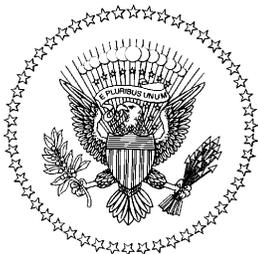


Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, September 11, 1995  
Volume 31—Number 36  
Pages 1469–1530

## Contents

### Addresses and Remarks

#### California

- Abraham Lincoln Middle School in Selma—1492, 1500
- Alameda County Labor Day picnic in Pleasanton—1488
- California State University at Monterey Bay dedication in Monterey—1482
- Clinton/Gore '96 fundraising dinner—1515
- Goals 2000 business leaders—1506

#### Hawaii

- Arrival in Honolulu—1469
- Joint service review at Wheeler Army Airfield in Honolulu—1470
- National Cemetery of the Pacific in Honolulu—1474
- Stamp unveiling ceremony on board the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* in Pearl Harbor—1480
- Troops at Wheeler Army Airfield in Honolulu—1472
- World War II commemorative service in Honolulu—1481
- Wreath-laying ceremony on board the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* in Pearl Harbor—1478
- Mayors and county officials—1504
- National Performance Review—1511
- Religious leaders, breakfast—1521
- Radio address—1477

### Communications to Congress

- Albania-U.S. investment treaty, message transmitting—1510
- Bosnia, letter—1473
- Budget deferral, message—1528
- Federal Advisory Committees, message reporting—1509

### Communications to Congress—Continued

- Hungary-U.S. legal assistance treaty, message transmitting—1510
- International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants, message transmitting—1504
- Philippines-U.S. extradition treaty, message transmitting—1503
- Philippines-U.S. legal assistance treaty, message transmitting—1504
- United States Government activities in the United Nations, message transmitting report—1511
- Welfare reform, letter—1508

### Communications to Federal Agencies

- Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, memorandum—1492
- Rwanda, memorandum on assistance—1491

### Interviews With the News Media

- Exchanges with reporters  
Cabinet Room—1504  
Oval Office—1506

### Statement by the President

- Bosnia, Agreed Basic Principles—1527
- Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, agreement—1491

### Supplementary Materials

- Acts approved by the President—1530
- Checklist of White House press releases—1529
- Digest of other White House announcements—1528
- Nominations submitted to the Senate—1529

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, September 8, 1995

**Remarks on Arrival in Honolulu,  
Hawaii**

*August 31, 1995*

Thank you very much. Sergeant May, thank you for that introduction, and more importantly, thank you for your service. Governor Cayetano, Senator Inouye, Mayor Harris, General Lorber, Admiral Macke, members of the armed service, distinguished guests, honored veterans, Senator Akaka, Congressman Abercrombie, ladies and gentlemen: It is wonderful for our family and for me personally to be back in Hawaii. It is a great honor to be here to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II.

We come to celebrate the courage and determination of the Americans who brought us victory in that war. But as we do, our thoughts and prayers must also be with the men and women of our Armed Forces who are putting their bravery and their professionalism on the line in Bosnia.

I want to restate to you and to all the American people why our forces and their NATO allies are engaged in the military operation there. The massacre of civilians in Sarajevo on Monday, caused by a Bosnian Serb shell, was an outrageous act in a terrible war and a challenge to the commitments which NATO had made to oppose such actions by force if necessary. The United States took the lead in gaining those commitments by NATO, and we must help NATO to keep them.

The NATO bombing campaign and the related artillery campaign against the Bosnian Serb military in which our forces are taking part skillfully is the right response to the savagery in Sarajevo. The campaign will make clear to the Bosnian Serbs that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose by continuing to attack Sarajevo and other safe areas and by continuing to slaughter innocent civilians. NATO is delivering that message

loud and clear. And I hope all of you are proud of the role that the members of the United States Armed Forces are playing in delivering that message.

The war in Bosnia must end, but not on the battlefield, rather at the negotiating table. Just 2 weeks ago we lost three of our finest American diplomatic representatives in a tragic accident in Bosnia as they were working for a negotiated peace. Today our negotiating team continues its work as well. And in the skies above Bosnia, our pilots and crews and their colleagues from other NATO countries are risking their lives for the same peace. We are proud of those who fly and those who are seeking to negotiate the peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is only fitting that we begin to commemorate this 50th anniversary of the end of World War II here at Hickam Air Force Base, for it was here, right here, that the guns of war shattered the peace of our land and drew America into the fight for freedom.

Looking out at the active duty troops who are with us today, representatives of the greatest fighting force in the world, standing watch for freedom all over the world, it is hard to imagine just how far our Nation had to come to win World War II. Just before 8 o'clock on December the 7th, 1941, when the first wave of enemy bombers swooped down upon our planes, parked wingtip to wingtip on this tarmac, all 231 aircraft at Hickam were either destroyed or damaged. At Pearl Harbor, as all of us know all too well, the pride of the Pacific's fleet lay in ruins.

But just a few hours later, just a few hours later, in the depth of our darkest hour, a handful of Army and Navy planes that were still able to fly took to the skies from Hickam in search of the enemy fleet. The long journey to reclaim freedom for the Pacific and for the world began with that first mission from this very field. And it ended 50 years

ago this week when the forces of freedom finally triumphed over tyranny.

In the days ahead, we will commemorate that victory, honor its heroes, and remember their sacrifice. But we will also celebrate more than the end of war. We will pay tribute to the triumph of peace. Through war in World War II, our people came together as never before. But after the war, they used their newfound sense of unity and common purpose at home and a sense of mission abroad to build for all of us 50 years of security, prosperity, and opportunity.

Today, we turn toward a new century, in a very different set of economic and political and social challenges. We now must draw on the legacy of those who won World War II and built peace and prosperity afterward to do our job to fulfill the spirit of that most remarkable of American generations. They understood the duty they owed to one another, to their communities, to their Nation, and to the world. After they won the war, they advanced the peace, the values, the liberties, and the opportunities that they fought and died to win.

Here on this island of peace that knows all too well the horror of war, let us vow to carry forward their legacy. The World War II generation taught us that when the American people find strength in their diversity and unity in a common purpose, when we stop arguing about our differences and start embracing what we have in common, nothing—nothing—can stop us. And so I say to you, if we apply the lessons that the World War II generation handed down to us to the challenges of the 21st century, nothing will stop us.

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

Thank you very much. And now, as we proceed with the program, I would like to introduce and call forward for some remarks my friend and colleague, your distinguished Governor, Governor Ben Cayetano.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. at Hickam Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Robert May, World War II veteran and founder of the 11th Bomb Group Association; Gov. Benjamin J. Cayetano of Hawaii; Gen. John Lorber, USAF, Commander, Pacific Air Forces; Adm. Richard C. Macke, USN, Commander in

Chief, U.S. Pacific Command; and Mayor Jeremy Harris of Honolulu. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at the Joint Service Review at Wheeler Army Airfield in Honolulu**

*September 1, 1995*

Thank you, General Weyand, for your wonderful remarks and, even more importantly, for your lifetime of service to the United States.

Governor Cayetano; Secretary Perry; Admiral Macke; Secretary Brown; General Shalikhvili; distinguished guests, especially our friends and as good a friends the veterans of the United States have ever had, Bob and Dolores Hope; the honored veterans of World War II; your families, your friends; ladies and gentlemen: As we gather to celebrate the end of a war that engulfed the world, I ask your leave to say a few words about recent developments in the prospects for peace in troubled Bosnia. Just a couple of hours ago, we were able to announce that the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have agreed to meet late next week in Geneva to try to reach agreement on the basic principles of a settlement for peace.

This is a positive step forward, but much remains to be done. Our own negotiating team will continue its work to bring the parties together. And as I said yesterday, no one should doubt NATO's resolve to prevent the further slaughter of innocent civilians in Sarajevo and the other safe areas in Bosnia.

I know that every American shares my pride in the skill and professionalism, the bravery, and the success of our pilots and crews and their NATO colleagues in the last few days. They are a shining example of the point that General Weyand just made.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this remarkable place, so much like Paradise, we recall when war made the idyllic Pacific hell on Earth. And we celebrate the generation of Americans who won that war and ensured the triumph of freedom over tyranny. Never before had the fight for freedom stretched across such a vast expanse of land and sea. And never before had the energies of the Amer-

ican people been so fully required or so fully joined.

At war, our people found a sense of mission in the world and shared purpose at home that became the bedrock for half a century of peace and prosperity. The World War II generation truly saved the world. Our security, our prosperity, our standing among other nations, all these are the legacy of the men and women, the heroes before us who we honor today.

Of course, today we can hardly imagine history taking a different turn. But when the Japanese Zeroes rounded those mountains and cut to pieces hundreds of aircraft here at Hickam and Kaneohe, when they then devastated the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, there was nothing inevitable about America's victory. As Asia fell to tyranny and fascism held sway from the Russian heartland all the way to the English Channel, free people everywhere must have stood in some doubt.

In the Philippines, our forces fought valiantly, making their final stand in Bataan and Corregidor. To this very day you can feel the memory of courage that hangs over the rock of Corregidor, as I had the privilege of doing last November when we commemorated the Pacific war in the Philippines. But the brave Filipino and American defenders could not hold out. After determined resistance, months of sickness and hunger, a massive artillery bombardment turned the sky to lead, and freedom's foothold there was lost.

President Roosevelt likened that time to the winter at Valley Forge, when our troops ran on courage and determination. Then, the enemy believed Americans would not sacrifice and fight on remote islands they had never heard of. But they were wrong.

Enlistment offices were flooded by American volunteers from our greatest cities and our smallest towns. Industry turned to military production. American consumption turned to rationing. And Americans turned to one another and found unity in the fight for freedom. Everyone pitched in, and together all across the country and all across the world, Americans got the job done.

Here in the Pacific, the long journey back to freedom began aboard the aircraft carrier *Hornet*. Four months after Pearl Harbor, an overloaded bomber lumbered down its flight

deck. The crew wondered then if it would fall into the sea. But slowly, it took flight. Fifteen other airplanes followed on a daring one-way trip to Tokyo and on to China. Colonel Jimmy Doolittle's famous bombing raid sent a clear message: America had not given up, and America was on the offensive.

Two months later, our combat pilots and code-breakers, including Japanese-American intelligence officers, labored valiantly but in silence throughout the entire war. These people came together at a place called Midway. There, in 5 minutes of furious air attack, a single bomber squadron rallied the enemy fleet and changed the course of the war.

But still, soldiers, sailors, aviators, and Marines confronted terrors they had never imagined: in the disease-ridden swamps of Guadalcanal; in the water that ran red with the blood of Marines coming ashore at Tarawa; in the frozen wastelands of Kiska and Attu; in the planes flying the treacherous route over the Hump; in submarines rocked by depth charges. But always they pushed forward: Into the skies over the Marianas, with barely enough fuel or daylight to fulfill the mission; in the seas off Leyte in the greatest naval battle of all time; from beachhead to beachhead on Guam, Saipan, and Tinian; and through the gunfire on Mount Suribachi, where the flag raising over Iwo Jima gave America its most stirring symbol of our common purpose and impending victory.

From beginning to end, the Americans who fought the Pacific war bestowed a glory upon our Nation with acts of heroism that will never be surpassed. On the very first day of the war, during the attack on Kaneohe Naval Base 40 miles from here, Lieutenant John Finn manned a machine gun out in the open. Constant bombing and strafing left him badly wounded. He went for first aid only when he was ordered to do so. And then, though he could hardly move, he helped to rearm returning American planes.

Three and a half years later on Okinawa, the last and bloodiest battle, an 18-year-old Navy corpsman named Robert Bush was giving plasma to a wounded officer. Artillery, machine gun and mortar fire rained all around him, and he stands here today. Under ferocious attack he stood his ground, he emptied his pistol and then a carbine to repel

the assault. He was blinded in one eye, but he continued holding the plasma, and he refused treatment for himself until the wounded officer was evacuated.

For their extraordinary service, John Finn and Robert Bush received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Today we recognize them and the other Medal of Honor winners who are here with us today. We ask them all to stand. [Applause] And now I would like to ask all the veterans of the Pacific war to stand and those who cannot stand, to raise their arms and be recognized so that we can express our appreciation to each of them. Please, gentlemen. [Applause]

To all of you and to your comrades who are watching at home on television and to the families of the more than 50,000 Americans who never came home from the Pacific, our Nation is forever grateful. We will never forget your fight for our freedom.

After the war and all you had endured, it was only natural that the World War II generation would turn your energies from the frontlines to the homefront. But thankfully, you did not turn your back on the world. Instead you helped to rebuild the devastated nations of Europe and Japan. And because you chose reconciliation over revenge, those who once were our enemies now are thriving democracies and strong friends.

Let me welcome all of those from other nations who have come here. And let me say especially how much the American people appreciate the recent powerful words of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Murayama, when he expressed his nation's regret for its past aggression and its gratitude for the hand of reconciliation that this, the World War II generation, extended 50 years ago.

We owe the World War II generation our thanks because they also understood our Nation had a special role to play in continuing to preserve the peace and extending the reach of freedom. They forged the international institutions, the economic institutions, the United Nations, and NATO, that brought 50 years of security and prosperity to our Nation, to Europe, and to Japan. They kept our Armed Forces strong so that tyranny could never again run rampant, and they persevered in the cold war until the forces of freedom prevailed yet again.

Today, we continue to stand watch for freedom and to advance the cause of democracy across the Pacific, across the Atlantic, all around the globe. To meet that obligation and to preserve our own liberty, we must reaffirm our pledge to these fine men and women behind me and their counterparts throughout the world who bear today the responsibility that World War II's veterans shouldered so magnificently 50 years ago. So I say to you, you will always be the best trained, the best equipped, the best prepared fighting force in the world.

You represent the best of our country, our best hope for the future. And we know that for you and your children and your grandchildren, we must remain the strongest nation on Earth so that we can defeat the forces of darkness in our time and in the future, just as the veterans here defeated the force of tyranny 50 years ago.

Fifty years ago today, aboard a ship in Tokyo Bay, a Navy radioman penned this letter to his young son in Abilene, Texas. "When you grow a little older," he wrote, "you may think war to be a great adventure. Take it from me, it's the most horrible thing ever done by man."

Veterans of the Pacific, because you were willing to undergo the most horrible thing ever done by man, freedom is the order of the day in most of the world 50 years later.

Now it is for us to be true to your legacy of courage and devotion, to follow your lead in finding strength in America's diversity and unity in America's purpose. You worked together, and you never gave up. We must now preserve the liberty you won for us.

We say to you from the bottom of our heart, God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. at the reviewing stand. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Fred Weyand, USA (Ret.), former Army Chief of Staff; and entertainer Bob Hope and his wife, Dolores. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks to the Troops at Wheeler Army Airfield in Honolulu**

*September 1, 1995*

**Audience member.** Go Razorbacks!

**The President.** That's good. Promote that man. [Laughter]

Let me say, first of all, I thank you for the magnificent job that you did today. It was thrilling to all the veterans who are here and all their family members, and thrilling to the people in the United States who saw it on television. I thank you for your service and your devotion to your country. I hope you realize just how historic these few days are. I hope every one of you has the opportunity to get out and meet some of these World War II veterans who were here 50 years before you and whose legacy you have carried on so greatly.

I just want you to know that I, as the President and Commander in Chief and as an American citizen, am profoundly grateful to you for your service to this country, proud of what you represent, and I'm determined to do everything I can to support you, to see that we can, together, do our job to preserve our freedom and expand democracy.

You are terrific. Thank you. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:43 a.m. in the lanai of the consolidated mess. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

## **Letter to Congressional Leaders on Bosnia**

*September 1, 1995*

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

I last reported to the Congress on May 24, 1995, concerning U.S. support for the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) efforts in the former Yugoslavia. I am today reporting on the use of U.S. combat and support aircraft commencing on August 29, 1995 (EDT), in a series of NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina that were threatening the U.N.-declared safe areas of Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Gorazde. The NATO air strikes were launched following an August 28, 1995, BSA mortar attack on Sarajevo that killed 37 people and injured over 80. This tragic and inexcusable act was the latest in a series of BSA attacks on unarmed civilians in the safe areas.

By way of background, and as I am sure you are aware, the situation in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in particular the safe areas in the so-called "eastern enclaves," changed dramatically in the month of July. On July 11, 1995, the safe area of Srebrenica fell to the BSA following repeated BSA attacks. As a result of the fall of Srebrenica, over 40,000 persons were forced from their homes. Similarly, on July 26, 1995, the safe area of Zepa fell to attacking BSA forces with over 8,000 persons displaced. As a result of these actions by the BSA, intensive discussions took place between U.N. and NATO authorities to address what could be done to enhance protection of the remaining safe areas of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac, and Gorazde.

Under United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 824 of May 6, 1993, certain portions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the city of Sarajevo, were established as safe areas that should be "free from armed attacks and from any other hostile act." Additionally, under UNSCR 836 of June 4, 1993, member states and regional organizations are authorized, in close coordination with the United Nations, to take all necessary measures, through the use of air power, to support the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) in the performance of its mandate related to the safe areas. This mandate includes deterring attacks and replying to bombardments on the safe areas. Consistent with these and other resolutions, and in light of the recent events described above, the United Nations requested and NATO initiated air strikes on August 29, 1995. The air strikes were fully coordinated with the simultaneous artillery attacks by the Rapid Reaction Force.

On July 25, 1995, and August 1, 1995, the North Atlantic Council (NAC) approved a number of measures designed to meet further BSA attacks on the remaining safe areas with a "firm, rapid and decisive response." Specifically, the NAC agreed that a "direct attack (e.g., ground, shelling, or aircraft)" against any of the remaining safe areas would initiate air operations as determined by the common judgment of NATO and U.N. military commanders. The NATO air strikes commencing on August 29, 1995, are pursuant to the NAC's decision of August 1, 1995,

and are an appropriate and necessary response to BSA actions. The NATO and U.N. operations are intended to reduce the threat to the Sarajevo safe area and to deter further attacks there or in any other safe area. These operations will continue until NATO and U.N. commanders determine that they have achieved their aims.

During the first day of operations, some 300 sorties were flown against 23 targets in the vicinity of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, and Mostar. The aircraft struck a variety of BSA targets, including heavy weapons emplacements, command and control facilities, communications sites, air defense sites, and ammunition facilities. Initial reports suggest that the strikes were successful in damaging or destroying a number of BSA targets. No U.S. aircraft were destroyed during the strikes nor were any U.S. personnel killed, wounded, or captured. At the same time that the air strikes were being conducted, the U.N.'s Rapid Reaction Force fired over 600 artillery and mortar rounds at BSA heavy weapons systems and ammunition storage sites around Sarajevo.

I authorized these actions in conjunction with our NATO allies to implement the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions and NATO decisions. As I have reported in the past and as our current diplomatic actions clearly indicate, our efforts in the former Yugoslavia are intended to assist the parties to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict. I have directed the participation of U.S. forces in this effort pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in the former Yugoslavia, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I am grateful for the continuing support that the Congress has provided, and I look forward to continued cooperation in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of

the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 2.

### **Remarks at the National Cemetery of the Pacific in Honolulu**

*September 2, 1995*

Thank you very much, General Wilson, for your outstanding remarks, and even more for your service to our country. Reverend Perkins, Rabbi Goldfarb, Reverend Fujitani, Secretary Brown, General Shalikhshvili, Secretary Perry, Members of Congress, Governor, Mayor, representatives of the Allied Nations who are here, and most of all, to the honored veterans of World War II: Today we commemorate this day 50 years ago, when the most destructive conflict in all human history came to an end. On this island, where America's peace was first shattered and then restored, we commemorate the triumph of freedom over tyranny. We remember the extraordinary sacrifice that victory required. We honor the extraordinary generation of Americans who came together to meet the challenge of war and then, as General Wilson has said, worked together to seize the promise of peace.

World War II lasted 2,194 days. It stretched from Pearl Harbor to St. Petersburg, from the beaches of Normandy to the shores of Iwo Jima. It destroyed whole cities. It ravaged countrysides. It cost in total the lives of 55 million people: Soldiers killed in battle, civilians and prisoners felled by disease and starvation, children buried in the rubble of bombed buildings, millions wiped out in the gas chambers. It cost the lives of all kinds of people.

And victory was won by the courage and character of citizen soldiers, citizens we remember for their bravery from Britain to Russia, from all the islands in the Pacific, island by island, and the battles that were won.

We remember all these Medal of Honor winners who are here among us today and humbly express to them our profound gratitude. We know that the heroism of millions of other men and women in uniform was never adequately recognized. We know that things happened here in the Pacific which bred a certain spirit and character and deter-

mination which infused the lives of those who served us when they came back home.

The war in the Pacific enjoyed the service, among others, of five men who became President of the United States, from the extraordinary heroism of President Kennedy and the legendary *PT-109* to President Bush who was shot down and rescued over the Pacific 51 years ago this very day.

We must never forget both the tragedy and the triumph of that time because it holds lessons for all time. We learned in World War II the forces of darkness give no quarter; they must be confronted and defeated. We learned that the blessings of freedom are never easy or free, they must always be defended.

We learned, too, something remarkable about America. This century, marked by so much progress and too much bloodshed, witnessed humanity's capacity for the best and the worst in life, is now known as the American Century.

For America, World War II was the pivot point of that century, the moment when we understood more than at any other time the core of the American spirit, the ties that bind us together, and the duty we owe to one another. Americans found in World War II unity in a shared mission, strength in a common purpose. More than ever, in World War II, our United States were truly united.

On December 7, 1941, James Daniels, the young Navy pilot born and raised on a farm in Missouri, was stationed aboard the U.S.S. *Enterprise*. As the ship steamed back toward Pearl Harbor, a general alarm sounded. He ran to his plane. He took to the skies to fly what would be the very first American combat mission of the war, because of what had happened at Pearl Harbor. On that first mission, he searched in vain for the enemy fleet. He said, "I had no briefing, no map. I didn't know what the heck was going on." At nightfall, all he saw were the remains of our sinking fleet.

At that time, things looked pretty bleak for the United States and a lot of people doubted that our democracy was up to the job. We had a standing Army of less than 200,000 men. Seventeen countries had larger armies than the United States on December 7, 1941.

Our soldiers, believe it or not, trained with wooden rifles.

But our enemies sold short the strength and will of the American people, the grocery clerks and farmers, the students and salesmen, the short-order cooks and the factory workers, the whites, the blacks, the Hispanics, the Asian-Americans who served, including Japanese-Americans, the Native Americans, including the famous Navajo code-talkers. Most of them didn't know a lot about each other and even less of the world beyond our borders. But they had a core of shared traits bred in the American bone, determination, optimism, an unshakable dedication to freedom, and a faith that right would prevail. They merged their disparate voices into a harmonious chorus of defiance. President Roosevelt called them the incalculable force of American democracy, a free people united by a common purpose.

