. President, and I want you to help me." And I said, "Well, Dianne, we're probably not going to win, but I'll work like crazy for it." So, she gave me my list to call, and call I did. [*Laughter*] And then, that incredibly sensitive Senator on the other side of the issue said that—[*laughter*]—she needed to become a little more familiar with firearms and their deadly characteristics. You all remember what she said in return. She recalled how she became the mayor of San Francisco, how she tried to find the pulse of her slain colleague, how she had been trained in the shooting of a firearm when she had terrorist attacks, with a bomb in her house when her husband was dying, when her windows were shot out.

Well, I don't know if that other guy's made a speech on the floor of the Senate since then. [*Laughter*] But I do know that speech had something to do not only with the passage of the assault weapons ban but with changing the tone and tenor of the debate in the United States Senate over an issue of immense national importance.

When we were trying to get the assault weapons bill passed in the House—same song, second verse—Charles Schumer, a wonderful Congressman from Brooklyn, had carried this bill and had been defeated by 70 votes in 1991. Some significant changes were made in the bill; it was clarified and tightened up a bit. And we even did something that had never been done before, we listed several hundred purely hunting and sporting weapons that were protected under

this law. And Senator Feinstein went to work and Chuck Schumer went to work. And so Chuck called me, and he said, "Well, Mr. President, we really need your help. We're probably 40 votes behind and we can't get there, but we ought to try." And I said, "I'd be happy to lose in this cause, but don't be too sure that we can't make it."

Well, you all know what happened. But I wish I could tell you all the stories that produced that 216-to-214 vote victory. One of the clearer reasons was that a conservative Republican from Illinois who is very much respected among his party members, Henry Hyde, was undecided when Dianne Feinstein sent him a big, fat briefing book which included a list of the assault weapons shootings in Illinois since 1991. Henry Hyde stunned the entire Congress by announcing that he had changed his position, he was going to vote for the ban. And he credited Dianne Feinstein for providing him with convincing information.

When that happened, then other things started to happen. First one, then another person would announce for the bill. A Congressman from Michigan in a hunting area, who had never in 20 years in Congress, never cast one vote against the NRA, changed his position. Two Democrats from difficult constituencies, one of whom was an ex-police officer, changed their vote walking down the aisle to cast their ballot, people knowing they were putting their careers at risk because they grew weary of the shouting and pushing and the division and the rhetoric and they wished something to happen. And in doing that, they ennobled the whole public enterprise again. They made us all believe that, yes, we can, together, make a difference.

I ran for President, as I told those young people at UCLA today, because I thought my generation did not finish its work for America, because I did not want to see my daughter grow up to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents in a country that was coming apart when it ought to be coming together, because I always felt that we could restore the purpose of America and the promise of America if we committed ourselves together to create opportunity, to insist upon responsibility from our citizens, and to reestablish

the common bonds of community in this country.

That's what I think Dianne Feinstein is doing. You know, she's been criticized lately on the television for voting for our economic plan last year. Let me tell you why that was such a tough vote. It was such a tough vote because in Washington for so long we had heard nothing but hot air rhetoric instead of reality about what it took to get the deficit down.

My fellow Americans, there are only three ways to get the deficit down. One is to raise taxes; the other is to cut spending; the third is to grow the economy. We did all three with that economic program. And it was the right thing to do. In the first 15 months of this administration there have been 3 million new jobs, one million alone in the first 4 months of this year. We will have, when the Congress passes this year's budget, 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President of the United States of America. At the end of 5 years, we will have reduced the size of the Federal Government to a point where it is below 2 million people for the first time since John Kennedy was President. And all the savings will be put into a trust fund to pay for the crime bill to make our streets safer. That is what we have been doing in Washington.

Yes, Senator Feinstein voted for the bill, and so did Senator Boxer. And I guess you could say if either one of them hadn't, we wouldn't have had it. Then we would have had what we've been having for 12 years: a lot of rhetoric, no reduction in the deficit, no reduction in interest rates, no growth in the economy. But people would still be able to make speeches. You have to decide whether you want real progress and tough decisions made or more of what you had before. It wasn't very good for the California economy, and we're beginning to turn that around.

You know, one of the things we have to decide is what standard we are going to require in our public discourse. I know when I see an advertisement running against a Senator like Dianne Feinstein, saying that this program was just a tax bill—well, let me tell you, 300,000 people or a little more than 2 percent of your taxpayers, including nearly

everybody in this room—[laughter]—paid more.

You need to know that 100 percent of that money, 100 percent of it, went to bringing the deficit down. You also need to know that 2 million of your fellow citizens actually got an income tax cut, 15 percent of the Californians. Why? Because they're low-wage workers with children who are hovering just above the poverty line, and we want to encourage them to stay in the work force instead of going on welfare. I think most Americans think that's a good investment.

Ninety percent of the small businesses in this country qualified for tax cuts under the bill. California was helped by the capital gains tax for investments in new enterprises, by the research and experimentation tax credit, by—now because your college costs have gone up—the availability of lower cost college loans with longer repayment terms. That's what was in that economic program that Dianne Feinstein voted for that had the most deficit reduction in history. I don't think it's fair to characterize it as a tax bill, and I don't think it furthers the public debate. All it does is further the present state of high rhetoric and division.

I made a remark a few moments ago about the publicity about Bill Bennett's book. Some of you probably haven't read it, but it basically quotes other people on virtues. You can't run a democracy without an addiction to truth and to fairness. What Dianne Feinstein deserves is truth and fairness. If she gets it, she'll be overwhelmingly reelected.

Senator Feinstein talked a little about breaking gridlock. That's one of the things I was hired to do. It took 7 years to pass the Family and Medical Leave Act, 7 years to pass the Brady bill, 5 years to get a crime bill. That's how long it takes to get things done in Washington. It's taken us about a year to 15 months to get a lot of these things done. We are turning these things around.

I'd also like to say that Dianne Feinstein is one of the most effective lobbyists of anybody in Congress. I said today—lobbying the President, that is—[laughter]—I said today when she and Barbara Boxer come after me at the same time, it's sort of like Mutt and Jeff, you know. [Laughter] And it's like—I feel almost as if they've got this gigantic fin-

gernail file that they're putting on my head and rubbing it, you know. And if I will just say yes, they will stop. [Laughter] I mean, "Just Say Yes," that's what they want me to do. This is a serious issue. You don't know how I've suffered from this. [Laughter] It is literally true that no Member of the Senate has called me more persuasively, more frequently for projects that would create jobs, deal with the crime problem, or deal with the immigration problem in a responsible way than Dianne Feinstein, nobody in the Congress. She's helped me to change the whole approach of the national bureaucracy on defense conversion and base closings so that we can turn closed bases into economic oases for the 21st century.

She has helped me to pass a crime bill that has not just this assault weapons ban but a bill to provide 100,000 more police officers for our streets, not only to catch criminals but to keep crime from happening by working with the children and the neighbors and the people in the community; that has not only tougher punishment with the "Three strikes and you're out" law but also more prevention to give our kids something to say yes to and a chance to turn away from a life of violence and to turn away from resolving their differences in a destructive way toward finding constructive ways of dealing with problems and frustrations and anger. This is a very important piece of legislation.

You heard Sally talk about the California Desert Protection Act. That also has been bottled up for 7 years. And after she came to the Senate, it passed 69 to 29. You wonder what it was doing for the last 7 years.

On this immigration issue, you're going to hear a lot about it during this campaign, and you'll probably hear the incumbent Governor putting a lot of pressure on me to do more. I don't mind that. I don't think the States have been treated fairly who have had large immigration problems, not just California, but Florida and New York and New Jersey and other States. They have not been treated fairly or adequately. But I'll tell you this, in the last year we got more money for California in education, health care, and border patrol officers dealing with the cost of immigration than had been the case in the previous 4 years. We are doing better. We are moving

in the right direction, thanks to the fact that Dianne Feinstein has taken a responsible, constructive approach, not just a rhetorical, pressure oriented approach. She is doing something that makes sense, that will actually make a dent in this problem. And she ought to be rewarded for it.

So I say to you, this Senator, in a remarkably short period of time, has established herself as a national leader on the economy, on crime, on the environment, on immigration. That's an amazing record in no more time than she's been there. And she's had the courage to challenge her colleagues and her President to produce, to lower our guards, to trust each other, to talk through these problems.

One of the things that I felt very strongly, having been a Governor, was something I know Dianne felt, having been a mayor, and that is that most of our problems that we face now as a country and as a people, do not fall easily within the past labels of partisanship.

You know, I'll just tell you a story that just tore my heart out. Last week I was on my way to what I thought would be a wonderful day in Indianapolis to dedicate a site for a statue honoring Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy on the site where Robert Kennedy spoke in Indianapolis on April 4, 1968, the night Martin Luther King was killed. And some of you may remember that magnificent speech which calmed the crowds in Indianapolis and made it one of the major cities in America where there was not a riot after Dr. King's assassination. And I was so excited. And Ethel Kennedy went with me, and two of Martin Luther King's sons went with me. And they had just come back from South Africa. And they were ebullient, and we were all so happy. And it's a wonderful thing, this statue's going to be made out of metal melted down from guns turned in by gun buy-back programs sponsored by the Indiana Pacers. It's very exciting. And I picked up my notes and read yet another story of another human tragedy. A 13-year-old boy in Greenbelt, Maryland, right outside Washington, had just won a scholarship to a prestigious school, standing on a street corner waiting for a bus, shot dead when he got caught in the crossfire between two groups

of warring youngsters, neither of whom knew him or gave a rip about him. He just happened to be in the way.

Now, when I hear that story, or when I get yet another letter from somebody telling me they can never change jobs because they've got a child with a terrible illness and their preexisting condition won't allow any other employer to give them health insurance, or when somebody talks to me like they did in San Bernardino today about whether there are going to be enough jobs for their children there after the base closings, it just seems to me that those are the things that our public discourse ought to be concentrated on. When I looked at those kids at UCLA today, that's what I thought.

You know, in this country today—it's going to be a great test for Willie Brown with his new talk show—most people—I'm serious, I'm serious—he's a delightful man with a wonderful personality, he'll pull it off. But the truth is that most people who talk sense and try to bring out the best in folks today are not great commercial successes. If you want to immediately become a popular culture figure, just bad-mouth somebody; they'll give you a talk show. You think about it. We have to fight against that.

I want to end where I began. If you think about what the Kennedys meant to us a generation ago, they were able to do that because we had inside a willingness, a willing heart, a listening ear, a willingness to be summoned to higher purposes, a willingness to believe that we could come together, a willingness to believe that we could make a difference. You all still have that here. You can feel it here tonight. Those kids at UCLA—62 percent of the student body now minority students, they're in the majority, just as they will be in many States within a very few years—you could feel it there. What we owe to our country is to change the heart of the country. We just simply cannot be, with all these challenges before us, all of which, by the way, can be met with sufficient effort and thought and constancy, we cannot afford to be divided, diverted, distracted. We cannot.

We have to have our hearts and our ears and our eyes open. We have to stop shouting at each other and start talking with each other. And we surely have to make a begin-

ning by retaining in public life those people who have devoted themselves to actually doing something that makes a difference.

You will rarely find anybody who has served in the United States Senate for 6 or 12 years who has been involved in so many things that make a difference as has Dianne Feinstein in her very short tenure there. I hope you will renew it and extend it. The Nation needs it, and it will be good for the spirit of California and the feeling that we have to bring back to our whole country.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. at the Green Acres Estate. In his remarks, he referred to Willie Brown, speaker of the California State Assembly; actress Sally Field; Ron and Jan Burkle, hosts of the fundraiser; Richard Blum, Senator Feinstein's husband; Tommy Lasorda, manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers baseball team; Bill Dan-nemeyer and Michael Huffington, candidates for the Republican senatorial nomination; and William Bennett, former Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

## **Statement on Cuban Independence Day**

*May 20, 1994*

On this May 20th, Cuban Independence Day, I wish to convey to the Cuban-American community the best wishes of the American people. We fully share your hopes and aspirations for a future when the people of Cuba can enjoy freedom and democracy. For over three decades, Cuba has suffered under an inhumane dictatorship. It's my deep and committed desire that the Cuban people will live in liberty.

The centerpiece of my administration's foreign policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean has been a commitment to democracy, human rights, and accountable government. A welcome tide of democratic government has swept throughout the hemisphere. The will of the people is being expressed through democratic elections and the strengthening of the rule of law.

Only two countries in the entire hemisphere remain outside this democratic com-

munity of nations, Cuba and Haiti. And we are working hard for the restoration of the freely and fairly elected constitutional government of President Aristide in Haiti. Cuba's time has also come.

We wish for the people of Cuba what we wish for all people of the Americas: freedom of the press and speech, protection from arbitrary arrest and respect for due process, and the rule of law. We wish for the people of Cuba what we strive for for ourselves: prosperity, an environment where our basic needs are met and where our children can grow and develop spiritually and in safety. We wish, on this historic anniversary, for a prosperous, vibrant, flourishing democracy that frees the creativity of the people of Cuba.

Let me be clear. We maintain the trade embargo against the Castro regime because the United States does not want to do anything that could strengthen the dictatorship. As the same time, the Cuban Democracy Act allows humanitarian assistance and the free flow of communications and ideas that can help to alleviate the suffering and isolation of the Cuban people. It is for this reason that I will continue to support Radio and TV Marti; they are an important window to the world.

