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Editor's Note: The President was in Little Rock, AR, on September 26, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, September 26, 1997

The President's Radio Address

September 20, 1997

Good morning. We're living in a time of great hope and optimism and prosperity in our Nation. Our economy is booming. We've cut the deficit 80 percent and passed a plan to balance the budget. Crime and welfare rolls are dropping. But perhaps most important for the long-term future of America, this has been a banner year for education, too.

Our historic balanced budget is truly an education budget, with the largest new investment in education since 1965; from more children in Head Start to our America Reads program that will mobilize a million volunteers to make sure all our children can read when they leave the third grade, to putting computers in all our classrooms and libraries by the year 2000.

We've also had the largest increased investment in helping people to go on to college since the passage of the GI bill 50 years ago, the increased Pell grant scholarships and work study positions, the HOPE scholarship to help pay for the first 2 years of college and other tax credits and IRA's, all these things will truly open the doors of college to all who are willing to work for it for the first time in American history.

But we can't rest. We have more to do in education to fully prepare our children to seize the opportunities of the new century. And especially, we all know we have to do more to improve the quality of public education.

I have called upon all Americans to leave politics at the schoolhouse door and to work together to provide our children with the best education in the world. And many have answered that call. Just last week, the Senate voted overwhelmingly, 87–12, for voluntary national tests in fourth-grade reading and eighth-grade math, bringing us an important step closer to setting high national standards of academic excellence that will ensure that no child leaves our schools without mastering the basics.

Unfortunately, two events in recent days have jeopardized this essential progress in education. First, the same forces that have resisted education reform and high standards and accountability for years in the House of Representatives have voted against developing the national standards we need to challenge students, improve teaching, empower parents, and increase accountability in our schools. In effect, they've cast their votes against better schools and for a status quo that is failing too many of our children.

Second, the Senate narrowly passed an amendment that would undermine some of our most successful efforts in the last 5 years to strengthen our schools. National efforts to bring more charter schools to more communities, to bring computers to every classroom, to create safe and drug-free schools across our country, all these would virtually be abolished by an amendment which would throw all our education funds into a pot and distribute it in an arbitrary way to the States.

Today, I'm going to see firsthand just how high these stakes are. I'm visiting the San Carlos Charter Learning Center in California, one of many charter schools across our country and in the State of California that are bringing new life, new energy, and new creativity into public education. Charter schools are established by educators with less redtape, but higher expectations. Students must choose to attend them, and they exist only as long as they're doing a good job.

Our administration has been helping charter schools to get started all across our country, and our balanced budget contains funds to establish hundreds more of them all around America. This is an innovation we cannot afford to lose. Making sure every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log onto the Internet, every 18-year-old can go on to college, these are national goals, and

we must support national efforts to meet them.

In the 21st century, our children must have a world-class education. We must strengthen our schools, raise our standards, insist that our students master the basics, and demand excellence at every level. So if Congress sends me partisan legislation that denies our children high national standards or weakens our national commitment to stronger schools, I'll have to give it the failing grade it deserves, and I'll veto it.

Bringing vital change and progress to our schools will take courage and the steadfast commitment of all. But throughout our history, we have always risen to the challenge of building better futures for our children. If we all work together, we are up to the task today as well.

Thank you.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 3:16 p.m. on September 18 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 20.

Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Charter Schools at the San Carlos Charter Learning Center in San Carlos, California

September 20, 1997

The President. Thank you very much. First, thank all of you for coming here today and sharing your Saturday morning. I thank the superintendent for his really marvelous remarks. He talked about all the things that we have in common. I saw a living symbol of his dedication to education above all else and one thing that we have in common that he didn't mention. If you look closely at his tie, you will see it is a pattern of golf balls and tees. [*Laughter*] And on this beautiful Saturday morning he's here with us. [*Laughter*]

Let me thank your instructional coordinator, too, for being here, leaving her 11-day-old baby. I would like to see the 11-day-old baby, but I think it's—where's the baby? A wise mother leaves the baby outside. [*Laughter*]

Hillary and I are delighted to be here. And I want to spend most of my time just at this panel today. But I thank all of you for coming because I believe in charter schools, and I believe they are an important part of helping us to lift our standards and renew our schools and achieve the kind of educational excellence that all of our children need as we move into the 21st century.

I congratulate the San Carlos Learning Center for being the first of its kind in California, which obviously makes it among the very first in the United States.

Let me just give you a little, brief personal history here. When I was Governor of my State for 12 years, I spent a great deal of time working on school reform—and so did Hillary—spent lots of time in the schools, talking to teachers, talking to parents, talking to students, dealing with issues of curriculum development and teacher training and all those things. And when we were active in the 1980's, the State of Minnesota became the first State in the country to pass a public school choice law, to give parents and their children more choice among the public schools their children attended. I think we were the second State to pass that law. And we used it quite a lot.

Then, when I began to run for President in 1991, Minnesota became the first State in the country again to pass a charter school law, recognizing that sometimes it wasn't enough just to give the parents and the students choices but that we needed to give the educators and the parents and the students with whom they worked options to create schools that fit the mission needed by the children in the area, and that if you gave them options and held them accountable, we might be able to do something really spectacular. Then, 5 years ago today, I think, California became the second State in the country to adopt a charter school law, and then you became the first of those schools.

In 1994, I passed legislation in Congress to help us support more charter schools. By the end of 1995, there were about 300 charter schools in the country. Today there are 700 charter schools in the country. Many of them have been helped by the program we passed in Washington in 1994.

The historic balanced budget agreement that we just passed into law includes the largest commitment to new investment in edu-

cation since 1965, among other things, expansion of Head Start programs, more funds to support computers in the schools—I'll say more about that in a moment—our America Reads initiative to help make sure every 8-year-old can read independently, and the biggest increased investment in helping people go to college since the GI bill passed 50 years ago: tax credits for the first 2 years of college, credits for the remainder of college, IRA's, Pell grants, work-study positions. All these together mean that for the first time ever we can really say, ''If you're responsible enough to work for it, no matter what your income or your difficulties, college is now a real option for you in America, for every single American.'' And I'm very proud of all of that.

But one of the things that was in this balanced budget that didn't get a lot of notice is enough money for us to help to set up literally thousands more charter schools in America—because excellence in education is more than money. And from my point of view, having spent years and years and years working on this, we need two things. We need a set of national standards of academic excellence that will be internationally competitive in basic subjects, and then we need grassroots, school-based reform, because education is the magic that takes place in every classroom, and indeed in every student's mind, involving every teacher, every student, and also, hopefully, support from home.

So that's why these charter schools are so important to me. And that's why we've tried to help a lot more schools like San Carlos get started on the path that you've been on now for some years.

For people who don't know exactly what they are, let me say that charter schools are public schools that make a simple agreement. In exchange for public funding, they get fewer regulations and less redtape, but they have to meet high expectations, and they keep their charter only so long as their customers are satisfied they're doing a good job.

As I said, we've gone from—the day I took office, there was only one charter school in America—January of '93. Then, a couple years ago, we were up to 300. Now there are 700. And what started as a movement in Minnesota and California now encompasses 29 States; 27 more States have passed charter school laws.

These funds in our budget, as I said, should allow us to set up several thousand more over the next 4 years. Today I am pleased to announce that we're going to release $40 million in grants to help charter schools open. Start-up costs are often the biggest obstacle. And in States that can't afford to help, it's a terrible problem. I see a lot of people nodding their heads out there who have had experience with this.

So we have curriculum development costs, teacher training costs, new technology costs—all these things can help. The $40 million we're releasing today, of which about $3.4 million will come to California, will help us to establish another 500 charter schools in 21 States. So we'll go from 700 to 500 in one pop here.

And as I said, pretty soon—and if all the States will join in, we obviously can help all of them—we'll have well over 3,000, perhaps even over 4,000 by the year 2000, which is enough to have a seismic echo effect in all the public school systems of America. So that's what we're trying to do.

Let me say that there are a couple of problems that we're going to face. Last week, the U.S. Senate, by a very narrow margin, supported an amendment that would make these charter schools' funding that I just announced the last such announcement that would ever be made, because it would lump all the education funds together and arbitrarily distribute them to the State without regard to whether these programs were continued or not. And in the process, it would abolish very specific and highly successful education reform programs like the charter schools, where we work with local communities and school districts. It would abolish our highly successful effort to put computers in the classrooms—I'll tell you how much movement has happened on there in just 2 years—and to create safe and drug-free schools. I think that would be a mistake.

The House of Representatives recently passed, although the Senate opposed them, an amendment that would prohibit us to pay for—not to develop but to pay for—a nonpolitical, private organization to develop vol-

untary national tests of excellence in mathematics and reading. I think that would be a mistake. This is the first time, last year, in history that our students in elementary schools scored above the international average in math and science. We're doing much better in America, but we don't test all of our kids. We just test a representative sample. I think we need to know how we're doing based on a common standard.

So we have these problems in the Congress, and if either one of these provisions makes it into the final bill, I will have to veto it. So I hope that we can continue to work on moving forward in the right direction. And in that connection, I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to Congresswoman Anna Eshoo, who I think is one of the—absolutely—even I would say this if I were in Washington—she really is one of the finest, most forward-looking Members of the United States Congress, and she's made a big difference in our country today.

Now, running these charter schools, as we are about to hear, is not easy. It's not self-evident how to do all this. It sounds great to say, ''We'll cut you free of redtape and bureaucracy. You have to perform at a higher level. You've got to get the parents involved.'' There are all kinds of practical problems, and we'll hear about some of them.

The Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, is going to convene a national conference on charter schools in Washington this November to bring together teachers, administrators, parents, others who are interested in this to share best practices and look to the road ahead. But just think about where we can go with this. If we go—we've gone from one to 700, to 500 more, with a budget that calls for funds for 3,000 more—just this year's budget alone that will be funded starting October 1st, if we get the funds for it, will give us enough funds for another 700—or 900 to 1,000 schools.

So this movement can sweep the country and can literally revolutionize both community control and standards of excellence in education if we do it right. That's what the panel is about.

And before we start, let me just thank some of the business leaders who are here today for their commitment to educational excellence: Regis McKenna, David Ellington, Brook Byers, Terry Yang, Paul Lippe. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Larry Ellison who is up here on the platform. He's the chairman and CEO of Oracle Corporation.

Two years ago this week, I met with Larry and a number of other high-tech executives to talk about another one of my passions, which is to connect every classroom and library in every school in America to the Internet by the year 2000. And that, like everything else, it turned out to be more complicated. It sounded great, but we not only had to connect them, we had to make sure we had the hardware, the software, and the trained teachers to do the job.

So we got this group of business people who knew about all this, who are working very hard to try to make sure that we can do that, give all the support services to every school. We got the Federal Communications Commission to give what amounts to a $2¼ billion a year subsidy to schools, to lower the rates they have to pay to hook onto the Internet. But to give you an example of what we can do when we work together, since we made that announcement 2 years ago, California has 65 percent of the schools connected, which is twice the percentage you had 2 years go, and 4 times as many classrooms connected as just 2 years ago. That shows you how quickly we can move.

And Larry has not only sponsored the San Carlos Learning Center but yesterday he announced Oracle's promise to spend $100 million in a foundation to help schools across America who need support to get the kind of connection to the future through telecommunications technology that we all want. So thank you, Larry, for doing that.

So this is a good news day, but what I want to do now is to turn it over to the panel, and let's get into the facts of the charter school movement and see. Hopefully, by being here today, this will encourage the 21 States who do not have charter school legislation to adopt it, it will encourage the Congress to fully fund the charter schools program for the next 4 years, and it will help us to take what you have done here and spread it all across America in a way that will guarantee international standards of ex-

cellence in the education of all of our children.

Thank you very much.

[*At this point, the roundtable discussion began. At its conclusion, the First Lady spoke, and the President made the following remarks.*]

The President. First of all, let me say I agree with everything she said. [*Laughter*] I'd just like to make a couple of brief points to build on what Hillary said. I want to say, first of all, I have no hidden agenda here. I believe the only way public schools can survive as the instrument by which we educate our children and socialize them and bring them together across all the lines that divide us is if all of our schools eventually—and hopefully, sooner rather than later—are run like these charter schools. That's what I believe. I am not running for office anymore. I have no political interest in this. I am thinking about what our country is going to be like 20, 30, 40, 50 years from now.

And you know what Tom said about the industrial model: That's part of the problem. A lot of our schools are organized on an industrial model—a lot of our middle schools are almost—are organized for when families were like Ozzie and Harriet, instead of like they are today. There are a lot of organizational problems. It's also true that our schools get money from a lot of different places and have to suffer rules from a lot of different places, and a lot of people think if they give up their rulemaking, they won't matter anymore. And in some way, the most important person here is the superintendent because he's here supporting this instead of figuring out how he can control it. And I think that's important.

And so Hillary and I have been working at this business for a long time now, seriously since 1983—really seriously. There has been a dramatic change in the attitudes of the teacher unions, which is positive. There have been dramatic advances in the attitude of administrators, which is positive.

But I just want to say, we cannot—there are a lot of people who believe in the information age, with things changing as fast as they are and with standards needing to be as high as they are, that we ought to just basically send everybody money and let them do whatever they want to about education and forget about the public education network—let it sink or swim. The problem with that theory is that the short-term costs to people who got left behind would be staggering.

But if we want to preserve excellence and the socially unifying impact of public schools over the next generation, I am telling you, every school in the country has got to become like this one. The power needs to be with the parents, with the children, with the teachers, with the principals. And those of us who are up the lines somewhere, up the food chain, what are we interested in? We're interested in what Kim said. We're interested in results. We don't need to make rules. We're interested in results, and we want to be able to measure them. We want to know our kids are going to be all right and our country is going to be all right.

Let them make the rules in the schools. Let them figure it out. And then education will be something that will get bright young lawyers to leave their more lucrative law practices to do something that doesn't pay as much but makes them feel good when they go to bed every night and get up in the morning. That's what we want. And until every school is run like that, you and I should not rest.

Thank you. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:19 a.m. in the gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Don Shalvey, superintendent, San Carlos School District; Elise Darwish, instructional coordinator, San Carlos Charter Learning Center; Regis McKenna, president, Regis McKenna, Inc.; David Ellington, chief executive officer, Net Noir; Brooks Byers, partner, Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield & Byers; Terry Yang, cofounder, Yahoo!; Paul Lippe, vice president, Synopsis; Tom Ruiz, teacher, International Studies Academy Charter School; and Kimberly Polese, president and chief executive officer, Marimba Inc.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Luncheon in San Francisco, California

September 20, 1997

Thank you very much. First let me thank all of you for coming. I'm sorry we were a little late getting here. Maybe we were just a little slow on the uptake after yesterday. I think you know we had another stop to make before we could come up. But I'm very grateful to you for being here.