At home, they built democracy's arsenal, hundreds of thousands of planes, ships, tanks, and trucks. They planted the victory gardens. They collected scrap metal. They bought the war bonds. They rationed the gas. They learned to do with less in every part of their lives so those in uniform could conduct the war. And abroad, in the rain-drenched jungles and on rocky ridges, under the seas, over the waves, in the clouds, Americans fought on the frontlines of fear.

We know, and others have said today, that tens of thousands lost their lives, leaving their loved ones with only memories: parents who would never again see the pride of their lives; wives who would never again embrace their husbands; children whose fathers would never again take them swimming or see them graduate or know the adults they would become.

Here, in the peace of these sacred grounds where thousands of these brave Americans lie at rest, let us now join briefly in a moment of silence for those who gave their dreams for our freedom.

[*At this point, a moment of silence was observed.*]

Amen.

Fifty years ago today, on the deck of the aircraft carrier *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, freedom finally prevailed. On this anniversary of

V-J Day, we celebrate the end of the war but also the beginning of a new American era of peace and progress. At the end of the war, there were 12 million Americans in uniform, and 7 million were still overseas. We brought them home where they applied the lessons learned in war to the promise of peace. In peace, as in war, they understood that developing and uniting the energy and genius of every American is the best way to fulfill our country's potential.

Before the war, in the darkness of the Great Depression, millions of you veterans who are here today and your family members could only have dreamed of going on to college, could only have dreamed of building a better life than your parents had and of passing an even better one on to your children. But after the war, you seized the opportunities a grateful nation offered. You took advantage of the GI bill of rights. You became graduates. You bought your first home. And we know by the lives you've lived and the hopes you've passed on you took responsibility to make real your American dreams.

From Pearl Harbor to V-J Day, 16 million American women worked assembly lines; 300,000 more wore uniforms, drove trucks in combat zones, trained troops, nursed them back to health. After the war, America would begin to integrate this extraordinary force into the economy and into our Nation's military and change the face of America forever.

From Pearl Harbor to V-J Day, thousands of African-Americans distinguished themselves in military service, as Tuskegee airmen and Triple Nickel paratroopers, Sherman tank drivers, and Navy Seabees. And slowly, after the war, America would begin to act on a truth so long denied, that if people of different races could serve as brothers abroad in uniform, they could surely live as neighbors at home.

In peace, the World War II generation gave America the security, the prosperity, and the progress the rest of us have known and cherished for half a century. You understood that you could, together, make the world a better place and that you could not permit America again to withdraw from the world, from former enemies and allies who were in ruins, from the looming threat of the cold war.

You gave us the Marshall plan. You chose reconciliation over revenge and helped to turn former enemies into close allies today. When the terrible new tyranny of communism arose, you held it in check until the power of democracy, the failure of repression, and the heroic determination of people to be free won the cold war. The seeds of democracy you planted and nurtured flower today in every corner of the globe.

From the cliffs of Normandy to the beautiful waters of Hawaii, we have celebrated over the last year and a half the extraordinary achievements of the generation that brought us victory in World War II. It is only fitting that here, in the middle of the ocean whose name means peace, the place where World War II began and ended for America, that we mark the war's end and honor the men and women who saved our world.

We owe it to the World War II generation to remember, but we owe them more. For just as freedom has its price, it also has its purpose, to enable all people to live up to their God-given potential and to continue the march of human progress. We, who are the heirs of their legacy, must always be the guardian of their dreams.

It falls now to us to stand against those who sow the seeds of war and to stand with those who take the risks of peace; to create a new prosperity for ourselves and for others; to help our people to prepare for the challenges of a new century; to strengthen our families, our faith, our communities; to give all Americans the opportunity to make the most of their lives.

In order to succeed, we must remain true to the spirit of that brilliant time. A time when our people cared for each other and sacrificed for others, when our Nation stood united in purpose and mighty in spirit as never before, a time when Americans forged the strength of their diversity into a community for victory and progress.

I told you earlier about Jim Daniels, who flew that first flight after Pearl Harbor. After Pearl Harbor, Jim took command of a 37-plane squadron. He logged 55 combat missions in the Pacific. The pilots under his wing came from as many different backgrounds as there are States in the Union, country boys who'd never seen a paved road, city dwellers

who couldn't swim, well-to-do's and ne'er-do-well's. The only thing they had in common was that when they started flight school they all didn't know how to fly. Jim Daniels remembers that, and I quote, "It didn't matter. We had a job to do, and we had to do it together."

On August the 15th, 1945, the very last day of World War II, Jim Daniels was in the air again. It was a picture-perfect South Pacific morning. Then the word crackled over the radio: The enemy had surrendered; come on down. And so Jim Daniels, the American who flew on the first day and on the last day of our Nation's war, turned toward home.

Today, Jim Daniels and his wife of 55 years, Helen, are here with us today. I'd like to ask them to stand. Mr. and Mrs. Daniels. [Applause] Bless you.

And I would like to ask all the veterans of World War II who are here today to stand and be recognized or to wave and be recognized. Please stand up. [Applause]

On August the 15th, 1945, when Jim Daniels brought his plane down he descended through the clouds, along with all the other Americans in uniform, not toward a dark night of uncertainty but toward a bright future of hope, blessed by peace, graced by prosperity, a future in which more Americans than ever before would have the opportunity to live the lives God meant for them to have. It was a future won by a remarkable generation who found unity in war and built us a half century of progress in peace.

Now, my fellow Americans, we stand at the dawn of a new century and their challenge has become ours. Their spirit must be ours as well. We pledge to carry on their work. And we vow to remember Jim Daniels' words, "We have a job to do, and we have to do it together." For us, as for them, the future depends upon it.

May God bless the Americans who brought us to this day, and may God bless America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:21 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Lewis H. Wilson, USMC (Ret.), former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps; Rev. Kenneth D. Perkins, Rabbi Morris Goldfarb, and Rev. Yoshiaki Fujitani, who gave the invocations; Gov. Benjamin J. Cayetano of Hawaii; and Mayor Jeremy Harris of Honolulu.

## The President's Radio Address

September 2, 1995

Good morning. On this Labor Day weekend, I am paying tribute to some of the most important labor ever performed on behalf of the American people. Hillary and I are in Hawaii, where we have gathered with veterans of World War II to honor the bravery and sacrifice of an extraordinary generation of Americans.

Fifty years ago today, freedom triumphed over tyranny because those brave men and women, along with their colleagues from the allied nations, won a victory for freedom in the great struggle of World War II. America and the entire world will forever be in their debt.

So when the veterans of World War II came home, America was ready to pay its debt to our soldiers. Even before the war ended, President Roosevelt had already signed the GI bill into law. The GI bill opened the doors to college for veterans and helped them to get a start on life with a new home. And because our Nation provided that kind of opportunity for the World War II veterans, the opportunity to build good lives for themselves and their families, they in turn were able to play an enormous part in making our Nation the strongest and most prosperous on Earth.

Today, our challenge is to build on the foundation they laid, to keep our Nation strong and to give all Americans the opportunity to make the most of their own lives as we move into the 21st century.

A central part of that challenge is our effort to balance the Federal budget, to relieve future generations of Americans of the crushing debt burden imposed almost entirely in the 12 years before I took office. During that 12-year period, our national debt quadrupled. In 1993, in our administration's economic program, we passed the bill that cut the deficit from \$290 billion a year all the way down to \$160 billion in just 3 years. In fact, our budget would be balanced today but for the debt run up in the 12 years before I became President.

Well, now we all have to go the rest of the way to balance that budget. But how we do it will say a lot about the values we have

as a people and how we understand what's in our interest as we move to the next century. I have a good plan to balance the budget. But it will also give every American the opportunity to build a good life for himself or herself and to build better futures for their families.

Our plan will give our children the best possible education. It will keep our streets safer. It will take care of our elderly. It will maintain the purity and clarity of our environment. And it will maintain the strength of our Armed Forces.

Our plan also will keep faith with the men and women who have put their lives on the line to protect the freedoms that we now hold dear. For over 50 years, all Americans who joined our military have known that they are making a bargain with America and that in return for their service to our country our country will stand by them. The young men and women who serve today in our military give us some of the best years of their lives. And one of the things we tell them is that the longer they serve our country, the more our country will owe them when their service is done.

Amazingly, there are those today who believe that in order to balance the budget it's all right to break our commitment to a group of more than 800,000 men and women who've already served for at least 15 years. Now when these people joined the armed services, they were told that their retirement pay would be based on whatever salary they were earning the day they retired. But now in the name of balancing the budget, some propose that we scale back their retirement pay in a way that will mean cuts for retired military personnel of as much as \$200 a month.

But I disagree. I believe that after asking so much of these men and women our country should keep its commitment to them and find a better path to balance the budget. I have a plan to balance the budget that doesn't break our commitment to those who serve us in uniform. I think that kind of broken commitment is unconscionable. And as long as I'm President, we're not going to break our word to the members of our Armed Forces or our veterans.

For the last 50 years, our Nation has kept commitments to veterans who fought and won World War II, those whom we honor here in Hawaii and all across America this weekend, and to the veterans who followed them. That's a big reason that we now have the finest military in the world, outstanding and brave men and women who understand the duty they owe to one another, their communities, to our country, and to the world. I think we have an obligation to them. You know, they give up a lot to serve us, a lot in time and money. But one of the things they get in return is a commitment on retirement, a reward for the work—the important work they do.

So on this Labor Day weekend when we honor the work of all Americans, let us, all of us, recommit ourselves to the legacy of World War II, to the men and women in uniform today, and to our obligations to them.

Hillary and I wish all of you a wonderful Labor Day weekend. Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:25 p.m. on September 1 at Wheeler Army Airfield in Honolulu, HI, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 2.

**Remarks at a Wreath-Laying Ceremony on Board the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii**  
*September 2, 1995*

Thank you very much. Thank you Admiral Fluckey, for your kind words and far more for your astonishing service to our country. Secretary Dalton, Secretary Perry, Secretary Brown, Admiral Boorda, Admiral Macke, Admiral Zlatoper, Admiral Moorer, Admiral Moore, Captain Baucom, to all the distinguished veterans who are here from the United States Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard and the Merchant Marine; to the crew of the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson*: It's good to be back. I was on board in San Francisco in August of 1993, and now I have two of these caps which I can proudly wear around the United States.

Fifty years ago today, on the other side of this Pacific Ocean, the war ended. It was a war that erupted in smoke and horror

aboard the battleship *Arizona*, and concluded with peace and honor aboard the battleship *Missouri*. Today we gather to offer a commemoration and to renew a commitment. We commemorate the men and women of the Navy, the Marine Corps, and their sister services who gave everything they had to the cause of freedom. And we commit ourselves to their legacy by meeting the great demands of this age with the same determination and fortitude.

More than 2,000 years ago, Pericles gave a funeral oration in which he said it was the actions of his fallen soldiers and not his own words that would stand as their memorial. Today we say the same about our own beloved war dead, and you, their brothers and sisters still living who served alongside them. Your deeds in the Pacific will forever remain the greatest tribute to the American naval services.

Millions of sailors, aviators, submariners, and marines joined in the effort against Japan. They steered and stoked and flew and fought aboard thousands of ships and planes and boats. They were transported ashore by the Coast Guard, sustained by the Merchant Marine, supported by the WAVE's, and healed by the Medical Corps. You who served lived in a world of gray steel and salt-water, coarse sand and endless skies, violent rain and hard wind, white coral and precious red blood. Long days and endless nights passed between hard battles. But the front-line was usually no further away than the bow of your ship.

The Pacific journey started where we stand today in Pearl Harbor, our darkest dawn. Here in the span of an hour, as they put out fires and struggled to save their ship, farm boys became sailors and teenagers grew into men. They fought in a war unlike any previous war, waged in places most Americans had never heard of, in disease-filled jungles and on an ocean we once thought too huge to fight across.

It was a war of battles dominated by aircraft carriers, first at Coral Sea, then at Midway when a superior Japanese force was undone by American code-breaking and the courage of our pilots who dove into impossible odds to sink the enemy carriers.

It was a war where, for the very first time, sailors, soldiers, aviators, and leathernecks all worked together. At Guadalcanal, the Navy, the Marines, and the Army began to turn the tide in freedom's favor. Before they were done, sunken ships had transformed the sea floor into a steel carpet. The surrounding waters actually were renamed "Iron Bottom Sound." In the Gilberts, the Marshalls, the Marianas, the Carolines, amphibious forces shot to shore with a prayer and the cover of their comrades in the air and at sea.

It was a war that required unparalleled courage: at Leyte, where PT boats took on cruisers, where battleships damaged at Pearl Harbor returned to break the back of the Japanese fleet; at Iwo Jima, where more than 6,800 marines gave their lives to have our flag snap in the wind atop Mt. Suribachi; and finally, on Okinawa, the war's final and bloodiest struggle.

In the Pacific, no two battles were the same, but each was fought for freedom. In the Pacific, our leaders were colorful and could not have been less alike, but they all shared a certain American greatness: Nimitz and Halsey, Spruance and Holland Smith, and Admiral Arleigh Burke, who honored me with his presence at dinner in Washington just a few weeks ago. And of course, behind them all was President Roosevelt, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy in World War I, and who remained the guardian and inspiration to the Navy from his first day to his last as President.

In the Pacific, each ship was an outpost of liberty. In the Pacific, every American demonstrated that, as Admiral Nimitz said, they had uncommon valor as a common virtue.

In the Pacific, we won a war we had to win, but at a terrible cost of tens of thousands of lives never lived fully out. That sacrifice touches all of us today. But those of you here, more than anyone, who lost a shipmate or a friend, someone with whom you refueled a plane or scraped a railing or reloaded an overheated 40-millimeter gun, you endured. And the basic American values of courage, optimism, responsibility, and freedom all triumphed. And all of us are in your debt.

I would like to ask all the veterans of the Pacific war who are here to stand or, if you

cannot stand, to wave your hand and be recognized. Please stand up. [Applause]

We also owe you a very great deal because of what you did with your remarkable victory. You did not leave your ideals at the war's edge. You brought them home. You carried them to college and the GI bill and into work. And together, you created the most prosperous nation on Earth. You extended our vision across the globe to rebuild our allies and our former adversaries, to win the cold war, to advance the cause of peace and freedom.

So to all of you who brought us from the *Arizona* to the *Missouri*, all of us who followed will always remember your commitment, your deeds, and your sacrifice. They are as constant as the tides and as vast as this great Pacific Ocean.

May God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. on the flight deck. In his remarks, he referred to Rear Adm. Eugene Fluckey, USN (Ret.), Congressional Medal of Honor recipient; Adm. Jeremy M. Boorda, USN, Chief of Naval Operations; Adm. Ronald J. Zlatoper, USN, Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet; Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, USN (Ret.), former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Rear Adm. Edward Moore, Jr., USN, Commander, Cruiser Destroyer Group Three; and Capt. Larry C. Baucom, USN, Commanding Officer, U.S.S. *Carl Vinson*. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks at a Stamp Unveiling Ceremony on Board the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* in Pearl Harbor**  
*September 2, 1995*

Postmaster General Runyon, let me begin by thanking you for the outstanding job you have done in promoting this project. I have enjoyed very much participating with you in it. Secretary Dalton, Secretary Brown, and distinguished military leaders who are here, Mrs. Howard and Mr. Carter, who assisted us in the unveiling, I am delighted to unveil this fifth and final set of stamps honoring the men and women who brought our Nation victory in World War II.

Again, let me congratulate the Postal Service on producing these stamps. They will for

a long time remind all of our people of the spirit that animated our triumph and the common cause that united us 50 years ago. They also remind us that in World War II, as never before in our history up to that time, the many who make up our Nation came together as one. Old divisions melted away as our people turned to the job of liberating the world and then to the task of creating a better future at home.

We are fortunate to have with us today in this unveiling two individuals whose service exemplifies the best of this changed America that emerged from World War II and the best of our changed military.

Herbert Carter was a member of the famed Tuskegee Airmen. He flew 77 combat missions over North Africa and Italy. He has a chest full of medals and a record of real bravery and achievement. His accomplishments and those of thousands of other African-Americans who served our Nation so valiantly helped to open the way to the day when all Americans will be judged by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin.

Rita Howard joined the Navy Nurse Corps in 1941. At war's end, she was serving on board of the hospital ship U.S.S. *Refuge*, mending the wounds and lifting the spirits of newly freed POW's. Because of her and hundreds of thousands of women like her who wore the uniform and millions more who helped build democracy's arsenal, the role of women in our Nation was changed forever. And, I might add, the role of women in our military has been changed forever. Their achievements cleared the way for women to reach their full potential whether in boardrooms or on board bombers.

The generation that fought World War II came home and built America into the richest, freest nation in history. They returned to their towns and cities and built careers and communities. Some, like Herbert Carter and Rita Howard, remained in uniform, safeguarding our liberties and ensuring that tyranny never again threatened our shores. Together, they build a half a century of progress and security for which we must all be eternally grateful.

I hope all Americans will remember the debt they owe to Herbert Carter, to Rita

Howard, to the millions of others they see embodied in these fine stamps. And I hope all of us will be inspired to carry forward their work of continuing to make our Nation safe and strong and free.

Thank you very much.

[At this point, the first sheet of stamps was presented to the President.]

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12:40 p.m.

### **Remarks at a World War II Commemorative Service in Honolulu, Hawaii**

*September 3, 1995*

Thank you, Bishop, for your remarks, your service, your introduction. To all of the distinguished people who have participated in this magnificent program today, let me say that after Captain Lovell spoke and Colonel Washington sang and the Bishop made his remarks, I'm not sure there's much else to say. [Laughter] And I'm certain that the rest of us have been warmed by this ceremony beyond belief.

But I do believe—I think there are two brief things that ought to be said. One is we ought to express our appreciation to this magnificent choir for the music they have given us today. [Applause] And secondly, inasmuch as this is the last of a long and magnificent series of events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, I would like to ask General Mick Kicklighter and any other members of the World War II Commemorative Commission who are here to stand and receive our gratitude for a job very well done. [Applause]

Let me ask you as we close what you believe people will say about World War II 100 or 200 or 300 years from today. I believe the lesson will be that people, when given a choice, will not choose to live under empire; that citizens, when given a choice, will not choose to live under dictators; that people, when given the opportunity to let the better angels of their natures rise to the top, will not embrace theories of political or racial or ethnic or religious superiority; that in the end, we know that Thomas Jefferson was

right: God created us all equal, with the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and whatever differences there are among us, we have more in common.

That was the ultimate lesson of the magnificent remarks that Captain Lovell made. And it better be the ultimate lesson we learn from the tragedy of World War II. As we move into the 21st century, as the world gets smaller and smaller, as the fragile resources we have that sustains life and permit progress have to be maintained and enhanced, we must remember that.

That was a lesson that some people knew even in World War II. And I'd like to close with a reading from this little book, "The Soldier's and Sailor's Prayer Book," that a lot of our veterans carried with them in battle in World War II. This is a prayer written by the famous American poet, Stephen Vincent Benét, that became known as the President's prayer because President Franklin Roosevelt prayed it on Flag Day, June 14th, 1942. I hope this is what people remember as the lesson of World War II one and two hundred years from now:

"God of the free, grant us brotherhood and hope and union, not only for the space of this bitter war but for the days to come, which shall and must unite all the children of Earth. We are, all of us, children of Earth. Grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, then we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure. Grant us the common faith that man shall know bread and peace; that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom, and security; an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best not only in our own land but throughout the world. And in that faith, let us march toward the clean world our hands can make."

Amen, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:18 a.m. at the Waikiki Band Shell. In his remarks, he referred to Bishop James Matthew, World War II veteran and bishop of the United Methodist Church; former astronaut Capt. James A. Lovell, Jr.

**Remarks at the Dedication of  
California State University at  
Monterey Bay in Monterey,  
California**

*September 4, 1995*

Thank you so much. It's a gorgeous day. It's a wonderful reception. I thank you. I can't imagine anybody in America who's having a better time on Labor Day than I am right now. And I thank you.

Senator Boxer and Lieutenant Governor Davis, Congressman Mineta, Secretary West, Chancellor Munitz, President Peter Smith, my longtime friend from the time he was the Lieutenant Governor of Vermont and I was the Governor of Arkansas; we worked on education together. You've got a good person here; you're very lucky to have him. And my good friend Congressman Sam Farr who has worked like a demon for this project and talks to me about it incessantly. You think I came out here because of Leon, but the truth is I showed up today because I couldn't bear to watch Sam Farr cry if I hadn't come. *[Laughter]* And let me say to Beatrice, I'm glad your daddy is here. If you were my daughter, I'd have been very proud of you here today. You were great. You were terrific. Thank you. Stand up there. Give him a hand. *[Applause]* Thank you, sir. Thank you.

I want to thank all the others who made this possible, the other distinguished platform guests. And to Milrose Basco, thank you for singing the National Anthem. You were terrific. I thank the Watsonville Community Band, the Bethel Missionary Church Choir, the Western Stage of Hartnell College, El Teatro del Campesino—everyone who kept you occupied and entertained in the beginning. I thank the members of the general assembly who worked hard to make this possible.

You know, I was listening to Leon talk about the time he introduced me in Rome. That's really true, he translated my remarks in Rome. We were in the town square there—thousands and thousands of those handsome, robust Romans were around—Leon and I standing before the cheering crowd. They were chattering away in Italian. The attractive, young mayor of Rome was to my left. I leaned over, and I said, "What are

they saying, Mayor?" He said, "Do you really want to know?" *[Laughter]* I said, "Yes." He said, "They're saying, who's that guy up there with Leon Panetta?" *[Laughter]* This fall I'm going to take him to Ireland and give him a dose of his own medicine. *[Laughter]*

We were in there a few moments ago, and I was meeting some of the folks that helped to make this project possible. One lady went through the line and shook my hand, and she said, "Mr. President, follow your heart, and do what Leon tells you to." I want to say if she had told me to do what Sylvia tells me to, I'd come nearer to doing it. *[Laughter]*

One of the reasons that I felt so strongly—the first time I had a talk with Leon Panetta and I asked him to become head of the Office of Management and Budget, which, in many ways, in a time when we're downsizing the Government and when we have to cut so much and still try to save enough money to invest in things like education, it was really important to me to have someone who not only understood the value of a dollar and how the budget worked, but someone I thought had good, basic American values and knew what it would take to build the community of America for the 21st century. That's why I asked Leon Panetta to do that job. And I have to tell you, when you pick somebody you don't know for a position, you don't know real well, it's very difficult to know whether you're making the right decision. You always kind of look for clues, you know. And I'm now old enough and been in enough jobs that I've hired thousands of people to do different things. And I have to tell you, one of the things that made the biggest impression on me, probably because of my own experience, was the partnership that Leon and Sylvia had working for this congressional district over so many years. That's the kind of thing we need more of in our country today, and it made a big impression. And I thank you.