The United States has no quarrel with the Cuban people. There is a long history of mutual cooperation and admiration between our two peoples. Only the dictatorship stands between our two nations. The United States will continue to encourage the dream of a free and democratic Cuba. As José Martí, hero of Cuba and of the Americas said, "We love liberty, because in it we see the truth." The whole world has now seen the truth of the failure of dictatorship. I pray that soon the Cuban people will enjoy the freedoms, the rights, the privileges that they deserve as human beings and that democracy so vigorously guarantees.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

## **The President's Radio Address**

*May 21, 1994*

Good morning. Hillary and I join our Nation in mourning the loss of former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. She inspired all of us with her grace and courage. She loved art and culture, all the things that express the better angels of our nature. She and President Kennedy made people believe that change for the better is possible, that public service is a noble calling, and that we ought to be about the business of building our country up, not tearing it down or pulling it apart.

This is a time of considerably more cynicism and pessimism, when harsh rhetoric of division and distraction and outright destruction sometimes dominates discussion of public issues. But it is well today to remember the examples of President and Mrs. Kennedy. They changed our lives for the better because they helped us to believe we could change for the better. That is still true. It is ultimately pointless and self-defeating to believe any other way.

Today I want to talk about two things we can all do to change our future for the better: improving our economy and solving the health care crisis in America. Although we're still in the dawn of our economic recovery, we've clearly begun to turn the economy around, to set the stage for long-term and sustainable economic growth. The deficit is down. Inflation and unemployment are down. Growth, the stock market, jobs, and consumer confidence are all up. In the first 15 months of our administration nearly 3 million jobs were created, over 90 percent of them in the private sector, more than in the previous 4 years combined.

When Congress passes our budget this year we'll have 3 years of declining deficits for the first time since Harry Truman was President. With our effort to reinvent the Government to do more with less, we're reducing the size of the Federal payroll by over 250,000 people. And when it's done, we'll have the smallest Federal Government in over 30 years, since Kennedy was President.

And all the savings will go in to pay for the crime bill for safer streets, for more punishment, 100,000 more police officers on our street, and an aggressive prevention strategy to give our young people something to say yes to, to turn away from a life of violence. We're investing in new technologies and in new trade opportunities for all the things Americans make.

What's most important to me is that inside these statistics there's good news about real people: an entrepreneur hanging out a shingle for the first time, a worker getting a raise for the first time in years, a person finding a new job after having been out of work for months and months, a parent finally able to buy toys for a baby. Economic security is our first major battle, one we're still fighting in places like California where too many communities have not yet tasted the fruits of recovery.

But the economic battle will never be fully won until we face our second great crisis, reforming a health care system that costs too much and does too little. Health care now is the only part of our Federal budget that is really contributing to the deficit. And still millions are trapped in a system that offers them no coverage or because of previous illnesses, costs them too much or means that they can never change jobs.

After 60 years of fits and starts, of roadblocks and dead-ends, we're finally making real progress toward comprehensive health care reform. This week, for the first time ever, the relevant committees of Congress in both Houses have begun to review and modify our proposal to guarantee all Americans private health insurance, to give small businesses, farmers, and self-employed people the ability to buy insurance like big business and Government can today.

Their action follows more than a year and a half of debate and discussion in town hall meetings, in doctors' offices, hospitals, and around kitchen tables. There have been twists and turns along the way. There are no doubt more ahead. But steadily our country is moving closer to a goal, passing major health care reform legislation this year. And as with the economy, the victory of passing health care reform will be a victory for America's families.

As I've traveled our country, I've heard firsthand from some of the more than one million people who have written to Hillary and to me describing their problems with the current health care system. Each of these letters is a little different, but the message is always the same: Do something and do it soon. Some people say we should wait awhile and study the issue further. To them I say, we've studied it quite a lot already. Many Members of Congress have studied it for years. And you ought to come to the White House and read these letters if you want to wait, read the letter from the mother who was forced to sell her home and go on welfare just to provide medical benefits to a sick son; the letter from a nurse who had to leave the bedside of a cancer patient to attend a meeting on how to fill out even new insurance forms; the one from a little boy who was afraid to tell his parents he felt sick because he knew they couldn't afford a visit to the doctor; the thousands of letters about people who have been sick or had someone in their family sick, so they can't get insurance or they have to pay more than they can afford or they can never change jobs; and the hundreds of letters from small business people who are paying 35 percent to 40 percent more than they ought to be paying for coverage that's inadequate.

Now, for 60 years Presidents of both parties have tried to do something to fix this health care system, to solve its problems without hurting what's best about our health care system. We don't need to wait any longer. The committees in Congress are well on the way to passing a bill that will make the health care nightmares detailed in these letters a thing of the past.

Of course, there will be obstacles ahead. There are genuine disagreements. It's a complicated subject. But we can surmount these obstacles. We know there are models today that are like what we're trying to do, models of managed competition in places like Minnesota, where 91 percent of the people have coverage, it's of high quality, and the cost increases are much lower than they are in the rest of the country or models like the new small business cooperative in California, where over 2,300 small businesses, representing 40,000 employees, have joined to-

gether to buy health insurance that's lower in cost for the same or better coverage for everyone.

In 1935, Congress passed Social Security after much of the same debate we read about today in the press, people saying that it would wreck the economy, that it would be terrible, that it was not the right thing to do. But from that day forward, older Americans knew they could face retirement in old age with dignity.

In 1965, Congress passed Medicare, guaranteeing that people over 65 would never again be bankrupted by medical bills they couldn't pay. Again, there were those who said it would just be a terrible thing for the country. Now we're all proud of the fact that older Americans are less poor than the rest of us and don't have to worry about their health care.

We're closer than ever before to making 1994 the year that Congress makes history once again by guaranteeing Americans private health insurance that can never be taken away. Let's work together now to tone down the divisive rhetoric, to stop the shouting, to starting talking with each other, listening to each other, and working with our sleeves rolled up and our heads and hearts engaged in the job.

We can get this done this year. We will get it done this year with your help. Tell the Congress to move, and move now. We can do it. America needs it.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 3:25 p.m. on May 20 at the Costas Sports Center at the University of California-Los Angeles for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 21.

### **Remarks to the Community in Sacramento, California**

*May 21, 1994*

Thank you very, very much, Congressman Fazio, for those fine words and for your leadership. Thank you, Congressman Matsui, for your fine words and for your leadership, especially on areas of global trade and other things designed to help the people of northern California. I'd also like to recognize over here to my right the presence of another Member of your congressional delegation,

Congresswoman Lynn Woolsey. I'm glad to see you here, and thank you for coming. Senator Feinstein, thank you once again for making it clear that you have no ambivalence on the question of McClellan Air Force Base and its future. I'm glad to be here with Mayor Serna and to be working with him, and I appreciate his statements about our partnership. I appreciate the leadership that Secretary Widnall has shown in the Air Force, and I'm glad to be here with General Phillips and General Thompson. I thank them for welcoming me here for a second time to McClellan Air Force Base. I'd also like to recognize in the audience a good friend of mine and your State insurance commissioner, John Garamendi and Mrs. Garamendi. I'm glad to see them over there.

Ladies and gentlemen, I had a wonderful trip to McClellan Air Force Base the first time I came to celebrate the work that you are doing not only to defend our Nation but to help us to convert to a post-cold-war era in which many of the fruits of defense progress and defense technology can be used to benefit a growing commercial economy in America. Today I come to celebrate the spirit of Sacramento and the spirit of McClellan as we honor the men and women who wear the uniforms of the American Armed Forces.

In just 2 weeks it will be my proud duty to travel to Europe to represent our Nation as we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Rome and the landing of the allied forces in France on D-Day. Sacrifice, planning, determination, and sheer bravery carried the day then, and it still counts today. We deeply appreciate what our forces did in the cause of freedom in World War II. Were it not for them and their efforts, we would, none of us, be here today. But I want to say we also appreciate very much what those of you who wear our Nation's uniforms do to keep us free and strong and to promote the cause of freedom around the world today. We honor your patriotism, your service, and your sacrifice. And we all recognize that that sacrifice often extends to your families as well, who have to endure long periods of separation and sometimes, still, the loss of life. Every day, all across our land and all around the world, people who wear the uniform of this country put their

lives at risk. As we have seen in the last year and as we see every year, the simple work of maintaining preparedness and the training involved in it, often itself is life threatening.

I'm especially glad to be here at McClellan to sign the proclamation for Armed Forces Day today because of the special role that McClellan is playing in America at the end of the cold war, the special role in helping us downsize our defense forces without becoming weaker, the special role in helping us convert so many of our resources from defense to domestic economic purposes.

Beyond the building and maintenance of military equipment, McClellan has been a pioneer in high-tech fields from microelectronics to hydraulics. This is the only place in the United States where aircraft can be thoroughly inspected without dismantling, thanks to the nondestructive facility here.

This base has also led the way in promoting partnerships with the private sector in technology transfer and what we now call dual-use of technology. These help with concerns like the environment, and they create jobs for our people. The work to develop a new low-emission metal casting process, for example, will help automakers comply with the Clean Air Act, making us all healthier and creating more jobs. I thank you for that.

I think we all know that the important work of rebuilding our economy is also part of our national security. On that I can report to you confidently that our Nation is moving in the right direction.

In the last 15 months our economy has produced 3 million new jobs. The deficit is going down. Interest rates are stable. The stock market is up. Consumer confidence is up. When the Congress passes the budget that I have presented before them, we'll have 3 years of declining deficits in the Federal budget for the first time since Harry Truman was President of the United States of America.

Still the Congress is working with me to find ways to increase investments in areas where we need more investment, even as we eliminate over 100 Government programs and cut a couple of hundred others, building a system of lifetime education from the expansion of Head Start to lifetime learning to opportunities for young people who don't go

on to 4-year colleges, to lower interest rates for college loans and better repayments terms, to national service payments for young people who want to pay their way through college by solving the problems of the country here at home.

The Congress has provided more funds for technology reinvestment projects, like the ones you're participating in here. One-fourth of them have gone to the State of California to try to help those people who won the cold war for us not be left out in the cold as we enjoy the peace.

When this budget is fully enacted over the next 5 years, the size of the civilian work force for the Federal Government will be the smallest it has been in over 30 years, and all the savings will be used to go into a trust fund to help make our streets safer, to pay for tougher punishment for violent criminals, prevention opportunities for young people to keep them out of trouble, and 100,000 more police officers on the streets of the cities of this country to help protect our young people.

We are trying to adapt to the changes in this changing world. But let me say on this Armed Forces Day, while the size of our military must be adjusted, we must not adjust our attitude about quality or readiness. We must remain the world's best prepared, best trained, best equipped, highest morale fighting force. I say that because as we enter the next few weeks of budget negotiations, Congress must work to get our deficit down while keeping our guard up.

I have to say, too, to you my friends, since it has been mentioned by others, that the biggest long-term threat to deficit reduction is also perhaps the biggest long-term threat to defense readiness, that is the soaring cost of health care. Because while your Federal spending is going down in defense and down in domestic spending for the first time since 1969, the cost of Federal health care programs are going up at 2 and 3 times the rate of inflation. And still there are 37 million Americans without any health insurance.

We spend, as a nation, 40 percent more of our income on health care than any other nation, and we don't cover everyone. We have small business people, hundreds of thousands of them, who don't provide any

coverage or provide some coverage and wish they could do more. But they must pay rates 35 to 40 percent higher than those of us, who are in Government or are insured by big businesses, do. We have 81 million Americans out of a nation of 255 million who live in families where someone has been sick, and so they're insured with what are called pre-existing conditions, which is a fine way of saying they pay too much for their insurance or they can't get insurance or they can never change jobs because if they try to change, their future employers won't be able to insure them.

I say to you, my fellow Americans, this is unacceptable. It is a threat to the deficit, it is a threat to the defense, it is a threat to the national security of the United States to leave our people in this fix.

I do not pretend that this is an easy issue. If it were it would have been solved a long time ago. I do ask the Congress to act and to act now, this year, to guarantee private health insurance to all Americans; to provide a choice of doctors and plans to American citizens; to allow, as California is now doing, small business people, farmers, and self-employed people to join in big co-ops and to buy insurance on the same competitive basis that big business and Government folks can do so that they can afford to purchase health care without going broke.

I thank the California Medical Association for their endorsement of these principles as well as the notion that we should not discriminate against people because someone in their family has been sick.

These are things that we ought to do. We can do it without interfering with Medicare for the elderly. We can do it while phasing in prescription drug and long-term care benefits to the elderly and disabled, but we must act this year. I believe that you hire people to serve in the Presidency and in the Congress to make the same tough decisions that our military leaders have to make when called upon to do it. There are not always easy answers, but usually there are answers to problems when they have to be faced. There are answers to this problem, and we owe it to you to face it. In the future our deficit reduction depends on it, our defense readiness depends on it, the health and

strength of our Nation depends on it, and we should act this year.

Finally, let me say one special word. Behind me sits what I have been told is the only fully restored and flyable B-24 Liberator in use today. It had a storied career of service since it rolled off the assembly line in Fort Worth, Texas, in August of 1944. It's 2 years older than I am. [Laughter] It was part of the massive homefront production during World War II. The *All-American*, as she's known, is named in honor of the 15th Air Force B-24 that set a record for downing 14 enemy fighters in a single raid over Germany on July 25th, 1944. But her name also signifies the all-American builders who produced the plane, the flyers who manned the missions, the crews that kept them in the air. This plane stands for the all-American team to help to win the war that we will honor when I go to the D-Day celebration.