I thank Alan Solomont and Dan Dutko for being here and for their work for our Democratic Party. Thank you, John Goldman, and all the other cochairs of this event.

This has been an interesting weekend for Hillary and for me, and I'm actually glad to be here. And when Mayor Brown said what he did—I think I came to California in my first term more than 30 times. I don't know if I can come out here anymore. [*Laughter*] If I come out here anymore, Willie will have me paying taxes in San Francisco. [*Laughter*]

But I do want to say that I'm very grateful to the people of this State not only for the support that I have received—Al Gore and I were fortunate enough to carry California both in 1992 and by an even bigger margin in 1996—but also for the work that was done by Californians with our administration which made it possible for us to help California to make the comeback that is now evident to everyone.

It was always clear to me that this State, which was effectively the sixth biggest economy in the world and had 13 percent of the population of America, had to make a big economic comeback in order for America to come back. This State which has so much racial and ethnic and religious and other kinds of diversity has to be able to prove we can live and work together in order for America to be able to live and work together. So I feel very much rewarded by the experience that Hillary and I and the Vice President and others have had not only personally but by what we have been able to achieve together. And I thank you for that.

You know, Hillary told you we went to this seminar last night that was chaired by Bill Perry and Warren Christopher about the expansion of NATO, something that I do feel quite passionately about. But it was ironic that Strobe Talbott was there giving the speech, our Deputy Secretary of State, because the very first time I ever saw Stanford was in February of 1971 when he took me there to see the woman who is now his wife. I still remember everything we did. I remember the movie we saw. It made a very profound impression on me.

But we were talking last night about the world we're trying to build and leave our children, and that's what I'd like to ask you to think about. You know, the Scripture says, ''Where there is no vision the people perish.'' Whether you believe that or not, it is perfectly clear that no change occurs that is positive unless someone has imagined it. And at a time when things are changing anyway, when the way we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world is very much in flux, it is absolutely imperative that we have citizens and leaders who can imagine the future in a different way, so that we can shape it in the way that we want our children to find it.

The reason I'm thinking about it is, we were talking about that last night in terms of the world. I said, one of the things I admired about President Yeltsin is he has a great imagination. He can imagine a future for his people very different from the one they have endured. In 27 years in prison, Nelson Mandela could have just shriveled up inside, but instead he bloomed like a flower in the desert and he came out full of imagination about new and different ways to bring people together who had literally been butchering each other for a long time. The great thing about the former Israeli Prime Minister, the late Yitzhak Rabin, is that he could imagine a future in the Middle East where he made peace with people he had spent his whole life fighting.

So if you think about where we are here as a country, I am profoundly grateful for the results which have been achieved. I am glad we've got the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years. I'm glad we've got the lowest poverty rate ever recorded among African-Americans. I'm glad we've got the biggest drop in inequality among working people, in the last 2 years, we've seen in decades. I'm glad that the crime rate has gone down every

year I've been President, and we've had record numbers of reductions in people on the welfare rolls. I'm glad for that. I'm glad for the fights that we made.

Sometimes I think it's easy for people who are reporting on current events to forget that there is quite a difference here in who stands for what. The family and medical leave law, for example, has enabled millions of people to take some time off when their children are born or someone in their family gets sick. One party was overwhelmingly for it; the other party was overwhelmingly against it, although there were some Republicans, thank God, who stood by and helped us.

The same thing is true on our efforts to expand health care coverage. In this last budget, $24 billion in the balanced budget is allocated to help provide health insurance to half the kids in this country who don't have it. Does anyone really believe that would have happened had it not been for the Democratic Party? The answer is a resounding no. I can tell you, I was there.

We had the biggest increase in investment in education since 1965—in a generation—the biggest increase in helping people to go on to college—of all ages—since the GI bill was passed 50 years ago. You can now get a $1,500 tax credit for the first 2 years of college, which opens community college to every person in the country. More Pell grant scholarships, more work-study, other tax credits and deductions for all the other years of higher education for Americans of any age. We have finally created an environment in which we have opened the doors of college to all Americans who are willing to work for it.

This is a stunning achievement. It will change the future of America. No one can seriously argue that it would have happened had it not been for our party. That was the contribution we made to this balanced budget agreement. That was our driving passion. And so I say to you, there are consequences to the outcome of elections that affect people, that we can too easily forget.

And as you look to the future, in spite of all these good results—that's the point I'm trying to make—this is not a time for America to sit on its laurels. Why? First of all, because everything changes. But the rate of change today is so breathtaking—yes, so we balance the budget, and we have invested in our future, and we've expanded trade. But what are we going to do tomorrow to keep this economy going, until everybody who needs a job or a better job or an education has a chance to participate in the economy?

Well, one of the things we have to do is keep expanding trade. I want Congress to give me the authority every previous President for the last 20 some years has had to expand trade. I do not want the Europeans, in effect, to have a bigger foothold in Latin America than we do; in Chile and Argentina and Brazil and Venezuela. That would be a terrible mistake. Two-thirds of our trade growth—two-thirds of our trade growth has come from our neighbors, from Canada to the southern tip of South America, in the last year. We dare not walk away from that.

I want to keep working on education until every school in America looks like the one that I visited today in California, where every school is like a charter school, in the control of the parents, the students, the teachers, and the principal; where redtape is low and expectations are high and the school only stays in business as long as it does a good job. That's the only way we're going to save public education in a modern world. And we need to have that kind of result. And we need to keep working until we get there.

So there is a lot still to be done. The world still is not properly organized, although we're getting there, to deal with the security threats that our children will face. I hope to goodness by the time I leave, we'll really be able to say there's no reasonable prospect of a recurrence of a nuclear-dominated world, where people will really be in fear of one country dropping a nuclear weapon on another. I hope we'll be there. And we're working hard with the Russians to get there, and with others. But we will have to face the fact when I leave office in January of 2001, that the open borders we're creating and the open commerce we're creating and the explosion of technology we're seeing makes it possible for the organized forces of destruction to wreck havoc among decent people of the United States and throughout the world. And we must be organized to deal with terrorism. We must be organized to deal with drug traf-

fickers. We must be organized to deal with people who purvey ethnic and religious hatred into the butchery of hundreds of thousands of people, whether it's in Africa or Europe or any other place in the world. We have to be organized to deal with that.

There's lots to do. And I just want to say that I started with a vision. I wanted to be able to say when I left office that every child in this country would have the opportunity to live up to his or her own dreams and capacities if he or she were willing to work for it. I wanted to be able to say that we were still the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world. And I wanted to be able to say, that amidst all of our increasing diversity, we were coming together as one America, respecting, even celebrating our differences but bound together by things that unite us, more importantly.

And every day I fight against the things I think will undermine that, and I fight for the things I think will advance it. And all you have to do is to go back to the fight on family leave and the budget fight in 1993, the fight for the assault weapons ban, for the Brady bill, for 100,000 police on the street in 1994, the fight against the contract on America in 1995, the fight against taking the guarantee of medical care away from our poorest children, the fight against taking away all that Federal aid to education that was helping us to advance opportunity—just go through every single decision that's been made in the last 5 years—most of you who have come here to help us could have made more money in the short run helping the other party. You came here because you thought we needed to go forward together and because you shared that vision.

I'm here to tell you that we need to keep on with that vision because we, in spite of all the good times, we dare not rest. We have too much to do, too many people to lift up, and too many new bridges to cross before we get to that new century. And thanks to you, we're going to be able to do it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the Postrio Restaurant at the Prescott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Alan D. Solomont, national finance chair, Democratic National Committee; Dan Dutko, chair, National Victory Fund; John Goldman, dinner cochair; Mayor Willie L. Brown, Jr., of San Francisco; former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry; and former Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher.

Remarks at a Saxophone Club Reception in San Francisco

September 20, 1997

Thank you very much. I'm always uneasy when Hillary is up here about to introduce me. [*Laughter*] I never know what is really going to be said. [*Laughter*]

You know, we—it's the world's worst-kept secret that we took our daughter to Stanford over the weekend—[*laughter*]—and bid her goodbye yesterday. And so, from, like, 6 o'clock on, Hillary and I are officially overseeing one of America's empty nests. [*Laughter*] And I've been thinking about how I was going to fill it. I was thinking about maybe I would get a dog to go with Socks, you know. [*Laughter*] When I heard Hillary talking, I thought that Willie was going to move in with us. [*Laughter*] Mayor, I love you, but they need you here. They need you. [*Laughter*]

I love to come to San Francisco. I love the community. It was wonderful, we got off the highway and were coming up from—we came up from Palo Alto and were coming up through the streets, and I now know—I've made that trip so many times from the airport that I know every block. And there's a little marker on every block, and I see the neighborhoods change. And I look for the people to change in the street. And I can always sort of measure how I'm doing by whether it's the same good response in every block, and then when I'm not doing so good there's a difference. [*Laughter*] And once I was doing so poorly, there was no difference in any of the neighborhoods the other way.

But I always love coming here, where the people are so expressive and so alive and so committed, I think, to building the kind of community that involves all Americans that our whole country needs. And so I'm very glad to be here.

I want to hear this band. The name of this band really—LaVay Smith and her Red Hot Band? Is that really the name of this band? I like that. That's good. [*Laughter*] And I love

all these 1940's ties, you know. It's just great. It's another part of San Francisco, right?

I want to just say a couple of things seriously. First of all, I love this Saxophone Club. And every Saxophone Club meeting I've been to since I started out in 1992 and some bright young person had the idea of forming it, has kind of reaffirmed my faith in America, because it gives people a chance to participate in the democratic process, to contribute at a modest level, and to feel like they're a part of our administration. We also have all kinds of people in the Saxophone Club, including people of all ages.

It used to be, when we started out, there were only young people in the Saxophone Club, and I decided that was discriminatory, and I see we've taken care of that here tonight. [*Laughter*] We have a wider range of people, which I think is good.

But I'd just like to say, as I'm very much thinking about this today as we started our daughter on her college education, our administration has been very much about the future of this country, about trying to fix America's present problems and organize our country in a way that will enable us to have the best years of America in the 21st century.

So when I ran for President, I said that I had a rather simple vision, which I still think about every single day: I want this country to be a place where everybody who will work for it has the opportunity to live out their dreams; I want this country to be a place that people still look to to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity; and in some ways most important of all, I want this country to be a place where we not only tolerate, not just respect all of us for our differences but we actually celebrate them and are still bound together by a set of common values which make us all Americans and enable us to have one America with all of our differences. In a world in which people are killing each other tonight, are full of hatred tonight in different places because of all of their differences, I think it's very important that we build that kind of America.

And I'm glad that what we sought to do has worked for our country. I'm proud of the fact that we cut the deficit by 80 percent even before we passed the balanced budget plan. I'm proud of the fact that we've invested in education. I'm proud of the fact that this new budget has the biggest increase in education funding since 1965 and the biggest increase in helping people go to college since the GI bill was passed 50 years ago.

When all these tax incentives, work-study positions and Pell grants and IRA's get in place, it will literally be possible for us to say that every person in this country who is willing to work for it can get a college education. For the first time in history we can say that. And that's important. I'm proud of that.

Christine talked about what we tried to do in health care, with health insurance in this budget for half of the kids in America, 5 million of them don't have health insurance; more work for the 16 million families that are affected with diabetes; new advances to help people deal with breast cancer and prostate cancer and other things. We're moving in this health area. I'm proud of that.

I'm proud of the fact that the crime rate has gone down 5 years in a row and that we were able to defeat our opponents in the other party who were against the assault weapons ban, who were against the Brady bill, and who were against putting 100,000 more police on the street. They were wrong on all three counts, and the crime rate is going down because we listened to law enforcement people and community people. I'm proud of that.

I'm proud of the fact that we waged the war to protect the basic fabric of nourishing the environment through clean water and clean air and setting aside natural spaces, all those things that were under so much assault in 1995 in early 1996.

I'm proud of the fact that we have the lowest welfare rolls we've had in a long time and the smallest percentage of Americans on public assistance since 1970. I'm proud of that.

But there is a lot more to do in this country, because we're still changing very fast. We have to figure out a way now to make this economic growth available to Americans in neighborhoods and rural communities that haven't accessed it. We have to figure out a way to make the technological revolution that America is leading the way in broadly

available, in all the schools in our country and to people who, if they had access to it, could make more of their own lives.

We have to figure out a way to keep the whole rate of growth with low inflation going on. We have a figure out a way to continue to sell our products and services to the rest of the world in a way that helps developing countries and helps Americans as well. We have to figure out a way to grow the economy while reducing the amount of pollution of the environment and the amount of greenhouse gases we're putting into the atmosphere. Otherwise, we may leave our children and certainly will leave our grandchildren with a legacy where they may be money rich and nature poor, in ways that we can never forgive ourselves for doing.

So we still have a lot of big challenges out there. We have a world that is still not free of danger, as we all know. We have to figure out a way to continue to work on the nuclear threat until it doesn't exist anymore. And then we must at least, by the 21st century, have organized ourselves to deal with all those problems we all face that can cross national borders and are moving more quickly now because of technology: terrorism, drug trafficking, the promotion of war and killing based on ethnic or religious or racial or other hatreds. All these things that we have to face together. So there's a lot left to be done.

And in the next 3 years and some odd months I just want you to know that I intend to work down to the last minute of the last hour of the last day to make sure that we continue to make progress for the American people. How are we going to—yes, you can clap for that. [*Applause*] I want you to understand what this is about, what your being here is about.

We have honest differences—now, we had a principled agreement on the balanced budget agreement where both sides got something they wanted, because we had done all—our party had done 80 percent of the work in balancing the budget; we could all say we wanted to balance the budget and still get some things we wanted with the growing economy. And I want to search for principled bipartisan compromise whenever I can, at home and abroad. There are those who think we should never do that; I think that's plain wrong. Whenever we can agree in good conscience, we should agree.

But I don't want you to forget either that there are choices to be made, and there are honest differences. Today I was at a school which was the first charter school created in California, when California became only the second State in our country to say that we ought to let public schools just be creative and get rid of a lot of the redtape—in a lot of these school districts, and let them start up.

I met a young lawyer, Mayor, who gave up his law practice to start a charter school here in San Francisco. And I met one of his students today, and it was awesome to think about our public school system basically sprouting a thousand flowers, all having one thing—they've got to produce results. Kids have to learn; they have to prove they can learn; they have to show they know something. Otherwise, we believe we ought to let creative people get in there and prove that all of our children can learn without regard to their race or their background or their income.

Now, there's a big fight going on in Congress now because some people would like to just write a check to the States and let them decide what to do with all the Federal education money. I don't think that's a very good idea, do you? And I think it would be a mistake for us not to be promoting the charter school movement. I think it would be a mistake. We need more of them.