I've got a lot to say today, and you may not remember much of it. If you don't remember anything else, remember this: This country will be the greatest country in the world in the 21st century, just as it has been in the 20th century, if, but only if, we take all the challenges that are before us and approach them in the same way that you ap-

proached the challenge that you faced when Fort Ord closed and you made this the 21st campus for the 21st century in California.

We are at a period of historic change—the way we work; the way we live; the way we relate to each other; the way we relate to others beyond our borders; the way we think about our lives; the way we think about the relationship of the economy to the environment; the way we think about the relationship of managers to workers; the way we think about our respective obligations to raise our children well and to succeed in the workplace at the same time. These things are undergoing a profound change, greater than anything we have seen in our country since the beginning of the 20th century when we moved from being primarily an agricultural and rural country into being an industrial and more urban country. We are out of the cold war. We have moved into a global economy. We are transforming our economy, even manufacturing and agriculture, into a more information-based, technology-based economy. Things are changing rapidly. And what we know and what we can learn more than ever before will determine what we can earn and, in some cases, whether we can earn.

This is a period of very, very profound change. And when you face these kind of challenges, it matters not only what particular decisions you make but how you do it. And what has always made America great is when the chips were down and when we have a lot of challenges, we overlook our differences, we embrace what we have in common, we work together, and we work for tomorrow. That is what I have been trying to say to the American people since the day I announced for President in October '91. This is a new and different time. We've got to work together, and we've got to work for tomorrow.

You know, I just had the profound honor of representing all of you as the President to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. It was moving to me in many ways. But I would ask you to remember what happened to this country. If you look back in history now, you think, well, we couldn't have lost. But in the war in the Pacific, we lost all our early battles, and we had to come back. In the war in Europe, before

we got in, Great Britain hardly won a battle for 2 years, and they had to come back. When we began, there were 17 countries in the world with bigger armies than the United States had. And we had to put it all together. It looked so inevitable in the light of history, but it wasn't. It happened because free people beat dictators. People who chose to live together beat empires. People who willfully found common ground and bridged their differences joined hands and moved forward. That's how we did that. And don't you ever forget it. And that's what we have to do now if we want this country to be what we expect it to be in the 21st century.

It's amazing how long it took us after the war to learn the lessons of the war in the peace. We honored our veterans. We gave them the GI bill. They had a chance to go to college, they had a chance to buy a home because we recognized our obligations to each other and to the future. We built the greatest economy the world had ever known in the aftermath of the second World War. We rebuilt our former enemies, Germany and Japan. We rebuilt our allies in Europe who were devastated. We expanded the benefits of global commerce to Latin America, to Asia, and to other places. We did a good job in that because we worked together and we worked for tomorrow. We won the cold war because we were strong and resolute and because, eventually, people's hunger for freedom brought down the Iron Curtain, because we worked together and we worked for tomorrow.

Now, if you look at what we have to do today in this period of profound change—I will say again, a period of change as great as we have faced in 100 years—we have to change the whole way our National Government works. It has to be smaller, it has to be less bureaucratic. It has to be more oriented toward results and releasing the energies of people and establishing these kinds of partnerships and less oriented toward just telling people exactly what they have to do.

We have got to balance the Federal budget. You know, I say this to all the people who like Government programs that can promote education, as I do. This country never had a permanent deficit in all of our history until 1981. We had deficits when we needed them.

When the economy was slow, we'd spend a little more money and juice it up. Then when the economy got good, we'd balance the budget and clear our debts and go on. Or we'd borrow money when we wanted to invest in something, just the way you borrow money if you start a business or build a home or buy an automobile. But we didn't borrow money just to go out to dinner at night. We weren't borrowing money all the time until 1981. And after having been a country now for 219 years now, almost 219 years, we quadrupled our debt in only 12 years.

That's bad for you and me. Our budget would be balanced today if it weren't for the interest run up in the 12 years before I became President and that we have to pay on that debt. It would be balanced today. And next year, unless we have real luck with the interest rates, next year interest on the debt will exceed the defense budget. Now, that's not good. That's not a good thing. Nobody in this audience, I don't care if you're a Democrat or a Republican or an independent or whatever your politics are, you don't want that little baby that was held up to me in the audience a few moments ago to grow up into a world where everybody pays taxes just to pay interest on the debt. Nobody's got any money to invest in this kind of project a generation from now. So we have to do that.

We have to reassert the values that made this country great, that helped us in the war and afterward. We have to have policies and practices that strengthen our families and our communities and that reward personal responsibility. And above all, we have got to equip our people to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Our parents built America and passed it on to my generation. And we dare not let this time pass without making sure that we have given the next generation a chance to live the American dream.

I will say again, there is nothing we have to do at the national level as a people that we cannot do if we follow the directions that you have laid out here: common sense, common ground, higher ground. Think about what we've got in common. Think about possibilities, not problems. Believe in the future.

Colonel Hank Hendrickson, who was once Fort Ord's commander and is now the Vice President of Administration for this fine insti-

tution, says, and I quote, "On the same ground where we once taught 18-year-old soldiers to fight and survive in a war environment, we are now teaching 18-year-old students to compete and flourish in the global economy." That's what you have done together, and that's what America must do together.

I am proud of the contribution that your National Government could make. I think we owed it to you, with the economic development grants, the environmental cleanup, the help for the displaced workers, the young AmeriCorps volunteers who were working to help people here. I am proud of all that. But that \$240 million was an investment in your future and you earned it. You contributed to our victory in the cold war. Your Nation could not leave you out in the cold. It was the right thing to do. But you made it possible by all the things that you did here.

So I ask everybody who is cynical about America's future to just look around. You want to know what to do, you want to know how we ought to do our business in Washington, how should we decide how to balance the budget, look around. We ought to behave the way you did. You couldn't run a family, a business, a university, a church, a civic organization, you couldn't run anything in this country the way people try to run politics in Washington—[laughter and applause]—where talking is more important than doing. The night's sound bite on the evening news, if you want to be on it, you know you have to have conflict, not cooperation. If you have cooperation, people will go to sleep, and you won't get on the news. You have to exaggerate every difference and make it 10 times bigger than it is. And you have to be willing to sacrifice every good in the moment for the next election. No one could run anything that way.

So we have an obligation now to do what you do, to do what you did here. The large buildings to my left and right were battery headquarters for artillery units. One is the library, the other is a multimedia center. I don't know whether a Republican or a Democrat turned them into that. I just know it's good for the country because you're going to be better educated. That's the way we ought to run the country.

The old airfield will become an airport for business planes. And when people land and give their numbers, they won't have to talk about politics, they'll just be permitted to land and do their business. Not only that, the golf courses are going to be operated for the public.

This is happening throughout California, you know. And Alameda County, where I'm going later, machinists who once welded Bradley fighting vehicles together are now going to be building electric cars for the 21st century. Up in Sacramento, Packard Bell has already hired almost 5,000 people, including 500 jobs they brought back from overseas, to assemble personal computers at a former Army depot. We can do this, folks. It's not complicated; it's just hard. It's hard. It requires a lot of effort, but it's not complicated.

All across America on this Labor Day, our people are beginning to convert from the cold war economy to the new economy of the 21st century. And we are trying to do what we can to help. We brought the deficit down from \$290 billion a year when I took office to \$160 billion this year. Interest rates are down. Trade and exports are up. Investment in education and technology and research are all up. We've got 7 million new jobs, 2½ million new homeowners, 1½ million new small businesses, a record in this time period.

California lagged behind because California rose so much on the economy of the cold war. So when the cold war was over, you got hurt worse than other States. Then you had to deal with earthquakes and fires and—you know, God just wanted to test you and see how strong you were. Leon's a Catholic; he tells me it's a character-builder. *[Laughter]* He's advising me on this every day.

But California is coming back. The unemployment rate is down, but much more importantly, people here are building for the long run. That's what this is. This is a decision. This thing we celebrate today is a decision that you made for yourselves, your children, and your grandchildren. It's a decision you made for the 21st century. It's a decision you made by working together to prepare for tomorrow. It's not very complicated. That's what your country needs to do. And that's what I'm determined that we will do.

Now I want to emphasize one of our greatest challenges on this Labor Day when we reward work. One of our greatest challenges is that the global economy works so differently from the economy we've lived in that everybody's work is no longer being rewarded. If you had told me—I thought I understood this economy. I was a Governor for a dozen years. I worked on base closings and defense conversion, everything like that, with committees like the one that made this possible. I thought I really understood this economy. But if you had told me on the day I became President that in 30 months we'd have over 7 million jobs, the stock market would be at 4,700, corporate profits would be at a record high, we'd have 2½ million new homeowners, we'd have the largest number of new small businesses recorded in any 2-year period since the end of World War II, but the median wage would go down one percent, I wouldn't have believed it. And most of you wouldn't either.

But technology is changing so fast, so many jobs are in competition in the global economy, and money can move across national borders like that—and nothing any person in public life can do will stop that—that the working people of this country that are bringing our economy back have not gotten their fair share of our prosperity. And that is our biggest challenge on this Labor Day.

What is the answer? The answer, first of all, is not to close our borders; it's to continue to expand trade because trade-related jobs pay about 20 percent more than jobs that have nothing to do with the global economy. We can't turn away from that. But we have to be fair as well as free trade. And that's why I'm so proud of the agreement we negotiated with the Japanese over automobiles and auto parts. We want more trade but on terms that are fair to all Americans.

The other thing we have to do is to do more of what you're doing. We must, we must see that all of our young people finish high school and that everybody—everybody—has access to education after high school. We've got to open the doors of college education to all Americans. Our administration has worked hard to make more affordable college loans available to all the young people in this country. Millions of peo-

ple now can borrow money to go to college at lower cost on better repayment terms. We have worked hard to try to increase our investment in education from Head Start through college.

I have two proposals now before the Congress in our balanced budget plan that I pray will pass. One would give American middle class people a tax deduction for the cost of all education after high school without regard to the age of the people who get it. The other would collapse about 70 different Government training programs into a big pot of money. And whenever anybody is unemployed or underemployed or on welfare, they could get a voucher worth \$2,600 a year to take to the nearest community education institution like this one. Don't go through a program; go to your local institution. That's something we could do to provide a GI bill in our time for America's working people. Those two things would lift the incomes of the American people.

I also think we ought to raise the minimum wage. Let me tell you, if we don't raise the minimum wage this year, on January the 1st of next year, our minimum wage in terms of what the money will buy will be at a 40-year low. I want a high-wage, high-growth, high-opportunity, not a hard-work, low-wage 21st century. And I think you do, too. And that's what we ought to do.

Now, I believe that the reason wages are stagnant for so many people is that we haven't done enough to educate our people. We haven't done enough to try to raise the incomes of our people. The Government can't do all that, however. The people in the private sector have a responsibility, too. The best American companies are out there today sharing their profits with their workers and making sure that they're well-treated. And all American companies on this Labor Day should be challenged to follow the example of the best American companies. The people of this country are our most important resource.

In the next year or so, all of you are going to have to decide what you think the answer to this wage problem is. There are people who will tell you that the answer to the—the real reason middle class wages are stagnant is that welfare people are taking all your

tax money away or that we have too many immigrants or that affirmative action is destroying opportunities for the middle class.

Well, let me tell you, in each of those areas, we have problems. But that's not the real reason for the middle class economic anxieties. We ought to move more people from welfare to work because they'd be better off and their kids would be better off and our country would be stronger. But the welfare rolls are going down as the job rolls go up. It's only 5 percent of our budget. I want desperately to have more welfare reform. I've done more in the last 2 years than was done in the previous 12 years to move people from welfare to work. And I will continue to do that. But if we want to raise wages of middle class people, we have to have good jobs, good educations, and a competitive economic policy.

If you look at the immigration issue, there are problems. We have too many illegal immigrants in the country. We've done what we could to close the borders and to send people back. But you know what? This is a nation of immigrants. Most of us do not have ancestors who were born here. So I've tried to deal with this issue in a responsible way. Former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan of Texas, a great American, headed a commission for us and said, here's how you can relieve the problems of immigration in America and still make us a nation of immigrants.

When I was in Hawaii—let me just tell you one story. When I was in Hawaii for the 50th anniversary of World War II, the commission asked me if I would spend the afternoon playing golf with six veterans of World War II. And I did, and we just sort of lolled around. We didn't even finish the round. We had the best time in the world talking.

Let me tell you, one of those men was a Japanese-American who came to this country on his own as a boy because he dreamed of coming to America. When the war broke out, they put him in an internment camp. He still volunteered to serve his country. By the grace of God, the war ended about 3 days before he would have been on an island fighting against two of his own brothers who were in uniform for Japan. When the bomb was dropped in Japan, it injured his house and

his mother, and his youngest brother subsequently died of radiation poisoning.

There's not another country in the world that could tell that story. Why? Because people from all over the world wanted to be part of what is America. And we should never forget that. We'll have times when we can have higher immigration quotas and times when we should have smaller ones because of the economy and how much it takes to absorb people. But we should never, ever, ever permit ourselves to get into a position where we forget that almost everybody here came from somewhere else and that America is a set of ideas and values and convictions that make us strong.

I feel the same way about this affirmative action issue. I have lived with this for 20 years now. And let me tell you, there are problems with the affirmative action programs of the Federal Government. I've already abolished one that I thought was excessive. And I was glad to do it. And we're reforming a lot of them. But let me tell you that we are a better, stronger country because we have made a conscious effort to give people without regard to their race or gender an opportunity to live up to their God-given capacities. We are a better, stronger country.

I'm against quotas. I'm against reverse discrimination. I'm against giving anybody unqualified anything they're not qualified for. But I am for making a conscious effort to bring the American people together. If you doubt it, look at our military. We have the best military in the world. Nobody doubts it. It's the most successfully integrated institution in the United States of America, and nobody unqualified gets anything. But there was a conscious effort made to do that. Last year, a quarter of a million new roles were opened to American women in military services, and they're doing every one of them very well. And that's just one example.

So I say to you, let's look at this, let's fix the problems in America, but let's do it with common sense. Let's look for common ground. Let's do it the way you built this great institution. Let's do it in a way that will grow our economy.

So, when we come back to Washington, we've got some tough decisions to make. I've got a plan to balance the budget. The Con-

gress has two different plans in the House and Senate. We have to cut Government spending. I'm all for that. But we ought not to cut education. We ought to increase our investment in education as we balance the budget.

We ought to cut taxes, but we shouldn't cut taxes so much and give such tax cuts to people who don't need them that we have to cut Medicare and Medicaid and hurt our obligations to the elderly people in this country who depend upon them for health care.

We ought to cut the size of Government, and we ought to cut regulation. Let me tell you, we have already reduced the size of your Federal Government by 150,000 people. It will be reduced by 270,000 people if not another law is passed by what's already been done. We have reduced thousands of regulations. We ought to do more of that. But we should not cripple the ability of the American people through their Government to assure safe food, clean air, clean water, and a decent environment, because we all have a stake in that.

I want all of you to follow this very closely. When I go back to Washington and the Congress takes up its business, this will be no ordinary time. For the first time, both parties are committed to balancing the Federal budget. The question is, how will we do it and what will the priorities be. And that will determine what kind of country we're going to be.

I believe we've got to work together and work for tomorrow. I do not want any more of the politics of partisan polarization. I believe the American people are pretty much like all of you sitting around here today. You are celebrating an incredible achievement that you know is a good, right, decent thing. And you are here as Americans.

Now, there'll be plenty of things for us to disagree on, but at this moment our national security in the 21st century depends upon our agreeing to invest in our people and to grow our economy and to pull our country together as we balance this budget. So the decisions made in the next 60 to 90 days will determine what kind of country we're going to be into the 21st century. And I ask every one of you, without regard to your party or your philosophy, to implore your Representa-

tives to reach for that common higher ground, to work together, and to work for tomorrow.

Just think about it. By Christmas, if we do our job right, we could have passed a balanced budget, provided for that tax deduction for education expenses, overhauled welfare, expanded educational opportunities, strengthened instead of undermined health care security, and put our people on the road to raising their incomes as they work harder.

We can do that. But we've got to do what you did here. We have got to work together, and we've got to work for tomorrow. Wish us well, insist on it, and help us get it done.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. at the Campus Center. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gov. Gray Davis of California; Chancellor Barry Munitz, California State University; and Beatrice Gonzales-Ramirez, student, California State University at Monterey Bay.

### **Remarks at the Alameda County Labor Day Picnic in Pleasanton, California**

*September 4, 1995*

**The President.** Thank you. Can you hear me in the back? Good. Ladies and gentlemen, I am so glad to be here to share Labor Day with you, to count our blessings and to embrace our challenges. But let me just begin by thanking you for that wonderful welcome. I feel right at home, and I'm proud to be with the working families of this country.

I also want to say how very pleased I am to be here with all the distinguished labor leaders and public officials who are here behind me from the State of California, some from our administration; to be here with President Donahue. You know, this is his birthday. He has to celebrate his birthday on Labor Day. He gets a two-fer today, so we ought to say happy birthday, Tom.

I'm delighted to be here with Jack Henning, who still gives one of the best speeches I ever heard; with John Sweeney and Lenoire Miller and Chuck Mack and George Kourpias, and all the other labor leaders who are here. I thank Judy Goff and

Owen Marron for having me here. And I want to say a special word of thanks to the people who represent you in Congress, two of the finest people in the entire United States Congress, Congressman Ron Dellums and Senator Barbara Boxer. They are great people.

You know, we are going through a sea change in American life. You know it, and I know it. What I want to tell you is I believe that when the history of this time is written and people look back on how you and other ordinary Americans lived, they will say that this period represented the biggest challenge and the biggest change to the way we live and work and raise our families of any period since 100 years ago, when we changed from being a primarily agricultural and rural society to being an industrial society and a more urban one.

All of you know the facts. We've ended the cold war. We're moving into a global economy. We have more and more competition and more and more technology. We have more opportunities and more fears. And there are a lot of good things that are going on today, but there are a lot of troubling things as well.

And I came here to tell you that in the next 90 days in Washington, DC, we're going to make some decisions that will say a lot about what kind of people we are and where we're going. And I believe—I believe that if we decide to work together and work for the future, the 21st century and the global economy will be America's time. But we have to make that decision.

I want a high-wage, high-growth, high-opportunity future, not a hard-work, low-wage, insecure future for the working families of the United States of America.

I've worked as hard as I know how to bring the economy back. But let me ask you this: You all know what the problem is. If I had told you 30 months ago, the day I became President, that the following things would happen—just listen to this as a good news, bad news story. In our country we have 7 million new jobs. We have 2½ million new homeowners. We have 1½ million new small businesses. We have reduced the deficit from \$290 billion to \$260 billion a year. We have done it while increasing our investment in

education and training and technology and research to generate new jobs. We have doubled the loans of the Small Business Administration to try to create more small business opportunities.

We have done all these things. In California, as hard hit as you were by all the defense cuts, the jobs that were lost in the previous 4 years have been replaced and then some. And we're overcoming the impacts of earthquakes and fires and defense cuts. And California's coming back. But you know what? In spite of all of that, the median wage has dropped one percent. That means most working people are working harder for the same or lower wages that they were making not just 2 years ago, but 10 and 15 years ago. That is the great challenge of this time.

Are we going to be a smart-work, high-opportunity, high-wage country, or a hard-work, low-wage country where the middle class is dividing? And that is the thing that ought to inform every decision we make. I think I know what we have to do, and I want you to stand with me because you know what we have to do.

The first thing we ought to do—the very first thing we ought to do is to say we are going to do no harm; we're going to stop trying to undo the protections in the American law for working men and women. We're going to stop trying to weaken workplace safety. Let's work in partnership with managers to make it a safer workplace in America, not walk away from our obligations to the safety, health, and welfare of the American workers.

Then, what is our affirmative agenda? Number one, don't cut education and training—spend more on it. And for those who say we have to do that to balance the budget, I say, that is wrong. My balanced budget plan gives the working families of America a tax deduction for the cost of all education after high school. Our balanced budget plan would give working people who lose their jobs the right to a voucher worth \$2,600 a year for 2 years to take to the nearest community college or other education and training institution to get a better start in life. Increase our investment in education. Don't cut it.

The second thing we ought to do is to have fair as well as free trade. That's what the fight

with the Japanese over autos and auto parts was all about. I'm all for more trade, but it's got to be more fair. It's got to be fair to American workers. We can now compete with anybody in the world and win if we're given a fair chance to do so.

The third thing we ought to do is raise the minimum wage. Let me tell you, there is not evidence to support the claim that opponents of the minimum wage always make that it costs jobs. But we know one thing for sure: On January 1, 1996, if we do not raise the minimum wage this year, it will drop in terms of what the money will buy to a 40-year low. Two-thirds of the people making minimum wage are adults. Forty percent of the people making the minimum wage are the sole support of their families. We have children growing up on it. It is wrong to expect people to work for \$4.25 an hour. Let us raise the minimum wage and do it now.

In California, we have a lot of other things to do. We have to maintain the defense conversion programs that our administration has put in place. We should not cut the attempts to build people's future. I have worked as hard as I could to make sure that you knew that the defense contractors and the people that worked on the military bases, who won the cold war for this country, would not be left out in the cold when the defense budget was cut. And we have to keep working on that.

Let me give you an example of the kind of thing I'm talking about. Today, it is my honor to announce that our Department of Transportation is going to give to Cal-Start, a consortium of California companies, \$3.4 million to help them start building electric cars for the future of America.

Men and women who used to weld Bradley fighting vehicles together for our national defense will now build family vehicles that will use smart technology, help the environment, and give people good jobs for a good future for their families. That's the kind of thing we ought to be doing more of in this country. They will be made at what used to be the Alameda Naval Air Station. This is the kind of thing that I want our Government to do, to work with you in partnership for the future.

And just today, right before I came out here, the head of Amerigon, Lon Bell, and George Kourpias, the head of the Machinist Union, signed an agreement that commits both sides, management and labor, to teamwork and a true partnership on the shop floor, working together, working for tomorrow. America ought to follow that model. We need more of it.

Folks, this is happening all over California. Earlier today, in Monterey, I dedicated the new campus of Cal State on the grounds of Fort Ord. They had—instead of a place that is a shell, an empty shell, they're now going to have a vital university. They had 4,000 applications for the first 600 places open there. And within just a few years, they'll have thousands and thousands of people there, creating more jobs than were there when Fort Ord was running at full steam. That is the future of America, working together, working for tomorrow.