This is a time when every American of every generation should pause to remember and honor the sacrifices of the airmen, soldiers, and sailors of D-Day, who through their individual acts of glory and valor and their common efforts changed the course of history.

One aircraft of World War II stands behind me today, but we should be mindful that exactly 50 years ago the largest air attack ever staged was being readied to support the allied landings on Normandy. Over one million American airmen were stationed in England during World War II. On D-Day the allies sent 3,467 heavy bombers, 1,645 medium bombers, 5,409 fighters into the skies above the English Channel and the coast of France. They gave General Eisenhower and the planners of Operation Overlord virtual allied supremacy for the landings. On that day, 113 aircraft did not make it back.

Two weeks from today at the American cemetery outside Cambridge, England, I will stand with crew members of other B-24's and B-26's, B-17's, P-38's and P-47's, the veteran airmen of D-Day. Thirty-nine hundred and twelve Americans, many of them aviators, are buried there in Cambridge, their graves aligned in a gentle arc on a sloping English pasture. They rest in peace far from home, as do thousands of other Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice during

World War II, buried in American soil overseas with names like Nettuno and Colleville. But in every city, in every neighborhood, in every living room where we cherish the fruits of freedom and democracy, they are with us still.

They would be very proud of the men and women who wear our uniforms today. They would be proud that nuclear weapons in Russia and the United States are no longer pointed at each other for the first time since the advent of the nuclear age. They would be proud of the contributions of Americans to peace in the Middle East and democracy in South Africa. They would be proud that the power of our example has helped to encourage people in Central and Latin America, all over the hemisphere, to embrace democracy. Now all but two nations to our south, all but two, are today governed by democratically elected leaders.

So I say to you, my fellow Americans, today as we cherish the memories of those who fought in World War II and as we salute today's men and women of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the sentinels of our peace and freedom, let us cherish our memory but also remember our mission: to meet the challenges of today at home and abroad, to keep America forever strong and forever young.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. at McClellan Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Joe Serna of Sacramento; Secretary of the Air Force Sheila Widnall; Maj. Gen. John Phillips, commander, McClellan Air Force Base; and Lt. Gen. Dale W. Thompson, Jr., vice commander, Air Force Materiel Command, Wright Patterson Air Force Base, OH.

### **Proclamation 6693—Armed Forces Day, 1994**

*May 21, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### **A Proclamation**

Forty-four years ago, President Harry Truman set aside a special day to salute the men and women who dedicate their lives to the ultimate act of public service: protecting and

defending our lives, our liberties, and our right to the pursuit of happiness.

President Truman proclaimed the first Armed Forces Day at a major turning point in America's history. With the greatest sacrifice, we had just defeated the forces of global domination and tyranny, but we also were faced with the first chill of a Cold War that would last for four decades.

Through it all, from the blood and fire of World War II, to the nightmare fears of nuclear confrontation, America never lost hope, never despaired. We faced each threat with faith in God and in the skills, courage, and dedication of our men and women in uniform. We slept each night in the comforting knowledge that they held constant vigil.

Today we are at another turning point. The Cold War is over, but our Nation is faced with a host of new and more complex challenges to peace and stability in the world. Yet we face the future in a position of strength and with a powerful and ready military force.

As President and Commander in Chief, I am pleased to join with all Americans in saluting the men and women of the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, and the Coast Guard. We also thank their families and friends, whose love and sacrifice make a special contribution to America's security. The Nation's peace and stability are in very capable hands; we are deeply grateful.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, continuing the precedent of my nine immediate predecessors in office, do hereby proclaim the third Saturday of each May as Armed Forces Day.

I direct the Secretary of Defense on behalf of the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, and the Secretary of Transportation on behalf of the Coast Guard, to plan for appropriate observances each year, with the Secretary of Defense responsible for soliciting the participation and cooperation of civil authorities and private citizens.

I invite the Governors of the States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United

States, to provide for the observance of Armed Forces Day within their jurisdiction each year in an appropriate manner designed to increase public understanding and appreciation of the Armed Forces of the United States.

I also invite national and local veterans, civic and other organizations to join in the observance of Armed Forces Day each year.

I call upon all Americans, not only to display the flag of the United States at their homes on Armed Forces Day, but also to learn about our system of defense and about the men and women who sustain it, by attending and participating in the local observances of the day.

Proclamation 5983 of May 17, 1989, is hereby superseded.

**In Witness Whereof**, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, 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, 11:50 a.m., May 23, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 24.

### **Message on the Observance of Armed Forces Day, 1994**

*May 21, 1994*

Greetings to the men and women of the Armed Forces stationed around the world as we celebrate Armed Forces Day, 1994. On behalf of the American people, I am proud to extend heartfelt appreciation for your tremendous service to our country.

Each of you who wears our nation's uniform makes an invaluable contribution to the safety, security, and well-being of the United States and of the entire world. Some of you serve here at home, while others are posted the world over, but all of you work to guard our precious freedom and to further the goals of peace and democracy. In addition to these traditional military roles, you have set a new standard of excellence for international humanitarian efforts—bringing food, shelter,

and medical relief to people in desperate need.

On this important day, I am honored to salute the hard-working individuals serving in the Army, the Marine Corps, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Coast Guard. American owes you a debt of gratitude for all that you have done for our Nation and for all that you continue to do to protect the blessings of liberty we cherish.

**Bill Clinton**

### **Executive Order 12917—Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Respect to Haiti**

*May 21, 1994*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, in view of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 of May 6, 1994, and in order to take additional steps with respect to the actions and policies of the *de facto* regime in Haiti and the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order No. 12775, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1.** The following are prohibited, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order, and notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order:

(a) The importation into the United States of any goods (other than informational materials, including books and other publications, needed for the free flow of information) originating in Haiti, or of any services performed in Haiti, that are exported from Haiti after May 21, 1994; or any activity by United States persons or in the United States that promotes or is intended to promote such importation;

(b) Any activity by United States persons or in the United States that promotes the exportation or transshipment of any goods (other than informational materials, such as books and other publications, needed for the free flow of information) originating in Haiti that are exported from Haiti after May 21, 1994;

(c) Any dealing by United States persons or in the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, in any goods (other than informational materials, such as books and other publications, needed for the free flow of information) originating in Haiti that are exported from Haiti after May 21, 1994;

(d) The sale, supply, or exportation by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of any goods, regardless of origin, to Haiti, or for the purpose of any business carried on in or operated from Haiti, or any activity by United States persons or in the United States that promotes such sale, supply, or exportation, other than the sale, supply, or exportation of:

(i) informational materials, such as books and other publications, needed for the free flow of information; or

(ii) medicines and medical supplies, as authorized by the Secretary of the Treasury, and rice, beans, sugar, wheat flour, cooking oil, corn, corn flour, milk, and edible tallow, provided that neither the *de facto* regime in Haiti nor any person designated by the Secretary of the Treasury as a blocked individual or entity of Haiti is a direct or indirect party to the transaction; or

(e) Any transaction by United States persons that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order.

**Sec. 2.** For the purposes of this order, the definitions contained in section 3 of Executive Order No. 12779 apply to the terms used in this order.

**Sec. 3.** The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to me by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the United Nations

Participation Act, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government. All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the date of this order.

**Sec. 4.** Section 2(c) of Executive Order No. 12779 and section 4 of Executive Order No. 12853 are hereby revoked to the extent inconsistent with this order. The revocation shall apply only to actions taken after the effective date of this order, and shall not alter the applicability to any violation that occurred before the effective date of this order of any rule, regulation, order, license, or other form of administrative action taken pursuant to Executive Order No. 12779 or Executive Order No. 12853.

**Sec. 5.** Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

**Sec. 6.**

(a) This order shall take effect at 11:59 p.m. eastern daylight time on May 21, 1994.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 21, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:41 a.m., May 23, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on May 24.

**Message to the Congress on Haiti**  
*May 21, 1994*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

On October 4, 1991, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA") (50 U.S.C. 1703 *et seq.*) and sec-

tion 301 of the National Emergencies Act ("NEA") (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), President Bush exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12775 on October 4, 1991, declaring a national emergency and blocking Haitian government property.

On October 28, 1991, pursuant to the above authorities, President Bush exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12779 on October 28, 1991, blocking property of and prohibiting transactions with Haiti.

On June 30, 1993, pursuant to the above authorities, as well as the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended ("UNPA") (22 U.S.C. 287c), I exercised my statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12853 of June 30, 1993, to impose additional economic measures with respect to Haiti. This latter action was taken, in part, to ensure that the economic measures taken by the United States with respect to Haiti would fulfill its obligations under United Nations Security Council Resolution 841 of June 16, 1993.

On October 18, 1993, pursuant to the IEEPA and the NEA, I again exercised my statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12872 of October 18, 1993, blocking property of various persons with respect to Haiti.

On May 6, 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 917, calling on Member States to take additional measures to tighten the embargo against Haiti. On May 7, 1994, pursuant to the above authorities, I exercised my statutory authority and issued Executive Order No. 12914 of May 7, 1994, to impose additional economic measures with respect to Haiti. This latter action was taken, in part, to ensure that the economic measures taken by the United States with respect to Haiti would fulfill its obligations under the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 that were effective immediately under that Resolution.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 contains several provisions required to become effective no later than May 21, 1994, to further tighten the embargo against Haiti. These include, *inter alia*, a requirement that Member States prohibit importa-

tion of Haitian-origin products into their territories exported from Haiti after May 21, 1994, activities that promote importation or transshipment of such products, and dealings by their nationals, flag vessels, or aircraft in such products. In addition, the Resolution requires Member States to prevent the sale or supply of products to Haiti by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, and activities that promote such sale or supply, with certain exceptions for humanitarian needs and trade in informational materials.

This new Executive order:

- bans importation into the United States of goods or services of Haitian origin exported after May 21, 1994, or activities that promote or are intended to promote such importation, except for informational materials;
- prohibits activities by U.S. persons or from the United States that promote exportation or transshipment of goods of Haitian origin exported after May 21, 1994, except for informational materials;
- prohibits dealings by U.S. persons or in the United States or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft in goods of Haitian origin exported after May 21, 1994, except for informational materials;
- prohibits the sale, supply, or exportation by U.S. persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of any goods to Haiti or in connection with Haitian businesses, or activities by U.S. persons or in the United States that promote such sale, supply, or exportation, except for informational materials, certain foodstuffs, and medicines and medical supplies;
- prohibits any transaction that evades or avoids or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions of this order; and
- authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to issue regulations implementing the provisions of the Executive order.

The new Executive order is necessary to implement certain provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 of May 6, 1994, which take effect no later than May 21, 1994, and require additional measures to

tighten the embargo against Haiti with the goal of the restoration of democracy in that nation and the prompt return of the legitimately elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, under the framework of the Governors Island Agreement.

I am providing this notice to the Congress pursuant section 204(b) of the IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and section 301 of the NEA (50 U.S.C. 1631). I am enclosing a copy of the Executive order that I have issued.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 21, 1994.

**Remarks at the Presentation  
Ceremony for the Congressional  
Medal of Honor**

*May 23, 1994*

To the distinguished leaders of the military and the Congress who are here, family and friends of the two men on whom we will confer the Nation's highest military award, the Medal of Honor, Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall Shughart were real American heroes.

During the military operation in Mogadishu on October 3d, two American helicopters were downed by hostile fire. Although United States Army Rangers established a defensive perimeter around the first downed helicopter, they could not reach the second one quickly by land. In the wreckage of this helicopter lay four injured Army crewmen.

Another helicopter with Sergeants Gordon and Shughart on board was dispatched to provide cover from above. But they came under withering fire, and the two sergeants instinctively understood that if the downed crew was to stand a chance of survival someone would have to get them on the ground. Immediately Sergeants Gordon and Shughart volunteered to go. They were told, no, it's too dangerous. They volunteered again. Again, they were told no. They volunteered a third time, and permission finally was granted.

Sergeants Gordon and Shughart knew their own chances of survival were extremely bleak. The pilot of their helicopter said that

anyone in their right mind would never have gone in. But they insisted on it because they were comrades in danger, because they believed passionately in the creed that says, "I will not fail those with whom I serve." And so they asked their pilot to hover just above the ground, and they jumped into the ferocious firefight.

The citations that will be read shortly describe the extraordinary courage that Sergeants Gordon and Shughart demonstrated in the battle that followed. Gary Gordon and Randall Shughart died in the most courageous and selfless way any human being can act. They risked their lives without hesitation. They gave their lives to save others. Their actions were clearly above and beyond the call of duty.

Today, on behalf of the United States Congress, I award them both the Medal of Honor. They join a roll of heroes that includes soldiers like Sergeant York, Audie Murphy, Jimmie Doolittle, Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., Senator Kerrey, and only some 3,000 others across more than two centuries of our Nation's history.

We will remember Sergeants Gordon and Shughart not only as heroes who fell in battle but as good men who loved their families. Randall Shughart was raised on a dairy farm. He loved the outdoors. He and his wife, Stephanie, planned to build a log cabin in Montana for their retirement. Gary Gordon was a gentle father who filled notebooks with stories for his two young children. He dreamed of starting a furniture-making shop with his wife, Carmen.