I think it would be—2 years ago, I came to San Francisco and said, ''We're going to wire every classroom and every library in every school in America by the year 2000.'' Today, the percentage of California schools that are hooked up to the Internet is twice what it was 2 years ago. The percentage of classrooms hooked up to the Internet in California alone is 4 times what it was just 2 years ago. We are supporting that with a specific program directed to these local school districts. I think it would be a mistake for us to back away from that and say, ''We ought to let all 50 States decide whether that's a priority or not. If it is, fine. If it's not, walk away from it.'' I don't agree with that.

So we have these philosophical differences. The Senate in a bipartisan show of

support agreed with me last week that we ought to have a nonpartisan board develop national examinations to have national standards of academic excellence in the basics of reading and mathematics for our children. An overwhelming vote in the House, led by the leaders of the other party, said no. I personally think that is crazy. I don't think you can have international standards of education if you don't measure them.

I don't want to run the schools. I'm trying to get less bureaucracy in the schools. I just want to say, ''Here are the results, measure them. You figure out how to solve the problem. Inspire your kids, but don't tell me that all our children can't learn.'' So there is a big philosophical difference there. I think that's important.

You must never forget that all this matters. You must never—you look at the judges that I have appointed and the fact that they're not only the most diverse group by race and gender in the history of the Republic, they have the highest rating from the American Bar Association of any President's since the American Bar Association has been rating the appointments of the President to judgeships.

What happens? The United States Senate, under the control of the other party for the last 2 years, last year was the only time in 40 years—even in an election year, they haven't confirmed one judge to the Court of Appeals. Right now, over 50 of them sitting up there waiting to be confirmed. Why? Well, one Congressman said that he wanted to intimidate, and one of the Senators said it sounded like a good idea to him.

Well, I hope they won't be intimidated, and I think the Senate ought to do its constitutional duty and confirm the judges. And I'm going to keep appointing people that I think are mainstream, well-qualified judges that can represent America instead of one political point of view. And I think you believe that, and I hope you'll support me in that.

There are reasons why you're here. And I want to challenge you—I want you to go out to your friends and neighbors and say, ''Look, I went to this event, and I became a part of this group, and I did it because I wanted to have a say in the world our children and grandchildren live in, and here's why I did that and you ought to make a decision, too.''

I believe that we need a Government in Washington that is not committed to solving people's problems for them, but at least we'll give them the tools to solve their problems themselves. I believe that.

And I believe that there are some things that we can only enjoy if we enjoy them in common, and therefore, we must achieve them together—like clean air, and safe drinking water, and natural spaces we protect, along with national security. That's what I believe. And I believe we have to achieve this future together.

So I want you to leave here proud of being here. I want you to leave here full of energy from being here. And I want to you to leave here committed to getting others enlisted in our cause.

Every member of the Democratic Caucus in the U.S. Senate has endorsed the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill. If we can pass it—and we've been trying now—every year I have endorsed a good bill and every year the other party has filibustered it to death in the Senate—and still—you know, if you read about it, you can't tell who's on what side. [*Laughter*] It's a mystery to me because it's clear what happened. And they say they're going to do it again, but they may not get away with it. So if we can pass good campaign finance reform, then two things will have to happen: number one, we have to get reduced-cost or free TV time for candidates so they can still communicate in California; and the second thing is, you'll be even more important—you'll be even more important because we'll have to expand your numbers.

So I say again, when you leave here, you just remember what Hillary said—I normally agree with what she says—[*laughter*]—but when she said you were the most important person in this democratic enterprise, that is the truth. And we have to decide now—we are still in the process of defining what America will be like in the 21st century; we are still in the process of doing that. And I've got a very long agenda of things that I'm committed to doing in the next 3 years that I want to be your agenda.

But I want you to think, most importantly, about the big issues: 20, 30, 40 years from now, wouldn't you like to be able to say that every child in this country who will work for it can live out his or her dreams? Wouldn't you like to be able to say that your country is still leading the world toward a more peaceful, more free, more prosperous state? Wouldn't you like to be able to say that out of all the ashes of all the problems that we have seen from the Middle East and Northern Ireland, to Bosnia, to Rwanda and Burundi, to you name it, America rose up at the end of the 20th century to be a country where there is no single race or ethnic group in the majority, but we got along, and we worked together, and we respected and celebrated our differences, and then defined what we had in common to make us one America? That's what I would like, and that's what you're making possible.

Thank you. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:29 p.m. in the Terrace Room at the Fairmont Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Christine Pelosi, member, event steering committee.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in San Francisco

September 20, 1997

Hillary and I are trying to get used to our first 48 hours of the empty nest syndrome. [*Laughter*] And so we found the youngest couple we could to host this dinner tonight—[*laughter*]—who have 17 years to worry about this happening.

I want to thank Halsey and Deborah for taking us in. And thank you, John and Ann and Brook and Sandy and Jeanne, all of you who sponsored this dinner tonight.

I will be very brief. I'm obviously in a rather reflective mood, as all of you who have ever sent a child off to college would be at this moment. I am profoundly grateful for the chance I've had to serve as President, grateful for the support I have received in two elections from the people of California, and particularly appreciative of the unprecedented help I have had not only in elections but as President from the communities represented in this room—sometimes directly working with us on hooking up more of our classrooms and libraries to the Internet, providing the software, the hardware, the training of teachers, sometimes indirectly, by continuing to advance the frontiers of knowledge and grow the economy.

I want to leave you basically with a simple thought as we break up and go to dinner. I came to this job 5 years ago with what I thought was a very clear, simple vision. I recognized a lot of the details I didn't know, although I thought I knew a lot about the basic economic issues and the basic educational issues and the basic social policies before the country. But I wanted to prepare America for a new century. I wanted to create opportunity, make sure that we could create, together, opportunity for everybody who would work for it. I wanted us to come together, instead of be driven apart, by our diversity. And I wanted us to continue to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity.

The first thing we had to do was fix a lot of things that weren't working, that just didn't make any sense. One was our economic policy; so we adopted a new one designed to invest in our people, balance the budget, and expand trade in American products and services. It has worked. You have made it work. Millions of other Americans have made it work. But no one can seriously question that fiscal responsibility, investing in people and technology and our future, expanding American trade makes sense. And it's basically taken a burden off the backs of the American people in our productive capacity and also tried to play to our strengths.

The second thing we tried to do is to basically make America habitable again by having a serious anticrime policy that built on what was working on the streets. Now no one seriously questions that the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban and the 100,000 more police—that that was the right approach. And it's a good thing to have crime going down dramatically. People, just friends of mine who aren't even in politics, comment from time to time now as they travel from American city to American city how much safer it is in city X, Y, or Z than it used to be.

We have changed the way the Government works. We had the biggest reduction in wel-

fare rolls in history. The Federal Government has 300,000 fewer people working for it than it did the day I became President. And we are trying, slowly but surely, to modernize it.

I saw someone out of your general line of work was in Washington the other day saying that most people out here operated at 3 times faster than normal business life; most people in Government operate 3 times slower. Therefore, you're nine to one ahead of us. [*Laughter*] I don't know who said that, but I think the math is right and the characterization is roughly accurate. But I'm trying to change that.

So tonight, as I think about the future of all those young people who started college yesterday, I think America is very well poised for the future. But I think things are changing so rapidly we have to recognize that a lot of our systems still don't work as well as they should, especially the education system. And more importantly, I think we should be focusing on what we need to make work for the future. How can we now provide the kind of institutional and environmental framework to guarantee that America will work well 20, 30, 40 years from now, to give America a chance to succeed, to give these dreams that our children have a chance to prevail?

The one huge issue we have to face is how to continue to grow the economy while improving dramatically our capacity to preserve the environment. I'm convinced the climate change challenge is real, and yet there are no simple, easy answers about how to transition our economy from where it is now to where it needs to go.

Another problem we haven't resolved is how can people reconcile work and family. More and more people are working and raising children, and we need them to succeed at both—desperately, we need people to succeed at both. And that means we have to have new arrangements. And then there's all the technology questions that you're more familiar with than I am.

We have succeeded, I think dramatically, in reducing the nuclear threat. And we're going to do more the next 3 years. But our children will live in a world where terrorism, organized crime crossing national borders using high technology, drug trafficking, and people who have high-tech weapons but very primitive designs rooted in ethnic, religious, and racial hatreds, can cause a lot of trouble to a lot of people who, 10 years ago, would have never even bought into it. But now, because the world is so mobile and borders are so open and porous, we all become more vulnerable. So we have to figure out ways to protect privacy and yet give ourselves the common capacity to promote public safety.

So what I'd like to talk about tonight over dinner is, what about all those things in the future? I'm very glad the country is in better shape than it was 5 years ago, but we still have a lot to do to give our children the country that they deserve and to feel like all of us have done our job. And anything you can do to help, I'll be very grateful for.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:09 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner hosts Halsey Minor, chairman and chief executive officer, The Computer Network (CNET), and his wife, Deborah; John Doerr, partner, Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield & Byers, and his wife, Ann; and Sanford R. Robertson, chairman, Robertson, Stephens & Co., and his wife, Jeanne.

Proclamation 7024—Minority Enterprise Development Week, 1997

September 19, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The American economy today is the envy of the world. Since the beginning of my Administration, our economy has created nearly 13 million new jobs, unemployment has declined to 4.9 percent, and America has once again become the world's leading exporter.

Minority entrepreneurs have played a vital role in this success story. With their faith in our free enterprise system, their determination to overcome any barriers to success, their willingness to work long and hard and to make the most of every opportunity, they epitomize the American can-do spirit. they create jobs in communities where jobs are most needed, and they set a powerful example of achievement for young people seeking to make the most of their lives.

In the years ahead, these minority business men and business women will become increasingly important to our Nation's competitive edge in the global economy, which will offer great rewards to those who truly understand life beyond our borders. Because of their racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity, minority entrepreneurs are uniquely positioned to meet the needs of this dynamic international marketplace.

Recognizing the contributions that minority enterprises make to the social and economic fabric of our Nation, we must continue to remove any barriers that prevent talented men and women of every racial and ethnic background from participating fully in America's economic mainstream. Working in partnership, government and private industry must ensure that minority-owned firms have equal access to capital, technical assistance, new markets, and opportunities for growth. We must attract new entrepreneurs to the marketplace and encourage existing firms to expand. By doing so, we can ensure that America's promise will continue to shine brightly for all our people.

As we observe Minority Enterprise Development Week, let us honor the energy, determination, and optimism of our Nation's minority entrepreneurs, whose hard work has done so much to help keep America strong, prosperous, and full of hope for the future.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 21 through September 27, 1997, as Minority Enterprise Development Week. I call on all Americans to commemorate this event with appropriate ceremonies and activities in acknowledgment of the many contributions that minority entrepreneurs bring to our national life.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:59 a.m., September 24, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 22, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on September 25.

Proclamation 7025—National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week, 1997

September 19, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

We are a few short years away from the dawn of the 21st century, yet much of the challenge and change we have been anticipating is already upon us. We are competing today in a truly global economy, an economy based on information and technology as well as agriculture and industry. We are living in the age of the information revolution, the era of the World Wide Web, of daily advances in communications technology where a universe of knowledge is only a keyboard and a modem away. We are crossing the frontier into a new world, and our only map and compass in that world will be education.

We must build an educational system that prepares our young people for the jobs of the future. We must empower them with the values, experiences, and self-confidence to succeed in our diverse society. We must provide them with the knowledge and motivation to reach their full human potential—and we must leave no one behind. In devising such an educational system, we need only look to America's Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) for a model of excellence.

This extraordinary network of institutions, more than a century old, has created a legacy of unquestioned accomplishment in fostering student success. Founded to educate African Americans in a segregated society, these colleges and universities have flourished and built an enviable record of achievement in educating America's black scientists, doctors, teachers, lawyers, artists, entrepreneurs, community and religious leaders, and other

professionals. They have provided generations of students with access to highly supportive environments for learning. The experience and expertise of HBCUs make them an invaluable resource to our Nation during this period of significant change.

America's Historically Black Colleges and Universities daily demonstrate effective leadership in a multitude of ways: they develop and practice innovative academic approaches to ensure student success; they create campus programs that offer new solutions to critical social problems; they produce cutting-edge research with practical applications; and they forge strong global relationships from a myriad of international activities. Moreover, against formidable financial odds, they have persisted in keeping education affordable for the constituencies they serve, without sacrificing quality. They have never allowed scarce funding, poor educational preparation, or societal disadvantage to get in the way of their mission to educate and nurture the intellectual potential of the black community.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities have done more to make the American Dream a reality for African Americans than has any other set of institutions in our country. These institutions are poised to enter the 21st century, ready to build on this tradition of excellence, achievement, and reverence for education. We can count on them to continue to make vital contributions to our Nation's success and to ensure that America lives up to our fundamental values of equality and opportunity.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 21 through September 27, 1997, as National Historically Black Colleges and Universities Week. I call upon the people of the United States, including government officials, educators, and administrators, to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities honoring America's Historically Black Colleges and Universities and their graduates.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

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Proclamation 7026—National Farm Safety and Health Week, 1997

September 19, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

From the earliest days of our Nation, the men and women who work the land have held a special place in America's heart, history, and economy. Many of us are no more than a few generations removed from forebears whose determination and hard work on farms and fields helped to build our Nation and shape its values. While the portion of our population directly involved in agriculture has diminished over the years, those who live and work on America's farms and ranches continue to make extraordinary contributions to the quality of our national life and the strength of our economy.

The life of a farmer or rancher has never been easy. The work is hard, physically challenging, and uniquely subject to the forces of nature; the chemicals and labor-saving machinery that have helped American farmers become so enormously productive have also brought with them new health hazards; and working with livestock can result in frequent injury to agricultural workers and their families.

Fortunately, there are measures we can take to reduce agriculture-related injuries, illnesses, and deaths. Manufacturers continue to improve the safety features of farming equipment; protective clothing and safety gear can reduce the exposure of workers to the health threats posed by chemicals, noise,

dust, and sun; training in first-aid procedures and access to good health care can often mean the difference between life and death.