In Sacramento, Packard Bell has already hired about 5,000 people, including 500 people where they've moved jobs from overseas back to the United States to northern California to assemble personal computers at a former Army depot, with more jobs there than were lost at the height of the defense production. That is the future of California and the future of America.

Let me just say one more thing on this Labor Day. In the last 2½ years, we had 7 million new jobs, 2½ million new homeowners, 1½ million new businesses, record corporate profits, the stock market's gone to 4,700. I think it is time for American businesses to follow the lead of our best employers and share more of those profits with their working people. The Government can't do that; business has to do that.

Thirty years ago, in the biggest companies in this country, the average executive made about 12 times what the average shop worker did. Today it's 120 times. It's time for the working people—

**Audience members.** Boo-o-o!

**The President.** All right, let me tell you. I'm all for people becoming millionaires. We've had more self-made millionaires since I've been President than any comparable period in American history. And I like that. That's the American idea. But the people of

this country that make it go are the average working families. And they deserve their fair share of their own productivity and competitiveness. And it's time to do it.

So when I leave you today, I'm going back to Washington for the critical struggles over the budget in the next 90 days. And I will say again, this is the period of biggest change we've had in 100 years. We are going to shape the future. Are we going forward together, looking toward tomorrow, or are we going to be divided? Are we going to have a high-wage, high-growth, high-opportunity future for your children, or a hard-work, low-wage future for half of the working people in this country? Those are the questions.

Yes, we have to balance the budget, but let's do it in a way that increases our investment in education, technology, research, and the good jobs of tomorrow. Let's not walk away from it.

Yes, middle class people ought to have tax relief for education and child-rearing. But let's don't cut taxes so much just to find tax cuts for people who don't need it and, in turn, turn around and raise the cost of Medicare, raise the cost of nursing home care on ordinary, elderly people and their middle-class children who cannot afford it. That is wrong. We should not do that.

Yes, we ought to reform regulation and reduce cumbersome bureaucracy. You know something—this is something you ought to tell tomorrow when you're talking to people—our administration has reduced the size of Government, the number of regulations, and the number of Government programs more in 2 years than the previous two administrations did in 12. But I did not reduce worker protections and our commitments to clean water, clean air, and safe food. That is nuts. We should not do that. It is not good for America.

So as Congress comes back to work, as you send Ron Dellums and Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein back to their labors, let me tell you, folks, send a message to everybody. This country, it got where it is today because we pulled together and we worked together and we worked for tomorrow.

I just got back from Hawaii, celebrating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. I met with veterans from all different

ances and all different backgrounds who forgot all their differences and worked together. And that's why we won. And when they came home, the GI bill gave them all the chance to go to college and to own their own homes and to educate their children. And that's why America won the cold war and did so well.

This idea, this crazy idea that somehow we can go into the 21st century by weakening our middle class, by dividing our people against each other, by convincing hard-working middle class people that the reason they don't have a good income is because of welfare or affirmative action or immigration—all of which need improvement, and we've done more on that than the guys did before as well—but that's not what's holding your wage down. What's holding your wage down is the inability to get a fair deal in a competitive global economy because we need more investment in education, more investment in training, more investment in high-wage jobs. And you know that in your heart of hearts.

This country never got anywhere being divided against one another. So let's go forward together for a better future.

God bless you all, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. at the Alameda County Fairgrounds. In his remarks, he referred to Tom Donahue, president, AFL-CIO; Jack Henning, secretary-treasurer, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO; John Sweeney, president, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO; Lenore Miller, president, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO; Chuck Mack, secretary-treasurer, Local 70, and president, Joint Council, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; George J. Kourpias, president, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO; Judy Goff, president, and Owen Marron, secretary-treasurer, Central Labor Council of Alameda County, AFL-CIO; and Lon E. Bell, president, Amerigon. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Statement on the Agreement  
Between Greece and the Former  
Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**  
*September 4, 1995*

I welcome the decision by Prime Minister Papandreou and President Gligorov to send

their Foreign Ministers to New York next week to complete an agreement on steps to establish friendly relations between their two countries. This courageous and visionary decision by both leaders is an extremely important step that will support current efforts to bring peace and stability to the Balkans. It is the result of months of intensive diplomatic efforts by Cyrus Vance, the United Nations mediator, and by the President's Envoy, Matthew Nimetz, as well as meetings today in Athens and Skopje by the negotiating team lead by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

In this context, I also welcome Greece's strong support for the U.S. peace initiative in the Balkans and its steadfast support as a NATO ally. Greece is an important partner in the ongoing negotiations and in the critical military decisions being taken within NATO. We will continue to consult closely with the Greek Government in the coming weeks.

President Gligorov is dedicated to assuring that his new nation takes its rightful place in the international community. The imminent completion of an agreement with Greece demonstrates that significant progress has been made. I consider today's announcement a major step toward peace and stability in the Balkans. It is my fervent hope that it will encourage the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia to take further steps of their own toward peace.

**Memorandum on Assistance to  
Rwanda**

*September 1, 1995*

Presidential Determination No. 95-39

*Memorandum for the Administrator, U.S.  
Agency for International Development*

*Subject:* Determination to Allow DFA to be used to Support Administration of Justice Activities in Rwanda

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by Section 614(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (FAA), I hereby determine that it is important to the security interests of the United States to furnish up to \$4 million of fiscal year 1995 funds made available for Chapter 10 of Part I of the FAA

and, in addition, up to \$3 million of prior year funds, for assistance to Rwanda to support the establishment of the rule of law and promote the impartial administration of justice, without regard to any limitations contained in Section 660 of the FAA.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report this determination to Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 5.

### **Memorandum on the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization**

*September 1, 1995*

Presidential Determination No. 95-40

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Use of International Organizations and Programs Account Funds for an Initial U.S. Contribution to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO)

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 614(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2364(a)(1) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that it is important to the security interests of the United States to furnish up to \$4 million in funds made available under chapter 3 of part I of the Act for fiscal year 1995 to provide the initial U.S. contribution to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) without regard to any provision of law within the scope of section 614(a)(1). I hereby authorize the furnishing of such assistance.

You are hereby authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 5.

### **Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students at Abraham Lincoln Middle School in Selma, California**

*September 5, 1995*

**The President.** Good morning. Is this the first day of school?

**Students.** Yes.

**The President.** Well, that's good. I mean, I think it's good. You might not think it's so good. I think it's great. I want to take a little time today to speak with you. I know you've been briefed a little bit about what I want to talk about, but I want to speak just for a few minutes. And then I'd like to answer questions or hear from you.

I think it's very important—you're in this school named for Abraham Lincoln, who most of us believe was our greatest President—it's very important that at your age you understand some things about the history of our country and that you understand what the time you're living in is all about.

In every time in history there are a few basic things that are really, really important, and if you want to make the most of your life you have to know what those basic important things are. So I thought what I would do today is just take a few minutes and talk about three or four of those times, bring us up to date now, and tell you what I think is most important about this time, and then let you say whatever you want to say or ask whatever questions you'd like to ask.

When Abraham Lincoln was President, as you know, we had the great Civil War. And we had only been a nation for less than 100 years. We were still a relatively small country in terms of population, and we were famous for being a democracy in a world where most countries were not democracies. Most people did not get to vote for or against people at election time and to pick their own leaders.

And the Civil War was really about two things: First of all, it was about whether the country would stay together as one country, or split between North and South; and secondly, about whether we would continue to have slavery, even though our Constitution said that all people were created equal and that people were equal in the eyes of God. So because the Civil War came out the way

it did, we stayed one country, and we abolished slavery, and we began the long and unending task of trying to live in a nation that didn't discriminate against people based on their race. That was a very, very important thing.

And because those two things happened, we then became a very powerful economic country. And the country became more and more industrialized so that by the beginning of this century that we're about to end—the beginning of the 20th century—we'd become quite a powerful economic country with quite a large industrial base.

Then World War I broke out and we became involved in a war in another continent for the first time ever. And we tried to help our friends in Europe defeat the attempts of the Germans to take over all of Europe and to establish an empire and make people live under their will—against their own will.

After World War I, because our country had never been—we'd never been involved much with other countries before. We didn't much want to be involved in other countries. When George Washington, our first President, left office, he said we should be very careful about getting too involved with other nations and their affairs. So the American people, after World War I, which was over in 1918, went back to their own business and basically withdrew from the world. Unfortunately, they couldn't withdraw from the world because by then, our economic well-being was caught up with the economic well-being of other people in other parts of the world. And there was a Great Depression in the 1920's, not only in this country but throughout the world, that led directly to the rise of Adolph Hitler in Germany, whom I'm sure you've all read about, and the Nazi power there, and led to the start of World War II.

I have just come from Hawaii, where we ended over a year's worth of celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, which ended in 1945, the year before I was born. World War II was about defeating Hitler, who wanted to establish an empire along with the Italian dictator all over Europe and in Russia. And the Japanese empire, they wanted to control everything in the Pa-

cific—nondemocratic and running other countries.

When they were defeated, our country then was the most powerful country in the world. The year I was born, 40 percent of all the wealth in the world was generated in America with only 6 percent of the people in the world, because all the other big countries had been devastated by the war.

So then for the first time ever, really, in our whole history in 1945, America was forced to lead the rest of the world and to be involved in the rest of the world. And we had two reasons for doing so. One is we had to build an economic system that would avoid having another Great Depression, that would enable everybody to make a living and work hard and raise their children and have a good life in our country and in other countries.

The second was that as soon as the war was over, World War II was over, the Soviet Union presented a whole new threat, what was known as the cold war. And the cold war basically involved the United States and its allies—basically Britain and France and the other democracies, and now Japan and Germany—standing against the expansion of communism which then dominated the Soviet Union, most of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea, ultimately, and then some other smaller countries around the world, and also involved our being divided because we had nuclear weapons and they did, too. And we knew that if either side exploded the nuclear weapons it could lead to a war that would end the human race because the bombs had the power to kill so many people.

But from the end of World War II in 1945 until just a few years ago, we had this cold war until communism failed, the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia became an independent country and a democracy and all these other countries that had been governed by communism now have different forms of government, most of them are democracies in one way or another. China is still a non-democratic country, but, essentially, the cold war ended when the Soviet Union collapsed.

And so for 4 or 5 years, we've been moving into a new world in which we're reducing the number of nuclear weapons, so that by the time you are grown and you have your

own children I hope no one will be afraid of the prospect of two countries going to war with each other and killing millions and millions and millions of people with nuclear weapons.

But we also have a new economy now where, for example, all the agricultural products sold in this valley depend in no small measure on what happens in the world economy. Can they export these products? Can they be competitive? Are they going to be facing imports from other countries?

So as you look to the future, I hope—if we do our job right, people my age, from the President on down—I hope you won't have to worry about a world in which you and your families could be destroyed by nuclear warfare. I hope you will never again have to face the prospect of dictatorships controlling hundreds of millions of people with aggressive attitudes that might force you to go into war.

So as you look ahead into the 21st century, I hope that most of what you will be concerned about is a competition not based on bombs or guns but based on our minds and our ability to work. And I hope that you will be living in a country that will be the most successful country in the world, because we will find a way, without the pressure of war, to bring us together, to all get along together in spite of all of our differences.

So if you look ahead from where we are now to, let's say, when you are in your early twenties, I think the world will have two great challenges. One is the challenge presented by the global economy and the technology and information revolution: How can all Americans who are willing to work hard make a good living, get a good job, establish a family, and raise their own children? It's a big problem today. Some people are doing well, but other people are working hard, and they aren't doing very well.

The second is how are we all going to get along in this world where we're of so many different races and religions, and we have so many different opinions on everything. How can we get along? How can we find common ground and work together? I'm sure you see on the news at night the problems in Bosnia, or you see what happened in Rwanda or Burundi in Africa where people of different

tribes or ethnic groups or religious groups—they don't threaten you in the sense that nobody is threatening to drop a bomb on you, but they're killing each other rapidly. And even in this country there is a lot of tension still among people with different or religious convictions or ethnic backgrounds.

So I think the two big things you'll have to deal with are how are you going to do well, you and all the people of your generation—how are you going to do well in the global economy; how are we going to guarantee that the American dream, which is that if you work hard and obey the law and do what you're supposed to do, will give you the opportunity to live up to your own dreams? And the second thing is how are we going to deal with a world in which, while there are two great powers threatening to bomb each other out of existence, there are a whole lot of people who basically think that the differences between people are more important than what we have in common, and they're willing to fight and kill and die for that?

When you see a bus blown up in Israel because nobody wants peace in the Middle East—because some people don't want peace in the Middle East—that's an example of that. And that's what I—those are the two great challenges I think you will face.

There's only one you can do anything about right now, and that is your own future. How you're going to do well in this global economy. And there's one thing you need to know. In the world in which we're living, in the world toward which you're moving, education is more important today than ever before.

Fifteen years ago, just for example, a high school graduate made about 40 percent less than a college graduate in their first year of work. Today the difference is 80 percent. The gap has doubled, because in a global economy, based on information and technology, education really matters.

I come from a farming State that's not the same kind of agriculture you have here in the valley, but even the farmers I know, most of them now bring in their crops based on their ability to use sophisticated computer software, and I'm sure it's the same here.

So while education has always been an important part of the American dream, today

it is an essential part of your future, because if you look at people your parents' and your grandparents' age, for the first time in the last 15 years, for the first time, our middle class in America has basically been splitting apart between people who are doing pretty well in this new economy and people who aren't doing so well, good people who are working harder but never getting a raise and don't have a stable income. And almost exclusively—not entirely, but almost entirely—the issue is education. People that have higher levels of education are doing pretty well. People that don't aren't doing as well.

And that's why, since I've been President, I've done everything I could not only to put more money into education but also to provide more opportunities for young people like you to go on to college or to get training after high school if you don't go to college, to give more poor little kids the chance to be in a Head Start program so they can get started to school in a good way. Because education now is more than just giving you an individual opportunity. Your whole country's future and this world's that we're living in and the one you're going to live in depends on our ability to educate our people.

The other thing I would say is there is something you can do about the second problem, which is all these racial and religious and ethnic tensions that you see all over the world. The United States, of all the big countries in the world, is really the most ethnically diverse. We have—I mean, look around this room. Los Angeles County has people from over 150 different racial and ethnic groups. And if we can learn to get along, to respect each other's differences and to work together, then it means that the United States will have a huge advantage in the 21st century as other people find it impossible to bury the hatchet and to reach across their different religious and racial and ethnic lines. If we can do it, we're going to have a huge advantage.

So anything you can do as a student, as a young person dealing with other young people to learn to really respect people who are different from you and understand them—it's okay to disagree with them, but to find a way to work together with them,

that will really help your country. And it will also give you a better future.

Anyway, that's a short history of the last 130 years of America—140 years—and where I think we are and where I think we're going. I really believe that there's a very good chance that you will live in the best period in American history, that you will live in the most exciting period in American history, that you will have more opportunities to do more things than any group of people ever has. But it depends upon our dealing with those two challenges: We've got to learn to get along with people that are different from us and work together, and we have to educate everybody. If we do that, we're going to be fine.

Anybody have any questions, comments?

**Student.** Did you always set high education goals for yourself?

**The President.** Yes, always. I was—I lived with my grandparents until I was four because my—or from the time I was two until the time I was four, because my father was killed in an automobile accident just before I was born. So my mother went back to nursing school so she could get some training and could support me. And my grandmother and grandfather, who didn't have a lot of—my grandfather only finished the sixth grade, but they really drilled into me from the time I was small that I should do well in school. And they taught me to count. They even had me reading little books when I was 3 and 4 years old. So it was a big thing in my family. And my mother was also very strongly in favor of education and so it was always a big issue in our family. And I always understood that it would help me personally.

But when I got out of—let me—what I want to emphasize is the difference between then and now, my time and your time. When I got out of high school, our country's unemployment rate was about 3½ percent or something like that. And I literally didn't know anybody who wanted a job that didn't have one—nobody. And everybody I knew who worked had a good chance of getting a raise year-in and year-out. So that people with very high levels of education, they might do better, they might make more money, but all Americans really had a pretty stable situa-

tion economically when I got out of high school.

That's just not true anymore. So that it's not just a question if you want to be President or Governor or the superintendent or the principal that you need to have high educational aspirations. Every one of you is smarter than you think you are. Your mind will absorb more; you can learn more; you can develop more than you think. And it's very important now. And it's very different than it used to be. Now, it's got to be a—learning has to be something for everyone now.

But yes, I did; even when I was a little boy I was raised to believe that I had to learn as much as I could and that, even though I came from a family with no money or no particular standing, that it didn't matter. If I worked hard and learned a lot, I could do whatever I wanted to do. That's what my family raised me to believe. It turned out they were right.

**Student.** What did you want to be when you were young?

**The President.** Well, when I was—I'm not sure I thought about it that much when I was your age. But when I was in high school I was basically interested in three things: I was interested in music, and I was very serious about it; I was interested in medicine, and I considered studying to become a doctor; and I was interested in what I'm doing now; I was interested in public service.

And when I grew up, it was a noble thing to want to be an elected official. I see all these surveys now where parents don't want their children to go into politics and people think it's a bad thing to do. I don't believe that. The political system which gave Mr. Dooley a chance to serve in Congress and gave Ms. Eastin the chance to be the education superintendent and gave me a chance to be a Governor and then a President is what's kept this country going for 200 years.

So when I was raised, just like I was raised to believe and have high education aspirations, I was raised to respect the political system that we have and to believe in it. And I still feel that way. So those are the three things I was really interested in when I was in high school.

And finally, I just decided that I wanted to do what I'm doing now because I enjoyed it more and because I thought I was better at it. I think, generally, you need to find something you really like to do with your life and something you think you can become good at and do it. It doesn't mean you'll always win at what you're doing or you'll always be successful. I've lost two political races in my life. And I have not always achieved everything I've tried to do in the public offices I've held. But I think that generally you'll be happier if you do something that you're interested in and that you think you can be good at, even if it's extremely difficult.

And I remember when I went to college, sometimes, I made the worst grades in what were supposed to be the easiest course, and then sometimes the hardest courses I did better in just because I cared more about it and I would throw myself into them.

So that—I don't have any advice for you except to find out what you really—what you like, what you care about and then do it without reservation—whatever it is.

**Student.** Mr. President, I'm very overwhelmed by your visit this morning. But how was it like meeting President Kennedy?

**The President.** It was—well, for me, it was an incredible experience. And it was interesting. In 1963 when I went there to the White House, I was 16 years old. I had been out of Arkansas, I think, twice in my life—out of my home State. I think I'd only been out of the State twice. And I got this trip to Washington with these other—a hundred of us, who were young boys who were at this—in this program I was in. This was the American Legion Boys Nation program.

And I really wanted to meet President Kennedy because I admired him and I liked him and I agreed with what he was trying to do. And I liked him because he was highly controversial in my home State and throughout the South because he was trying to finish the work of the Civil War. He was trying to pass all of the civil rights legislation. He was trying to eliminate racial discrimination. And he was taking a lot of heat for it. And a lot of people in my part of the country weren't for him because of it. But I was for him because of it, because I believed in what he was doing. So it was not only a great thing

for me to meet the President, but I thought that he was really looking out for our future, and I thought I would live in a better America because he was President. So I was very excited about it.

And I remember the day it occurred. I didn't know if the President was going to shake hands with all of the 100 boys, but because I was from Arkansas, I was at the top of the alphabet—[laughter]—and because I was above average in size, I could sort of elbow my way up to the front of the line. [Laughter] So I made sure I got to shake his hand. Although he was quite nice, he stayed around. I think he shook most people's hands that day.

But it was a wonderful thing, you know. That's a great thing about this country. I mean, I just—here I was coming from a modest-sized town, and one day I was shaking hands with the President, kind of like this. That's one of the great things about democracy. You know, your families' votes count just as much as mine does.

Anybody else?

**Student.** What are your plans after you leave office?

**The President.** I don't know. I haven't thought about it much. Once in a while I think about it, but I haven't—you know, if I stay healthy, and I've been blessed with pretty good health, I hope I can continue to do some things that are useful for my country. I'm not much on just laying around. I like to work, and I like to do things. So I'll try to find something very useful to do that will help America and help the causes that I believe in in this country and around the world. But I haven't really thought about it much. It takes all my concentration to do my job.

Did you have your hand up?

**Student.** What do you think the most important thing you've done while you've been in office is?

**The President.** I think the most important thing I've done in office is to basically make the Presidency a place where problems are dealt with again. You know, in other words, instead of just being—what I've tried to do is to use the office of the Presidency to actually tackle the problems of the country and not just to make speeches and talk and try

to stay popular. And I've done a lot of controversial things. And I know I've made some mistakes, but I have actually used the power of the Presidency to take on things that have not been taken on.

For example—I'll just give you some examples. When I became President, the debt of our country had gone up by 4 times in only 12 years. We literally quadrupled the national debt from 1981 to 1993. And it was unconscionable. But it's not easy to reduce it. But we reduced our annual deficit from \$290 billion a year to \$160 billion this year in only 3 years. And it was the first time since right after World War II that our country had reduced deficit spending 3 years in a row.

There was a crime bill that had been languishing around for 6 years in the Congress to try to help local communities fight crime more. We passed it—puts 100,000 more police officers on the street, stiffens punishment, provides some prevention programs for local communities to give kids something to say yes to, instead of things to say no to.

There's a bill that had been banging around in Congress for 7 years called the family and medical leave law, which we passed, which gives most working people in this country the right to take a little time off if they have a sick child or a sick parent without losing their jobs.

We had—I passed a number of other bills through the Congress. Trade legislation—very—the NAFTA bill, which helped the valley in its farm exports, was very controversial. We passed that. We passed the Brady bill, a bill that was very controversial. It had been banging around for 6 or 7 years in the Congress that nobody wanted to—no President would really take it on—that requires people who buy handguns to have a background check before they can get a handgun to see if they've got a criminal record or a mental health history. And we passed the bill.

Just the other day, we announced a campaign to try to reduce smoking by young people, because we know 3,000 young people start smoking cigarettes every day in America. And 1,000 of those 3,000 young people will have their lives shortened because of it, because of lung cancer or heart disease or strokes. But nobody had ever done anything

about it before in the White House because they didn't want to make the tobacco lobby mad, because they've got a lot of money and they're powerful.

Every job I've ever had in public life I've tried to do things. And what I've tried to do is to change the attitude about what we can do. I want you to believe that your country can work and that you can have a good future and that you can solve your problems. That's what I want you to believe. I don't believe in cynicism. I don't like people who are cynical or skeptical. I like people who get up every day and think they can make something happen.

So, I mean, if you ask somebody else what the most important thing I've done, they'd probably say, our economic program turned the economy around, created 7 million jobs and got economic growth going again. But I think—but I believe the most important thing we've done is to prove that we can do things again, that you can actually take these problems on and make a difference and look to the future.