Both were men whose dreams and generous hearts we can never adequately portray. Both were quiet men whose steadiness gave strength to all who knew them. Both would probably feel a bit uncomfortable about being the center of so much attention. We were just doing our job, they would probably say, a job they loved and a job they had plainly mastered.

Of course, there is little we can do to ease the pain, the sense of loss that their loved ones feel. We know they will live in the memories of those whose lives they touched. We pray that their families will find strength in their faiths during this time and in the times to come. But we can also draw comfort

from the words of the pilot they saved, Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant. "Without a doubt," he says, "I owe my life to these two men and their bravery."

Sergeants Gordon and Shughart died on October 3d for a noble and important cause, to give Durant and others a chance to live. They were part of a larger mission, a difficult one, that saved hundreds of thousands of innocent Somalis from starvation and gave that nation a chance to build its own future.

Only America could assume and accomplish such a mission. It is a part of who we are as a people, what we are as a nation, why we are trusted and respected around the globe. And that, too, is a part of our national security. As I said when I welcomed home members of the 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum, if there are any debates still to be had about our mission in Somalia, let people have those debates where they belong, with the President and the policymakers. But let there be no debate about the professionalism and the valor of those who served there and the valor of those who died there. We are proud of what they did. We honor them. We thank them.

On the wall of the Special Forces Memorial Court at Ft. Bragg, the words of the prophet Isaiah are etched in stone: "I heard the voice of the Lord saying, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?'" Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall Shughart answered that call.

Today, we inscribe their lives and their deeds in the distinguished and valorous history of this country's men and women in uniform. We pray that God will embrace their souls. And may their service and sacrifice inspire generations to come.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

### **Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Abdou Diouf of Senegal** *May 23, 1994*

**The President.** Let me say, it's a great honor for me to have the President of Senegal here and to thank him publicly for the leadership that his country has shown in pro-

moting democracy and economic market reforms and many activities of the United Nations designed to save lives. I am very grateful for that, and I look forward to this meeting. We've never had an opportunity to talk before, but our two nations have had very close and good relationships, and I think we'll continue them.

### **Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis**

**Q.** Mr. President, can you tell us something about your remarks this afternoon?

**The President.** Well, I'll just do the best I can to try to speak on behalf of the Nation a word of gratitude and appreciation and farewell and perhaps a few personal remarks as well.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Remarks at the Interment of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis in Arlington, Virginia** *May 23, 1994*

We are joined here today at the site of the Eternal Flame, lit by Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis 31 years ago, to bid farewell to this remarkable woman whose life will forever glow in the lives of her fellow Americans.

Whether she was soothing a nation grieving for a former President or raising children with the care and the privacy they deserve or simply being a good friend, she seemed always to do the right thing in the right way. She taught us by example about the beauty of art, the meaning of culture, the lessons of history, the power of personal courage, the nobility of public service, and most of all, the sanctity of family.

God gave her very great gifts and imposed upon her great burdens. She bore them all with dignity and grace and uncommon common sense. In the end, she cared most about being a good mother to her children. And the lives of Caroline and John leave no doubt that she was that, and more.

Hillary and I are especially grateful that she took so much time to talk about the importance of raising children away from the

public eye. And we will always remember the wonderful, happy times we shared together last summer.

With admiration, love, and gratitude for the inspiration and the dreams she gave to all of us, we say goodbye to Jackie today. May the flame she lit so long ago burn ever brighter here and always brighter in our hearts.

God bless you, friend, and farewell.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. at Arlington National Cemetery.

**Memorandum on the United Kingdom-United States Atomic Energy Agreement Amendment**  
*May 23, 1994*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Energy*

*Subject:* Proposed Amendment to the United States/United Kingdom Agreement for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes

I have reviewed and concur in the positions taken in your joint letter to me of May 14, 1994, recommending approval of a proposed amendment to the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes. I note from your joint recommendation and concur with your view that the United Kingdom is participating with the United States pursuant to an international agreement by substantial and material contributions to the mutual defense and security. The proposed Amendment will permit cooperation that will further improve our mutual defense posture and support our interests under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I hereby:

- approve the proposed Amendment to the 1958 Agreement;
- determine that performance under the proposed Amendment will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security;
- approve the program outlined in this Amendment and determine that such

program will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security; and

- authorize the execution of the proposed Amendment for the Government of the United States in a manner specified by the Secretary of State.

**William J. Clinton**

**Message to the Congress Transmitting the United Kingdom-United States Atomic Energy Agreement Amendment**  
*May 23, 1994*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress, pursuant to section 123d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the text of an amendment to the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes of July 3, 1958, as amended, and my written approval, authorization, and determination concerning the agreement. The joint unclassified letter submitted to me by the Secretaries of Energy and Defense that provide a summary position on the Amendment is also enclosed.

The Amendment extends for 10 years (until December 31, 2004) provisions which permit the transfer of nonnuclear parts, source, byproduct, special nuclear materials, and other material and technology for nuclear weapons and military reactors, and revises text, principally in the Security Annex, to be consistent with current policies and practices relating to personnel and physical security. Additionally, certain activities related to naval nuclear reactor plant technology have been completed and those provisions have been deleted from the Supplemental Technical Annex.

In my judgment, the proposed Amendment meets all statutory requirements. The United Kingdom intends to continue to maintain viable nuclear forces. In light of our previous close cooperation and the fact that the United Kingdom has committed its nuclear forces to the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganization, I have concluded that it is in our interest to continue to assist them in maintaining a credible nuclear force.

I have approved the Amendment, authorized its execution, and urge that the Congress give it favorable consideration.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 23, 1994.

### **Message to the Congress on Chemical and Biological Weapons Proliferation**

*May 23, 1994*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

On November 16, 1990, in light of the dangers of the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12735, and declared a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701, *et seq.*). Under section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), the national emergency terminates on the anniversary date of its declaration unless the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice of its continuation. On November 12, 1993, I extended the national emergency on the basis that the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States.

Section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act contain periodic reporting requirements regarding activities taken and money spent pursuant to an emergency declaration. The following report is made pursuant to those provisions. Additional information on chemical and biological weapons proliferation is contained in the report to the Congress provided pursuant to the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991.

The three export control regulations issued under the Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative are fully in force and continue to be used to control the export of items with

potential use in chemical or biological weapons (CBW) or unmanned delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction.

During the last 6 months, the United States has continued to address actively in its international diplomatic efforts the problem of the proliferation and use of CBW.

More than 150 nations have signed the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and a number have already ratified it. On November 23, 1993, I submitted the CWC to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. I have urged all nations, including the United States, to ratify the Convention quickly so that it can enter into force at the earliest possible date of January 13, 1995. We also have continued to urge those countries that have not signed the Convention to do so. The United States plays a leading role in the work of the CWC Preparatory Commission headquartered in The Hague, to elaborate the technical and administrative procedures for implementing the Convention.

The United States participated actively in the Ad Hoc Group of Government Experts convened by the Third Biological Weapons Review Conference to identify and examine potential verification measures. The consensus final report of the experts group will be considered at a Special Conference of States Parties, to be held September 19–30, 1994. The United States supports the holding of a Special Conference and will promote new transparency measures to help strengthen the Convention.

The membership of the Australia Group (AG) of countries cooperating against CBW proliferation stands at 25. At the December 1993 meeting of the AG, members reiterated their commitment to comprehensive and global chemical and biological disarmament, which can only be achieved by the early entry into force and effective and universal implementation of the CWC and full compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention. In this context, members stressed the importance of encouraging the widest possible adherence to the CWC.

Experts at the December AG meeting also discussed ways of implementing CBW export controls more effectively. The Group considered streamlining licensing procedures appli-

cable to mixtures and small quantities of precursor chemicals, with a view to facilitating legitimate trade without increasing the risk of contributing to potential weapons production. It also took steps to enhance cooperation in enforcement of existing controls.

The United States Government determined that three commercial entities in Thailand had engaged in chemical weapons proliferation activities that required the imposition of trade sanctions against the entities, effective on February 8, 1994. Additional information on this determination is contained in a classified report to the Congress provided pursuant to the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991.

Progress also was made in the steps taken by countries outside the AG to extend chemical weapons-related export controls. For example, the Royal Thai Government adopted regulations to prevent the export of Thai laborers to programs of CBW concern. Poland enacted legislation to implement controls on CBW-related items.

Pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, I report that there were no additional expenses directly attributable to the exercise of authorities conferred by the declaration of the national emergency.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 23, 1994.

### **Remarks at a Reception Commemorating National Park Week**

*May 23, 1994*

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. Attorney General Reno, Mr. Frampton, Mr. Kennedy, Congressman Vento, ladies and gentlemen. I sure have had a good time this afternoon.

You know, this is a wonderful occasion for all of us as Americans. And in many ways it's a very personal occasion. Hillary and I were up here whispering to each other; I said, now, didn't we go to the Dinosaur National Park in Utah and to the Buffalo, and then I started reeling them off. She said, "Bill, forget it. You will never remember all

the parks we have visited." [Laughter] And we can't. We can't begin to remember all the ones we have visited and all the things that have happened to us from Florida to northern California and all points in between.

I do want to say that I am personally very grateful to the people who have been recognized this year. Ambassador Lane, thank you, sir, for your many contributions. Steve Coleman and Josephine Butler and the other people from Meridian Hill—we were there on Earth Day. And I want you to know that—not that I didn't trust you—but the other day I was in the neighborhood, and I had my car sort of drive by the park again just to make sure there was no false advertising. [Laughter] And sure enough, it was just like it was on Earth Day. And I thank you for that urban miracle of nature. I congratulate the Dade County Public Schools. And Phyllis Cohen, thank you for coming here and for teaching our young people about the importance of our natural resources. The children of Florida have a great burden as they grow up now to reconcile our responsibility to the remarkable ecostructure of that State and the explosion of growth that's going on there. Richard Gale, congratulations to you, sir, and thank you for your career.

You know, we were talking here a moment ago. I'll bet you that more American citizens have met employees of the Park Service than any other department of the Federal Government. They may have thought more about employees of the IRS—[laughter]—but they have actually met more employees of the Park Service. And I'll bet you—you think about it—I bet each and every one of you here can remember park rangers you met at Carlsbad or Yellowstone or Yosemite or you name it. And that's a very important thing. At a time when people have such negative impressions of Government, this is our Government at its best.

And I appreciate what Secretary Babbitt said about the budget. Just so you'll know exactly how hard that was, this budget recommends the outright elimination of over 100 Government programs, slashing over 200 more. If adopted, it'll be the first time in anybody's memory that the Congress and the President have actually worked together to

pass an executive budget for 2 years in a row and will give us 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President. But we still spent more on the Park Service, because that's where a lot of America's heart is and where a lot of America's future is. And the California bill will be an astonishing achievement if we can get it through. And we're working hard on that.

Thank you, Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, for your work in Central Park. For all of us who have ever been to the zoo or the carousel or jogged around the reservoir with bated breath, we thank you for what you have done to give that great park a new lease on life.

Most important, I'd like to thank Secretary Babbitt. We've been friends a long time. We've talked about these things a long time. He grew up near the Grand Canyon. I grew up in Hot Springs, which actually is, I think, the only city in America, perhaps except this one, that actually has a whole national park within the city limits. And it was the first reservation set aside by Congress for a national reservation in 1932, in recognition of the fact that in the 16th century, Hernando DeSoto came there and found the Indians bathing in the hot sulphur springs. He was looking for the fountain of youth. I grew up there and lost it. [Laughter] But Bruce and I have been through these things for so many years. And when we served as Governors, I don't know how many times I heard the Western Governors who cared about the environment say that there had to be some way that Interior could push this country toward sustainable development, push this country toward maintaining its resources and still not feel that we were violating the culture and the way of life of the people, especially in the West where the Interior Department owns so much land. I think he has managed the tension between traditional culture and change better than any other person in the entire United States could have done it, in the only department that really still literally affects the lives of more than half the people in many communities in this country. So I am very grateful to him. I thank him for what he's done. And I know all of you will join me in expressing your appreciation for his brilliant leadership.

Now I have to say just a parochial word about where I live now. I live on National Park Service Reservation number one. [Laughter] And I want you all to take note of that the next time you hear somebody say the President's off the reservation. [Laughter] I'm actually here with Hillary and Chelsea on part of the original design of Washington laid out by George Washington and Pierre L'Enfant. Like other families who've lived here, we've had the honor of planting several trees on these grounds, a willow oak, a leaf linden, an American elm. We love this place that is maintained by our Park Service.

I want to recognize two special contributors and say I enjoyed having my picture taken with the White House staff who do so much to maintain the house and the grounds, just a moment ago. I want to thank our Head Usher, Gary Walters, who does a great job for us on so many events here. Where's Gary? There's Gary back there. And I'd like to ask Irv Williams, the Executive Grounds Superintendent—for nearly 40 years he's been here. Where are you, Irv? Stand up. Thank you so much. Three decades ago, Mr. Williams helped Jacqueline Kennedy redesign the First Lady's Garden. It was later renamed the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden. It is just opposite the Rose Garden in the back of the White House. It's another of the wonderful legacies that this fine lady left our country with the help of Irv Williams who's given his life to this work, and we thank you, sir.