The key to all these safety measures is education. During National Farm Safety and Health Week, I encourage America's farmers, ranchers, and other agricultural workers to remain alert to the dangers inherent in their livelihood. By learning about and using the latest safety features of farming equipment and vehicles, wearing personal protective gear and clothing, and practicing good preventive health care, they can avoid or reduce many of the hazards they face each day. It is particularly important to teach our young people on farms and ranches about proper safety measures, to provide safe areas where children can play, and to monitor their activities. Their experience and maturity must always be considered before they are allowed to participate in farm or ranch work.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 21 through September 27, 1997, as National Farm Safety and Health Week. I call upon government agencies, educational institutions, businesses, and professional associations that serve our agricultural sector to strengthen efforts to promote safety and health measures among our Nation's farm and ranch workers. I ask agricultural workers to take advantage of available technology, training, and information that can help them prevent injury and illness. I also call upon all Americans to observe Wednesday, September 24, 1997, as a day to focus on the risks facing young people on our Nation's farms and ranches and to reflect during this week on the bounty that we enjoy thanks to the hard work and dedication of America's agricultural workers.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

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Remarks to the 52d Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

September 22, 1997

Mr. President, Secretary-General, distinguished guests: Five years ago, when I first addressed this Assembly, the cold war had only just ended, and the transition to a new era was beginning. Now, together, we are making that historic transition.

Behind us we leave a century full of humanity's capacity for the worst and its genius for the best. Before us, at the dawn of a new millennium, we can envision a new era that escapes the 20th century's darkest moments, fulfills its most brilliant possibilities, and crosses frontiers yet unimagined.

We are off to a promising start. For the first time in history, more than half the people represented in this Assembly freely choose their own governments. Free markets are growing, spreading individual opportunity and national well-being. Early in the 21st century, more than 20 of this Assembly's members, home to half the Earth's population, will lift themselves from the ranks of low-income nations.

Powerful forces are bringing us closer together, profoundly changing the way we work and live and relate to each other. Every day millions of our citizens on every continent use laptops and satellites to send information, products, and money across the planet in seconds. Bit by bit, the information age is chipping away at the barriers, economic, political, and social, that once kept people locked in and ideas locked out. Science is unraveling mysteries in the tiniest of human genes and the vast cosmos.

Never in the course of human history have we had a greater opportunity to make our people healthier and wiser, to protect our planet from decay and abuse, to reap the benefits of free markets without abandoning

the social contract and its concern for the common good. Yet today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. We have work to do.

The forces of global integration are a great tide, inexorably wearing away the established order of things. But we must decide what will be left in its wake. People fear change when they feel its burdens but not its benefits. They are susceptible to misguided protectionism, to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism, and ethnic, racial, and religious hatred. New global environmental challenges require us to find ways to work together without damaging legitimate aspirations for progress. We're all vulnerable to the reckless acts of rogue states and to an unholy axis of terrorists, drug traffickers, and international criminals. These 21st century predators feed on the very free flow of information and ideas and people we cherish. They abuse the vast power of technology to build black markets for weapons, to compromise law enforcement with huge bribes of illicit cash, to launder money with the keystroke of a computer. These forces are our enemies. We must face them together because no one can defeat them alone.

To seize the opportunities and move against the threats of this new global era, we need a new strategy of security. Over the past 5 years, nations have begun to put that strategy in place through a new network of institutions and arrangements with distinct missions but a common purpose: to secure and strengthen the gains of democracy and free markets while turning back their enemies.

We see this strategy taking place on every continent: expanded military alliances like NATO, its Partnership For Peace, its partnerships with a democratic Russia and a democratic Ukraine; free-trade arrangements like the WTO and the Global Information Technology Agreement and the move toward free-trade areas by nations in the Americas, the Asia-Pacific region, and elsewhere around the world; strong arms control regimes like the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Non-Proliferation Treaty; multinational coalitions with zero tolerance for terrorism, corruption, crime, and drug trafficking; binding international commitments to protect the environment and safeguard human rights.

Through this web of institutions and arrangements, nations are now setting the international ground rules for the 21st century, laying a foundation for security and prosperity for those who live within them, while isolating those who challenge them from the outside. This system will develop and endure only if those who follow the rules of peace and freedom fully reap their rewards. Only then will our people believe that they have a stake in supporting and shaping the emerging international system.

The United Nations must play a leading role in this effort, filling in the faultlines of the new global era. The core missions it has pursued during its first half-century will be just as relevant during the next half-century: the pursuit of peace and security, promoting human rights, and moving people from poverty to dignity and prosperity through sustainable development.

Conceived in the cauldron of war, the United Nations' first task must remain the pursuit of peace and security. For 50 years, the U.N. has helped prevent world war and nuclear holocaust. Unfortunately, conflicts between nations and within nations has endured. From 1945 until today, they have cost 20 million lives. Just since the end of the cold war, each year there have been more than 30 armed conflicts in which more than a thousand people have lost their lives, including, of course, a quarter of a million killed in the former Yugoslavia and more than half a million in Rwanda.

Millions of personal tragedies the world over are a warning that we dare not be complacent or indifferent. Trouble in a far corner can become a plague on everyone's house.

People the world over cheer the hopeful developments in Northern Ireland, grieve over the innocent loss of life and the stalling of the peace process in the Middle East, and long for a resolution of the differences on the Korean Peninsula or between Greece and Turkey or between the great nations of India and Pakistan as they celebrate the 50th anniversaries of their birth.

The United Nations continues to keep many nations away from bloodshed, in El Salvador and Mozambique, in Haiti and Na-

mibia, in Cyprus and in Bosnia, where so much remains to be done but can still be done because the bloodshed has ended.

The record of service of the United Nations has left a legacy of sacrifice. Just last week, we lost some of our finest sons and daughters in a crash of a U.N. helicopter in Bosnia. Five were Americans, five were Germans, one Polish, and one British, all citizens of the world we are trying to make, each a selfless servant of peace. And the world is poorer for their passing.

At this very moment, the United Nations is keeping the peace in 16 countries, often in partnership with regional organizations like NATO, the OAS, ASEAN, and ECOWAS, avoiding wider conflicts and even greater suffering. Our shared commitment to more realistic peacekeeping training for U.N. troops, a stronger role for civilian police, better integration between military and civilian agencies, all these will help the United Nations to meet these missions in the years ahead.

At the same time, we must improve the U.N.'s capabilities after a conflict ends to help peace become self-sustaining. The U.N. cannot build nations, but it can help nations to build themselves by fostering legitimate institutions of government, monitoring elections, and laying a strong foundation for economic reconstruction.

This week the Security Council will hold an unprecedented ministerial meeting on African security, which our Secretary of State is proud to chair, and which President Mugabe, chairman of the Organization of African Unity, will address. It will highlight the role the United Nations can and should play in preventing conflict on a continent where amazing progress toward democracy and development is occurring alongside still too much discord, disease, and distress.

In the 21st century, our security will be challenged increasingly by interconnected groups that traffic in terror, organized crime, and drug smuggling. Already these international crime and drug syndicates drain up to $750 billion a year from legitimate economies. That sum exceeds the combined GNP of more than half the nations in this room. These groups threaten to undermine confidence in fragile new democracies and market economies that so many of you are working so hard to see endure.

Two years ago, I called upon all the members of this Assembly to join in the fight against these forces. I applaud the U.N.'s recent resolution calling on its members to join the major international antiterrorism conventions, making clear the emerging international consensus that terrorism is always a crime and never a justifiable political act. As more countries sign on, terrorists will have fewer places to run or hide.

I also applaud the steps that members are taking to implement the declaration on crime and public security that the United States proposed 2 years ago, calling for increased cooperation to strengthen every citizen's right to basic safety, through cooperation on extradition and asset forfeiture, shutting down gray markets for guns and false documents, attacking corruption, and bringing higher standards to law enforcement in new democracies.

The spread of these global criminal syndicates also has made all the more urgent our common quest to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. We cannot allow them to fall or to remain in the wrong hands. Here, too, the United Nations must lead, and it has, from UNSCOM in Iraq to the International Atomic Energy Agency, now the most expansive global system ever devised to police arms control agreements.

When we met here last year, I was honored to be the first of 146 leaders to sign the comprehensive test ban treaty, our commitment to end all nuclear tests for all time, the longest sought, hardest fought prize in the history of arms control. It will help to prevent the nuclear powers from developing more advanced and more dangerous weapons. It will limit the possibilities for other states to acquire such devices. I am pleased to announce that today I am sending this crucial treaty to the United States Senate for ratification. Our common goal should be to enter the CTBT into force as soon as possible, and I ask for all of you to support that goal.

The United Nations' second core mission must be to defend and extend universal human rights and to help democracy's remarkable gains endure. Fifty years ago, the

U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated the international community's conviction that people everywhere have the right to be treated with dignity, to give voice to their opinions, to choose their leaders; that these rights are universal, not American rights, not Western rights, not rights for the developed world only but rights inherent in the humanity of people everywhere. Over the past decade, these rights have become a reality for more people than ever from Asia to Africa, from Europe to the Americas. In a world that links rich and poor, North and South, city and countryside, in an electronic network of shared images in real time, the more these universal rights take hold, the more people who do not enjoy them will demand them. Armed with photocopiers and fax machines, E-mail and the Internet, supported by an increasingly important community of nongovernmental organizations, they will make their demands known, spreading the spirit of freedom, which as the history of the last 10 years has shown us, ultimately will prevail.

The United Nations must be prepared to respond not only by setting standards but by implementing them. To deter abuses, we should strengthen the U.N.'s field operations and early warning systems. To strengthen democratic institutions, the best guarantors of human rights, we must pursue programs to help new legal, parliamentary, and electoral institutions get off the ground. To punish those responsible for crimes against humanity and to promote justice so that peace endures, we must maintain our strong support for the U.N.'s war crime tribunals and truth commissions. And before the century ends, we should establish a permanent international court to prosecute the most serious violations of humanitarian law.

The United States welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts to strengthen the role of human rights within the U.N. system and his splendid choice of Mary Robinson as the new High Commissioner. We will work hard to make sure that she has the support she needs to carry out her mandate.

Finally, the United Nations has a special responsibility to make sure that as the global economy creates greater wealth, it does not produce growing disparities between the haves and have-nots or threaten the global environment, our common home. Progress is not yet everyone's partner. More than half the world's people are 2 days' walk from a telephone, literally disconnected from the global economy. Tens of millions lack the education, the training, the skills they need to make the most of their God-given abilities.

The men and women of the United Nations have expertise across the entire range of humanitarian and development activities. Every day they are making a difference. We see it in nourished bodies of once starving children, in the full lives of those immunized against disease, in the bright eyes of children exposed to education through the rich storehouse of human knowledge, in refugees cared for and returned to their homes, in the health of rivers and lakes restored.

The United Nations must focus even more on shifting resources from hand-outs to hand-ups, on giving people the tools they need to make the most of their own destinies. Spreading ideas in education and technology, the true wealth of nations, is the best way to give people a chance to succeed.

And the U.N. must continue to lead in ensuring that today's progress does not come at tomorrow's expense. When the nations of the world gather again next December in Kyoto for the U.N. Climate Change Conference, all of us, developed and developing nations, must seize the opportunity to turn back the clock on greenhouse gas emissions so that we can leave a healthy planet to our children.

In these efforts, the U.N. no longer can and no longer need go it alone. Innovative partnerships with the private sector, NGO's, and the international financial institutions can leverage its effectiveness many times over. Last week, a truly visionary American, Ted Turner, made a remarkable donation to strengthen the U.N.'s development and humanitarian programs. His gesture highlights the potential for partnership between the U.N. and the private sector in contributions of time, resources, and expertise. And I hope more will follow his lead.

In this area and others, the Secretary-General is aggressively pursuing the most far-reaching reform of the United Nations in its history, not to make the U.N. smaller as an

end in itself but to make it better. The United States strongly supports his leadership. We should pass the Secretary-General's reform agenda this session.

On every previous occasion I have addressed this Assembly, the issue of our country's dues has brought the commitment of the United States to the United Nations into question. The United States was a founder of the U.N. We are proud to be its host. We believe in its ideals. We continue to be, as we have been, its largest contributor. We are committed to seeing the United Nations succeed in the 21st century.

This year, for the first time since I have been President, we have an opportunity to put the questions of debts and dues behind us once and for all and to put the United Nations on a sounder financial footing for the future. I have made it a priority to work with our Congress on comprehensive legislation that would allow us to pay off the bulk of our arrears and assure full financing of America's assessment in the years ahead. Our Congress' actions to solve this problem reflects a strong bipartisan commitment to the United Nations and to America's role within it. At the same time, we look to member states to adopt a more equitable scale of assessment.

Let me say that we also strongly support expanding the Security Council to give more countries a voice in the most important work of the U.N. In more equitably sharing responsibility for its successes, we can make the U.N. stronger and more democratic than it is today. I ask the General Assembly to act on these proposals this year so that we can move forward together.

At the dawn of a new century, so full of hope but not free of peril, more than ever we need a United Nations where people of reason can work through shared problems and take action to combat them, where nations of good will can join in the struggle for freedom and prosperity, where we can shape a future of peace and progress and the preservation of our planet.

We have the knowledge, we have the intelligence, we have the energy, we have the resources for the work before us. We are building the necessary networks of cooperation. The great question remaining is whether we have the vision and the heart necessary to imagine a future that is different from the past, necessary to free ourselves from destructive patterns of relations with each other and within our own nations and live a future that is different.

A new century and a new millennium is upon us. We are literally present at the future, and it is the great gift, it is our obligation, to leave to our children.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall at United Nations Headquarters. In his remarks, he referred to Minister of Foreign Affairs Hennadiy Udovenko of Ukraine, President, U.N. General Assembly; U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan; President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe; and Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and Documentation

September 22, 1997

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (the "Treaty" or "CTBT"), opened for signature and signed by the United States at New York on September 24, 1996. The Treaty includes two Annexes, a Protocol, and two Annexes to the Protocol, all of which form integral parts of the Treaty. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State on the Treaty, including an Article-by-Article analysis of the Treaty.

Also included in the Department of State's report is a document relevant to but not part of the Treaty: the Text on the Establishment of a Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization, adopted by the Signatory States to the Treaty on November 19, 1996. The Text provides the basis for the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization in preparing detailed procedures for implementing the Treaty and making arrangements for the first session of the Conference

of the States Parties to the Treaty. In particular, by the terms of the Treaty, the Preparatory Commission will be responsible for ensuring that the verification regime established by the Treaty will be effectively in operation at such time as the Treaty enters into force. My Administration has completed and will submit separately to the Senate an analysis of the verifiability of the Treaty, consistent with section 37 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended. Such legislation as may be necessary to implement the Treaty also will be submitted separately to the Senate for appropriate action.

The conclusion of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty is a signal event in the history of arms control. The subject of the Treaty is one that has been under consideration by the international community for nearly 40 years, and the significance of the conclusion of negotiations and the signature to date of more than 140 states cannot be overestimated. The Treaty creates an absolute prohibition against the conduct of nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosion anywhere. Specifically, each State Party undertakes not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion; to prohibit and prevent any nuclear explosions at any place under its jurisdiction or control; and to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion.