We made the college loan program more affordable for millions of young people. But to do it, we had to take on powerful banking interests that are now trying to get their money back because we took some money away from the middle men in the college loan program so we could lower costs for people like you to go to college.

We just did a lot of things. And I think the most important thing I've done is to try to force the Government, and hopefully the American people, to keep looking toward the future and to say, "Okay, here are these problems. Let's take them on. Let's move into the future."

Even the major effort I tried that failed, to try to provide health insurance for all American families, even though I failed to do it, a lot of the things that I advocated are now happening anyway. And I think that the President is supposed to be someone who tries to bring the American people together around good values and high hopes and then to get people looking toward the future. You know, work together and work for tomorrow. And I think that largely I have achieved that. And that's what I intend to continue to do.

**Student.** Since you've been President, what's the hardest decision that you've had to make?

**The President.** That's a very good question. Interestingly enough—let me tell you, first of all, interestingly enough, the hardest decisions are often not the ones that you would think. They're often not the ones that are most controversial.

Let me just mention two. One Mr. Dooley was involved in. I think the—I'll mention two that were very hard for me.

One was right after I became President I was told by the Republican leaders in the Congress that they would not vote for my budget; none of them would vote for it, no matter what I did to it; that they wanted a partisan issue and that if I tried to bring the deficit down, if it didn't work, they would blame me, and if it did, they would say, well, I raised taxes in '93 to bring down the deficit. So I had to pass an economic program—I had to put together an economic program that would bring our country's deficit down by \$500 billion only by members of my own party. And we had to make all kinds of decisions about what it would take to do that, including some things that I didn't necessarily agree with.

And that was very hard for me because I went to Washington determined to work with Democrats and Republicans. And I was shocked to find out how partisan it was. And it was very hard for me—I mean, I was shocked to find out people say, "Well, I'm just not going to work with you because you're in the other party. I'm just not going to do it. We have to oppose you. That's the political thing to do." It turned out that they were right. It helped them politically. But that was very hard for me to accept and very hard for me to deal with and then to figure out what to do to pass the program, but we did it.

And because we reduced the deficit and reduced interest rates and invested more in education at the same time, and gave California and other States some money to deal with the impact of base closing and defense cutbacks, we got the economy going again. But it was hard. It was really, really hard.

And the other thing that was—sort of the hardest thing to do was to decide what to

do, how to deal with Bosnia. For a long time it was very difficult because I think the United States has to work within the United Nations and within the rules set within the United Nations for a problem like Bosnia. But it's hard for us when we're the strongest country in the world, when other countries are—don't do what we think they should do. And we have no way to make them do it because we didn't have soldiers there. But that was very hard for me.

Now I have to tell you I agree with what we're doing in Bosnia. I strongly—you may know this from the news, but NATO planes are striking the Bosnian Serb targets again today in Bosnia because they refused to take all their heavy weapons away from Sarajevo and stop shelling the city. And we strongly supported that.

So now we're working together, and I agree with the policy. But that was very hard for me. Now that the cold war is over, it's very important that other countries all take some responsibility for dealing with problems in their area and that we work with them. But it's hard when you're trying to work with somebody and what they want to do is not what you want to do. That's tough.

Now, the controversial things I've done were not so hard for me. For example, when I sent our troops into Haiti to remove the dictators it was—the only difficult thing there was understanding how to do it in a way that would minimize the likelihood that any Americans would die. But whether we should do it or not seemed the right thing to me.

The most unpopular thing or the thing I've done that had the least popular support—I don't know if it had the most opposition; it had the least popular support—was to help Mexico when it was about to go bankrupt several months ago. A lot of—nobody—there was a poll on the day I made the decision that said the American people were against it 81 to 15. They thought I was doing the wrong thing to try to help Mexico. But I thought I was doing the right thing because I knew if Mexico collapsed, we'd have a lot more illegal immigration problems. I knew that they wouldn't be able to buy any of our products. I knew that there was a serious chance that there would be an economic collapse in other countries in Latin America. So

basically, I had more information than most Americans did, so even though I was making a very controversial and unpopular decision, it turned out to be an easy one for me.

So sometimes the controversial decisions are not the hardest ones.

Anybody else?

**Teacher.** I think we're—I'm trying to keep an eyeball on the time, and I think—unless you'd like to take one last question.

**The President.** Yes, let me take one more. Go ahead.

**Student.** Did you ever think about being President when you were young?

**The President.** I did, but I didn't really—I did. I guess when I met President Kennedy I thought about it. But it wasn't—it wasn't that I really thought it would happen. I mean, I thought—Abraham Lincoln said when he was a young man, he said this—this is something you should think about, whatever it is you want to do—he said, “I will work and get ready, and perhaps my chance will come.” That's what Abraham Lincoln said. And since you're here in the school named for him, that's a very good thing for you to think about in your own life, whatever your ambition and hope is.

I didn't really decide to actually run for President or think about it seriously until the 1980's. I thought about running in 1988 and decided not to, and then I decided to run in 1992 and was fortunate to be elected. But I thought about it in terms—I thought in general terms. I aspired, actually, to be a Senator from Arkansas when I was a young man. And it turned out I never got a chance. I never served in the Congress. I was a Governor, and then I got to be President.

But I think every young person, if you're interested in public life, you think, well, maybe that could happen. But I don't think that I focused on it in the same way I did when I started running, for example. It's just something you say, well, Lincoln said it best, I'll work, get ready; perhaps my chance will come.

**Teacher.** Thank you. Eleanor, our student body president, has something in her desk that she'd like to give to you, some things from our school.

Eleanor, why don't you come on up.

[At this point, a gift was presented to the President.]

**The President.** I like that. Thank you. Thank you. This is great.

Well, I've had a wonderful time. Lindsey asked a question. Let me close by saying this. If you do anything in life where you make decisions, you're going to make some that don't turn out right, or some where, maybe even if you didn't make a mistake, the consequences, the unforeseeable consequences turn out to be very bad. So sometimes the decisions that are the most difficult on the front end don't have those kind of consequences.

The budget had happy consequences. But the worst days as President are days when things happen that you set in motion that are bad. The other day, three of our peacekeepers, three of our negotiators died in Bosnia in an accident, in a complete accident. But they were all men about my age with children about my daughter's age and about your age. And you feel terrible about that. When our soldiers were killed in Somalia, it was the darkest day of my Presidency for me.

I say that to make this point in closing: Anything you do with your life, some of the things you do, they're just not going to work out like you meant for them to. You're going to make mistakes, or bad things will happen that you have no control over. And the important thing is that you keep going. You have to believe in yourself, believe in your dreams, believe in the life you want to live, and keep going, because we're all human and things are not always going to work out.

But I can tell you that now I have been to 30 years' worth of high school reunions. I've never missed a high school reunion. We have one every 5 years. And the saddest people in my high school class are not the people who have failed, but the people who didn't try to do what they wanted to do.

So I leave you with the thought. You just figure out what it is you want to do and go for it. And if you don't make it, you'll still be better than if you hadn't tried in the first place. You've just got to get up every day and keep living and keep believing that your life can be good.

Don't forget what I told you: You live in a time in which education is more important than in any time in the whole history of the United States. So it's important to make the most of this time in school, because there is no alternative because of the world we live in. Besides that, you'll have more fun in your life.

Thank you. Goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to State school superintendent of public instruction Delaine Eastin.

### **Remarks to the Community at Abraham Lincoln Middle School in Selma**

*September 5, 1995*

Thank you very much. It is wonderful to be here today. I want to thank Cal Dooley for his kind remarks and for his remarkable leadership in the Congress. He does a terrific job for all of you. I thank Delaine Eastin for her commitment to education and for being here with me today. I want to thank your school principal, Lucile King, who on next-to-no notice allowed me to come in here and share some time with some of your students. I thank Eleanor Brown who did a fine job speaking here. I said, "Eleanor"—before she came up, I said, "Eleanor, are you having a good time or are you nervous?" She said, "I'm a little nervous." So I said, "Well, just pretend you're talking to a few people." And she did a fine job, didn't she? Let's give her another hand. [Applause] I thought she did a great job. I also want thank the Selma High Marine Corps ROTC, who posted the colors, the high school choir, and the Black Bear Brigade Band, who played very well when I came up here today, I thought.

I'd also like to thank the mayor and the members of the City Council and the school board who met me. One of the school board members gave me this "Save the Children" tie to wear in the speech. And the mayor told me, as the sign said, that this is the "raisin capital of the world." And I said, "Well, the only thing I can say is, I don't know about raising them, but I have probably consumed more raisins than any President who ever

held this office. And I've enjoyed every one of them.

Ladies and gentlemen, and to all the young people who are here, I want to talk about education today. This is back-to-school day. But before I do, I have to say just a few words about the situation in Bosnia. You may know that this morning our pilots and crews and their NATO allies resumed the bombing of Bosnian Serb military positions. I support that; it's appropriate; it's necessary, because the Bosnian Serbs failed to comply with the conditions set over the weekend to withdraw their heavy weapons from Sarajevo. We have to follow through on our commitment to protect Sarajevo and those other safe areas. We cannot allow more innocent civilians and children to die there. This war has to end by negotiation, not on the battlefield.

I'm glad to be here in the number one agricultural region in our Nation. The Central Valley's orange groves and pistachio trees and the acres of vineyards and cotton and corn and the people who grow the raisins are critical not only to your State's economy but to our Nation's economy.

I wanted to come here to this community today because I think that all of you symbolize, in what you're doing here, what we have to do as a country. We've got to take responsibility for ourselves and our children. We've got to work together, and we've got to work for the future.

All of you know that education for individual Americans has always been the key to the American dream. I have a simple message today: At the end of the cold war, at the beginning of this period of global economy, of the information age, the technology age, education is more important today to individual Americans, to families, to communities, and to our future than it has ever been in the entire history of the United States, and we have to act on that fundamental truth as a people.

Thirty months ago, I set out to change the economic direction of our country, to bring the economy of America back and to help the economy of California recover. Thirty months later, we have over 7 million more jobs, 2½ million more homeowners, over 1½ million more small businesses. The jobs you lost in the difficult 4 years before I took office

have been replaced, and you're beginning to come back in California.

But there is one fundamental problem left in America economically, and that is for the last 15 years more than half of the hourly wage earners in America are working a longer work week for the same or lower wages. And there is a simple, clear reason for that. In the global economy, no matter how hard people work, if you don't have the skills that will command high incomes, it is difficult to earn those incomes. We have simply got to make a commitment as a nation to revolutionizing the availability and quality of education starting with the youngest preschoolers and going through adults who need it to get better jobs or when they're unemployed. And we have to do it together. It is the fundamental fact of our time.

When Congress comes back from its recession—excuse me, recession—whatever that—recess—[laughter]—school—it's a school day—the recess. When Congress comes back from their recess tomorrow, we will have 90 days of decisions about the budget—90 days to choose what direction we're going to take. There's some good news for these children in the audience about decisions that have already been made. For the first time in over a dozen years, we now have a bipartisan commitment to balance the Federal budget and remove the burden of debt from our children and our grandchildren. That is a very good thing to do.

The question is, how are we going to balance the budget? I have given Congress a plan which recognizes both these fundamental truths: that we have to balance the budget and that we have to provide for education and invest in our young people's future. They are working on a plan that balances the budget, but by their own estimate, only produces weak economic growth in part because it cuts education. In California you have had enough of cutting education. We need to invest more in education, and we can do that.

I hope as strongly as I can say that you're going to see the most productive 90 days we've seen in a long time in Congress. We can balance the budget. We can end welfare as we know it. And we can invest in education and protect the medical care of our elderly and protect our ability to have a safe and

clean food supply and environment. We can do all this in a balanced way if we'll work for common ground with common sense. That's what we have to do.

There are some who say that there should be no compromise this autumn, but I say that good people of good will want us to find common ground, want us to find honorable compromise, want us to balance the budget and keep faith with the children of America and their educational needs.

You know, I believe that the overwhelming majority of Americans of both parties are committed to an agenda of balancing the budget and investing in education. When I became President and we increased our investment in Head Start and added 50,000 more poor children to the Head Start rolls, it had bipartisan support. When we passed the Goals 2000 program to give schools the chance to reform themselves and to get more computers and other technology in the classroom and to have smaller class sizes and higher standards, it had overwhelming bipartisan support. When we began to help the States of this country to set up programs for young people who graduate from high school but don't go to 4-year colleges and still need further education to get good jobs and good wages, a School-to-Work program, it had bipartisan support. When we established the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program to support the message to our young people that if you want to learn, you have a right to learn in safety, and you have to learn without drugs, it had bipartisan support. When we expanded the availability of college loans and scholarships for lower income students and college loans for all students, we lowered the cost and improved the repayment terms, it had bipartisan support. There are young people here with AmeriCorps who are working in the communities of the Valley and earning money to go to college. That program was created with bipartisan support.

Education is not supposed to be a partisan political football, and it should not be when the Congress returns tomorrow. We ought to all stay on the side of education.

I will be urging the Congress to adopt two new education ideas which will help the working families in this valley to provide for their future. Number one, there's going to

be a tax cut; the question is, who's going to get it and what's it going to be for? I believe we ought to give a tax cut for working families to have the cost of their education tax deductible after high school: college education, training for technicians, unemployed people. That's the kind of tax cut I think we ought to have.

The other thing I hope they will do is to recognize that adults need education, too. I have urged the Congress to create a fund which would give to every person who loses a job in the United States the right to get a \$2,600 voucher for a year for 2 years to take to the nearest community college, junior college, or other educational institution to get retrained if they lose their jobs and they need a brighter future.

One other thing I'd like to say: I want to thank the young people who were in that class with me today practicing citizenship, asking me tough questions, some of which I had never been asked before by anyone. I want to thank them for being an example of what I want for all of our young people.

One of the things that I feel very strongly about is that our schools have to teach good citizenship and good basic character and values: fairness and honesty, respect for self and others, responsibility. Those things are too often absent in our schools today.

And I'm proud to announce that, through our Department of Education, we have been supporting the spread of character education, basic principles of citizenship and personal character all across America. And today we are releasing four grants to four States, including the State of California, to make sure that we do everything we can to help our principals, our teachers, and our parents inculcate the values and character of good citizenship into our young people throughout this country.

So I ask you, my fellow Americans, without regard to your political party or your philosophy, to stand firm on this central principle. Tell the Congress and the President you want the budget balanced, but you want us to invest in education and the future. We don't want to be penny-wise and pound-foolish. We don't want to weaken our economy by balancing the budget. We want to strengthen our children's future by getting the burden

of debt off of them. There is a plan that balances the budget and increases investment in education, and that's what we should do.

We don't need—we don't need—to take 45,000 children out of the Head Start program. We don't need to deny every State in the country the right to benefit from smaller classes and more technology and educational excellence in the Goals 2000 program. We sure don't need to stop helping the schools who need it with the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program. We don't need to stop helping people who want to go on to good jobs with higher skills but aren't going to higher education and 4-year schools. We need the School-to-Work program. And we sure don't need to make college loans and college scholarships less available.

Look what's happened in California. We need more college scholarships. We need more college loans. We need more affordable education and higher education.

I have promised the Congress that I would never disagree with them without offering an alternative. I have given a balanced budget plan which increases investment in education. And on Thursday, I will talk more about how we can save even more money in this budget to put into reducing the deficit, balancing the budget, and investing in education.

But before you leave here today, I want to ask every adult American in this audience—you look at these children. You know they're our future. You know we're living in a global economy. You know that what you earn depends on what you can learn. You know it's more important to our whole country than ever before. What do you want this country to look like in the 21st century? If you want a high-wage, high-growth, high-opportunity society, if you want every American, no matter how humble their background, to have a chance to live the American dream, if you don't like the fact that too many of our people are trapped in a hard-work, low-wage future, then we can change it only if we decide to both balance the budget and invest in the education of our people.

That is our commitment. I ask all of you to make it.

God bless you, and thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to student body president Eleanor Brown and Mayor Ralph P. Garcia of Selma, CA.

### **Message to the Senate Transmitting the Philippines-United States Extradition Treaty**

*September 5, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Extradition Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, signed at Manila on November 13, 1994.

In addition, I transmit for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty. As the report explains, the Treaty will not require implementing legislation.

Together with the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, also signed November 13, 1994, this Treaty will, upon entry into force, enhance cooperation between the law enforcement communities of both countries. It will thereby make a significant contribution to international law enforcement efforts.

The provisions in this Treaty follow generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by the United States.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 5, 1995.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
the Philippines-United States Legal  
Assistance Treaty**

*September 5, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, signed at Manila on November 13, 1994. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activity more effectively. The Treaty will enhance our ability to investigate and prosecute a wide variety of crimes, including drug trafficking and terrorism offenses. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: taking of testimony or statements of persons; providing documents, records, and items of evidence; serving documents; locating or identifying persons or items; transferring persons in custody for testimony or other purposes; executing requests for searches and seizures; assisting in proceedings related to forfeiture of assets, restitution, and collection of fines; and any other form of assistance not prohibited by the laws of the Requested State.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 5, 1995.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
the International Convention for the  
Protection of New Varieties of Plants**

*September 5, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants of December 2, 1961, as Revised at Geneva on November 10, 1972, on October 23, 1978, and on March 19, 1991, and signed by the United States on October 25, 1991 (hereinafter "the 1991 Act of the UPOV Convention"). I transmit for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

Ratification of the Convention is in the best interests of the United States. It demonstrates a domestic commitment to effective protection for intellectual property in the important field of plant breeding. It is also consistent with United States foreign policy of encouraging other countries to provide adequate and effective intellectual property protection, including that for plant varieties.

I recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the 1991 Act of the UPOV Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification subject to a reservation under Article 35(2), which allows parties to the existing Convention (the 1978 Act) to retain their present patent systems for certain varieties of plants.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 5, 1995.

**Remarks Prior to a Meeting With  
Mayors and County Officials and an  
Exchange With Reporters**

*September 6, 1995*

*The President.* Good morning. We're about to start a meeting with a bipartisan group of mayors and county officials who represent a much larger number of their

counterparts all across America and who are quite concerned about the consequences of the proposed budget and the budget cuts to the people they represent.

They have declared September 7th a national day for budget awareness, and they're going back to the people they represent to explain to them exactly what the consequences will be in terms of either human harm or lost services or higher taxes at the local level. They will be joining to educate their citizens about the potential damage that could be done to our country's future if the particulars of the budgets now being debated in the House and Senate are adopted pretty much as they have passed, especially in the House.

Later today I will meet with a group of CEO's who are concerned about what these cuts will mean to our educational improvement programs and especially to Goals 2000, which has helped us to help States and local school districts throughout the country to improve the quality of education, to bring more technology into the classroom, to get smaller class sizes, to promote education reforms.

Business executives all across America, especially in a bipartisan way, both Republicans and Democrats, have supported Goals 2000 very strongly, and so they'll be coming in to discuss this. This is back-to-school time in our country, and it seems to me that we need to focus on the values of education and the values of our community and on what we really mean by America's family values.

It seems to me that we are departing from what has been the experience of our country now for many years in terms of having a bipartisan commitment to a lot of the things that now some in Congress seem more than willing to abandon, including our commitment to education. As I said yesterday in California, there is an alternative, a way to balance this budget. It's not that we shouldn't balance the budget; we should balance the budget. I strongly support it, we ought to do that, I believe we're going to do that, but we don't have to do it in a Draconian way that hurts the American people.

If you just take the education issue, for example, the proposed budget in Congress by the Republican majority would cut education by \$36 billion. It means more over-

crowded classrooms. It means fewer teachers. It means fewer computers for the students. It means 45,000 kids cut off of Head Start by 1996. It means the elimination of the Goals 2000 program. It means cutting over a million of our poorest children off from extra educational help. It means cutting 23 million students out of the safe and drug-free schools program, something that clearly ought to be at the forefront of any family values agenda in our country. It means taking 50,000 young Americans out of national service, out of the AmeriCorps program and other service programs that help them to pay their way to college. It means denying millions of students access to college educations because of weakening of the Pell grant program and the elimination of the direct loan program or the severe limitation of it.

So I would say that what we need to do now at back-to-school time is to get educated; all Americans need to be educated about the details of the budget debate. The question is not whether we're going to balance the budget. I have a plan to balance the budget, but it doesn't cut education by \$36 billion. There are ways to balance the budget and still permit these local officials to do the work that they have to do and maintain a partnership. And the ways are fairly clear, and we can achieve it.

I know there are those who say that we ought to just shut the Government down and that there is a mandate essentially to dismantle the partnership that has existed between our National Government and local government and the citizens of this country. I don't agree with that. I think we need common sense, common ground. I think we need to appeal to our better instincts. And I think it would be a great mistake for the people of our country to miss this back-to-school opportunity to become educated about what's really at stake here and to be involved in it. And I thank these mayors and county officials for showing up here today and for the work they're about to do in this next week.

#### **Budget Debate**

**Q.** Mr. President, what are you going to do about Senator Dole saying that this is going to be the autumn of discontent, of no compromises?

**The President.** Well, I am going to stick with my position. Now, it's been several months since I offered an——

Come on in, Mayor Rendell. Sit down. [Laughter]

**Mayor Edward Rendell.** Sorry. Blame it on Amtrak, although Amtrak usually does a great job. [Laughter] And we shouldn't be cutting its funding. But they were late today.

**The Vice President.** We know a cameo entrance when we—[Laughter]

**The President.** That's right. Actually he arrived at 6:30 this morning and was—[Laughter].

There will be a lot of things said and a lot of maneuvers made, I suppose, in the next 90 days. I think the important thing is that we balance the budget without destroying our commitment to education, without wrecking Medicare and Medicaid and undermining the security and stability that our elderly people are entitled to have, and without undermining the fabric of the country and the strength of the economy.

I mean, you know, we even have one economic study claiming that the congressional majority's budget would provoke a long-term recession. I mean, presumably, we are balancing the budget to help the American economy, to take the burden of debt off of our children and our grandchildren. That's why I want to do it. I want to do it because I think it'll help the economy, not to give the American people a low-grade infection for 7 years. And so I believe that we need to look at the facts. And I'm going to do my best to avoid a lot of this political rhetoric and a lot of these charges back and forth.

And the thing that has impressed me about the mayors and the county officials that are here is that they really are going to spend a week looking at the facts, trying to make sure that their citizens look at the facts. That's what I want the American people to do. But I'm going to bend over backwards not to get into a lot of political word wars and just keep looking at the facts. And we can——

**Q.** Lots of luck. [Laughter]

**The President.** Yeah? Thank you. Thank you. [Laughter] Let me just say this. I will—I like that so much I will never again criticize

editorializing by news—[laughter]—that was a wonderful comment. [Laughter]

**Q.** Mr. President, will you be able to avoid this train wreck, however, that you've been talking about, and how can you do that?