Wallace Stegner said, "The National Parks are the best idea we ever had. Absolutely democratic, absolutely American, they reflect us at our best rather than our worst." I could say it no better. Let us try to live by the mottoes of the National Parks. Let us try to lift our spirits on a daily basis as we are all uplifted when we visit them. And let us for the rest of our lives rededicate ourselves to preserving and enhancing them. They are the legacy of every generation. They're our hope for the future, our tie to the past, our connection to the land. They're bigger than any of us, and they make us all better. And we thank you all for your contribution to that end.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to George T. Frampton, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks; Roger Kennedy, Director, National Park Service; Ambassador Laurence W. Lane, Jr., Ambassador-at-Large to Japan; Steve W. Coleman, founder and president, and Josephine Butler, vice chair, Friends of Meridian Hill; Phyllis Cohen, deputy superintendent, Dade County Public School District; Richard Gale, director, National Fire Center in Boise, ID; and Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, administrator, New York City Central Park.

**Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia**  
*May 24, 1994*

**President Clinton.** Since we're not going to do a press availability—it's late in the afternoon—I'd like to make a brief statement about the purpose of this meeting and then ask President Ulmanis to say a few words.

First, I want to welcome him to the United States and express my appreciation for the close working relationship we have had with him during my tenure and his, which have overlapped.

Our administration has worked very hard to support the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics in general and from Latvia in particular. We have been very involved in trying to help resolve the dispute between Russia and Latvia over the facility at Skrunda, and we have been very pleased at the resolution of that. And we have supported the resettlement of Russian soldiers and the housing program for them when they leave the Baltics and go back home. And so we look forward to the completion of that effort this summer. And we are very, very pleased about it. It's an important part of our overall objectives and our long-term relationships with all the nations in the Baltics area and the CIS, and particular with Russia. So I'm very pleased about that.

I'm glad to have President Ulmanis here. And he, perhaps, has a word or two he'd like to say.

**President Ulmanis.** I'm honored about the progress that has been made since I have met with the American President. At that

time we talked about very difficult problems, and I'm happy to say that some of those problems have been resolved.

An issue that's very important to the Baltic area is the whole question of troop patrols, and that will occur after a few months. We have legally established a basis for the Skrunda facility, and we have ensured that this will not be turned into a Russian military base.

This is a great achievement also for the United States, since we worked together on this issue and were able to resolve it together. And today I have come here to talk about the way we can work together in the future.

I want to ensure that in the future the Baltic area is not a victim of any kind of aggression, that we establish a good—[inaudible]—stimulating the area and that we begin to develop that area economically.

When I was speaking with the Pope recently, we talked about the fact that the Baltic area could be a key to peace in that area. Now we can talk about various kinds of development in the area of agriculture and social fields, in economic area. But most importantly, we need to talk about how we can help former Russian army personnel leave the Baltic area voluntarily.

Thank you.

**Russia and the Baltic Countries**

**Q.** You're sure they will pull out? And does that mean out of the entire Balkans area, out of Estonia, Lithuania, wherever they are?

**President Ulmanis.** He's convinced that that will be the case, and that's why he's here.<sup>1</sup>

**President Clinton.** Our preliminary—I say it's not preliminary with regard to Lithuania and Latvia—but we think by the summer that all the negotiations will be concluded. The Yeltsin government and President Yeltsin himself have been personally—he's been personally involved in this. I have been personally involved in it. We discussed these matters in enormous detail when I was in Russia. I think it's going in the right direction.

And the leadership of President Ulmanis and the leaders of all the Baltic States, I

<sup>1</sup> As translated by an interpreter.

think, has been quite key to this. So I feel good about it. I think it's going in the right direction. And it clearly will be a force for stability and democracy in the years ahead in that part of the world.

### **China and Japan**

**Q.** [*Inaudible*—Secretary Christopher has been consulting with Congress today. Have you got a better idea on what you plan to do about MFN for China and where that's going, and could you share that with us?

**President Clinton.** Yes, I have an idea of where it's going. No, I'm not prepared to share it with you, because we still have not only ongoing negotiations with Congress but with others as well, and there are a number of things that still have to be resolved. We're working through it as quickly as we can. We will resolve it as quickly as we can.

I do want to say that the United States announced some very good news today. Late last night we reached agreement with the Japanese on returning to our trade talks with them. They are an important part of our long-term strategy for peace and stability and democracy in Asia. And I think that will support what we hope will be a long-term, positive relationship with China and our desire to advance the cause of human rights within the country. I think Japanese—the break there with the negotiations is a big plus. And we've been working hard on it. I talked to Prime Minister Hata today. I'm very encouraged about that. And we'll have the Chinese decision as quickly as we can work through it.

**Q.** Before you go to Normandy? Before you go to Normandy?

### **The Cabinet**

**Q.** Is there going to be a Cabinet shakeup?

**President Clinton.** Sometimes I'm the last to know, but as far as I know there isn't. [*Laughter*] Unless you know something I don't, the answer is no.

Well, the deadline's June 3d. And I don't expect to announce it in Europe.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:16 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. President Ulmanis spoke in Latvian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

### **Nomination for a Judge on the United States Court of Appeals**

*May 24, 1994*

The President today nominated Judge José A. Cabranes to serve on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

"Judge Cabranes has an outstanding record of achievement in the legal profession, in academia, and in public service," the President said today. "I am confident that he will continue to serve with excellence and distinction on the appellate bench."

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

### **Remarks at the United States Naval Academy Commencement Ceremony in Annapolis, Maryland**

*May 25, 1994*

Thank you very much, Secretary Dalton, for those fine remarks. Admiral Lynch, thank you for your comments and your leadership here at the Academy. Admiral Owens, Admiral Boorda, General Mundy, proud parents and family members, faculty and staff of the Academy, brigade of the midshipmen: It's a great honor for me to join you at this moment of celebration. I'm delighted to be back here on the eve of the Academy's 150th year.

Since 1845, the U.S. Naval Academy has provided superb leadership for our Navy, for our Marine Corps, and for our entire Nation. And I cannot imagine a more valuable contribution.

The last time I was here, I joined some of you for lunch at King Hall. And ever since then, whenever people have asked me what I liked best about my visit to the Naval Academy I try to think of elevated things to say, but part of my answer is always pan pizza and chicken tenders. [*Laughter*] In memory of that luxurious meal—[*laughter*]—I have today a small graduation present. In keeping with longstanding tradition I hereby grant amnesty to all midshipmen who received demerits for minor conduct offenses. [*Laughter*] See, today the interest group is in the stands, not on the field. [*Laughter*]

Next week I will have the proud responsibility to represent our Nation in Europe in

the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of D-Day, the invasion of Italy, and World War II. That war marked the turning point of our century when we joined with our allies to stem a dark tide of dictatorship, aggression, and terror and to start a flow of democracy and freedom that continues to sweep the world down to the present day.

That war also marked an era of sacrifice almost unequalled in our entire history. Some 400,000 of our fellow countrymen and women lost their lives. Over half a million more were wounded. Today we have among us many who took part at Normandy and the other great battles of World War II, such as retired Commander Alfred McKowan, Academy class of 1942, who served aboard the U.S.S. *Quincy* off Utah Beach on D-Day. They're a great reminder of what our armed services have done for America. And I would ask all the veterans of that war to stand now so that the rest of us might honor them. [*Applause*]

To the members of the class of 1994, my parents' generation and your grandparents' generation did not end their work with the liberation of Europe and victory in the Pacific. They came back to work wonders at home. They created the GI bill so that freedom's heroes could reenter civilian life and succeed and build strong families and strong communities. They built our interstate highway system. They turned our economy into a global wonder. They forged the tools of international security and trade that helped to rebuild our former allies and our former enemies so that we could ultimately win the cold war. It brought us decades of peace and prosperity.

Today we have come to celebrate your graduation from this Academy and your commission as officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps. As we do, the question which hangs over your head is the question of what your generation will accomplish, as the generation of World War II accomplished so much.

Lately, there have been a number of books written, not about you, of course, but about your generation that says that so many people your age are afflicted with a sense of fatalism and cynicism, a sort of Generation X that believes America's greatest days are behind us

and there are no great deeds left to be done. Well, this class, this very class is a rebuke to those cynics of any age.

Look at the extraordinary effort you have made to become leaders in service to America: formation at dawn, classes at 8 a.m., rigorous mandatory PT, parading on Worden Field, summers spent aboard ship or down at Quantico. Most college students never go through anything like it. It's a routine that turns young men and women into officers and that has taken your basketball team to the NCAA Tournament.

I deeply respect your decision to serve our Nation. Your service may take many forms in the years ahead: commanding ships in combat, training aviators for flight, running a business, perhaps one day even sitting in the Oval Office. Your career, regardless of its past, will require sacrifices, time away from loved ones, and potentially service in the face of danger. But regardless of where your careers take you, you clearly understand the imperative of civic duty. There's no brighter badge of citizenship than the path you have chosen and the oath you are about to take.

You just heard Secretary Dalton speak of President Kennedy's wonderful speech here at the Naval Academy when he was here. I read that speech carefully before I came here. And among other things, President Kennedy said, along the lines that Secretary Dalton quoted, that if someone asked you what you did with your life, there's not a better answer than to say, "I served as an officer in the United States Navy."

The challenge for your generation is to remember the deeds of those who have served before you and now to build on their work in a new and very different world. The world wars are over; the cold war has been won. Now it is our job to win the peace.

For the first time in history, we have the chance to expand the reach of a democracy and economic progress across the whole of Europe and to the far reaches of the world. The first step on the mission is to keep our own Nation secure. And your very graduation today helps ensure that. Today the American people have 874 new leaders, 874 new plates of battle armor on our ship of state, 874 reasons to sleep better at night.

The past 4 years have been a time of challenge and exertion for each of you, a time of challenge and exertion, too, for the U.S. Navy and for this Academy. The Navy has had to confront the difficulty of the Tailhook scandal. And this year the Academy had to confront improper conduct regarding an academic examination. These are troubling events, to be sure, because our military rests on honor and leadership. But ultimately, the test of leadership is not constant flawlessness. Rather it is marked by a commitment to continue always to strive for the highest standards, to learn honesty when one falls short, and to do the right thing when it happens.

I came here today because I want America to know there remains no finer Navy in the world than the United States Navy and no finer training ground for naval leadership than the United States Naval Academy. You have my confidence. You have America's confidence.

These are challenging times to be in the Navy because it's a new era in world affairs. When this class entered the Academy in June of 1990, think of this, Israel and the PLO were sworn enemies; South Africa lived under apartheid; Moscow, Kiev, and Riga all were still part of the Soviet Union; and the United States and the Soviet Union still pointed their nuclear weapons in massive numbers at each other. But now Nelson Mandela is the President of his nation. There is genuine progress toward peace in the Middle East between Israel and the PLO and the other parties. Where the Kremlin once imposed its will, a score of new free states now grapple with the burden of freedom. And the United States and Russia at least no longer aim their nuclear weapons at each other.

These amazing transformations make our Nation more secure. They also enable us to devote more resources to the profound challenges we face here at home, from providing jobs for our people to advancing education and training for all of them, to making our streets safer, to ensuring health care for all of our citizens, and in the end building an economy that can compete and win well into the 21st century.

But the world's changes also can create uncertainty for those who have committed their

careers to military service. Indeed, they create uncertainty for the United States. And in this time of uncertainty they tempt some to cut our defenses too far.

At the end of the cold war it was right to reduce our defense spending. But let us not forget that this new era has many dangers. We have replaced a cold war threat of a world of nuclear gridlock with a new world threatened with instability, even abject chaos, rooted in the economic dislocations that are inherent in the change from communism to market economics, rooted in religious and ethnic battles long covered over by authoritarian regimes now gone, rooted in tribal slaughters, aggravated by environmental disasters, by abject hunger, by mass migration across tenuous national borders. And with three of the Soviet Union's successor states now becoming nonnuclear and the tension between the U.S. and Russia over nuclear matters declining, we still must not forget that the threat of weapons of mass destruction remain in the continuing disputes we have over North Korea and elsewhere with countries who seek either to develop or to sell or to buy such weapons. So we must—we must do better. For this generation to expand freedom's reach, we must always keep America out of danger's reach.

Last year I ordered a sweeping review—to we called it the bottom-up review—to ensure that in this new era we have a right-sized Navy, Marine Corps, Army, and Air Force for the post-cold-war era. That is especially important for our naval forces. For even with all the changes in the world, some basic facts endure: We are a maritime nation; over 60 percent of our border is sea coast; over 70 percent of the world is covered by water; and over 90 percent of the human race lives within our Navy's reach from the sea. Now, as long as these facts remain true, we need naval forces that can dominate the sea, project our power, and protect our interests.

We've known that lesson for over 200 years now, since the time Admiral John Paul Jones proclaimed, "Without a respectable Navy, alas, America." The right-size defense costs less but still costs quite a bit. That is why this year I have resisted attempts to impose further cuts on our defense budget.

I want you to understand this clearly. It is important for your generation and your children to bring down this terrible debt we accumulated in recent years. And I have asked the Congress to eliminate outright over 100 programs, to cut over 200 others. We've presented a budget that cuts discretionary domestic spending for the first time since 1969. That will give us 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President of the United States right after World War II. But we should not cut defense further. And I thank the Congress this week for resisting the calls to do so.