The Treaty establishes a far reaching verification regime, based on the provision of seismic, hydroacoustic, radionuclide, and infrasound data by a global network (the ''International Monitoring System'') consisting of the facilities listed in Annex 1 to the Protocol. Data provided by the International Monitoring System will be stored, analyzed, and disseminated, in accordance with Treaty-mandated operational manuals, by an International Data Center that will be part of the Technical Secretariat of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization. The verification regime includes rules for the conduct of on-site inspections, provisions for consultation and clarification, and voluntary confidence-building measures designed to contribute to the timely resolution of any compliance concerns arising from possible misinterpretation of monitoring data related to chemical explosions that a State Party intends to or has carried out. Equally important to the U.S. ability to verify the Treaty, the text specifically provides for the right of States Parties to use information obtained by national technical means in a manner consistent with generally recognized principles of international law for purposes of verification generally, and in particular, as the basis for an on-site inspection request. The verification regime provides each State Party the right to protect sensitive installations, activities, or locations not related to the Treaty. Determinations of compliance with the Treaty rest with each individual State Party to the Treaty.

Negotiations for a nuclear test-ban treaty date back to the Eisenhower Administration. During the period 1978–1980, negotiations among the United States, the United Kingdom, and the USSR (the Depositary Governments of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)) made progress, but ended without agreement. Thereafter, as the nonnuclear weapon states called for test-ban negotiations, the United States urged the Conference on Disarmament (the ''CD'') to devote its attention to the difficult aspects of monitoring compliance with such a ban and developing elements of an international monitoring regime. After the United States, joined by other key states, declared its support for comprehensive test-ban negotiations with a view toward prompt conclusion of a treaty, negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban were initiated in the CD, in January 1994. Increased impetus for the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty by the end of 1996 resulted from the adoption, by the Parties to the NPT in conjunction with the indefinite and unconditional extension of that Treaty, of ''Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament'' that listed the conclusion of a CTBT as the highest measure of its program of action.

On August 11, 1995, when I announced U.S. support for a ''zero yield'' CTBT, I stated that:

> ''. . . As part of our national security strategy, the United States must and will

retain strategic nuclear forces sufficient to deter any future hostile foreign leadership with access to strategic nuclear forces from acting against our vital interests and to convince it that seeking a nuclear advantage would be futile. In this regard, I consider the maintenance of a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile to be a supreme national interest of the United States.

"I am assured by the Secretary of Energy and the Directors of our nuclear weapons labs that we can meet the challenge of maintaining our nuclear deterrent under a CTBT through a Science Based Stockpile Stewardship program without nuclear testing. I directed the implementation of such a program almost 2 years ago, and it is being developed with the support of the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This program will now be tied to a new certification procedure. In order for this program to succeed, both the Administration and the Congress must provide sustained bipartisan support for the stockpile stewardship program over the next decade and beyond. I am committed to working with the Congress to ensure this support.

"While I am optimistic that the stockpile stewardship program will be successful, as President I cannot dismiss the possibility, however unlikely, that the program will fall short of its objectives. Therefore, in addition to the new annual certification procedure for our nuclear weapons stockpile, I am also establishing concrete, specific safeguards that define the conditions under which the United States can enter into a CTBT . . ."

The safeguards that were established are as follows:

- The conduct of a Science Based Stockpile Stewardship program to ensure a high level of confidence in the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons in the active stockpile, including the conduct of a broad range of effective and continuing experimental programs.
- The maintenance of modern nuclear laboratory facilities and programs in theoretical and exploratory nuclear technology that will attract, retain, and ensure the continued application of our human scientific resources to those programs on which continued progress in nuclear technology depends.
- The maintenance of the basic capability to resume nuclear test activities prohibited by the CTBT should the United States cease to be bound to adhere to this Treaty.
- The continuation of a comprehensive research and development program to improve our treaty monitoring capabilities and operations.
- The continuing development of a broad range of intelligence gathering and analytical capabilities and operations to ensure accurate and comprehensive information on worldwide nuclear arsenals, nuclear weapons development programs, and related nuclear programs.
- The understanding that if the President of the United States is informed by the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Energy (DOE)—advised by the Nuclear Weapons Council, the Directors of DOE's nuclear weapons laboratories, and the Commander of the U.S. Strategic Command—that a high level of confidence in the safety or reliability of a nuclear weapon type that the two Secretaries consider to be critical to our nuclear deterrent could no longer be certified, the President, in consultation with the Congress, would be prepared to withdraw from the CTBT under the standard "supreme national interests" clause in order to conduct whatever testing might be required.

With regard to the last safeguard:

- The U.S. regards continued high confidence in the safety and reliability of its nuclear weapons stockpile as a matter affecting the supreme interests of the country and will regard any events calling that confidence into question as "extraordinary events related to the subject matter of the treaty." It will exercise its rights under the "supreme national interests" clause if it judges that the

safety or reliability of its nuclear weapons stockpile cannot be assured with the necessary high degree of confidence without nuclear testing.

- To implement that commitment, the Secretaries of Defense and Energy—advised by the Nuclear Weapons Council or "NWC" (comprising representatives of DOD, JCS, and DOE), the Directors of DOE's nuclear weapons laboratories and the Commander of the U.S. Strategic Command—will report to the President annually, whether they can certify that the Nation's nuclear weapons stockpile and all critical elements thereof are, to a high degree of confidence, safe and reliable, and, if they cannot do so, whether, in their opinion and that of the NWC, testing is necessary to assure, with a high degree of confidence, the adequacy of corrective measures to assure the safety and reliability of the stockpile, or elements thereof. The Secretaries will state the reasons for their conclusions, and the views of the NWC, reporting any minority views.
- After receiving the Secretaries' certification and accompanying report, including NWC and minority views, the President will provide them to the appropriate committees of the Congress, together with a report on the actions he has taken in light of them.
- If the President is advised, by the above procedure, that a high level of confidence in the safety or reliability of a nuclear weapon type critical to the Nation's nuclear deterrent could no longer be certified without nuclear testing, or that nuclear testing is necessary to assure the adequacy of corrective measures, the President will be prepared to exercise our "supreme national interests" rights under the Treaty, in order to conduct such testing.
- The procedure for such annual certification by the Secretaries, and for advice to them by the NWC, U.S. Strategic Command, and the DOE nuclear weapons laboratories will be embodied in domestic law.

As negotiations on a text drew to a close it became apparent that one member of the CD, India, would not join in a consensus decision to forward the text to the United Nations for its adoption. After consultations among countries supporting the text, Australia requested the President of the U.N. General Assembly to convene a resumed session of the 50th General Assembly to consider and take action on the text. The General Assembly was so convened, and by a vote of 158 to 3 the Treaty was adopted. On September 24, 1996, the Treaty was opened for signature and I had the privilege, on behalf of the United States, of being the first to sign the Treaty.

The Treaty assigns responsibility for overseeing its implementation to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization (the "Organization"), to be established in Vienna. The Organization, of which each State Party will be a member, will have three organs: the Conference of the States Parties, a 51-member Executive Council, and the Technical Secretariat. The Technical Secretariat will supervise the operation of and provide technical support for the International Monitoring System, operate the International Data Center, and prepare for and support the conduct of on-site inspections. The Treaty also requires each State Party to establish a National Authority that will serve as the focal point within the State Party for liaison with the Organization and with other States Parties.

The Treaty will enter into force 180 days after the deposit of instruments of ratification by all of the 44 states listed in Annex 2 to the Treaty, but in no case earlier than 2 years after its being opened for signature. If, 3 years from the opening of the Treaty for signature, the Treaty has not entered into force, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his capacity as Depositary of the Treaty, will convene a conference of the states that have deposited their instruments of ratification if a majority of those states so requests. At this conference the participants will consider what measures consistent with international law might be undertaken to accelerate the ratification process in order to facilitate the early entry into force of the Treaty.

Their decision on such measures must be taken by consensus.

Reservations to the Treaty Articles and the Annexes to the Treaty are not permitted. Reservations may be taken to the Protocol and its Annexes so long as they are not incompatible with the object and purpose of the Treaty. Amendment of the Treaty requires the positive vote of a majority of the States Parties to the Treaty, voting in a duly convened Amendment Conference at which no State Party casts a negative vote. Such amendments would enter into force 30 days after ratification by all States Parties that cast a positive vote at the Amendment Conference.

The Treaty is of unlimited duration, but contains a ''supreme interests'' clause entitling any State Party that determines that its supreme interests have been jeopardized by extraordinary events related to the subject matter of the Treaty to withdraw from the Treaty upon 6-month's notice.

Unless a majority of the Parties decides otherwise, a Review Conference will be held 10 years following the Treaty's entry into force and may be held at 10-year intervals thereafter if the Conference of the States Parties so decides by a majority vote (or more frequently if the Conference of the States Parties so decides by a two-thirds vote).

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty is of singular significance to the continuing efforts to stem nuclear proliferation and strengthen regional and global stability. Its conclusion marks the achievement of the highest priority item on the international arms control and nonproliferation agenda. Its effective implementation will provide a foundation on which further efforts to control and limit nuclear weapons can be soundly based. By responding to the call for a CTBT by the end of 1996, the Signatory States, and most importantly the nuclear weapon states, have demonstrated the bona fides of their commitment to meaningful arms control measures.

The monitoring challenges presented by the wide scope of the CTBT exceed those imposed by any previous nuclear test-related treaty. Our current capability to monitor nuclear explosions will undergo significant improvement over the next several years to meet these challenges. Even with these enhancements, though, several conceivable CTBT evasion scenarios have been identified. Nonetheless, our National Intelligence Means (NIM), together with the Treaty's verification regime and our diplomatic efforts, provide the United States with the means to make the CTBT effectively verifiable. By this, I mean that the United States:

- will have a wide range of resources (NIM, the totality of information available in public and private channels, and the mechanisms established by the Treaty) for addressing compliance concerns and imposing sanctions in cases of noncompliance; and
- will thereby have the means to: (a) assess whether the Treaty is deterring the conduct of nuclear explosions (in terms of yields and number of tests) that could damage U.S. security interests and constraining the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and (b) take prompt and effective counteraction.

My judgment that the CTBT is effectively verifiable also reflects the belief that U.S. nuclear deterrence would not be undermined by possible nuclear testing that the United States might fail to detect under the Treaty, bearing in mind that the United States will derive substantial confidence from other factors—the CTBT's ''supreme national interests'' clause, the annual certification procedure for the U.S. nuclear stockpile, and the U.S. Safeguards program.

I believe that the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty is in the best interests of the United States. Its provisions will significantly further our nuclear nonproliferation and arms control objectives and strengthen international security. Therefore, I urge the Senate to give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and its advice and consent to ratification as soon as possible.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 22, 1997.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov of Russia and an Exchange With Reporters in New York City

September 22, 1997

The President. Let me briefly say that it's a pleasure for me to see Foreign Minister Primakov here and to renew our relationship and our dialog. You also know that the Vice President is now in Moscow for his regular meeting with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. And we have a lot of work to do. But I am very encouraged at the progress in our relationships and in our partnership over the last year or so.

I had a great meeting with President Yeltsin in Helsinki. We were together again in Paris and, of course, in Denver. And among other things, Mr. Primakov and I will be discussing our partnership in Bosnia and our partnership for arms control today—places where we look forward to greater progress.

So I'm glad to see him, and I'm delighted to have this chance to visit.

Would you like to say anything?

Foreign Minister Primakov. Thank you very much for receiving me, Mr. President. It is a great honor for me and also a chance to discuss the issues that you have just mentioned. I've brought for you a message from President Yeltsin. This is the reply to your latest message to him. You will see that, for yourself, it mentions our very big interest in having our relations with the United States develop further on many tracks, not just our desire to do so but also our willingness.

Last night we had a very exciting, very productive talk with the Secretary of State. And already, based on that talk, I got a signal coming from Moscow—Madam was asking why I am not being authorized to do certain things. Well, most probably what is at issue is the protocol, because that's something that your Vice President already mentioned. [*Laughter*] This is to indicate the rapid way the United States operates, and we are far removed, as yet, from that. [*Laughter*]

The President. Thank you very much.

1996 Campaign Financing

Q. Mr. President, the Justice Department now says it apparently has memos that indicate you were urged to make another 40 fundraising calls. Sir, what do you recall of these memos, and were the calls made or were they not?

The President. Well, I've already said I don't know—I haven't read—I don't know what you're talking about on the memos because I haven't seen them, so I can't comment on that. I've already answered about the calls.

Let me just say this. I believe what the Vice President did and what I did was legal, and I am absolutely certain that we believed we were acting within the letter of the law. And I'm going to cooperate however I can to establish the facts, but I think that's important that you and the American people understand that, that I certainly—I believed then and I believe now what we did was legal. But I am absolutely positive that we intended to be firmly within the letter of the law when we were out there campaigning and raising funds as we should have been doing. We had to do that.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the U.S. Mission at the United Nations. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the United Nations in New York City

September 22, 1997

President Udovenko, members of the U.N. Secretariat, my fellow leaders. First let me thank the Secretary-General for his remarks. As some of you may know, after work today I will have the pleasure of attending the opening of the Metropolitan Opera. And I thought I would get into the spirit by singing the praises of our host today. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Secretary-General, it would be hard to find someone more appropriate to lead this great organization at this time. Your work and your life have taken you from your native Ghana to Egypt, Ethiopia, Switzerland, and

to Minnesota where you first learned about America. For over three decades, you have given every waking hour to the United Nations. Better than anyone, you know how this organization works, from its highest office down to the grassroots.

Most importantly, you have earned your reputation as a peacemaker. From Africa to Iraq to Bosnia, your remarkable efforts to turn people from conflict to cooperation have saved thousands of lives.

You have seen revolution, war, and starvation, and you have always risen to fight the suffering they bring. You have witnessed the collapse of the old colonial empires, the end of the cold war, the beginning of this new era of great possibility. I hope future historians will look back and say this was a time when the high principles that led to the founding of the United Nations at last were realized—not simply by avoiding bloodshed and war but also by bringing freedom and opportunity to men and women on every continent, from every background.

Today, through your strong leadership and quiet diplomacy, you are serving also as a different kind of peacemaker, bridging the gaps between the sometimes unruly members of the United Nations—a group that even on occasion, I must admit, includes the United States.

We have applauded your efforts to reform the United Nations, and we have particularly appreciated your efforts to explain those reforms to the American people. Deep down, our people care deeply about the U.N., and with you at the helm we are moving ahead to a new era of partnership.

Finally, let me note that article one of the charter calls the United Nations a center for harmonizing.

I would like to ask all of you to join me in a toast to Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations. May we always act in concert to achieve the harmony the founders dreamed of, the harmony he has worked so hard to realize.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the North Delegates Lounge.

Message on the 50th Anniversary of the National Security Council

September 22, 1997

To Past and Present Members of the NSC Staff:

I congratulate you on the 50th anniversary of the National Security Council.