**The President.** Well, I hope so. But I mean, I think, frankly, that's up to Congress. I have been—it's up to the leaders of Congress whether we have a train wreck. I have now had my position out there clear and crystal clear and in great detail for months. That's what they said they wanted me to do, and I did it. I offered them an alternative balanced budget. I offered the opportunity of negotiations. I said what I thought we had to do, that we shouldn't wreck the fabric of health care for seniors. We shouldn't wreck the educational commitments of our country. We shouldn't totally overlook the impact of these budget cuts on the people who actually had to do the work of America, the mayors, the county officials, the Governors of our country, and that we could do this.

And I committed to a balanced budget, and I offered it. So I have done all I can do now. The rest of it is largely up to them, but we should not have a train wreck. There's no reason for a train wreck. You know, we've already done a lot of their work for them. When I became President, we had a \$290 billion deficit. Now it's down to \$160 billion. We've cut it nearly in half in 3 years, and we did it without any train wrecks. We did it in a more rapid way in the last Congress than had been the case for the previous 10 or 12 years, so we can get a lot of this work done if we'll just do it. There just needs to be a little less talk and a little more action, a little more common sense, a little more working together.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Edward Rendell is mayor of Philadelphia, PA.

### **Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Business Leaders Supporting Goals 2000 and an Exchange With Reporters**

*September 6, 1995*

**The President.** Good afternoon. As you can see, I'm about to have a meeting here

with some distinguished American business executives who support the idea that our most important agenda here in Government is to advance the cause of education, and they have in particular been good supporters of the Goals 2000 program in which 48 of our 50 States are now participating and which is the most grassroots-oriented reform program the United States Department of Education has ever promoted for improving the quality of education through reforms at the State, school district, and school level to provide more technology, to raise standards, to have smaller classes, to do a whole range of things that will make education better.

There is a way to balance the budget without destroying the Goals 2000 program. The proposed congressional majority budget would get rid of Goals 2000, and it would deprive 44 million students of the opportunities that they would otherwise have to be in more grassroots reform efforts.

This Goals 2000 project is the result of the recommendations we've gotten over the years from business leaders, as well as educators and, frankly, the result of all of the work that Secretary Riley and I did for more than a decade in our previous jobs. And I very much hope it can be saved, and it is not necessary to balance the budget to back up on the education commitment. I think the partnership we've enjoyed, both the bipartisan partnership between Republicans and Democrats and the partnership between business and government that we've enjoyed in this education reform effort should not be destroyed, because it doesn't have to be to balance the budget.

I'd like to ask Mr. Joe Gorman to make a couple of remarks about the program and then we'll go on with our meeting.

Joe?

[At this point, Joseph Gorman, chairman and chief executive officer, TRW, Inc., made brief remarks supporting Goals 2000.]

**Q.** Mr. President, are you also going to discuss with the CEO's the stagnant wages over the last two decades that you always keep talking about?

**The President.** Every time I talk to business leaders I talk about that. But let me just say, as I've said on Labor Day, there are a

lot of alternative explanations being offered for this, but one of the clear lessons not only for our country but for every wealthy country is that is we want to continue to raise incomes in a global economy, we have to raise the level of education of the work force. We've got to do it.

There are some other things we can do and that I hope we will do and some things they can do and that many of them are doing, but if we don't raise the educational level of the American work force and if we don't set up a system of real reform for excellence in our public schools and then lifetime education afterward, nothing they or we do will achieve that goal.

So I will say again, the purpose of balancing the budget is to remove the burden of debt off of our children and grandchildren and to free up more capital for private investment so that the economy will grow. The purpose of balancing the budget is not to shut the economy down by undermining our fundamental commitment to education. So the question is, how can we meet both objectives.

I've presented a plan which does that, there are lots of ways to get it done, and that's what I think we're all agreed on, again without regard to party.

#### **United Nations Conference on Women**

**Q.** Have you heard from the First Lady, sir?

**The President.** Yeah, I had a nice talk with her. I've talked to her twice since she left for China. I talked to her after her speech. I told her I thought she had done a great job on the speech. I liked it very much, and she seemed very pleased with it, and she said that the women, the many thousands of women who were there gave it a very good response.

We had a very—we had kind of a brief conversation; the connection wasn't the greatest because I was in an airplane.

**Q.** Was there any concern about the treatment of Secretary Shalala?

**The President.** Secretary Shalala spoke for herself on that. I thought what she said was just great. She'll do just fine. [Laughter]

**Q.** Any public relations—

**Q.** Was there any concern that the First Lady's remarks might have any impact on the U.S.-Chinese relations?

**The President.** No, I don't think so. You know, she said—what she said was what we have both said many, many times on the issues that affect China, and much of her speech pertained to conditions in other countries, not China, and some of it related to conditions in our country as well. So I thought it was a balanced speech. There was no attempt to single any country out. She stood up for the rights and the potential and against the abuse of women everywhere in the world.

I thought that's what made the speech powerful, that there was no attempt to have a particular political agenda or single any country out. It was a very strong speech.

**Q.** They know who they are.

**The President.** I was proud of her.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Welfare Reform

September 6, 1995

Dear Mr. Leader:

I am glad the Senate has finally come to this important debate on welfare reform. The American people have waited a long time for this. We owe it to the people who sent us here not to let this opportunity slip away by doing the wrong thing or by failing to act at all.

Over the last two and a half years, my Administration has aggressively pursued welfare reform at every turn. We proposed sweeping welfare reform legislation to impose time limits and work requirements and promote the values of work, responsibility, and family. We have put tough child support enforcement at the center of the national welfare reform debate: My Administration collected a record level of child support in 1993—\$9 billion—and I signed a far-reaching Executive Order to crack down on federal employees who owe child support.

We have put the country on the road to ending welfare as we know it, by approving welfare reform experiments in a record 34 states. Through these experiments, 7 million recipients around the country are now being required to work, pay child support, live at home and stay in school, sign a personal responsibility contract, or earn a paycheck from a business that uses money that was spent on food stamp and welfare benefits to subsidize private sector jobs. Today, my Administration is granting two more waivers to expand successful state experiments in Ohio, which rewards teen mothers who stay in school and sanctions those who don't, and in Florida, which requires welfare recipients to go to work as a condition of their benefits and provides child care when they do.

I am confident that what we're doing to reform welfare around the country is helping to instill the values all Americans share. Now we need to pass a welfare reform bill that ends the current welfare system altogether and replaces it with one that puts work, responsibility, and family first.

That is why I strongly support and urge you to pass the welfare reform bill sponsored by Senators Daschle, Breaux, and Mikulski that is before the Senate today. Instead of maintaining the current broken system which undermines our basic values, the Daschle-Breaux-Mikulski plan demands responsibility and requires people to work. The Work First bill will cut the budget by moving people to work, not by asking states to handle more problems with less money and shipping state and local taxpayers the bill.

I support the Work First plan because welfare reform is first and foremost about work. We should impose time limits and tough work requirements, and make sure that people get the child care they need to go to work. We should reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting people off. We will only end welfare as we know it if we succeed in moving people from welfare to work.

Welfare reform is also about family. That means the toughest possible child support enforcement, because people who bring children into this world should take responsibility for them, not just walk away. It also means requiring teen mothers to live at home, stay in school, and turn their lives around—not

punishing children for the mistakes of their parents.

Finally, welfare reform must be about responsibility. States have a responsibility to maintain their own efforts to move people from welfare to work, so that we can have a race to independence, not a race to the bottom. Individuals have a responsibility to work in return for the help they receive. The days of something for nothing are over. It is time to make welfare a second chance, and responsibility a way of life.

We have a ways to go in this welfare reform debate, but we have made progress. I have always sought to make welfare reform a bipartisan issue. The dignity of work, the bond of family, and the virtue of responsibility are not Republican values or Democratic values. They are American values—and no child in America should ever have to grow up without them. We can work toward a welfare reform agreement together, as long as we remember the values this debate is really about.

The attached Statement of Administration Policy spells out my views on the pending legislation in further detail.

Sincerely,

**Bill Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Bob Dole, Senate majority leader, and Thomas A. Daschle, Senate minority leader.

### **Message to the Congress Reporting on Federal Advisory Committees**

*September 6, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As provided by the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (Public Law 92-463; 5 U.S.C. App. 2, 6(c)), I am submitting my second Annual Report on Federal Advisory Committees covering fiscal year 1994.

This report highlights continuing efforts by my Administration to reduce and manage Federal advisory committees. Since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12838, as one of my first acts as President, we have reduced the overall number of discretionary advisory committees by 335 to achieve a net total of 466 chartered groups by the end of fiscal year 1994. This reflects a net reduction of 42 per-

cent over the 801 discretionary committees in existence at the beginning of my Administration—substantially exceeding the one-third target required by the Executive order.

In addition, agencies have taken steps to enhance their management and oversight of advisory committees to ensure these committees get down to the public's business, complete it, and then go out of business. I am also pleased to report that the total aggregate cost of supporting advisory committees, including the 429 specifically mandated by the Congress, has been reduced by \$10.5 million or by over 7 percent.

On October 5, 1994, my Administration instituted a permanent process for conducting an annual comprehensive review of all advisory committees through Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Circular A-135, "Management of Federal Advisory Committees." Under this planning process, agencies are required to review all advisory committees, terminate those no longer necessary, and plan for any future committee needs.

On July 21, 1994, my Administration forwarded for your consideration a proposal to eliminate 31 statutory advisory committees that were no longer necessary. The proposal, introduced by then Chairman Glenn of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs as S. 2463, outlined an additional \$2.4 million in annual savings possible through the termination of these statutory committees. I urge the Congress to pursue this legislation—adding to it if possible—and to also follow our example by instituting a review process for statutory advisory committees to ensure they are performing a necessary mission and have not outlived their usefulness.

My Administration also supports changes to the Federal Advisory Committee Act to facilitate communications between Federal, State, local, and tribal governments. These changes are needed to support this Administration's efforts to expand the role of these stakeholders in governmental policy deliberations. We believe these actions will help promote better communications and consensus building in a less adversarial environment.

I am also directing the Administrator of General Services to undertake a review of possible actions to more thoroughly involve

the Nation's citizens in the development of Federal decisions affecting their lives. This review should focus on the value of citizen involvement as an essential element of our efforts to reinvent Government, as a strategic resource that must be maximized, and as an integral part of our democratic heritage. This effort may result in a legislative proposal to promote citizen participation at all levels of government consistent with the great challenges confronting us.

We continue to stand ready to work with the Congress to assure the appropriate use of advisory committees and to achieve the purposes for which this law was enacted.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 6, 1995.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
the Hungary-United States Legal  
Assistance Treaty**

*September 6, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, signed at Budapest on December 1, 1994. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties that the United States is negotiating in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white-collar" criminals, and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) taking testimony or statements of persons; (2) providing documents, records, and articles of evidence; (3) serving documents; (4) locating or identifying persons or items; (5) transferring persons in custody for testimony

or other purposes; (6) executing requests for searches and seizures; (7) assisting in forfeiture proceedings; and (8) rendering any other form of assistance not prohibited by the laws of the Requested State.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 6, 1995.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
the Albania-United States  
Investment Treaty**

*September 6, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Albania Concerning the Encouragement and Reciprocal Protection of Investment, with Annex and Protocol, signed at Washington on January 11, 1995. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to this Treaty.

The Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) with Albania will protect U.S. investment and assist the Republic of Albania in its efforts to develop its economy by creating conditions more favorable for U.S. private investment and thus strengthen the development of its private sector. The Treaty is fully consistent with U.S. policy toward international and domestic investment. A specific tenet of U.S. policy, reflected in this Treaty, is that U.S. investment abroad and foreign investment in the United States should receive national treatment. Under this Treaty, the Parties also agree to international law standards for expropriation and compensation for expropriation; free transfer of funds related to investments; freedom of investments from performance requirements; fair, equitable, and most-favored-nation treatment; and the investor's or investment's freedom to choose to resolve disputes with the host government through international arbitration.

I recommend that the Senate consider this Treaty as soon as possible, and give its advice and consent to ratification of the Treaty, with Annex and Protocol, at an early date.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 6, 1995.

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

*September 6, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit herewith a report of the activities of the United States Government in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies during the calendar year 1994. The report is required by the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress; 22 U.S.C. 287b).

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 6, 1995.

**Remarks on the National  
Performance Review**

*September 7, 1995*

Thank you very much. I have to tell you that those of you here who have the privilege of being seated probably missed what almost became the newest example of our re-invented, full-service Government. Just as the Vice President was becoming most eloquent about how we were providing a full-service, high-quality Government, the people who were suffering in the sun standing in the back almost got a shower along with their press conference when the garden spray came on there. [Laughter] I saw them moving closer and closer and closer; I thought, well, maybe they can't hear. And then I finally realized they were about to get a shower. [Laughter] You come back tomorrow, we'll start with a shower.

Let me begin by saying a special word of thanks to the Vice President for the absolutely extraordinary energy and discipline

and dedication and quality of effort that he has put in over 2½ years now. This has been an exceptional achievement. There's nothing quite like it in the history of modern American Government, and it would not have happened had it not been for his leadership. And I am profoundly grateful to him for it.

I also want to join in thanking the supporters we've had among the Members of Congress, the people in our administration who have had to implement a lot of these recommendations. It's a lot easier to talk about than to do, and they have had a difficult job to do. And I thank the Cabinet especially and the agency heads for the embrace that they have given this.

I want to say a special word of thanks to the reinventing Government staff and especially to the Federal employees and to their representatives. They have worked very, very hard at this difficult job, and they have done it remarkably well.

Finally, I'd like to thank David Osborne and Tom Peters and Philip Howard for the books they have written and the inspiration they have provided. The Vice President and I and many of our team have read them all with great care and have done our best to be faithful to the ideas and principles which they have espoused.

When we were running for office, the Vice President and I, back in 1992, we said that, if elected, we would do our best to give this country a Government that was smaller and less bureaucratic; that had a lower cost but a higher quality of service; that devolved more power to States and localities and to entrepreneurs in the private sector; that was less regulatory and more oriented toward incentives; that had more common sense and sought more common ground. We have surely not succeeded in everything we have tried to do, and I am certain that there are areas where people could say we have erred. But we have certainly been faithful to the effort and we have made, I think, a great deal of progress in keeping the commitments that we made.

I wanted to do this because I thought it was important for more than one reason. First of all, it was important because we had a huge Government deficit, we had quadrupled our debt in 12 years, and we still

needed to invest more money in certain critical areas of our national life, in the education and training of our people, in research and development, in new technologies, in helping people to convert from a cold war economy to the 21st century global economy. So it was important; we needed to do it.

Secondly, we needed to do it because the level of anxiety and alienation about people's relationship to the Federal Government needed to be mended. We needed to make the Government work better.

Thirdly, we needed to do it because of this historic era in which we live. We, after all, have moved through a rapid transition now at the end of the cold war, and at the end of the traditional industrial economy into a global economy with new challenges, new conflicts characterized by a high rate of change, rapid movement of money, technology, and capital, and revolutions in information and technology. In that environment, the model that we use to deliver Government services and to fill public needs was simply no longer relevant to the present and less so to the future. And so we began to try not only to cut the size of the Government, to cut the number of programs, to cut the number of regulations but to change the way the Government works and to develop new partnerships and to devolve responsibilities to others who could more properly make the decisions.

There are so many examples of that that are not properly part of this particular report now but that have been driven by the philosophy of the Vice President's reinventing Government. We've given every State in the country now the opportunity to reform its own welfare system without waiting for legislation to pass. It's a dramatic thing. There's nothing like it in the history of modern American Government. And the philosophy of doing it grew out of the work we have done with reinventing Government.

When the Pentagon reformed its procurement procedures, America laughed when the Vice President cracked the ashtray on the David Letterman show, but the taxpayers are better off and the national defense is more secure because the money we're saving there can go into making our people safer and

more secure and fulfilling the objectives of the United States all around the world.

And there are many, many other things. The Secretary of the Interior is not here, but he's done his best now to try to resolve some of the thorniest conflicts between the Federal Government and various groups in the western part of our country by pushing more of these decisions down to local councils of people who can make them a long way from Washington but very close to where everyone has to live with the consequences. And there's so many examples of this in every Department of every leader in the Government here present. And I thank them all for that.

Fundamentally, this is a question, though, about our values. If you go back and read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, you understand that the American people from our beginnings meant for the Government to do those things which the Government needs to do because they can't be done otherwise; meant for the Government to be an instrument of the public interest.

And we have a moral obligation to make sure that we do this right, that we take the money earned by the hard efforts of the American people and use it in ways that further the public interest. If we can't justify doing that, we can't justify being here, and we can't justify taking the money. And we have a moral obligation to prepare the future for our children and our grandchildren.

Now, this reinventing Government effort is much more important today in many ways than it was on the day I became President because of the choices facing us now in the great budget debate in the Congress. It is much more important now. If we are going to go forward and balance the budget, if we're going to cut spending even more, we have to be even more careful about how we spend the people's money and what we do with the time of public servants and the power that public servants have.

I believe very strongly that we have to balance the budget. I think we have to do it to take the burden of debt off of future generations. I think we have to do it to keep interest rates down and to free up capital for investment now so that we can achieve higher rates of growth. But I think that we have

to do it in a way that will achieve our objectives.

And what are our objectives? Our objectives are to grow the American economy, to strengthen the American society, to free up investment so that the American people can live up to the fullest of their potential. That means that we cannot balance the budget in a way that will drive us into a prolonged recession, that will cut off our nose to spite our face, that will be a penny-wise and pound-foolish, that will aggravate the wage stagnation and the other problems that people have in this country today, which means we have to have the money that is left to invest in ways that really serve the American people and serve their larger purposes.

We've reduced the annual deficit from \$290 billion the year I took office down to \$160 billion this year. The total reduction is about a trillion dollars over a 7-year period. We have to finish the job, but we have to do it in a way that honors the purpose of a balanced budget, which is to strengthen the future of America. We have to decide, in other words, what is important for us today and what's important for our future.

Of course, the Federal Government was too large and needed to be cut back. Of course, there is still waste and duplication. Of course, there are still regulations that don't make a lick of sense, and they needed to be changed, and they need to be changed. But we have to keep in mind there are still public purposes that as far as we know today cannot be fully discharged without the involvement of America's National Government: the health care of elderly citizens; protection of our environment; the safety of our food; the needs of the people whose triumph we celebrated in Hawaii last weekend who won the Second World War for us and paved the way for the last 50 years of the American Century, giving the poor a chance to work their way into the middle class and giving our children and now increasingly our adults access to the best possible education opportunities. Those are the values and priorities of the people of this country. They have to be reflected in the budget as well.

The Vice President's report that I received today has over 180 specific cuts in Government that will save over \$70 billion in the

next 5 years. One by one, these are not the kind of cuts that make headlines and, I guess, I don't expect them to make too many headlines tomorrow. But when you put them all together, as Everett Dirksen said once, "a billion here and a billion there, and pretty soon you're talking about real money." [Laughter]

These are kinds of cuts that will allow us to balance the budget without cutting the single most important investment we can make in our future: education. That's why I was able to give to the Congress a balanced budget plan that increases education. By contrast, the proposals of the congressional majority spend \$76 billion less on education and training than I do in the next 7 years. They make deep cuts in education at a time when it's more important than ever before. That's why so many people estimate that that budget could actually slow the rate of economic growth over the next 7 years instead of increase it, which is the whole purpose of balancing the budget, to grow and strengthen the economy.

If the congressional proposal is passed, fewer children will go to Head Start, fewer schools will be able to teach their children to stay away from drugs and gangs or have the resources to use the best possible technology or have smaller classes or set up the charter schools when the existing system is not working. There won't be as many young people who get scholarships to go on to college, and the cost of the college loan program to ordinary students will go up dramatically in ways that will reduce the number of people going to college at precisely the time we need to see them increasing.

Now, that is really what this choice is all about. There was—I thought that chart was showing when it blew down, but you can see here that we have to make these kind of choices. Should we balance the budget by reducing education spending by \$76 billion, or should we cut \$70 billion in Government waste and duplication? Do we want fewer people to go to college? Do we want larger classes in our schools? Do we want to scale back our efforts to keep our schools safer and drug-free? Do we want to say that having the highest standards for what we teach our

children is not a proper objective for the education budget? I don't think we do.

And the point I want to make to you all is we do not have to do this. The sacrifice of all these people in Government to promote this reinventing Government project must not be in vain. We must take the money that is left and spend it properly. We must take the money that is left and spend it properly.

Let me give you some examples of the cuts in Appendix C of the Vice President's report. Like I said, a lot of them don't sound very interesting, but after you add them up, you got some real money there: \$118 million by closing 200 weather stations with the National Weather Service, because computers do the job better and cheaper; \$14 million in the Small Business Administration by consolidating their loan-processing operations.

Let me just point out, the SBA, in the last 2 years, has cut their budget by 40 percent and doubled their loan volume. Don't tell me that we can't make Government work better—doubled their loan volume and cut their budget.

Secretary Cisneros has proposed a remarkable plan for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. They have three basic responsibilities: public housing, affordable housing, and economic development. Instead of running 60 programs to do three things, now they've proposed to run three programs to do three things and save \$825 million in administrative costs alone, not money that would otherwise go to Mayor Rice out in Seattle or the other local leaders around our country, but administrative costs. It is wrong, in a time when you have to balance the budget, for us to take one red cent in administrative costs that does not have to be taken when the money ought to be put on the streets of America to benefit the American people. And I thank you for that, Secretary.

The Clean Coal Technology project was implemented to develop a way to burn coal cleanly, as cleanly as it could possibly be burned. Well, they did it. The project was started to do that job. It did the job, but nobody ever closed it down. Now, we're going to do that, not because it failed but because it succeeded.

The Naval Petroleum Reserve in Elk Hills, California, was created during World War I because America's new battleships needed oil. Well, I think World War I is over, and I know that the strategic need for the Navy to have its own oil fields has long since passed.

By eliminating the Clean Coal Technology program, privatizing Elk Hills, and doing a lot of other cuts like this in the energy area, the Energy Department will save \$23 billion over the next 5 years. That's a great tribute to the Energy Department's recommendations, and it's the right thing to do.

Believe it or not, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration has a core of 400 officers who command a fleet of less than 10 old ships. I think that we can be adequately protected by the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines, and the Coast Guard. So we're going to stop paying for those 10 old ships and use the money for better purposes.

Well, you get the picture. These are common sense things. We've been working on this hard for 2 years, and we still keep finding these opportunities, and we will continue to do it.