That enables us to answer John Paul Jones' cry. Today you can see the importance of our naval forces all around the world. Right now, at this very moment as you sit here, the U.S.S. *Saratoga* and her battle group are steaming in the Adriatic to help enforce the no-fly zone and to protect the safe havens in Bosnia. At this very moment, the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* is in the Persian Gulf to help enforce sanctions on Iraq. Right now, the U.S.S. *Independence* is patrolling the waters of Northeast Asia to protect our allies and interests in Japan, Korea, and throughout the Asian-Pacific region.

As we adjust our forces to a new era, our motto should still be: "Reduce where we should, but strengthen as we must." That's why we're investing in new weapons such as the next carrier, CVN-76; our new Sea Wolf attack submarine; new AEGIS ships, like the DDG-51; new air capabilities like F-18 upgrades and the Joint Advanced Strike Technology. It's why we're improving our weapons systems and making the technology that won Operation Desert Storm even better: Tomahawk missiles with increased accuracy and target area and better night-fighting capabilities for our Harrier jump jets and other aircraft, so we can not only own the night today but dominate the night tomorrow.

We have been able to afford a right-sized military at lower cost, but this year we must continue to fight any deeper cuts to defense. I want to emphasize how important it is that the House of Representatives and the Senate do that. I want to thank Congressman Gilchrest, who is here, and Congressman Machtley from Rhode Island, a graduate of

the Naval Academy, also here, and their colleagues for their support for the C-17 vote and for their continuing support for an adequate military. This is a bipartisan issue; it knows no party. We have done all we should do, and we now must support an adequate defense.

We are working to safeguard the quality of the most important defense asset of all, you and the more than one million other men and women in uniform, who stand sentry over our security. Today our Armed Forces are clearly and without dispute the best trained, the best equipped, the best prepared, and the best motivated military on the face of the Earth. As long as I am President, that will continue to be the truth.

The question of our security in this era still ultimately depends upon our decisions about where to bring our military power to bear. That is what makes it possible for our enormous economic strength to assert itself at home and around the world. And there is no decision any President takes more seriously than the decision to send Americans into harm's way.

History teaches us that there is no magic formula, nor should a President ever try to draw the line so carefully that we would completely rule out the use of our military in circumstances where it might later become important. After all, the mere possibility of American force is itself a potent weapon all around the world. But this is clear: We must be willing to fight to defend our land and our people, first and foremost. That's why we responded forcefully when we discovered an Iraqi plot to assassinate former President Bush. And the Tomahawks we fired that day were fired by the Navy.

We must be willing to fight to protect our vital interests. And that's why we've adopted a defense strategy for winning any two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously. We must be willing to fight to protect our allies. That's why we deployed Patriot missiles to South Korea, and working with others—working with others—we must be willing to use force when other American interests are threatened. And that's why we sought a stronger role for NATO in Bosnia.

The hardest cases involved the many ethnic and religious conflicts that have erupted

in our era. The end of the superpower stand-off lifted the lid from a cauldron of long-simmering hatreds. Now the entire global terrain is bloody with such conflicts, from Rwanda to Georgia. We cannot solve every such outburst of civil strife or militant nationalism simply by sending in our forces. We cannot turn away from them. But our interests are not sufficiently at stake in so many of them to justify a commitment of our folks. Nonetheless, as the world's greatest power, we have an obligation to lead and, at times when our interests and our values are sufficiently at stake, to act.

Look at the example of the former Yugoslavia. For centuries, that land marked a tense and often violent fault line between empires and religions. The end of the cold war and the dissolution of that country into so many new republics surfaced all those ancient tensions again, triggering Serb aggression, ethnic cleansing, and the most brutal European conflict since the Second World War.

Whether we get involved in any of the world's ethnic conflicts in the end must depend on the cumulative weight of the American interests at stake. Now, in Bosnia, we clearly have an interest in preventing the spread of the fighting into a broader European war, in providing that NATO can still be a credible force for peace in the post-cold-war era in this first-ever involvement of NATO outside a NATO country, in stemming the incredibly destabilizing flow of refugees from the conflict and in helping to stop the slaughter of innocents.

These interests do not warrant our unilateral involvement, but they do demand that we help to lead a way to a workable peace agreement if one can be achieved, and that if one can be achieved, we help to enforce it. Our administration is committed to help achieve such a resolution, working with others such as NATO, the United Nations, and Russia.

Those efforts have not been easy or smooth, but we have produced results. By securing NATO enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, we kept the war from escalating into the air. We initiated humanitarian air drops and have now participated in the longest humanitarian airlift in history. We se-

cured NATO enforcement of the exclusion zones around Sarajevo and Garazde, and as a result, the people of Sarajevo have experienced over 3 months of relative calm, and Garazde is no longer being shelled. And by stepping up diplomatic engagement, we have worked with others to foster a breakthrough agreement between the Croats and the Bosnians, signed here in Washington, which I believe eventually will lead to a broader settlement.

One of the dreams of World War II was that after the war, through the United Nations and in other ways, the United States might be able to cooperate with others to help resolve the most difficult problems of our age, not always to have its own way, not always to be able to prescribe every move, but in order to help resolve the problems of the world without having to commit the lives of our own soldiers where they should not be committed and still being able to play a positive role. That is what we are attempting to work out in Bosnia. And if it can be done—if it can be done—we'll be on the way to managing some of this incredible chaos that has threatened to engulf the world in which you will raise your children.

Today I want to acknowledge the outstanding contributions of Admiral Mike Boorda which were made to our efforts in Bosnia. His stunning leadership there, his clarity of thought, and resolve of purpose is one of the key reasons I named him to be our new Chief of Naval Operations. Thank you, Admiral Boorda.

At every turn, we have worked to move the parties there toward a workable political solution. This is one of those conflicts that can only end at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. They can fight for another 100 years and not resolve it there. At every turn we have rejected the easy-out of simplistic ideas that sound good on bumper stickers but that would have tragic consequences. The newest of these is that we should simply unilaterally break the United Nations arms embargo on Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav states.

I do not support that arms embargo, and I never have. We worked with our allies and tried to persuade all them that we should end it. Now some say we should simply vio-

late the embargo on our own because it was a bad idea to impose it in the first place. Well, if we did that, it would kill the peace process; it would sour our relationships with our European allies in NATO and in the U.N.; it would undermine the partnership we are trying to build with Russia across a whole broad range of areas; it would undermine our efforts to enforce U.N. embargoes that we like, such as those against Sadaam Hussein, Colonel Qadhafi, and General Cédras in Haiti.

We simply must not opt for options and action that sound simple and painless and good but which will not work in this era of interdependence where it is important that we leverage American influence and leadership by proving that we can work with others, especially when others have greater and more immediate stakes and are willing to put their soldiers in harm's way.

Our administration will not walk away from this Bosnian conflict. But we will not embrace solutions that are wrong. We plan to continue the course we have chosen, raising the price on those who pursue aggression, helping to provide relief to the suffering, and working with our partners in Europe to move the parties to a workable agreement. It is not quick. It is not neat. It is not comfortable. But I am convinced in a world of interdependence, where we must lead by working with others, it is the right path. It is the one that preserves our leadership, preserves our treasure, and commits our forces in the proper way.

The world's most tearing conflicts in Bosnia and elsewhere are not made in a day. And one of the most frustrating things that you may have to live with throughout your life is that many of these conflicts will rarely submit to instant solutions. But remember this, it took years after D-Day to not only end the war but to build a lasting peace. It took decades of patience and strength and resolve to prevail in the cold war.

And as with generations going before, we must often be willing to pay the price of time, sometimes the most painful price of all. There is no better source of the courage and constancy of our Nation that we will lead in this era than this Academy and our Armed Forces. This Academy has prepared you to

lead those Armed Forces. As you take your place in the Navy and the Marine Corps, always bear in mind the heroism, the sacrifice, the leadership of those who have served before you.

I think, in particular, of one of the stories that comes out of D-Day, June 6th, 1944. On that gray dawn, as U.S. Rangers approached Pointe du Hoc, they were raked by German fire from the cliff above. One landing craft was sunk; others were endangered. But then, an American destroyer, the U.S.S. *Satterlee*, along with a British destroyer, came to the rescue. They came in perilously close to the shore, and opened fire with all their guns at the Germans who were raining fire down on the Rangers. By its actions, the *Satterlee* saved American lives and enabled the Rangers to carry out their now-famous mission. Forty-eight years later, a Ranger Platoon leader said, "Someday I'd love to meet up with somebody from *Satterlee* so I can shake his hand and thank him."

The valor of those who proceeded you is the stuff of inspiration. A great country must always remember the sacrifices of those who went before and made our freedom possible. But even greater accomplishments lie ahead if you can make them happen. For remember this: When our memories exceed our dreams, we have begun to grow old. It is the destiny of America to remain forever young.

As the guardians of your generation's freedom and our future, may you never know directly whose lives you have saved—you may not—whose future you have improved. You may never hear their thanks or get to shake their hands. But they'll be out there. We'll all be out there, aware of your courage, impressed by your dedication, grateful for your service to God and country. You can keep America forever young.

Good luck, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. at the Navy/Marine Corps Memorial Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to Rear Adm. Thomas C. Lynch, USN, Superintendent, U.S. Naval Academy; Adm. William A. Owens, USN, Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps.

**Notice on Continuation of  
Emergency With Respect to the  
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
(Serbia and Montenegro)**

*May 25, 1994*

On May 30, 1992, by Executive Order No. 12808, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, blocking all property and interests in property of those Governments. The President took additional measures to prohibit trade and other transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) by Executive Orders Nos. 12810, 12831, and 12846, issued on June 5, 1992, January 15, 1993, and April 25, 1993, respectively. Because the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has continued its actions and policies in support of groups seizing and attempting to seize territory in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by force and violence, the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond May 30, 1994. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 25, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:38 p.m., May 25, 1994]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on May 27.

**Message to the Congress on the  
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
(Serbia and Montenegro)**

*May 25, 1994*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is to continue in effect beyond May 30, 1994, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on May 30, 1992, of a national emergency have not been resolved. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) continues to support groups seizing and attempting to seize territory in the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by force and violence. The actions and policies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, vital foreign policy interests, and the economy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to reduce its ability to support the continuing civil strife in the former Yugoslavia.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 25, 1994.

**Proclamation 6694—Pediatric and Adolescent AIDS Awareness Week, 1994**

*May 25, 1994*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

Ten thousand children in the United States today are living with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Ten million children worldwide will become infected with HIV before the millennium. Over 5,000 cases of pediatric AIDS and 1,500 cases of AIDS in adolescents ages 13 through 19 have been reported in this country alone. The tragedy is magnified for our youth, as the epidemic reaches far beyond those actually infected—it will leave up to 125,000 children and teenagers orphaned in this country by the end of this decade. By the year 2000, AIDS will be one of the five leading causes of death among American children ages one to four.

It is agonizing to watch our young suffer and die. It is all the more painful because we have been frustrated thus far in our efforts to find a cure. But we must not give up hope nor stand by idly. With hard work, we will find that cure. Moreover, HIV and AIDS are preventable. Americans can stop AIDS with targeted, linguistically specific, and culturally based prevention education for people in all age groups. If we are to overcome the HIV epidemic, communities must address difficult and controversial issues surrounding sexuality, drug abuse, and health care delivery.

The effects of infection by HIV are different in children than in adults. Infected infants get sicker faster, their immune systems may deteriorate more rapidly, and treatments that are helpful to adults may not be helpful for children.

It is imperative to continue the research now being done to study ways to prevent transmission of HIV from mother to infant. We must also develop and refine treatments that increase the survival time and quality of life of HIV-infected infants, children, and adolescents.

As a people, we must see to it that those among us living with HIV and AIDS are allowed to enjoy productive lives for as long as possible. We must put aside our differences and recognize the necessity of working together to defeat our common enemy—HIV. I challenge all Americans to join the fight. And we must educate people about the true nature of HIV so that the discrimination and fear born of ignorance and translated into ostracism and discrimination can be stopped.

Many communities across the country have already realized the grave dangers posed to our society by HIV and have responded by reaching out to battle the disease. More people must become involved now, or many more lives will be needlessly lost. This Administration, through the Office of National AIDS Policy and its Cabinet agencies, has joined with community-based AIDS organizations, families, businesses, professional associations, churches, schools, and universities to fight HIV and AIDS. Early intervention and educational resources must be made available, especially to youth and other high-risk groups. One in five of all reported AIDS cases is diagnosed in the 20–29 year old age group, meaning that these people were adolescents when they became infected.

The single most important step taken by my Administration in the fight against HIV and AIDS is the introduction to the Congress of the Health Security Act of 1993. All people living with HIV and AIDS, especially our children, must often fight not only the disease, but also a health care system likely to deny them coverage in their moment of greatest need. This Administration is absolutely committed to ensuring every American adequate health care coverage that will never be taken away. To do any less in a nation as resourceful as ours would be unacceptable.

Remembering that every person living with HIV and AIDS is someone's child, we must work together tirelessly to find a cure. We must distribute our human and financial resources across the Nation to strengthen and expand programs for HIV and AIDS education, treatment, research, and prevention.

We can stop the terrible harvest of children and adolescents wrought by HIV and AIDS. Working together we have the power to stop this plague.

**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 May 29 through June 4, 1994, as Pediatric and Adolescent AIDS Awareness Week. I call on the people of America, the Governors of the 50 States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Mayor of the District of Columbia, and officials of other areas under the flag of the United States of America, to join with me in the continuing fight against HIV and AIDS and to remember especially during this week children and young people living with HIV and AIDS and their families.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, 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, 2:40 p.m., May 26, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 26, and will be published in the *Federal Register* on May 31.