During the more than forty years of the Cold War, you guided our country's leaders through the brinksmanship of East-West confrontation. In the almost ten years since communism's collapse, the NSC Staff has helped identify the possibilities and protect against the perils of our new era.

Indeed, at a time when the world's increasing interdependence challenges us all to new patterns of thought and action, the NSC's role is more important than ever. Your sound judgment, advice, and dedication are a key part of our ability to seize the opportunities of the 21st century. Because of your work, our lives are safer, our economy stronger, and our country more secure. On behalf of a grateful nation, congratulations and thank you.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Memorandum on Contributions to the International Fund for Ireland

September 22, 1997

Presidential Determination No. 97–33

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Presidential Determination to Permit U.S. Contributions to the International Fund for Ireland with Fiscal Year 1996 and 1997 Funds

Pursuant to section 5(c) of the Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Act of 1986 (Public Law 99–415), I hereby certify that I am satisfied that: (1) the Board of the International Fund for Ireland as established pursuant to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 15, 1985, is, as a whole, broadly representative of the interests of the communities in Ireland and Northern Ireland; and (2) disbursements

from the International Fund for Ireland (a) will be distributed in accordance with the principle of equality of opportunity and nondiscrimination in employment, without regard to religious affiliation, and (b) will address the needs of both communities in Northern Ireland.

You are authorized and directed to transmit this determination, together with the attached statement setting forth a detailed explanation of the basis for this certification, to the Congress.

This determination shall be effective immediately and shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 23.

Memorandum on Funding for the African Crisis Response Initiative

September 22, 1997

Presidential Determination No. 97–34

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Transfer of $4 million in FY 1997 Economic Support Funds to the Peacekeeping Operations Account to Support the African Crisis Response Initiative

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 610(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the ''Act''), I hereby determine that it is necessary for the purposes of the Act that $4 million of funds made available under Chapter 4 of Part II of the Act for fiscal year 1997 be transferred to, and consolidated with, funds made available under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act.

I hereby authorize the use in fiscal year 1997 of the aforesaid $4 million in funds made available under Chapter 4 of Part II of the Act to provide peacekeeping assistance to support countries participating in the African Crisis Response Initiative.

You are hereby authorized and directed to report this determination immediately 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 23.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iraq

September 23, 1997

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

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). This report covers the period from July 9 to the present.

Saddam Hussein remains a threat to his people and the region, and the United States remains determined to contain the threat posed by his regime. Secretary of State Albright stated on March 26 that the United States looks forward to the day when Iraq rejoins the family of nations as a responsible and law-abiding member but until then, containment must continue. Secretary Albright made clear that Saddam's departure would make a difference and that, should a change in Iraq's government occur, the United States would stand ready to enter rapidly into a dialogue with the successor regime.

In terms of military operations, the United States and its coalition partners continue to enforce the no-fly zones over northern Iraq under Operation Northern Watch and over southern Iraq through Operation Southern Watch. We have not detected any confirmed, intentional Iraqi violations of either no-fly zone during the period of this report. We have repeatedly made clear to the Government of Iraq and to all other relevant parties that the United States and its partners will continue to enforce both no-fly zones, and that we reserve the right to respond appropriately and decisively to any Iraqi provocations.

In addition to our air operations, we will continue to maintain a strong U.S. presence

in the region in order to deter Iraq. United States force levels include land- and carrier-based aircraft, surface warships, a Marine amphibious task force, a Patriot missile battalion, and a mechanized battalion task force deployed in support of USCINCCENT operations. To enhance force protection throughout the region, additional military security personnel have been deployed for continuous rotation. USCINCCENT continues to monitor closely the security situation in the region to ensure adequate force protection is provided for all deployed forces.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 949, adopted in October 1994, demands that Iraq not use its military or any other forces to threaten its neighbors or U.N. operations in Iraq and that it not redeploy troops or enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq. In view of Saddam's accumulating record of unreliability, it is prudent to retain a significant U.S. force presence in the region in order to maintain the capability to respond rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression or threats against its neighbors.

Since my last report, the Government of Iraq has continued to flout its obligations under UNSC resolutions. During the last 60 days, the Government of Iraq has continued to fail to fully disclose its programs for weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Without such full disclosure—mandated by Security Council Resolutions 687, 707, and 715—the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) cannot effectively conduct the ongoing monitoring and verification mandated by relevant UNSC resolutions. UNSCOM and the IAEA continue to provide Iraq every opportunity for full disclosure. What Iraq will not disclose, UNSCOM and IAEA will try to discover, in an effort to fill in the huge gaps in Iraq's declarations.

Iraqi threats, lying, and hiding during the past 6 years have not deterred UNSCOM and IAEA dedication to their mandates. While some nations have begun to display sanctions-fatigue, the United States remains committed to sanctions enforcement. We shall continue to oppose any suggestion that the sanctions regime should be modified or lifted before Iraq demonstrates its peaceful intentions by complying with its obligations under UNSC resolutions.

We anticipate the UNSCOM and IAEA 6-month reports to the Security Council, due October 11, which will record their conclusions regarding whether the Government of Iraq has provided the "substantial compliance" called for in UNSCR 1115 of June 21, 1997—especially regarding immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to facilities for inspection and to officials for interviews.

The United States is committed to providing first-class professional support to UNSCOM and the IAEA in the conduct of their highly technical work in Iraq, so that both organizations are staffed and equipped to conduct objective and accurate inspections in order to determine whether Iraq has, or has not, complied with its obligations in the field of WMD.

Implementation of UNSCR 1051 continues. It provides for a mechanism to monitor Iraq's effort to reacquire proscribed weapons capabilities by requiring that Iraq notify a joint unit of UNSCOM and the IAEA in advance of any imports of dual-use items. Similarly, U.N. members must provide timely notification of exports to Iraq of dual-use items.

Regarding northern Iraq, the United States continues to lead efforts to increase security and stability in the north and minimize opportunities for Baghdad or Tehran to threaten Iraqi citizens there. An important part of this effort has been to work toward resolving the differences between the two main Iraqi Kurd groups, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Massoud Barzani, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani. Talabani visited the United States in late July to meet with National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering, and U.N. Ambassador Bill Richardson. At these sessions, he reaffirmed his interest in the "Ankara process" of ongoing reconciliation talks jointly sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Turkey. Recently, the KDP's Barzani has also accepted our invitation to Washington.

As part of the Ankara process, the United States provides political, financial, and logistical support to the neutral, indigenous

Peace Monitoring Force (PMF), comprised of Iraqi Turkomans and Assyrians. The PMF has demarcated and monitors the cease-fire line established between the two Kurdish groups in October 1996. United States support takes the form of services and commodities provided in accordance with a drawdown that I directed on December 11, 1996, and funds for other nonlethal assistance provided in accordance with a separate determination made by former Secretary of State Christopher on November 10, 1996.

The PMF also helps the Iraqi Kurds move forward on other confidence-building measures, including joint committee meetings to address a range of civilian services and humanitarian issues affecting all residents of the north. Local representatives of the two Kurdish groups, the three co-sponsors of the Ankara process and the PMF continue to meet at least biweekly in Ankara to discuss, *inter alia*, other confidence-building measures.

The PMF began full deployment in mid-April 1997 and its size is expected to double later this year to more than 400. The PMF continues to investigate and resolve reported cease-fire violations. Its work has become more difficult as elements of the terrorist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) have moved from the Turkish border toward the PUK–KDP cease-fire line. The KDP alleges that PKK elements have been operating across the cease-fire line to attack the KDP. The KDP also alleges that the PUK has joined in some of these attacks, a charge that the PUK denies. The United States, together with the United Kingdom and Turkey, continues to stress the importance of strict observance of the cease-fire.

Another important aspect of our commitment to the people of northern Iraq is in providing humanitarian relief for those in need. As part of this commitment, AID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance will direct an additional $4 million for relief projects to the region. These supplemental programs, announced July 31, will provide emergency health and nutritional support to 80,000 displaced women and children and improve water supplies and sanitation, particularly in the PUK-controlled province of Suleymaniyah.

The oil-for-food arrangement under UNSCR 986 was reauthorized by UNSCR 1111 on June 4, 1997, and went into effect on June 8, 1997. Under UNSCR 1111, Iraq is authorized to sell up to $1 billion worth of oil every 90 days, for a total of $2 billion during a 180-day period (with the possibility of UNSC renewal for subsequent 180-day periods). Resolution 1111, like its predecessor, requires that the proceeds of this limited oil sale, all of which must be deposited in a U.N. escrow account, will be used to purchase food, medicine, and other material and supplies for essential civilian needs for all Iraqi citizens and to fund vital U.N. activities regarding Iraq. Critical to the success of UNSCR 1111 is Iraq's willingness to follow through on its commitments under the resolution to allow the U.N. to monitor the distribution of humanitarian goods to the Iraqi people. Although UNSCR 1111 went into effect on June 8, Iraq unilaterally suspended oil sales until a new distribution plan was submitted and approved. The U.N. Secretary General approved a distribution plan on August 13 and oil sales have resumed.

Iraq continues to stall and obfuscate rather than work in good faith toward accounting for the hundreds of Kuwaitis and third-country nationals who disappeared at the hands of Iraqi authorities during the occupation. It has also failed to return all of the stolen Kuwaiti military equipment and the priceless Kuwaiti cultural and historical artifacts that were looted during the occupation.

The human rights situation throughout Iraq remains unchanged. Iraq's repression of its Shi'a population continues, with policies that are destroying the Marsh Arabs' way of life in southern Iraq and the ecology of the southern marshes. The U.N., in its most recent reports on implementation of UNSCR 986, recognized that the Government of Iraq continues forcibly to deport Iraqi citizens from Kirkuk and other areas of northern Iraq still under the Iraqi government's control. The Government of Iraq shows no signs of complying with UNSCR 688, which demands that Iraq cease the repression of its own people. The effort by various Iraqi opposition groups and non-governmental organizations to document Iraqi war crimes and other vio-

lations of international humanitarian law, known as INDICT, continues.

The Multinational Interception Force (MIF) continues its important mission in the Arabian Gulf. The United States Navy provides the bulk of the forces involved in the maritime sanctions enforcement authorized under UNSCR 665, although we receive much-needed help from a number of close allies. In recent months, ships from The Netherlands, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom have participated in MIF operations. We continue active pursuit of broad-based international participation in these operations.

Illegal smuggling of Iraqi gasoil from the Shatt Al Arab waterway continues to increase at an alarming rate. We now estimate that over 150,000 metric tons of gasoil each month is exported from Iraq in violation of UNSCR 661. The smugglers use the territorial waters of Iran with the complicity of the Iranian government that profits from charging protection fees for these vessels to avoid interception by the MIF in international waters. Cash raised from these illegal operations is used to purchase contraband goods that are then smuggled back into Iraq by the same route. We continue to brief the U.N. Sanctions Committee regarding these operations and have pressed the Committee to compel Iran to give a full accounting of its involvement. We have also worked closely with our MIF partners and Gulf Cooperation Council states to take measures to curb sanctions-breaking operations. A recent spill of illegal Iraqi gasoil caused the desalinization plant in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates (UAE), to suspend operation for 2 days, highlighting the environmental threat these activities pose to Gulf states. Recent announcements by the Government of the UAE that it intends to crack down on smugglers who operate UAE-flagged vessels has been backed up by strong actions against violators detained by the MIF.

The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to UNSCR 687, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The UNCC has issued almost 1.1 million awards worth approximately $5.9 billion. Thirty percent of the proceeds from the oil sales permitted by UNSCR 986 have been allocated to the Compensation Fund to pay awards and to finance operations of the UNCC, and these proceeds will continue to be allocated to the Fund under UNSCR 1111. To the extent that money is available in the Compensation Fund, initial payments to each claimant are authorized for awards in the order in which the UNCC has approved them, in installments of $2,500.00.

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

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

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Protocol to the Canada-United States Taxation Convention

September 23, 1997

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Protocol Amending the Convention Between the United States of America and Canada with Respect to Taxes on Income and on Capital Signed at Washington on September 26, 1980 as Amended by the Protocols Signed on June 14, 1983, March 28, 1984 and March 17, 1995, signed at Ottawa on July 29, 1997. This Protocol modified the taxation of social security benefits and the taxation of gains from the sale of shares of foreign real-property holding companies.

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

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 23, 1997.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the India-United States Extradition Treaty and Documentation

September 23, 1997

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 India, signed at Washington on June 25, 1997.

In addition, I transmit, for the information of the Senate, a related exchange of letters signed the same date and the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty. As the report states, the Treaty will not require implementing legislation.

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

Upon entry into force, this Treaty would enhance cooperation between the law enforcement authorities of both countries, and thereby make a significant contribution to international law enforcement efforts. With respect to the United States and India, the Treaty would supersede the Treaty for the Mutual Extradition of Criminals between the United States of America and Great Britain, signed at London December 22, 1931, which was made applicable to India on March 9, 1942, and is currently applied by the United States and India.

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 23, 1997.

Remarks to the AFL–CIO Convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

September 24, 1997

Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here. Thank you for the warm welcome. Thank you for the fast introduction. [*Laughter*]

The last time I spoke at your convention it was 2 days before you elected John and Rich and Linda. And I must say, from the outside, it seems to me that they have done a remarkable job, and I know that you must be very, very proud of them.

I am delighted to be here with Secretary Herman and Deputy Secretary Kitty Higgins and Secretary Slater—a number of other members of the administration. I should mention one other, the successor at the White House to Alexis Herman, former Assistant Secretary of Labor for Wage and Hours Maria Echaveste. We're all glad to be here.

I also want to say right at the outset that I am very glad that you voted to support campaign finance reform. Now there will be a vote on the Senate floor, and that will be a time of testing. But I have made clear where I stand. All 45 of our Democratic Senators have made clear where they stand. You have now made clear where you stand. We will soon see where the Senate stands, and then where the House stands. This is a good time to make our campaign finance laws better, and I thank you for your crucial role in it.

On a very personal word, I might say, I came in a few moments ago and I was able to hear Sandy Feldman, and hear your tribute to our friend, Al Shanker. And I cannot tell you how much I appreciate that. Under his leadership, and Sandy's, the AFT has been a constant supporter of educational opportunity and educational excellence—a clear signal that working professionals can be organized for the objectives, the legitimate objectives of the union movement. And one of these objectives would be excellence on the job. And there is no more important place to have excellence on the job than in educating our children. So I'm very, very grateful for the AFT and for Sandy Feldman.

With your new leadership team and the new energy I feel, of the presidents who are here on this great stage, and all of you in the audience, your members back home, it is clear that American labor once again has a clear voice and you are making it heard. You made it heard loud and proud in the boardrooms of United Parcel Service. You made it heard in the halls of the Capitol, standing up to a barrage of anti-worker legislation.