How do people know this will work? How do they know that the savings on paper will become savings in the bank? Well, we have got a track record on that. The Vice President's first report predicted we could save \$108 billion in 5 years by reinventing Government. After 2 years, \$58 billion is already in the bank; that much has been implemented and saved, in law, in fact. More than half the savings promised in less than half the time.

Two years ago we said we could shrink the size of Government by 252,000 positions. With the help of Congress offering us humane and decent buyout proposals, the Federal Government today has 160,000 people fewer on the payroll than it did on the day I took office. We are well ahead of schedule on the 252,000.

At the same time, the people who are left are doing their jobs better, and they ought to get credit for it. Last May, Business Week, not an arm of the administration, Business Week magazine ran an article about the best customer service in America on the tele-

phone. They rank companies, great companies like L.L. Bean, Federal Express, and Disney World, people who, for different reasons, need to be very effective on the telephone. But do you know who they said provides the most "courteous, knowledgeable and efficient" telephone customer service in the country? The Social Security Administration of the United States Government. I am very proud of that, and you should be, too.

The operators at Social Security are some of the thousands of people who are providing the skeptics wrong, people who think Government can never do anything right. Because of their hard work, we know we can balance the budget without cutting education and risking our children's future. But I will say again, we have to make some decisions.

When I became President—I just want to mention one other—I asked the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce to work together to make sure we started promoting America's economic interest overseas. I have had 100 businesspeople in the last 2 years tell me that for the first time in their entire business lives, every time they go to another country, the State Department is working for them. I have never talked to a businessperson who has extensive dealings overseas who doesn't tell me that the Commerce Department is more effective in promoting the interests of American businesses and American jobs around the world than at any time in the past. That is also part of reinventing Government. We want you to get more for your money, not just reduce the size of Government.

This can happen, but we need to continue to do this. This has to be a continuous process. Our goal, the Vice President's and mine, is to build this into the culture of Government so that no future administration can fail to embrace this. Our goal is to make this a part of the daily lives, the breathing, the working habits of every manager in the Government, every Federal employee, everybody. We want them to think about it because, believe me, there are still things that go on every day in the Government that the President can't know about, the Vice President can't know about, but that will affect the lives and the interests and the feelings of the American people.

But we are making a difference. Now we have to decide in this budget debate how we're going to cut, how we're going to balance the budget. This is just like the productivity changes that many large American companies underwent throughout the 1980's. I know we can keep doing this. I know we can do more than even we think we can do. I know we can.

But this is the sort of thing we ought to be doing. And it would be a great mistake if in the next 90 days in the desire to balance the budget, which I share fully and which we started and which has taken us from a \$290 billion deficit to \$160 billion deficit, we became penny-wise and pound-foolish. And we forgot that one of the reasons we're doing this is to make sure that the money left can advance the cause of America's economic interest and the basic values of the American people to give every citizen the chance to live up to his or her God-given capacity, to keep the American dream alive, and to give us a chance to come together in a prosperous, secure, and exciting future. That is ultimately—ultimately—the great benefit of this whole effort.

So I ask you to continue to support it and, as we come to this budget debate, to say, we do not—we do not have to make the wrong choices for the right objective. We can balance the budget, and we can do it in the right way, and reinventing Government proves it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Norman Rice of Seattle, WA.

### **Remarks at a Clinton/Gore '96 Fundraising Dinner**

*September 7, 1995*

Thank you very much. Thank you all for your wonderful welcome. What a way to come back from vacation. I want to thank Fred Baron and Larry Stewart so much for the work they did to help bring us all together tonight. I want to thank all of you for being here and for the contributions you have made to our campaign. Many of you

are old friends of mine, and I'm glad to see you again. Some of you I have never seen before, and I hope I have a chance to shake a few more hands before I leave tonight.

I thank Terry McAuliffe and his fine staff, all of them, for the work they have done, and I want to thank my good friend, John Breaux, not the least—so many reasons I have to thank him for—for finally giving me credit for where he got that joke. *[Laughter]* Pretty funny, don't you think?

I told him another story he didn't tell tonight, which illustrates another point about what's going on in Washington today, which is that one of my laws of American politics which people—everybody tends to be for change in general but against it in particular. So it's important to know what the fine print is in these contracts.

The same minister he talked about was having trouble getting his congregation to exercise, so he worked his heart out on a sermon that he thought would finally inflame his congregation. And he was going on and on and pumping, and they were saying "Amen" and ginning and finally, he got to the punch line and he said, "I want everybody in this congregation who wants to go to Heaven to stand up." Everybody leapt to their feet, except this one old lady on the front row that hadn't missed a Sunday in church in 45 years. And he was crestfallen. He said, "Well, Sister Jones, don't you want to go to Heaven when you die?" And then she jumped up. She said, "I'm sorry, Preacher, I thought you was trying to get up a load to go right now." *[Laughter]* It's very important to get the fine print of these contracts.

I want to tell you, I've had a wonderful experience with the American people in the last few weeks. My family and I had the opportunity to go to Wyoming, as I'm sure you know, on vacation, and we got to spend a lot of time in Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks. And I had the opportunity there as President to defend the national parks and the importance of preserving and maintaining them in this budget battle. I wish every young person in our country could go to one.

I also had an opportunity to talk to a lot of Westerners who, you know, think that one of their hands would fall off if they ever voted

for a Democrat, because they're so used to, you know, disliking the Federal Government, and they've got us identified with them. You know, it's interesting, the Republicans, if they hate the Government so much, why do you supposed they've devoted a whole generation to trying to take it all over? *[Laughter]* They lost the White House for 2½ years, and they missed it so much they can't bear to give it up. *[Laughter]*

But anyway, I talked to a lot of people, then I went to Hawaii and represented our country at the last of the many wonderful occasions commemorating the 50th anniversary of World War II, and I got an incredible sense of the diversity of this great country, meeting again, as—I'm always overwhelmed by this incredible generation of Americans that literally saved our way of life and paved the way for all the prosperity and the security and the victory we had in the cold war.

My State had one of those Japanese internment camps in World War II, and I met a couple—it's an incredible story—that met and got married in the internment camp in Arkansas. And the man had volunteered to join the service, and they sent him to Mississippi to train, and he said he got hungry for Japanese food. And they said the only place you can get anything is internment camp in Arkansas. *[Laughter]* So he went over and met his wife there, he said, "We're the only two Japanese-Americans who actually are glad those camps were set up. We had our marriage there."

I met another Japanese-American who came here on his own, was thrown into a camp, volunteered to join the military, got out, and by the grace of God, the war ended the day before he was about to be sent to an island where he would have been in combat against two of his brothers who were in uniform for the Japanese. But the atomic bomb had ended the war, damaged his own home, injured his mother, and killed one of his other brothers.

This is an incredible country. We come from all different backgrounds and all different walks of life. And we've come a long way in the last 50 years.

When I ran for President in 1992, I did it because I thought we were not making the changes we needed to make to get ready for

the 21st century. I did it because I thought that we had not seriously come to grips with the economic and social challenges of the time. And I said I would try to change the economic direction and the social direction of the country, to try to move us forward and bring us together. And virtually everything I've talked about doing, except the fight we lost on health care, we've succeeded on.

The deficit was \$290 billion a year when I took office; it's going to be \$160 billion this year. It's come down for 3 years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President. For 6 years, there had—[*ap- plause*]*—thank you—*for 6 years, the American people watched Congress condemn the crime problem in America and do nothing about it, and just fight over this crime bill. We passed the crime bill. It puts 100,000 more police on the street, has prevention programs to give our kids something to say yes to, has stiffer punishment for serious offenses, and contained the assault weapons ban that was so controversial. A lot of members of our party laid down their seats in Congress for that because their voters were told they were going to lose their guns. Next November they'll see they didn't lose their guns, but there are a bunch of criminals that don't have Uzis in the schools and on the streets, and they did the right thing, and we were glad to do it.

I was concerned before it became fashionable up here, about the problems of welfare, because I think the welfare system is bad for everybody that's involved in it the way it is. It perpetrates dependency, but it doesn't liberate anybody, but it's a pretty bad way to live.

And when the Congress did not act on welfare reform under our Executive order, we just gave States the authority to do what they wanted by getting out of under the existing Federal rules. Now, 34 States have adopted their own reforms that we've approved.

The other party and their Presidents often condemned Federal power and said they wanted more passed back to State and local government, but we gave States and localities more authority to change their welfare systems and their health care systems in 2½ years than they did in 12 years. And those are important things to do.

For 7 years, Congress and the President argued about a simple little law that 175 other countries had to guarantee people that they wouldn't lose their jobs if they had to take a little time off work when their families needed it, if they got sick or their children got sick or their parents got sick, the family and medical leave law. It was the first law I signed as President. We just celebrated the second anniversary of that law at the National Institutes of Health with a lot of parents who have children with cancer who are struggling along. But those parents at least still have their jobs now because of that law, and not a single, solitary business in America has gone broke because of it. But the other guys said that they would.

So I'm proud of the fact that the United States has been a leader in the cause of peace, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, to Southern Africa, to Haiti. I met a woman tonight whose got a young son in uniform in Haiti. And I'll tell you, that's an amazing story that has never fully been told. It's the most totally integrated, planned, and executed military operation in the history of this country which, thank God, did not require us to fire a shot. But it had an enormous positive impact, the ability of the United States to be a force for peace and democracy and freedom throughout our hemisphere. And I'm very, very proud of all the young men and women who engaged in it. And I am very proud of all the young people in uniform who are part of the NATO operation in Bosnia, which is going to give us a chance to make a decent, honorable peace there and stop the slaughter of innocent civilians.

And as John Breaux said, the economic consequences of what we've tried to do have been, I think, quite impressive. We now have well over 7 million new jobs in 30 months; 2½ million new American homeowners; new small businesses starting in America at a rate of 750,000 a year, by far the highest rate on an annual basis since the beginning—since the end of World War II when we started keeping such statistics; the combined rates of unemployment and inflation are at about a nearly 30-year low; the stock market has hit 4,700, profits at an all-time high. I'm pretty pleased by that.

We've had more new self-made millionaires in America in each of the first 2 years I was President than at any time in the history of the United States. We are clearly, clearly, the most entrepreneurial, flexible, open, forward-looking major country in the world right now. And we have the right kind of partnership between business and Government. Our Commerce Department, our State Department have worked hard to help sell American products overseas. We've expanded trade by more than at any time in modern history. These things are going well.

So you might ask yourself: If that's all true, how come they won in the election last November? And I think there are some important answers to that question as we look ahead to '96. And I'd like to talk about it very briefly.

Number one, they talk better than our guys do sometimes. [*Laughter*] They talk about hating the Government. We reduced it. There are 160,000 fewer people working for the Federal Government today than there were the day I became President. We're going to have the smallest Federal Government since Kennedy was President if they don't do anything in this year. We have abolished thousands of pages of Federal regulations. We have abolished hundreds of Government programs. We've begun to make Government work again.

The Small Business Administration cut its budget by 40 percent and doubled the loan volume. Business Week wrote an article a couple of months ago about evaluating all these major companies that have to use the telephone, for who had the best quality telephone service, L.L. Bean and Federal Express and all these companies that really depend on phone service. You know who they said had the best, most courteous, most enlightening telephone service in the United States? The Social Security Administration of the United States Government—Business Week, not an arm of the Democratic Party, Business Week.

So they did that. They talk better. They wave the contract. It sounded like a good idea. But more importantly, a lot of people hadn't felt the positive benefits of the things we've done. There's a time lag between when you do something in Government and when

people feel it. But more profoundly than that, there is a lot of unease and uncertainty in our country because we're going through a period of change as profound as the change we went through when we became an industrial society out of an agricultural society. That is the fundamental lesson of this time. And that is why your voice and your work and your convictions are so important. This is a time of historic importance for citizenship.

I've really spent a lot of time trying to come to grips with all the things that are going on in this country and in ordinary people's lives. I read a significant percentage of the mail I get from ordinary citizens. I set up a separate zip code when I became President for the people that I went to grade school and junior high and high school with, most of whom are ordinary, hard-working middle class people to write me letters so I could know what they were going through.

And I'm telling you, I believe that the period we're living through is the most profound period of change since roughly the time between 1895 and 1916 when we decided how we were going to respond to the fact that we were a great industrial power. And we had to define what the role of Government was going to be and what the purpose of our common existence as Americans was going to be.

We started out with dealing with the anti-trust laws, because we decided we needed competition, not monopoly in America. Theodore Roosevelt told us we had to preserve our natural resources. We couldn't just develop it all and leave nothing for our children and our grandchildren and posterity. We had child labor laws because it wasn't right to make kids work in factories and mines 6 days a week, 10, 12, 14 hours a day. And finally, in 1916 the Congress even adopted an income tax so that there would be some proportionally fair way to raise the money that had to be spent to further the public interest.

That 20-year period was a very tumultuous time. And people's lives were changing a lot and they were trying to come to grips with it. The elections were kind of close and sometimes inconsistent because we were working our way through that. That's what's happen-

ing now. The cold war is over. We're moving into a global economy where most of the conflicts will not be as cataclysmic as the threat of one nation bombing another into oblivion. I'm proud of the fact that there are no Russian missiles pointed at this country for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, since our administration came in.

But don't—don't be fooled. We still have problems. We thwarted terrorist attempts to set off a bomb in the Lincoln Tunnel, to blow up a plane going across the Pacific. We dealt with the World Trade Center, as well as the problem in Oklahoma City. You see what happened to the Japanese when they had that religious fanatic explode the—or break open the little vial of sarin gas in the subway, or whenever a car bomb blows up in Israel—all this is a part of the new security threat as groups, distinct groups, begin to break apart from the whole and the consensus that binds us together as civilized people.

Economically, you see this incredible thing. We've got 7 million new jobs. But if I had told you 30 months ago on the day I was inaugurated, I said, here's what's going to happen in 30 months: We'll have 7 million jobs, 2½ new homeowners, 1½ new businesses, the stock market will be at 4,700, corporate profits will be at an all-time high, and the median wage will drop one percent. So that after 2½ years most hourly wage earners will be working a longer work week for a lower wage, once you adjust for inflation. You might not have believed that, but it happened.

So the bedrock middle class people of this country worry whether the American dream is supposed to work. They keep reading these great numbers, and they say, "What about me? I don't feel more secure. I don't feel more prosperous. I'm concerned."

I say this to you not to be down. I'm actually very hopeful about the future. If you wanted to bet on the future of any major country in the world today for 50 years from now, you'd have to bet on the United States, because of our economic strength, because of our diversity, because of our creativity.

But we have two great challenges and alternative explanations at work in Washington today about how best to meet those challenges. We have to face the future together,

because we're going to live in a global society, which means we have to get along with people who are different from we are—from ourselves—different in terms of their religious views, different in terms of their racial backgrounds, different in terms of their ethnic heritage, different in terms of their politics. We've got to find a way to get along, because teamwork wins in the global economy, not division.

The second thing we have to find a way to do is to always be thinking about the future. How are we going to grow the middle class and shrink the under class and keep the American dream alive.

Now, one explanation that we hear all the time is that all we have to do is destroy the Federal Government, and everything will be hunky-dory. All we have to do to make middle class people's wages grow again, if they happen to be white and male, is to get rid of affirmative action or get tough on welfare or immigration.

Let me tell you something—again this is the difference in talking and doing. Our administration has done more than the last two to reform affirmative action, to fix it, number one; to change welfare; and to take on the problems of illegal immigration and the whole problem of immigration generally. We are trying to do the things that ought to be done. But let's not forget what's really happening to the middle class is the global economy, the technology revolution, the downward pressure on wages of people who can't command high incomes because of their education and skill.

So if we really want to turn it around, yes, we have to reform the systems of Government and all of that, but let's not kid ourselves. Average people need protection, great institutions of power in the private sector need accountability. And we need to recognize that we have got to work together and work for the future if you really want to raise incomes and have a good future for the United States. That's my theory.

And when you see this fight we're going to have over the budget here, which I hope will end in reasoned, principled compromise on common ground and higher ground, but which cannot—cannot—result in just abandoning the ordinary citizens of this country,

when we need to guarantee that their parents and little kids will have health care; we need to make sure that everybody will have access to education to make the most of their own lives; we need to make sure that the environment and clean air and clean water and public health generally are protected—we're going to have a debate. And I believe the answer is, we've got to work together and work for the future.

The alternative vision is what we need to do is keep everybody torn up and upset and hating the Federal Government and blaming somebody else for their problems. Now, those are the two big paradigms here. And if you go back to the period between 1895 and 1916, you will see exactly the same thing. But you shouldn't be upset about it. You should be glad that you were given the opportunity to be an American citizen at a once-in-a-hundred-years time of change because it means you are going to have a chance to shape the future for another hundred years. You have an opportunity to decide what kind of world your children and your grandchildren and their children will grow up in. And the next 90 days in this budget, not because of how much money is spent on program X, Y, or Z but because it will say what kind of people we are. That will help to define it.

Several of you have told me tonight that you were in Camden Yards in Baltimore with me last night when Cal Ripken broke Lou Gehrig's record. Why was everybody so happy about that? Everybody loves seeing somebody who was successful that no one could resent. Why? Because here's a guy who showed up for work every day, right? [*Laughter*] Showed up for work every day and did it well, and had a good time doing it, but displayed the kind of constancy and teamwork that we all respect.

Did you ever ask yourself, why is it that in our citizenship, in our voting habits, we reward the kind of behavior that we would not tolerate on a baseball team or in a business or a community organization or a church or a family? You think of any operation you are a part of, what makes it work? People who are interested in unity, not division; people who are looking to the future; people who are optimistic and upbeat; and people, if they

spent all their time—anybody in any of these operations spent their time trying to divide people in the group against one another, you would run them off. You would get rid of them. Here, we elect them. [*Laughter*] Now, why is that? Why is that?

Because every one of us wakes up every day with a little scale inside: hope on one side; fear on the other. And sometimes we vote based on how the scales are balanced. And we're all for change, but you know, the average person is just trying to keep body and soul together, trying to do what Cal Ripken does, showing up for work every day. One reason that's so popular is most of the people that were in that baseball stadium last night are the same kind of people. They show up for work every day. They work when they don't feel good. They work when the weather's bad. They work to earn money to do right by their children. They are the people that keep this country going. But they see the play which plays itself out in Washington indirectly, not directly. You have to bring it home directly. You can do it because you, every one of you, in a different way, touches the lives of those kinds of people.

And it's not that I'm going to be right on every issue. But I'll tell you what, I'm on their side. And I'm thinking about their future and their children's future and their grandchildren's future. And I know that in a time of change, what makes a country work is the same thing that makes a team work, a business work, a church work, a family work. You've got to pull together, and you've got to work for tomorrow. And you've got to think about everybody—everybody.

So every issue you're interested in, that's how I am going to evaluate it. How is it going to affect the ordinary person? How is it going to affect these families that are struggling to hold body and soul together? How is it going to affect the dreams people have of the future? That's really what we ought to be doing. And I say to you, you should be very, very happy. You should think it is a privilege that you happen to be alive and at the peak of your influence and energy at a time when your country needs your energy, your knowledge, your experience, your ability, and your determination. This only happens about once every 100 years.

And we are the longest lasting democracy in history because every time it's happened to us before, we did the right thing. We got started right. We fought the Civil War, and it came out right. We stayed together, and we got rid of slavery. We went through this vast economic change, the first big one. Then we dealt with the Depression, World War II, and the cold war. Now we're going through our second vast economic change. So I say, sign up, saddle up, throw your shoulders back, smile, have good time, and we will prevail.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:55 p.m. in the Mayflower Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to fundraisers Frederick M. Baron and Larry Stewart; Terence McAuliffe, national finance chairman, Clinton/Gore '96; and Senator John Breaux, chairman of the next majority trust, Democratic Senate Campaign Committee.

### **Remarks at a Breakfast With Religious Leaders** *September 8, 1995*

Thank you very much, and welcome to the White House. I thank the Vice President for his wonderful introduction. I earnestly hope someday he won't have to close his eye when he reads the—[*laughter*]. Thank you.

I cannot tell you all the wonderful contributions he's made to our country and to me and my family, but I can say that when my term in this job is over, one of the things that I will get credit for, even among people who disagree with nearly everything I do, is that I made a good decision when I picked a Vice President, and he then became clearly the most influential person ever to be in the Vice President's office in the history of this—[*applause*].

I have come to very much look forward to this breakfast. As I think most of you know, this is the third such breakfast we have had with leaders of faith from all walks of life, from all over our country, at about this time when we come back from vacation, our children go back to school, and we here in Washington have to go back to work. That itself is an act of faith sometimes. [*Laughter*] And a lot of you know that I have been very inter-

ested in the role of faith in public life and in the life of public persons for many years, since long before I became President.

Two years ago, I spoke about the profound impact on me of Stephen Carter's book, "The Culture of Disbelief," and I don't know whether Mr. Carter's forgiven me, or not, yet. It's changed his life a little bit anyway since we talked about that. But Carter made an important point, that we simply, in this, the most religious of all countries and a country that in our Constitution protects the right of everyone to believe or not as he or she sees fit, we have to make room for something that important in the public square. And we have to do it in a way that recognizes that most American of rights, the right to differ.

After that experience I had reading the book and then having this breakfast and working on all this, we redoubled our efforts in this administration on the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and on implementing and on its implications and on trying to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of the law in many ways that a lot of you are familiar with. And that is also what led me to give the speech I gave about the role of religion in education at James Madison High School in Virginia a few months ago, and then, following up on that, to have the Secretary of Education Dick Riley issue the guidelines that were just going out to all of our schools on the relationship on religion in public schools.

That was a very important thing for a lot of our school children and educators around this country and for a lot of people in this room and those whom you represent. We made it clear that under our law, schools are not religion-free zones; we simply, under the Constitution, prohibit the power of Government through the schools to advance particular religious beliefs. But students can still pray individually or together, silently or aloud. Religious clubs have a right to meet, just like any other clubs, and to do what they wish to do. Flyers can be distributed. Homework and other assignments can even be used to express religious convictions by students. Religion can be a part of the curriculum of public education as long as particular views are not advocated.

I think this is a very important thing. There are those who say that they think more should be done, and I think that part of it is they feel that, unless our young people, particularly those who may not be subject to religious influences, understand the basic values behind the great religions that our country permits to flourish and encourages to flourish, they might not grow up to be the kind of citizens they ought to be. So we've also done a lot of work on what has popularly been called character education in our country, trying to emphasize to our schools and to encourage them to teach the basic values of good citizenship, values that make a good life.

Secretary Riley has been extremely supportive and a strong advocate of what he calls the moral code that holds us together. In teaching that in our schools, teaching our students to be honest and trustworthy, reliable, to have respect for themselves, for others, for property, and for our natural environment, to be good citizens, and also to do the things that I advocated a few months ago when I spoke at my alma mater, Georgetown University, to treat one another with civility and tolerance and to exercise personal responsibility. After all, if we all did what we were supposed to, we wouldn't have to spend so much time talking to other people—*[laughter]*—and neither would anybody else.