### **Remarks on Signing the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994**

*May 26, 1994*

Thank you very much, General Reno, for your leadership on this issue. Thank you, Mr. Vice President. Senator Kennedy, Chairman Brooks, Congressman Schumer, Congresswoman Schroeder, Congresswoman Morella, thank you all for your leadership. I thank the Republicans as well as the Democrats in the Congress. I think it is important to point out that this bill had bipartisan support. I'd also like to acknowledge the presence here today among us of David and Wendy Gunn, the children of Dr. David Gunn from Florida.

Thank you for coming, and you're welcome here today.

Enacting this bill to provide freedom of access to clinics has been a priority because protecting the freedoms of our citizens is surely chief among the responsibilities of the President of the United States. This bill is designed to eliminate violence and coercion. It is not a strike against the first amendment. Far from it, it ensures that all citizens have the opportunity to exercise all their constitutional rights, including their privacy rights under the Constitution.

Our people have genuine and deeply felt differences on the subject of abortion, even if abortion is safe, legal, and rare. But we must all agree that as a nation we must remain committed to the rule of law. It is what keeps us civilized. It is what enables us to live together. It protects our liberties as individuals and as a nation. It gives us the freedom at election time to try to elect those who agree with us and defeat those who don't. It gives us a way to carry on as one nation from many people with many different views.

We simply cannot, we must not continue to allow the attacks, the incidents of arson, the campaigns of intimidation upon law-abiding citizens that has given rise to this law. No person seeking medical care, no physician providing that care should have to endure harassments or threats or obstruction or intimidation or even murder from vigilantes who take the law into their own hands because they think they know what the law ought to be.

What happened to the father of Wendy and David Gunn should not have happened. The shooting attack that wounded Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, Kansas, should not have happened. Now with this legislation we will have a law with teeth to deal with those who take part in unlawful activities, who put themselves above and beyond the law. Because of the violence it will curb, the lives and property it will protect, and the constitutional rights of women it will uphold, the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act becomes law today.

Let me say again that the awful circumstances which gave rise to this law are the most extreme example of a trend running

in this country that I think is very bad for us as a democracy. I treasure and would fight and indeed die to protect the rights of people to express their views on this issue, no matter how different they may be from mine. I believe deeply that our country is strengthened by people whose religious convictions on this issue may be different from mine or from yours. But the implication that people who differ about what rights should be accorded to women in our society are somehow enthusiastic about abortion is just downright wrong.

There is so much we have to talk about, so much we could be doing together to diffuse the intense anger and animosity and to listen to one another, to help the lives of children who have been born, to get them into good adoptive homes more quickly, more readily, often across racial lines—things that aren't available today. A lot of this could be done.

But it will never be done if people who think they have a right to take the law in their own hands, to misrepresent the positions of their opponents, and to wreak violence in this country and verbal extremism, and to distort the tenor of public debate have their day. It is time for us to turn away from that. All the people in this country without regard to their position on abortion, I think, would say that parents have fundamental responsibilities to raise their children. The people who gave rise to this act denied Dr. David Gunn the right to be a parent throughout his lifetime. That was not a pro-life position.

Let us take the opportunity in signing this not only to speak out against the extremism and the vigilante conduct which gave right to this law but to ask the American people once again to reach across these awful barriers and start listening to each other again and talking with each other again and trying to honestly deal with these problems again.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Dr. David Gunn, who was killed outside a clinic in Pensacola, FL, on March 10, 1993, and Dr. George R. Tiller, who was wounded outside a clinic in Wichita, KS, on August 19, 1993. S. 636, approved May 26, was assigned Public Law No. 103-259.

## **The President's News Conference**

*May 26, 1994*

### **China**

**The President.** Good afternoon. Today I would like to announce a series of important decisions regarding United States policy toward China.

Our relationship with China is important to all Americans. We have significant interests in what happens there and what happens between us. China has an atomic arsenal and a vote and a veto in the U.N. Security Council. It is a major factor in Asian and global security. We share important interests, such as in a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula and in sustaining the global environment. China is also the world's fastest growing economy. Over \$8 billion of United States exports to China last year supported over 150,000 American jobs.

I have received Secretary Christopher's letter recommending, as required by last year's Executive order, reporting to me on the conditions in that Executive order. He has reached a conclusion with which I agree, that the Chinese did not achieve overall significant progress in all the areas outlined in the Executive order relating to human rights, even though clearly there was progress made in important areas, including the resolution of all emigration cases, the establishment of a memorandum of understanding with regard to how prison labor issues would be resolved, the adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other issues.

Nevertheless, serious human rights abuses continue in China, including the arrest and detention of those who peacefully voice their opinions and the repression of Tibet's religious and cultural traditions.

The question for us now is, given the fact that there has been some progress but that not all the requirements of the Executive order were met, how can we best advance the cause of human rights and the other profound interests the United States has in our relationship with China?

I have decided that the United States should renew most-favored-nation trading status toward China. This decision, I believe, offers us the best opportunity to lay the basis for long-term sustainable progress in human

rights and for the advancement of our other interests with China. Extending MFN will avoid isolating China and instead will permit us to engage the Chinese with not only economic contacts but with cultural, educational, and other contacts and with a continuing aggressive effort in human rights, an approach that I believe will make it more likely that China will play a responsible role, both at home and abroad.

I am moving, therefore, to delink human rights from the annual extension of most-favored-nation trading status for China. That linkage has been constructive during the past year. But I believe, based on our aggressive contacts with the Chinese in the past several months, that we have reached the end of the usefulness of that policy and it is time to take a new path toward the achievement of our constant objectives. We need to place our relationship into a larger and more productive framework.

In view of the continuing human rights abuses, I am extending the sanctions imposed by the United States as a result of the events in Tiananmen Square, and I am also banning the import of munitions, principally guns and ammunition from China. I am also pursuing a new and vigorous American program to support those in China working to advance the cause of human rights and democracy. This program will include increased broadcasts for Radio Free Asia and the Voice of America, increased support for nongovernmental organizations working on human rights in China, and the development with American business leaders of a voluntary set of principles for business activity in China.

I don't want to be misunderstood about this: China continues to commit very serious human rights abuses. Even as we engage the Chinese on military, political, and economic issues, we intend to stay engaged with those in China who suffer from human rights abuses. The United States must remain a champion of their liberties.

I believe the question, therefore, is not whether we continue to support human rights in China but how we can best support human rights in China and advance our other very significant issues and interests. I believe we can do it by engaging the Chinese. I believe the course I have chosen gives us the

best chance of success on all fronts. We will have more contacts. We will have more trade. We will have more international cooperation. We will have more intense and constant dialog on human rights issues. We will have that in an atmosphere which gives us the chance to see China evolve as a responsible power, ever-growing not only economically but growing in political maturity so that human rights can be observed.

To those who argue that in view of China's human rights abuses we should revoke MFN status, let me ask you the same question that I have asked myself over and over these last few weeks as I have studied this issue and consulted people of both parties who have had experience with China over many decades.

Will we do more to advance the cause of human rights if China is isolated or if our nations are engaged in a growing web of political and economic cooperation and contacts? I am persuaded that the best path for advancing freedom in China is for the United State to intensify and broaden its engagement with that nation.

I think we have to see our relations with China within the broader context of our policies in the Asian-Pacific region, a region that, after all, includes our own Nation. This week, we've seen encouraging developments, progress on resolving trade frictions with the Japanese, and possible progress towards stopping North Korea's nuclear program.

I am determined to see that we maintain an active role in this region in both its dynamic economic growth and in its security. In three decades and three wars during this century, Americans have fought and died in the Asian-Pacific to advance our ideals and our security. Our destiny demands that we continue to play an active role in this region. The actions I have taken today to advance our security, to advance our prosperity, to advance our ideals I believe are the important and appropriate ones. I believe, in other words, this is in the strategic, economic, and political interests of both the United States and China, and I am confident that over the long run this decision will prove to be the correct one.

**Q.** Mr. President, most of the conditions, the aspects of this problem were prevalent

last year when you made very strong threats of a cutoff of human rights. Aren't you really bowing to big business and backing off of human rights in terms of the world perception?

**The President.** No. No, I don't think so. And if you've seen the statements of recent days by many others—Senator Bradley and many other Members of the Senate, other members of the American political community who have also evolved in their view, I think most people believe, number one, that conditions have changed.

I think it's very important to say that under the terms of this agreement some progress has been made. Some important political dissidents have been released. We've gotten information on Tibetan prisoners for the first time. We have a process now with operable deadlines for looking into these disputes over prison labor matters. We have at least an adherence, an explicit adherence by the Chinese to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have an ongoing set of negotiations now on how to deal with the jamming we've suffered on our Voice of America broadcast. So there have been some changes.

And interestingly enough, many of the most vocal human rights advocates have argued that—not that we should lift MFN status but that instead we should have some intermediate sanctions which cover a bigger section of the economy. But things have changed to the point, both in terms of what has gone on in China and in terms of the other strategic issues—the situation in Korea, for example, I think everyone would admit is somewhat different than it was a year ago—that I believe, that everybody believes we should do something differently.

The question is, should we delink, or should we continue to do this on an annual basis? I believe the answer to that is no. And I believe the answer to what we should do is to pursue a broader strategy of engagement. I think that is where we are now. And I think that it is far more likely to produce advances in human rights as well as to support our strategic and economic interests.

**Q.** Mr. President, how do you answer those who say you are—using your own words now—coddling tyrants? And with the leverage of linkage now moved away, what

incentive is there for China to improve human rights?

**The President.** Well, let me turn it on its head, first of all. China is a very great and important nation. What gave rise to this MFN in the first place, this issue? Why did anyone believe human rights should be tied to MFN in China as opposed to other nations in the world? The MFN law basically is tied to emigration, and we have—I haven't said that, I don't think, today—we have successfully resolved all outstanding emigration cases with the Chinese. Why was it extended to involve human rights here? Because of the frustration in the Congress that the previous administration had reestablished relationships too quickly after Tiananmen Square, and there seemed to be no other aggressive human rights strategy.

The United States has pursued the cause of human rights around the world in many, many ways without tying it to MFN with those countries. I have had, for example, several conversations on this subject with one of our Nation's most dedicated human rights advocates, President Carter, who strongly believes that the decision I have taken today is the right one and more likely to produce human rights progress. Because, let me answer your question precisely, every nation, every great nation makes some decisions and perhaps most decisions based on what is in the interest of the nation at that moment in time internally. But no nation likes to feel that every decision it makes for the good, to do something that's right, that makes progress, is being made not because it's the right thing to do but only because of external pressure from someone else.

And I believe, based on my—and this is the root of this judgment, and all of you and all of the American people will have to draw your own conclusions about whether I'm right or wrong, but I'm prepared to fight for my position in the Congress and elsewhere, because I believe it's right. I believe, based on intensive efforts over the last few weeks, that we are far more likely to have human rights advances when it is not under the cloud of the annual question of review of MFN. That is what I believe.

That is not to say that there will not continue to be human rights abuses in China,

that there won't be ups and downs in this. But I believe that over the long run we're more likely to make advances if there's more contact with the Chinese, not less; if there's more economic growth, not less—we saw that in Taiwan and Korea—and if we are free to explicitly and aggressively pursue our human rights agenda, as we would with any other country. That is the conclusion I have drawn. I think it's the correct one.

**Q.** On the first question, aren't you coddling tyrants just as you accuse—

**The President.** No, because I do believe what happened—what has happened since then? Has there been any progress? There's been so much progress that even the people who have supported these strong resolutions, the legislation in the past, are now arguing for a different course. I'm not the only person arguing that the time has come to take a different path. It's that they will say, well, I should have done something else. But virtually everyone says the time has come to move out of the framework now.

We obviously have something going on in this relationship now. We obviously have a broader and deeper relationship, and we obviously are going to see some changes here. So I think everybody acknowledges that there is some dynamism in this relationship now which warrants a change. The question is what tactical path should we take. And I expect that many people who criticize my decision will say, "Well, he should have put stiffer tariffs on something or another or should have had a bigger section of the economy affected or gone after the military enterprises or something like that." But I think nearly everybody recognizes that there has been some real change in this and that we have the chance to move it to a different and better plane. And I think what I'm doing is the right thing to do.

#### **Misuse of Government Helicopters**

**Q.** Mr. President, on another topic, do you have anything to say about some of your staffers who apparently used a Government helicopter for a golf outing?

**The President.** Yes, I do. First of all, I knew nothing about it until something during the business day. As you know, I've been working on this for the last couple of days.

I asked Mr. McLarty to look into it, and I can tell you that, number one, I was very upset about it when I heard about it. Mr. Watkins has resigned, and the taxpayers will be fully reimbursed. That's the most important thing to me. The Treasury will not be out one red cent for whatever happened there. Now, I don't think there's anything else for me to say about it.

**Q.** Will he pay that himself, or will you be paying that money from—

**The President.** Well, I haven't resolved that yet. Like I said, I didn't even know about it. All I can tell you is when I found out about it, I asked Mr. McLarty to look into it. Somebody else can give you more facts and more background. I've been working on this all day. I just know that Mr. Watkins offered his resignation and I insisted that the taxpayers be reimbursed. Some way or another they will be, and we'll tell you how when we do it.