You're making it heard in the strawberry and mushroom fields of California, in the fiery tones of Arturo Rodriguez, with noble echoes of Cesar Chavez. You're making it heard in nursing homes in Minnesota, giving new strength to women workers. And you're making it heard right here in Pittsburgh through the steelworkers biggest organizing campaign in more than 60 years. This must be a proud time for the men and women of the AFL–CIO.

Our Nation can clearly see and hear that American labor is back. Thanks in no small part to your leadership in the workplace and your involvement in the political process, America is back, too.

Six years ago, when I announced my candidacy for President, I said that America had a vital mission for the 21st century—to keep the American dream alive for every person responsible enough to work for it, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, and to bring our people together across all the lines that divide us into one America. America's oldest, most incandescent ideals—opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all—that is what has to illuminate our path as we stride forward to address the challenges of a new era.

I pledged then to take America in a new direction—toward the future, not the past; toward unity, not division; with America leading, not following; putting people and values, not power politics, first; reforming Government not to do everything or do nothing, but to give all our people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives; and beginning by building an economy that works for all, not the few.

We started with a new economic policy for the new economy, putting in place a bold new strategy to shrink the deficit and balance the budget, invest in our people and lower unfair trade barriers to our goods and services. The philosophy was solid and simple: Remove the impediments that have restrained the American people and give them the tools and training to help them race ahead. By reducing the Nation's massive deficits, we could free our people of the deadweight that slowed their every step from the early 1980's. By investing in their education and health, we would enable them to run fast and strong over the long run. By reducing trade barriers, we would knock down the unfairly high hurdles that we have had to leap over for far too long, and build bridges to new democracies with growing economies to ensure our leadership for peace and freedom well into the next century.

The strategy has succeeded: nearly 13 million new jobs; America leading the world in auto production once again; unemployment below 5 percent; over a million new construction jobs, a half a million transportation jobs, a half a million new jobs for machine operators, auto jobs having the fastest increase since Lyndon Johnson's administration; the biggest drop in welfare rolls in history, with welfare reform that is tough on work, but prochild and pro-family; dramatic drops in crime year after year, putting 100,000 more community police officers on the street and the Brady bill preventing 250,000 sales of handguns to people with criminal or mental health histories that indicates they should not have them. We know we have more to do, but together we have made progressive government work again.

Let's look at three crucial elements of our economic strategy, reducing the deficit, investing in our people, expanding exports. First, deficit reduction. Back in 1993, when I introduced our first deficit reduction plan, we both knew it was important to get our fiscal house in order, and we did it the right way. We did it while increasing investments in our people. And we did it without a single Republican vote, cutting the huge deficit of $290 billion 87 percent before the new balanced budget law passed.

After a new majority took control of Congress in 1994, they tried to cut the deficit in the wrong way. They sent me a budget

that made unjustifiably deep cuts in Medicare, that increased taxes on working Americans, that allowed corporations to raid their workers' pensions, that cut enforcement of worker safety laws, that slashed funding for education and training by $30 billion. With your support, I vetoed that budget and the veto was upheld.

Later, when they pushed a balanced budget with a harmful independent contractor provision, a misguided privatization scheme for Medicaid, and a shameful plan to deny workfare participants the minimum wage, you and I stood firm together. We stood firm together. And I thank you for your support for that opposition.

I believe this balanced budget that I signed honors our workers and our values and our future. And I will explain by going to the second element of our economic strategy, investing in our people. In the new economy, the most precious resources America has are the skills and securities of working Americans. Here, too, we are succeeding. After decades of working harder and longer for lower wages, millions of working Americans finally are getting a raise. And it's about time.

Since I took office, the yearly income of the typical family is up $1,600. Wages are rising again. In 1995 and 1996, over half the new jobs created in this economy paid above the average wage. With your strong support, we also increased the minimum wage and dramatically increased the earned-income tax credit—it is now worth about $1,000 a year to the typical family of four with an income of less than $30,000. And this summer, I signed into law a $500-per-child tax credit that will mean $1,000 in take-home pay for a typical family with two children. And I didn't sign the bill until we made it work for rookie police officers, teachers, and others of modest means the Republican majority would have left out of their budget and tax cut plans.

From 1945 until the mid-1970's, all of us grew together in America. Each group of our economy, from the lowest 20 percent to the highest, increased their incomes, but actually, in percentage terms, those in the bottom 40 percent grew slightly faster than those in the upper 40 percent. And that was as it should have been. We were sharing our prosperity and growing together.

Then, unfortunately, we began to grow apart, partly because of developments in the global economy, historic developments that could not be reversed and offer us great opportunity if we seize them, partly I believe, because of wrong-headed policies in the United States Government throughout the 1980's.

Fortunately, now it looks like our hard work and your hard work is paying off and America is starting to grow together again. I believe the general sense that this should be so is one of the reasons for the renewed success and receptivity of the efforts that you are making all over America.

But we cannot rest. We cannot rest until every single American has a fair chance to reap the rewards of the American economy. That is why, above all, investing in people means giving every American the best education in the world.

Our balanced budget includes the largest increase in aid to education since 1965, when President Johnson was in office, and the biggest increase to help people go on to college since the GI bill was passed 50 years ago. The budget has $1 billion more for Head Start; more money to help our schools achieve excellence; the America Reads program to mobilize a million volunteers, organized by our national service program, AmeriCorps, which has already given 70,000 young people a chance to work and serve in their communities and earn the money for college. It contains money to help connect every classroom and library in this country to the Internet by the year 2000. It also contains a new HOPE scholarship to guarantee access to all Americans to at least 2 years of college; other tuition tax credits for all college and skills training; an IRA you can withdraw from, tax-free, to pay for your own education or your children's education; the biggest increase in Pell grants in two decades; a million, total, work-study slots now; and doubling aid for dislocated workers.

When you put all this together, we can really say for the first time in the history of this country, we have opened the doors of college education to every American who is

willing to work for it. Money will not be an obstacle again.

There is still a lot to do. First of all, we have to pass every year for the next 5 years the funds necessary to make good on the budget agreement. Secondly, we have got to increase the quality of education in our public schools. I have sought to provide more options to parents in public school through public school choice and allowing teachers to organize new charter schools within public school districts. But I also know we need national standards. Every other major economy in the world educates its children according to national academic standards. And I have called for national standards and voluntary national exams to begin with fourth-grade reading and eighth-grade math to see how our children are doing. Voluntary exams developed not by politicians, but by a non-political board; not by the Department of Education, but financially supported by the Department of Education.

There are those who say no to this, no to standards, no to the idea that we ought to have accountability. Some of them, frankly, don't believe all our children can learn. Some of them see some dark plot to take over local schools. All I see is reading is the same in Minnesota as it is in Maine, and mathematics is the same in Washington as it is in Florida. And our children had better know it if they expect to compete in the world of the 21st century.

There are also those in the Congress who say no to every effort we make to expand educational opportunity—those who failed to close the Department of Education, but would still like to cut it down; those who still would reduce our commitment to scholarships and grants and shut down completely innovative initiatives, like America Reads, even though we know—we know—that 40 percent of our third graders still cannot read independently on their own. We know that, and we cannot afford to back up. We need to bear down.

So I need to ask your help again on education in the tough days ahead. With your help we can open up opportunity, build up education, and shake up the status quo crowd that fights every effort we make to lift up our children.

We are making progress in this country in education. The teachers of this country are doing a better job, the principals are doing a better job, parents are steadily getting more involved. We are learning how to come to grips with all the social problems that our kids bring to school. This year, on international exams, a representative sample of our children by race, by region, by income—for the first time the fourth graders scored above the global average in mathematics and science. So I know all children can learn, and I know we've got people who can do the job. We just have to support them and bear down, and do more of the kinds of things that we know will work.

Al Shanker, for his whole adult life, advocated national standards and meaningful measures and then all the efforts necessary to give every kid in this country a chance to learn. And I am not going to back away from this if it takes me every last minute of the next 3 years and however many months and days I've got left. And you ought to be there, too, because there's nothing more important for the future of this country than giving our kids a decent education.

Investing in our people also means protecting the rights of workers, to demand their rights. Over the past 4 years, we've defeated callous attempts to repeal prevailing wage laws, to bring back company unions, to weaken occupational safety laws. We cracked down on sweatshops and fought to protect your pension funds and make pensions more portable. I have vetoed every piece of antilabor legislation that has crossed my desk, and I will continue to do so. [*Applause*] Thank you.

A lot of the people pushing these bills have missed the main point. The key to success in tomorrow's economy is people, and you cannot move into the 21st century by restoring the labor policies of the 19th century. I will oppose it, you will oppose it, and we will prevail.

In that context, let me just say one more word about the UPS strike. I and, indeed, my entire administration believe deeply in the collective bargaining process. In the UPS strike, collective bargaining worked. UPS and the Teamsters reached an historic settlement that recognizes that companies have to invest

in their workers in order to be competitive in the 21st century. I did the right thing to let the process work. The parties got together, they worked through it and we got a good result. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Investing in people also means expanding access to health care, quality health care. The family and medical leave law that you worked so hard for, the very first bill I signed as President, ensures that millions of people don't have to choose between being good parents and good workers. I still hear from citizens as I travel across the country and just stop at airports, or in crowds in communities and shake hands—people still come up to me and say, that law changed my life, saved my family, has meant more to me than anything the Government has done in my life. It is a good thing, and I thank you for your support of it.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum law helps millions to keep their health care if they take a new job or if someone in their family gets sick. The new balanced budget spends $24 billion to expand health care to 5 million of the most vulnerable Americans—5 million children almost all in working families, without health insurance. That is the largest investment in health care since the creation of Medicaid in 1965. Never—never—would this have happened unless you had helped me wage the fight we waged and lost to give health insurance to every American family that doesn't have it. And sometimes you have to lose a battle. I'm glad we fought for it. I'm proud that you helped me. And those kids are going to get insurance because of the issues we raised in 1994.

Finally, I ask for your support to help me pass sweeping legislation to keep tobacco, our number one health problem, out of the hands of our children. The health of our children is my bottom line and I believe it should be the bottom line of the tobacco industry as well.

The final component of our three-part economic strategy, one that is just as essential for the future growth and the future wage growth of our economy, is our continuing work to open new markets and give American workers a fair break. I know we don't see eye-to-eye on fast track, but I think I owe it to you to tell you exactly why I feel so passionately about it. And I think I've earned the right to be heard on it.

Fast-track authority is a tool that has been given by Democratic Congresses to Republican Presidents and Presidents, indeed, of both parties for more than 20 years now. It simply says that if the President or his representative, his trade representative, negotiates a trade agreement, then the Congress has to vote on it if it rises to the level of comprehensive agreement, but must vote it up or down, so that the other country does not believe it is having to negotiate with 535 people in addition to the person with whom they negotiated.

We cannot create enough good jobs and increase wages if we don't expand trade. There's a simple reason why. Indeed, about a third of the economic growth that has produced 13 million new jobs over the past 4½ years has come from selling more American products overseas. Here's why: We have 4 percent of the world's population and we enjoy 22 percent of the world's wealth. If we want to keep the 22 percent of the wealth we have as 4 percent of the world's people, we have to sell something to the other 96 percent.

And this did not happen by accident. There were over 220 trade agreements signed in the first 4 years of this administration. In the over 20 agreements signed with Japan, in those areas, our exports went up by over 80 percent.

The information technology agreement that we just signed, worldwide, covering 90 percent of information technology services in the world, under residual fast-track authority that covered that area, amounts to a $5-billion tax or tariff cut on American products—high value-added products, many of which are made by union workers.

Now, in the next 15 years, the developing countries in Latin America and Asia will grow three times as fast as the United States, Europe, and Japan. As I told the United Nations a couple of days ago, early in the next century, about 20 nations comprising half of the world's people will move from the ranks of low income nations to middle income nations. They are going to grow in a world economy. We are going to participate in that growth to a greater or lesser extent. The

more fair trade deals we have to allow us entry into their markets where we've been at a significant disadvantage for too long, the more we will participate.

You know that our own markets are among the most open in the world. We were able to get 220 trade agreements in the first 4 years because we made people know that if they wanted access to our open markets, they were going to have to open theirs. We have to insist upon this treatment. If we don't act and we don't lead, nobody else will level the playing field for us.

Indeed, our competitors in the other wealthy countries, in Europe and Japan, would just as soon we not make these trade agreements. They can make them because they read the same predictions we do—they know that their economies are only going to grow a third as fast as the ones in Latin America and Asia as well, and they are looking for some way in to protect their workers and their longtime economic security.

We can compete if given a fair chance. Last year, I had a chance to visit the Jeep Cherokee plant in Toledo, a UAW plant producing tens of thousands of right-wheel-drive jeeps for export to Japan and other markets we thought hard to open up for them. They have 700 new jobs at that plant, and I think it's the oldest auto plant in the United States of America still operating. The global economy is working for them. I am determined to see that it works for everyone.

Should we ask other people to adhere to global standards on the environment? Of course, we should. I think you could make a strong case that no administration has done more to preserve and protect the environment against onslaughts than ours has. Should we acknowledge that global trade can pull the rug out from some of our people? Of course, it could. At every period of economic change in our country's history, that has happened to people. The difference is that we have to be committed to give more aid, to do more for people who are suffering, who are displaced. Because nobody should be left behind in the global economy—nobody. That's why we double funding for displaced workers. That's why I know we have to do more. We don't have to leave people behind. Everybody should have the right to keep a good job and to go into tomorrow.

But we can only do that with a growing population if we continue to grow the economy. So the trick is to get the right economic growth package, to create the right mix of new jobs, to try to make sure always more than half of your new jobs are paying above average wage, and not leave people behind. It's not easy to do, but this administration is committed to doing it. And I think we have demonstrated that commitment time and again.

We also have to recognize that the global economy is on a fast track. It is changing amazingly. For example, every month—every month—millions and millions of new contacts are made on the Internet—every single month. It's exploding like nothing ever has, creating all kinds of networks of commerce and bringing people close together in new and unusual ways. We have to figure out how to make this work for us. If it doesn't work for us, it will work against us.

I believe leaving our trade relations on hold with the fastest growing economies in the world will not create a single job in America, and it certainly won't raise environmental standards or labor standards in other countries. This year—this year alone, so far, two-thirds of the increase in America's trade has come from Canada to the southern tip of South America, our neighbors—two-thirds. We could do better. This year, leaders from Europe have gone to South America to tell them that the United States no longer cares about their markets or the cooperation and leadership that goes along with working with them. They say that their future should be with Europe, and they should organize to give Europe considerations and breaks in opening their markets and leave us out.