And this character education movement, I predict to you, will do quite well in this country. There will be more and more and more deliberate efforts to teach these values in our public schools. There is evidence already that in the schools that have a thoroughgoing, comprehensive, disciplined commitment to this, the dropout rate is down, and the student performance is up. That's because you basically can't live without values. You've got some. It's just a question of what they are. And it's important to be explicit about them, and you can do that within the framework of the first amendment.

So if any of you are more interested in that, we can get you the information on what the Department of Education is doing. I just announced in California a couple of days ago that we have actually put out modest grants to four States to help school districts in those

States develop comprehensive character education programs.

Let me say, the freshest evidence that this is important is a recent study, a very, very large study of young people and drug use that Joe Califano brought to my attention about 3 weeks ago that said that the three major determinants in whether young people use drugs or not was whether they had a strong relationship with their parents, whether they tended to believe in the future and be optimistic about it, and whether they had a connection to a church. Those three things were the three repeating constants in what is otherwise an incredible kaleidoscope of different life circumstances that lead young people either to use drugs or to refrain from using them. So I think that is important.

The Vice President talked about the night we had—I might say, it made a special night for us because he and I went to Baltimore with his son and my daughter, and each of them brought a friend. So we got to see this great event through the eyes of children. And the thing that struck me about it was that everybody was so happy and nobody resented Mr. Ripken's success. Not a person. I don't think a person in the country. Why? Because it was about more than talent, success and making several million dollars a year. It was about showing up for work every day—*[laughter]*—and sticking with your team. It wasn't about who got the best contract, who made the best deal. It was about keeping your end of the bargain.

And I think one of the reasons that people were so ecstatic about it is that it was an exceptional example of what most people try to do in their lives every day. When I got home from California the night the record was tied, it was about midnight. And before I went to bed—I don't know about you, but when I get off an airplane and come in the house, I can't just plop down and go to sleep. So I turned on the television, and I saw the late local news. And there was a feature on the local news in Virginia of a bus driver who had not missed a day's work in 18 years. And here was this bus driver, he never would have been on television before, and they were doing a feature on him.

And the local reporter was riding a bus with him. And he was meeting the people

that he picked up every day and let off every day and talking about how his daddy told him he was supposed to work, that he didn't think there was anything unusual. Why? Why wouldn't you go 18 years and never miss a day's work? And I thought, that man would have never been on television if it hadn't been for Cal Ripken breaking Lou Gehrig's record. There was a reaffirmation of the idea of responsibility, personal responsibility, the dignity of work, the devotion—that guy's team were the people that carry the folks around every day. Pretty important team. And I think it sort of reinforced to me this idea that in spite of all the differences in this country, there really are a lot of things that bind us together, that we believe very deeply.

I appreciate what the Vice President said about the First Lady. I wish she could be here today. She's getting home sometime tonight. But I think that that speech she gave resonated so powerfully across the world because it was elemental, basic, true, profound in the simplicity of the things that we all know, things that we all know we should do, things we all know we shouldn't do and shouldn't permit if we can stop. And it was a very powerful thing because it brought people together.

Now, I think that's very important today in America because of the kind of things that are going on. And I just want to talk very briefly about that and the work we're about to undertake here.

In many ways, the big trends in America look good. Economically we have 7 million more jobs, 2½ million more homeowners. We're creating new businesses at a rate of 750,000 a year, by far the highest rate in American history. We have low inflation, high growth. By any standard, this is about the best combined economic picture in 20 years. African-American unemployment rate below 10 percent for the first time since the Vietnam war. A lot of the social indicators are encouraging. In almost every major city in America, the crime rate is down, the welfare roles are down, the food stamp roles are down.

A lot of the cultural things are encouraging. The divorce rate is down. The abortion rate is down. There are signs that people are beginning to get together even in troubled

places. The United States has been honored to be a force for peace in the last 3 years in Northern Ireland and South Africa and the Middle East, in Haiti. We even see signs of hope in Bosnia. Today—today, representatives of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are meeting as a part of the peace initiative the United States has pushed so hard in Europe, and we pray for their success. They need to quit killing each other; it's not that much land involved. And there is nothing in their religious faiths that dictates that kind of bloodletting.

So there is a lot to be hopeful about, a lot of common ground to celebrate. But if you look at it, you'd never know that to listen to what we do here. And I think there is a reason for that—there are two reasons for that. One is the culture around here and the way we do business or the way it's been done for years—I haven't been here too long, but I'm still learning about it—and the larger reasons of what's going on in the world today.

But let me deal with the basic, fundamental issues here. What worked for the bus driver and for Cal Ripken, showing up for work, having the right attitude, working on the team, working for tomorrow, that's what works. What works in a church? Working together, working for the future around shared values. What works in a family? What works at a business? Not surprisingly, people don't like what they see in Washington if they don't see people working together and working for the future, if all they ever see is what are they fighting about today? What is the new partisan difference that is all of a sudden all the rage?

I think we all have a common interest in balancing the budget, and I'm glad to see both parties' leadership now committed to doing that. For 2 years, we had a lonely battle here. We took the deficit from \$290 billion down to \$160 billion. It was a one-party operation. And when that happens, you have to make decisions that in the details are so controversial, it's unsettling to people. When both parties work together, they can do it better. So I think it's great; we're going to balance the budget.

Then the question is how should we do it, because it's not just a matter of debits and credits; it's also a matter of values and responsibilities. How you do this defines who

you are. And I would argue to you that this is a much more important process today than it would have been a generation ago for reasons I will explain in just a moment.

But if you believe that, then we have to ask: What are the values? How are we going to provide for our children's future, especially for their education? What do we owe the elderly in this country in terms of health care? Seventy-five percent of the people who are eligible for Medicare live on \$24,000 a year or less. What do we owe to them? What do we owe to people like those veterans of World War II that we honored in Hawaii just a few days ago, who literally made the world that we are all living off of now, who set in motion the circumstances that permitted all of us in the age groups represented here to flourish? What do we owe to the poor and to the homeless?

What do we owe? How do our obligations here—can they be fulfilled, anyway? What is—what kind of Government do we have to have to make this stuff work? Yesterday, the Vice President announced his 2-year report on our reinventing Government project. There are 160,000 fewer people working for the Government now than were when I became President. About 400 programs have been eliminated, many thousands of pages of regulations have been scrapped. But we've also worked very hard on improving the quality of Government.

Business Week magazine evaluated all the business units in America that depend heavily on being successful on the phone, great companies like L.L. Bean and Federal Express. And they said that the Federal Government Social Security Administration had the most effective, information-laden, courteous phone service of any major organization in America, which I thought was a remarkable thing, because we're in pretty high cotton there with those other companies. [Laughter]

But what do we owe to the country in terms of the kind of Government we have and the way it performs? What are our obligations and responsibilities? How do all these compare with tax cuts that have been proposed? What do those tax cuts reflect in terms of our values? There are many different proposals, and they're all different.

What do we get out of a balanced budget? I'll tell you. We get the opportunity to lift the burden of debt off of our children and grandchildren. We get lower interest rates. We free up the money that's available to be borrowed by people in the private sector to create new jobs. We get more growth if we do it right.

But if we're penny-wise and pound-foolish, if we don't think about our larger values, if we don't also take care of educating our people and lifting up our children, even the poorest of them, then we could wind up with a budget that doesn't do all of those things. Prosperity really has to grow out of having good, shared values. We're lucky. We're big. We're diverse. We've got a lot of resources. But we still have to do the right things.

If you look at the gentleman who was a bus driver, God gave him a good constitution. But a lot of healthy people don't show up for work every day for 18 years. Mr. Ripken is 6'4" and weighs 220 pounds, and not many people have a body like that. But there are a lot of people with bodies like that, that miss a lot of baseball games because they don't take care of it. They don't always do the right things.

So we have to do the right things. And that's very important. And it can't just be a mechanical thing. It can't just be a political thing. It can't be just who's got the political power and who's got the influence to get this or that deal done. This is an historic obligation we have. And we have to do it in a way that reflects common sense and that reaches common ground that's higher ground. That's why what I've tried to say when I talked about the New Covenant in the last 3 years. It's not just a matter of contracts and deals. This is a—we're going through a period of great change. And we have to reach deep down inside for the right things to do that will bring us together.

Let me say that I—if ever there was a case of preaching to the saved, that's what I'm doing today. [Laughter] In more ways than one. A lot of you are involved in ministries that do this. You not only build the edifice of your churches, you serve the needs of your people. And that's what we have to do in America. And we cannot allow the usual partisan, divisive atmosphere which character-

izes our national politics and which does make, frankly—to defend all the players here, many of whom have been here a lot longer than I have in Washington—they think that having these kind of differences and articulate them in a way that's most favorable to their constituents is the only way to communicate them across the vast distance that exists from Washington, DC into the homes of the nearly 260 million Americans who live here, because it's not like being the pastor of a church or the Governor of a small State or the mayor of a city. They are so far from where their folks are, the way of doing things here tends to put a greater premium on words than deeds, a greater premium on positioning and division than production and teamwork and accomplishment. But that doesn't make it right. And it doesn't make it acceptable for this time.

So I'm trying to bring a new spirit here. I'm trying to deal with a lot of hot-button issues that need to be dealt with in the right spirit.

The welfare system needs to be reformed because the people that are on welfare hate it. Nobody wants to be dependent. So we should end welfare as we know it, but we ought to be mindful of the fact that we're doing it because our country will be better off if people are successful workers and successful parents. We don't need a permanently dependent system.

I'm trying to deal with the issue of crime in a responsible way that punishes criminals more but also seeks to prevent crime by giving our young people some things that they can say yes to as well as say no to.

We're trying to deal with the issue of immigration in a way that says that it's wrong for people to immigrate here illegally. They may need to do it. It may be a good thing for their family, but from our point of view, since we've got folks lined up willing to wait for years, we have to try to enforce the immigration laws and control our borders and be disciplined about this. And when we look at the volume of legal immigration, we have to look at it in terms of our ability to maintain a decent standard of living for our own people and to imagine what it's going to be like over a 10-year period. But I think to try to blame immigrants for our problems is a mis-

take. We're all a nation of immigrants. Nearly everybody came from somewhere else.

And of course, you all pretty well know what I think about the affirmative action issue. There are some problems in the way these programs have been implemented. They ought to be fixed. There are some of them that don't work right, and they ought to be fixed. And nobody has a stake in America in promoting reverse discrimination or quotas or giving somebody something they're not qualified to receive.

But we should make a conscious effort to include all Americans in the bounty of America. Conscious effort is not the same thing as giving preference to unqualified people. A conscious effort is animated by the belief that God put within everybody the capacity to rise to higher levels, and we need everybody to become what we ought to be. So let's fix what doesn't work. But let's don't pretend that it's a bad thing to try to get the most out of everybody and to make effort. That's what I believe.

Let me tell you why I think this is all more important now than it is normally. Two years ago I recommended a book by a nonreligious leader, Stephen Carter. Today I'll recommend another one. I've been reading this. This is a fascinating book by a man named Benjamin Barber, whom I had the privilege to know, called "Jihad Versus McWorld."

Now, let me tell you what the essential argument here is. Let me tell you why I believe it's important. Mr. Barber is arguing that democracy and the ability to hold people together and have reliable, predictable, good lives for people who work hard and do the right thing is being threatened today, first of all, by the globalization of the economy which has a lot of benefits for those of us who have good educations and can benefit from it, with the movement of money and technology all across the world. But it's elevating consumerism to even higher and higher levels and promoting short-term gains. You watch this money—we watch it every day. Billions and trillions of dollars moving across the globe in the split of an eye just because of an event here, an event there, an event the other place. It's very hard in those conditions to even preserve, even in the

wealthy, powerful countries the conditions of stable, ordinary life.

Therefore, you see what happens in America. We have 7 million new jobs; we have all these things that are happening that are good, but most hourly wage earners are working harder for the same or less money than they were making 10 years ago. And a lot of people feel insecure in their jobs because the economy is changing so much and they have no confidence that if they lose the job they have they can get another one that is just as good or better.

So we're living in this global economy where there are a whole lot of winners. But a lot of people who think they do just what Cal Ripken and the Virginia bus driver do think they may still lose, and that's a big problem for America. If people think they're willing to show up every day, they're working hard, they're doing right by their kids, they wouldn't break the law, they wouldn't cheat the Government out of a nickel on their taxes, they wouldn't begin to do anything wrong, and they still may not make it, that's a problem for America.

The other word, Jihad, as you know, refers to holy war, the Arabic concept—Muslim concept of the holy war. It's not an anti-Muslim book, by the way. Islam is a beautiful religion with great values. What it refers to is, as people face a work that they cannot control, when they think that democracy is not going to work for them, that they can't keep the family of the United States or the family of France or Germany or Russia or Estonia, or you name it, together, they are vulnerable, because their nerves are raw and they have no sense of certainty—to extreme manifestations of people who claim to have revealed truth, so that the likelihood of having more conflicts rooted in ethnic, racial, or religious differences increases perversely as the world becomes more economically integrated. And he argues, I believe correctly, that it is even more important today for the United States of America to succeed, even more important today for democracy to work, even more important today for the basic values that we just talked about to be able to be made real in the lives of ordinary citizens.

And that's why what we're doing with this budget debate is so important and why we

have to do it right. If we don't balance the budget, we're going to hurt America's future. If we do it in the wrong way, we're going to hurt America's future.

About once in 100 years this sort of thing happens. We are going through a level of change in the way we work and live that is comparable to the change we went through when we moved from being an agrarian society to an industrial, more urbanized society. And it took our country from roughly the end of the 1890's until about 1916 to sort through all that. I mean, it's a continuing process. But we basically had to decide what is the responsibility that we have as a country; what does the Government have to do; how will we deal with this?

Now we're moving out of that age to a more information-based, technology-based age. We're moving from the cold war to the global economy. We're moving from the possibility of nuclear war between superpowers to the possibility that terrorists can carry around biological weapons that kill people in Japanese subways or make homemade bombs that blow up the World Trade Center or the Federal building in Oklahoma.

Believe me, it's better that we don't have to worry as much about everybody being wiped out. Let's not kid ourselves. But it's important to realize that our great country, this family of America, has forces beyond it economically that are pulling at our ability to hold everybody together, and in reaction to the insecurity that is caused and the uncertainty that is caused, there are forces internally in every great democracy forcing people to be divided among themselves. That's why I said the other day, do we have to fix welfare? Yes. Affirmative action? Yes. Immigration problems? Yes. Is that the cause of the anxiety of the middle class in America? No, not really. That's not the real cause. That's not an excuse not to fix them; we do. But we need to know what the real cause is.

And when you're living in a time like this when people are torn from pillar to post, having those basic values to fall back on, knowing that there is a church with a larger ministry is important. But also be humbled enough to know that in a time like this, when you're moving into a future you can't fully predict,

nobody has all the answers, that's important, too.

I don't want to embarrass him, but not very long ago, I was home in Arkansas, and my pastor, Rex Horne, who's here, gave a fascinating sermon in which he was talking about how Jesus treated different kinds of people. And he pointed out how humble Christ was in dealing with the leper, the hated Zaccheus, the woman caught in adultery. He reminded us of the stories of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan in the Bible. And then he said, you know, the only people Jesus was really hard on and acted like He was arrogant to—[laughter]—were the Pharisees and the Saducees and the religious hypocrites who appeared to have all the revealed truth, and the people he ran out of the temple because they got church and state mixed up, too. They tried to take over the temple. [Laughter] Right?

Now, this is an important lesson, and it had a huge impact on me, on my level of humility. We all need a good dose of humility. This is—it is not given to any of us to fully understand the future, but we do know we're moving into a different time with no precedent. And Mr. Barber, he may not be right about everything, but he's got a fix on it, and it's worth thinking about. And I ask all of you to think about that and to think of your work—when you see the people in your churches and your synagogues, in your mosques, who have problems in their lives, ask yourselves, are these problems the kind of problems that would happen at any age in time, or are they aggravated by this different period of change through which we're going, and how can we move together to respond to it.

So I say to you, I hope you will pray for all of us here in these next 90 days, without regard to our party or our religion, because we have a hard and difficult job to do. We have to act. We have to succeed, but we have to do it in the right way for America to move into the next century with the American dream alive and well and with the ability to keep the kind of character and strength that we celebrated this week not only in the achievement of Cal Ripken, but in the achievement of the bus driver and all the people that were cheering because they

shared something that we desperately need to elevate and preserve as long as this country exists.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:33 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

### **Statement on the Agreed Basic Principles for a Settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

*September 8, 1995*

Today's successful meeting in Geneva of the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is an important milestone on the road to peace in the former Yugoslavia. As a result of intensive mediation by Ambassador Holbrooke and his team—supported by our Contact Group partners in the European Union and Russia—the three Foreign Ministers have endorsed a set of Agreed Basic Principles that will serve as the framework for a political settlement to the conflict in Bosnia. The Foreign Ministers of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have also agreed to work actively toward a peaceful solution in Eastern Slavonia, the Serb-controlled area of the Republic of Croatia also known as U.N. Sector East.

The Agreed Basic Principles commit all three governments to support a settlement consistent with the goals we have long sought in Bosnia. Most importantly, for the first time, all three have agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue as a single state, with its present borders and with continuing international recognition. Consistent with the Contact Group plan, under the terms of a settlement, all three agree that Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation, established under last year's Washington Agreements, and the Serb Republic. The 51:49 parameter of the Contact Group's territorial proposal will be the basis for a settlement, subject to any adjustments that the parties make by mutual agreement. The two entities will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring states, but these must be consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The parties have pledged to ad-

here to international human rights standards, to ensure freedom of movement and the right of displaced persons to return to their homes, and to collaborate on joint economic projects that will promote transportation links and communication among all of Bosnia's peoples. These are important principles around which we now can move toward intensive negotiations for a full peace agreement.

I want to congratulate the three Foreign Ministers, Secretary of State Christopher, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, Ambassador Holbrooke and his team, and our Russian and other European partners for today's impressive achievement. Much work remains to be done in translating these principles into a final peace agreement. All the parties will need to display the same flexibility and statesmanship that made today's agreement possible if we are to turn away from war and achieve our common goal of a durable peace in the Balkans.

### **Message to the Congress Transmitting a Budget Deferral**

*September 8, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report one revised deferral of budgetary resources, totaling \$1.2 billion.

The deferral affects the International Security Assistance program.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
September 8, 1995.

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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.

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### **August 31**<sup>1</sup>

The President announced his intention to appoint Constantino Y. Amores and Alison H. Deem to the Advisory Committee on the Arts of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution.

### **September 1**<sup>1</sup>

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with NATO Secretary General Willy Klass to discuss NATO operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### **September 2**

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton had lunch with veterans aboard the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson* in Honolulu, HI. They then participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the U.S.S. *Arizona* memorial and viewed a veterans parade at Fort DeRussy. Following the parade, the President toured the Okinawan festival at Kapiolani Park.

### **September 3**

In the afternoon, the President traveled from Honolulu, HI, to San Jose, CA. Following his arrival at Moffett Air Force Base in the evening, he traveled to Monterey, CA.

### **September 4**

In the afternoon, the President traveled from Monterey, CA, to Pleasanton, CA. In the evening, he returned to Monterey.

### **September 5**

In the morning, the President traveled from Monterey, CA, to Selma, CA. In the afternoon, he traveled to Fresno, CA, where he met with agricultural leaders in Wofford Executive Hangar at Fresno Airport. Later in the afternoon, the President traveled from Fresno to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

### **September 6**

In the morning, the President met with President Ernesto Perez Balladares of Panama.

In the late afternoon, the President and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Baltimore, MD, where they met with Cal Ripken, Jr., at Oriole Park at Camden Yards and attended the

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

shortstop's recordbreaking 2,131st consecutive baseball game. In the late evening, they returned to Washington, DC.

**September 7**

In the afternoon, the President met with Democratic congressional leaders.

**September 8**

The President nominated Jeffrey R. Shafer to be Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs.

The President announced his intention to nominate David A. Lipton to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs.

The President announced his intention to nominate Melissa T. Skolfield to be Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the Department of Health and Human Services.

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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 September 5**

Patricia J. Beneke,  
of Iowa, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice Elizabeth Ann Rieke.

Merrick B. Garland,  
of Maryland, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit, vice Abner J. Mikva, retired.

Gail Clements McDonald,  
of Maryland, to be Administrator of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation for the remainder of the term expiring March 20, 1998, vice Stanford E. Parris, resigned.

**Withdrawn September 5**

Leland M. Shurin,  
of Missouri, to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Missouri, vice Scott O.

Wright, retired, which was sent to the Senate on April 4, 1995.

John D. Snodgrass,  
of Alabama, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama, vice E.B. Haltom, Jr., retired, which was sent to the Senate on January 11, 1995.

**Submitted September 8**

Robert Nelson Baldwin,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the State Justice Institute for a term expiring September 17, 1998 (re-appointment).

Jeffrey R. Shafer,  
of New Jersey, to be an Under Secretary of the Treasury, vice Lawrence H. Summers.

Melissa T. Skolfield,  
of Louisiana, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, vice Avis LaVelle.

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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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**September 3**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

**September 5**

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the amendment adopted by the Senate in favor of prompt ratification of the START II treaty and the Chemical Weapons Convention

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the French underground nuclear test at the Mururoa test site

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the appointment of David T. Johnson as

Special Assistant to the President, Deputy White House Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Senior Director of Public Affairs of the National Security Counsel

**September 6**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the appointment of Jill A. Schuker as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director for National Security Policy

Announcement of the President's letter to congressional leaders on welfare reform

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Court of Appeals Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit

**September 7**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by Senior Policy Adviser to the Vice President Elaine Kamarck and OMB Deputy Director of Management John Koskinen on the National Performance Review

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the appointment of Antony J. Blinkin as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Speech Writing, National Security Council

**September 8**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**

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**Approved September 6**

H.R. 535 / Public Law 104-23  
Corning National Fish Hatchery Conveyance Act

H.R. 584 / Public Law 104-24  
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey a fish hatchery to the State of Iowa

H.R. 614 / Public Law 104-25  
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the State of Minnesota the New London National Fish Hatchery production facility

H.R. 1225 / Public Law 104-26  
Court Reporter Fair Labor Amendments of 1995

H.R. 2077 / Public Law 104-27  
To designate the United States Post Office building located at 33 College Avenue in Waterville, Maine, as the "George J. Mitchell Post Office Building"

H.R. 2108 / Public Law 104-28  
District of Columbia Convention Center and Sports Arena Authorization Act of 1995