**Q.** Can I follow on that? Do you expect that there will be resignations from the two other individuals involved? Is that up to the Pentagon since they are in the military?

**The President.** No, I don't know enough about the facts. I just haven't had time. I've been working on this China issue all day. I'm just telling you what I know; the taxpayers will be made whole. There is a resignation, more facts to follow.

#### **China**

**Q.** May I ask you a question about China, sir? Senator Bradley and others wanted you to do nothing that would restrict trade. Do you expect now that there will be some retaliation from China because of the ban on weapons imports or some other lack of cooperation in our efforts to restrain the North Koreans, for instance?

**The President.** I would hope not. I think this was an appropriate thing to do because it was discreet, it recognizes that there has not been complete compliance, it is plainly enforceable in ways that many of the other suggestions may not be. And I think that there are corollary benefits to the United States in this which I think should be well understood by the Chinese.

Many people have said, and I noticed it was reported in a news article in the Wall

Street Journal this morning that many of the manufacturers believe that a lot of these guns have come in below cost, anyway, in ways that almost simulate high-tech Saturday Night Special phenomenon.

So I think it is the right thing to do. I do not expect that to occur. I am plainly offering to build the basis of a long-term, strategic relationship with the Chinese. We can work together when our interests demand it, and if there is progress on the human rights front, we can actually develop the kind of friendship that our relationship has seemed to promise at various times since the opening of China over a century ago. But that remains to be seen.

I want to make it clear to you, I do not do this with rose-colored glasses on. I know there will be—no matter which approach we take, if we had taken another approach, there would have been continuing human rights problems. A great society, so large and with such built-in habits does not change overnight. Just as I hope I can dramatically reduce the climate of crime and violence in this country I know it won't happen overnight. So there will be problems regardless. I simply think this is the best way to approach it.

**Q.** Mr. President, in revoking and delinking human rights with trade, can you do that on your own given the fact there is a law, the Jackson-Vanik law, that does this? Will this require congressional action?

**The President.** Well, the Jackson—no, it will permit congressional action. That is, if the Congress chooses to disagree with me, of course, they can offer an alternative path. And then we will—or some in Congress can—then we will debate it. There are many good people who disagree with me.

**Q.** But you won't have to—

**The President.** No, I can do what I have done today under the Jackson-Vanik law because the Jackson-Vanik law, which was a product of the cold war, says basically that countries with controlled economies have to meet certain criteria in order for annual renewal of MFN. We will have to continue to certify that they meet those criteria. But they relate to emigration. So that's different from trade and different from the broader human rights questions that we seek. In other words,

the trade could be linked to emigration. If the Chinese violate the Jackson-Vanik law, well, that's something they're still subject to. I can't repeal the law.

**Q.** So barring action by Nancy Pelosi or George Mitchell or someone else in Congress, next year at this time you will not have to certify that China has met these basic human rights conditions in order to go forward with MFN?

**The President.** That is correct. But next year at this time we'll still be discussing this, and you will see that we have a very aggressive and, I think, more successful approach. That is not about forgetting about human rights. This is about which is the better way to pursue the human rights agenda.

**Q.** What is your analysis of why the Chinese leadership is going slower in [*inaudible*]—on human rights than you would like them to? And the foreseeable future, what kind of timetable and standards will you use to decide whether any change in policy is necessary if they're not making, in your view, sufficient progress?

**The President.** I think there are three factors involved in why are they going slower. First of all, I think that this is a time of considerable political tension in China, that is, tension between the center and the provinces, tension because of the inevitable transformations of leadership that the passage of time will bring about in the—not, at least, in the foreseeable future. And in times of a transition like that, it tends to be more difficult to effect change of any kind. I think that's the first thing.

The second thing, I think, is that we see in the culture of China, and in many other Asian societies, a desire to preserve order in the interest of the group often at the expense of the individual. We saw a variant of that in the discussion that I had, you know, with the Government of Singapore over the case of the Fay caning. And many believe that in a world that is tumultuous like ours is, you have to have more order, even at the expense of individual rights. My answer to that, obviously, is that what we asked them to do was not to become like us but to honor universally recognized standards of human rights. But you asked me the question.

The third thing, I think, is that a country with 1.2 billion people and the third largest economy in the world, conscious of all the cross currents of change in the difficulties it is facing, is going to have, inevitably, an reluctance to take steps which are right if it looks like every step that is taken, is taken under the pressure of the United States, some outside power making them do it.

And the fourth thing I would say is that this was something, a step we took not in cooperation with the international community. No other nation agreed with us. So it wasn't like there was a big multinational coalition; it's not like sanctions on Iraq, for example.

Now, I think of the most important things is the third point I made. Every one of you should put yourselves in that position. Would you move forward if you thought no matter what you did and how good it was every time you did it, it would be interpreted that you were doing because someone from outside your country were pressuring you to do it?

But I don't want to minimize the fact that there are still serious rights problems there. We are going to continue to work on them, but I believe doing this in the context of our national security interests, our economic interests, and the opening of China, both economically and in many other ways, and being able to have an explicit and open human rights agenda not hobbled by timetables which may be artificial, is the right way to go. I predict that it will be successful, more successful on human rights than the alternative would have been, and it is my judgment—I am absolutely convinced that's the right thing, that it's in the interest of the United States, and I have done it for that reason.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 58th news conference began at 5:10 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

### **Executive Order 12918—Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Respect to Rwanda and Delegating Authority With Respect to Other United Nations Arms Embargoes**

*May 26, 1994*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*), the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in view of United Nations Security Council Resolution 918 of May 17, 1994, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1. Arms Embargo.** The following activities are prohibited, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order: (a) The sale or supply to Rwanda from the territory of the United States by any person, or by any United States person in any foreign country or other location, or using any U.S.-registered vessel or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, irrespective of origin. This prohibition does not apply to activities related to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda or the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda or other entities permitted to have such items by the United Nations Security Council; and

(b) Any willful evasion or attempt to violate or evade any of the prohibitions set forth in this order, by any person.

**Sec. 2. Definitions.** For purposes of this order, the term: (a) "Person" means a natural person as well as a corporation, business association, partnership, society, trust, or any other entity, organization or group, including governmental entities; and

(b) "United States person" means any citizen or national of the United States, any lawful permanent resident of the United States, or any corporation, business association, partnership, society, trust, or any other entity, organization or group, including governmental entities, organized under the laws of the United States (including foreign branches).

**Sec. 3. Responsibilities.** The functions and responsibilities for the enforcement of the foregoing prohibitions are delegated as follows: (a) The Secretary of State is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to the President by section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act and other authorities available to the Secretary of State, as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this order, relating to arms and related materiel of a type enumerated on the United States Munitions List (22 C.F.R. Part 121). The Secretary of State may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government; and

(b) The Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to the President by section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act and other authorities available to the Secretary of Commerce, as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this order, relating to arms and related materiel identified in the Export Administration Regulations (15 C.F.R. Parts 730-799). The Secretary of Commerce may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government.

**Sec. 4. Authorization.** All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including suspension or termi-

nation of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the date of this order.

**Sec. 5. Delegation of Authority.** The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce in consultation with the Secretary of State are hereby authorized to promulgate rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to the President by section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act and not otherwise delegated by Executive order, as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of implementing any other arms embargo mandated by resolution of the United Nations Security Council, consistent with the allocation of functions delegated under section 3 of this order. The Secretary of State or the Secretary of Commerce may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government.

**Sec. 6. Judicial Review.** Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

**Sec. 7. Effective Date.** This order shall take effect at 11:59 p.m. eastern daylight time on May 26, 1994.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 26, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
11:06 a.m., May 27, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order will be published in the *Federal Register* on May 31.

### **Statement on the Death of Timothy West**

*May 26, 1994*

Hillary and I were heartbroken when we learned that Timothy West, the 4-year-old boy with leukemia who hugged me so close when I visited him, died this morning in Houston. This precious boy carried the burdens of his illness with courage and a sense of warmth that touched me deeply. Our prayers are with Timothy's parents, Chris and Lisa West, and we especially want to thank the doctors, nurses, and staff of the M.D. Anderson Cancer Center for pouring so

much of themselves into Timothy's treatment and care. On such a sorrowful day, I hope they will feel healed by Timothy's strength and the knowledge that he is now with God.

### **Statement on the Whale Sanctuary Agreement**

*May 27, 1994*

We are pleased that we were able to get so many other countries to agree to a sanctuary. The United States will continue to exercise leadership in seeking international agreement on the conservation of whales.

NOTE: This statement was part of a statement by the Press Secretary on the International Whaling Commission agreement to create a sanctuary for whales.

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### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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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.

#### **May 21**

In the afternoon, the President attended a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee fundraiser at a private residence in Sacramento, CA.

#### **May 22**

In the early morning, the President returned to Washington, DC.

#### **May 23**

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a reception at Hickory Hill, the Kennedy estate in McLean, VA.

The President announced his intention to nominate Delissa A. Ridgeway as Chair and John R. Lacey as Commissioner of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

#### **May 24**

In the evening, the President hosted a dinner for historians, veterans, and Members of

Congress to discuss the 50th anniversary of D-Day and the President's trip to Europe.

The President announced the appointment of the following 14 members to the 20-member President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports:

- Elizabeth Arendt;
- Jeff Blatnick;
- Ralph Boston;
- Don Casey;
- Rockne Freitas;
- Zina Garrison-Jackson;
- Calvin Hill;
- Jimmie Huega;
- Judith Pinero Kieffer;
- Deborah Slaner Larkin;
- Ira Leesfield;
- Jack Mills;
- Kevin Saunders;
- Amber Travsky.

The President announced his intention to nominate Sandra Stuart to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs and Judith A. Miller to be General Counsel for the Department of Defense.

#### **May 25**

In the late afternoon, the President went to Capitol Hill where he attended a Democratic leadership meeting on health care and met with members of the House Democratic Caucus. He then attended a fundraiser for Senator John Glenn at the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

The President announced the selection of 20 projects for negotiation as part of MARITECH, the administration's program to improve the international competitiveness of the U.S. shipbuilding industry.

#### **May 26**

The President announced that he has asked Administrator J. Brian Atwood, Agency for International Development, to be his personal representative and to lead a delegation to visit Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Kenya to examine life-threatening disaster conditions.

The President announced the appointment of Les Aspin as member and Chair of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

The President announced the appointment of Veronica Goldberg as a member of

the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

### **May 27**

In the morning, the President met with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The President appointed Fred F. Woerner and F. Haydn Williams as members of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

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## **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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

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### **Submitted May 24**

Harriet C. Babbitt, of Arizona, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term expiring September 20, 2000 (reappointment).

Patricia Fry Godley, of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy, Fossil Energy, vice James G. Randolph, resigned.

Michael Marek, of Illinois, to be U.S. Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of 2 years, vice Mark McCampbell Collins, Jr., resigned.

Larry Reed Mattox, of Virginia, to be U.S. Marshal for the Western District of Virginia for the term of 4 years, vice Wayne B. Beaman.

Jose A. Cabranes, of Connecticut, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, vice Richard J. Cardamone, retired.

### **Submitted May 25**

Walter Baker Edmisten, of North Carolina, to be U.S. Marshal for the Western District of North Carolina for the term of 4 years, vice Jessie R. Jenkins.

Becky Jane Wallace, of North Carolina, to be U.S. Marshal for the Middle District of North Carolina for the term of 4 years, vice George L. McBane.

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## **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

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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.

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### **Released May 20<sup>1</sup>**

Transcript of remarks by the First Lady on the death of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis

### **Released May 24**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Transcript of a press briefing by U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor on resumption of the framework negotiations with Japan

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia

### **Released May 25**

Transcript of a press briefing on the 50th anniversary of D-Day and the President's trip to Europe by Brig. Gen. Harold Nelson, Capt. Dennis Linton, Lt. Gen. Harry Kinnard, and Col. John Sullivan

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<sup>1</sup> This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

**Released May 26**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Transcript of a press briefing on most-favored-nation trade status for China by National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord, and Assistant to the President for Policy Bob Rubin

Statement by the Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the summary of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's report to the President on most-favored-nation trade status for China

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the incident involving White House staff use of a military helicopter

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the availability of emergency funds for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to provide assistance to fishermen in Washington, Oregon, and California

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's decision to send a delegation to the Horn of Africa to examine disaster conditions

Statement by Lisa Caputo, Press Secretary to the First Lady, on the availability of Hillary Clinton's commodities transaction records

**Released May 27**

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the whale sanctuary agreement

White House announcement on the availability of new communications technologies for

the President's trip to France to commemorate the 50th anniversary of D-Day

Briefing by Director of Communications Mark Gearan on misuse of Government helicopters

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**

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**Approved May 25**

H.R. 2868 / Public Law 103-256  
To designate the Federal building located at 600 Camp Street in New Orleans, Louisiana, as the "John Minor Wisdom United States Court of Appeals Building," and for other purposes

H.R. 303 / Public Law 103-257  
To designate June 6, 1994, as "D-Day National Remembrance Day"

S.J. Res. 168 / Public Law 103-258  
Designating May 11, 1994, as "Vietnam Human Rights Day"

**Approved May 26**

S. 636 / Public Law 103-259  
Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994

S. 2024 / Public Law 103-260  
Airport Improvement Program Temporary Extension Act of 1994

S. 2087 / Public Law 103-261  
To extend the time period for compliance with the Nutrition Labeling and Education Act of 1990 for certain food products packaged prior to August 8, 1994