Now, think about it. Think about Chile or Brazil or Argentina. Their markets are more closed to us than ours are to them. We still are selling more just because they're growing so much. But we know they'll grow a lot more over the next 10 to 20 years. They now need things that we sell and things that your people produce better than any other group of people in the world.

This is not about NAFTA or factories moving there to sell back to here. I think all of

us agree it is highly unlikely anyone will move a factory to Chile to sell back to here. This is about how we can best seize our opportunities in the economy that is emerging and how 4 percent of the world's people can continue to maintain 20 to 22 percent of the world's wealth and continue to grow the economy so incomes can rise and new jobs can be created.

Now, I know this is a difficult debate, and I know we disagree about it. But the debate over fair trade and fast track should itself be fair. It should also be open and honest. I have personally sat alone in the White House and listened to talk shows where your representatives were on the shows, because I wanted to hear the arguments and hear the concerns and know the things that you want. And you know we have had exhaustive numbers of meetings between the administration and leaders of the labor movement. We ought to have an open, fair, and honest debate. We are trying to move as much as we can on a lot of the concerns that you have raised.

But I also want to say that I think we share too many values and priorities to let this disagreement damage our partnership. You just think of all of the things that I reeled off that we've done together and all of the things we've stood against in the last 5 years. I have worked to make this economy work for middle-class Americans. I care about making sure everybody has a chance and making sure nobody is left behind. But I can't build a better future without the tools to do the job, and America can't lead if it's bringing up the rear.

At the moment of our greatest economic success in an entire generation, we shouldn't be reluctant about the future. We ought to seize it and shape it. And I think I also have to say to you that there are a lot of good Members of Congress who agree with me about our trade policy who also stood for the minimum wage. They agree with me about our trade policy, but they fought to provide health care for 5 million more kids. They support open trade, but they also fought to protect Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment and to open the doors of college to all Americans.

And when the majority in Congress wanted to do so, they stood against them and fought with you against the contract on America. They fought with you against attempts to repeal the prevailing wage laws, to weaken unions and workplace health and safety laws. They did so in the face of intense pressure. They have fought for you and for all working people, and they deserve our support. If they were to lose their positions because they stood up for what they believe was right for America's future, who would replace them and how much harder would it be to get the necessary votes in Congress to back the President when he stands by you against the majority?

America is far better off when the friends of working people stand together without letting one issue trump all the others. Friends and allies don't participate in the politics of abandonment. They band together, disagreeing when they must but banding together.

I pledge to do that, and hope you will, too. We've got a lot to do in education, in making sure Medicare and Social Security are there for the next generation of parents, in bridging the divide of race and all of the differences that are now taking place in this country. That's an area where you've always been out front, and I want to close with that, because you can help, perhaps more than almost any other group in America, to bridge the divides and to preserve the bonds of community.

When I leave you, I'm going home to Arkansas, and tomorrow I will try to focus our Nation on a haunting but hopeful moment in our country's struggle to make America the Nation live up to America the idea—a day, 40 years ago, when nine brave African-American boys and girls, shielded from a hateful crowd by United States Army paratroopers, walked through the doors of Little Rock Central High School for the first time. I will honor the courage and vision of those whose eyes were fixed on the prize of equal educational opportunity without regard to race.

There are still a lot of doors we have to open. There are still some doors we have to open wider. And now, unfortunately, there are some doors we've got to work hard from being shut again. There is also a new reality we're all going to have to come to grips with that very few Americans have thought about. It will change the workplace. It will change

communities. It will change the way we do our business as citizens. That reality is that we are not simply a black-white nation; we are not simply a black-Hispanic-Native-American-white nation. Instead, we are a nation now of nearly all the peoples of the world, with greater diversity in how we work and live together and greater integration in how we work and live together than virtually any other democracy on Earth. And within the ranks of Caucasians and blacks and Latinos and Asians, there is increasing ethnic and cultural diversity.

As we become the most diverse democracy on Earth—and make no mistake about it, we are becoming that—today, only Hawaii has no majority race. Within a decade, probably within 4 or 5 years, California, our largest State with 13 percent of our population, will have no majority race. And sometime before the next century is half done, America will have no majority race. Are we going to embrace this? Are we going to say that we celebrate our diversity, but we're united by something more important? Or are we going to let it get away from us and drift off into little enclaves and weaken our country and our future and our children's future? You're in a unique position to help.

Labor has a tradition here, established by visionaries like A. Philip Randolph and Walter Reuther. Labor has helped generations of African-Americans and new immigrants to gain dignity and respect. Your members reached across racial and ethnic lines to fight for a common future and personal dignity. Few institutions in America can claim anything like the record of the labor movement in fighting for equal opportunity.

It was for that reason and for her own merit that I appointed your executive vice president, Linda Chavez-Thompson, a member of my race advisory commission. She has seen discrimination firsthand. She knows discrimination is not a thing of the past, but she is determined to see that it has no place in our future. I am grateful for her help, and I ask you for yours.

A century ago, the working men and women of labor imagined an America where older people had health security, where African-Americans enjoyed equal protection under the law, where working people had the right to organize and fight for a better life. Because they imagined it and because they worked for it, it's the America we're living in today.

Now it is up to us to imagine the America of the 21st century. And on every issue I discussed today, that is all I ask you to do. Imagine it, based on what we now know. Imagine an America in which every child has a world-class education, in which every family can fairly balance the demands of work and childrearing, in which we lift living standards here and around the world, in which we learn to grow our economy and preserve the common environment which is our home, in which our oldest values of opportunity, responsibility and community guide us into a new time of greatest opportunity.

As American working men and women have shown time and time again, if we imagine it and we work at it, we will build it, an America for our children, always eager for tomorrow. You have brought new energy to the labor movement. You have brought new energy to America. Let us work to build that into a future we can be proud of.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. in the Convention Hall at the David Lawrence Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to John J. Sweeney, president, Richard Trumka, secretary general, and Linda Chavez-Thompson, vice president, AFL-CIO; Sandra Feldman, president, American Federation of Teachers; and Arturo Rodriquez, president, United Farm Workers of America.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Luncheon in Pittsburgh

September 24, 1997

That was an interesting introduction. [*Laughter*] You know, I have to begin by saying, when my friend of more than 30 years now David Matter made that reference to Henry Kissinger's joke about it's the 90 percent of the politicians that give the other 10 percent a bad name, I think it's only fair to tell you that he succeeded me as the president of our class at Georgetown. [*Laughter*] He was in the 90 percent. [*Laughter*] I never said anything like that until this event was

already put together and organized and successful.

Thank you, David. I want to thank Phil and Diann; I want to thank my good friend John Connelly. It's wonderful to see him up and about, and so trim, young looking. [*Laughter*] Audrey and Mr. Mayor, thank you. And thank you, Mike, for what you said. And, Commissioner Cranmer, we're glad to have you here.

I was hoping there would be at least one Republican here because when I came in here, I said, ''This is a pretty nice club.'' [*Laughter*] ''It makes me feel almost like a Republican.'' [*Laughter*] And one of the people at the table said, ''If we had held this dinner a few years ago, you would have had to be one to get in.'' [*Laughter*] So it's nice to see that even that barrier of discrimination is being broken down. [*Laughter*]

I'd like to thank all the other folks who are here—Judge Del Sol; former State treasurer Catherine Baker Knoll; former lieutenant governor, Chairman Singel; your former mayor, Sophie Masloff—we had a lot of fun together in Pittsburgh. Mayor, I have fun with you, too, but it's not quite the same, you know. [*Laughter*] And Senator Mellow, Senator Bodak, and all of you, thank you for coming.

I love coming here. I like western Pennsylvania, I love Pittsburgh. It's one of those towns where I can walk up to anybody on the street and ask them what the score was in last night's Pirates game, and they'll all know. It's a place where people are proud of their roots, proud of their ties, proud of their community.

I'm delighted that you have some ties to Arkansas—my good friend, Lazar Planick there—even though I'm a Southern Baptist, I used to refer to his father as my rabbi. And I've always felt a certain affinity for this community and an affinity for western Pennsylvania. And you've been wonderful to me now through two elections for President. And this is really the first opportunity I've had since the '96 election just to say simply, thank you. And to all the people of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, thank you for being so supportive of what we have tried to do together.

This is a proud time for America. The economy is in the best shape it's been in in a generation. We're working hard to make the world a more peaceful, more prosperous place. And we're proving once again that we can constructively deal with our problems. It's the sort of time that I dreamed about in 1991 when I declared for President. And the country seemed drifting, it seemed divided to me. It seemed—it was clearly in difficult economic shape.

And the thing that bothered me most—you know, we'll always have bad times as well as good times. No course of life ever runs smooth; it's part of human nature and the inherent rhythm of events. But what bothered me in '91 was, it seemed to me that we had no strategy, no clear vision that a strategy could be developed to support. And when I think of how fast the world is changing, how fast—the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to each other and people indeed all across our Nation and all across the world, I still have the same simple vision I had when I declared for President.

When I leave office in the 21st century, I want this to be a country where everybody who is responsible enough to work for it has an opportunity to live out his or her dreams. I want this to be a country that is celebrating its diversity but coming together as one America, not being divided as so many other places in the world are divided today, by race or religion or culture. And I want us still to be the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity, not meddling around the world and trying to solve all the problems but being a beacon of hope, an example and, yes, being involved where we can make a difference. That's what I want for America.

And I've worked hard for that for the last 5 years. None of it would have been possible if it hadn't been for people like you all across this country. But every one of you know that this area of Pennsylvania has been especially good to me and to the Vice President and to our efforts.

Now, in order to achieve that, it seemed to me we needed to say, ''Well, what kind of policies would you develop to achieve that? What would they be like?'' And I'll tell you what we talked about back in '91, before I ever announced for President. I think it's a mistake to run for President before you

have a general idea about what you're going to do if you get there.

It's kind of—the Presidential election is this vast job interview. It's pretty scary; 100 million people can want to hire you, and you can still get fired. It's pretty disorienting. [*Laughter*]

But it seemed to me we needed policies that focused on the future, not the past; on unity, not division; on the interest of people and our basic values in this country, not power politics; that focused on America leading, not America following; that focused on the need for a certain kind of Government—not a Government to do everything and certainly not a Government to do nothing, but a Government whose primary mission would be to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives; and finally, that we had to begin with a new economic strategy that would make the economy work for everybody, not just for a few people.

And we began with the economic strategy. I used to say it's a stool with three legs: We have to reduce the deficit until we balance the budget; we still have to find the money to invest in people and in technology and in research, the things that will build our future; and we have to expand American trade in our products and services, because we only have 4 percent of the world's population, but we enjoy a high standard of living because we produce 22 percent of the world's wealth. And in a world becoming increasingly competitive, increasingly open, increasingly interconnected, you cannot expect to maintain 20 percent of the wealth with 4 percent of the people unless you go where the business is.

So that's what we've tried to do, hard, for 5 years. And the results have been what you know they are: unemployment under 5 percent, 13 million new jobs, over a million new construction jobs—a lot of you helped to create them in this room—half a million new machine tool operators, half a million new people working in transportation. The last 2 years, over half the new jobs paid above average wages, something that was not the case for new jobs for many years in the 1980's.

The average income is beginning to rise and that gap which had been widening for 20 years seems like it may be coming back together now between the middle class, lower income working people, and upper income people. From World War II to the mid-1970's we all grew together. And then as the economy began to change, and we didn't develop an effective response to it, we began to grow apart, so that those of us that were in a very good position to take advantage of the emerging world economy did just fine, and those of us that weren't got hurt. And now we're beginning to turn that around, partly because of the second part of the strategy, investing in people. If people are the most important part of the new economy, it follows by definition, their health, their education, and their ability to raise strong families are the most important parts of our strategy there.

So we've worked hard to do what we could to stabilize the health care situation for Americans, to help do things that would lower the rate of inflation without eroding the quality of care, pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill which says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or somebody in your family gets sick.

We had a dramatic increase in research and support for diabetes in this last budget, which the American Diabetes Association said was the most important thing since the discovery of insulin in 1927. We've worked hard on breast cancer, prostate cancer, a lot of the other major health problems this country faces. We've worked hard to do something to put a stop to the marketing and sales of cigarettes to teenagers, still our number one public health problem.

In this last budget, $24 billion was allocated to provide health insurance to 5 million children, half the children who don't have health insurance in this country. Almost all of them, by the way, are in working families whose place of work does not provide them health insurance.

In education, we now have had from 1993 to the present an enormous increase in Federal support for education. This last balanced budget had the biggest increase in Federal support for education since Lyndon Johnson was the President of the United States in 1965, and the biggest increase in helping people to go to college since the GI bill was passed 50 years ago. And it's going to change the future of America.

Now, with the things that were in this last budget, we will have a million work-study positions for people who go to college; the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years; an IRA where people can save in an IRA and then withdraw from it without penalty if they use it for their education or their children's education; a tax credit of up to $1,500 a year for the first 2 years of college; a HOPE scholarship to open the doors of 2 years of college to everybody; and continued tax credits for any kind of education, undergraduate or graduate, or job training after high school.

We can now say for the first time in the history of the country—when all these tax credits kick in next year, we'll be able to say for the first time that any American who's willing to work for it can have a college education. That's never been true before. And that's something all of you can be proud of, because if it hadn't been for you and people like you, we in Washington would never have been in a position to do it. It was the central pledge I made to the American people in the 1996 campaign.

So we're moving along. Crime has dropped every year the last 5 years. Part of the reason is we're supporting local strategies that work—more community police in the street. The Brady bill has kept 250,000 people with criminal or mental health histories who shouldn't have handguns from buying them. And there was a study released just last week which said that illicit gun dealers have had terrible difficulty operating in places where it's vigorously enforced. This is a safer country than it was 5 years ago.

We have the lowest percentage of our population on welfare than we've had since 1970, in spite of 20 years of the most active immigration in our country's history. Why? Because we pursued a welfare reform policy that was tough on work, but pro-family and pro-child.

So you can be proud of where we are because all of you had a role in it. But it only sort of indicates where we have to go. Now, as I look to the future both this year and the years beyond, we've still got to do things to keep this economy growing. That's why I want this fast-track trade authority that I went to the AFL–CIO to talk about today. And we differ about it.

But we're not going to save any jobs by leaving our trade relations as is with countries a long way from here when our markets are more open than theirs. But if they open their markets to us, we can sell more. Seventy percent of the growth in America's overseas trade this last year came from Canada to the tip of South America and our own back yard. And the further you go away from here, the less likely it is that any of you or anybody else would want to shut a plant down in America and move it down there to sell products back here. Labor is becoming an increasingly smaller part of manufacturing costs anyway. This is about selling America's goods and services, and it's also about partnerships with new democracies, to keep us the world's leading force for peace and freedom.

We've got an education fight going that's a real doozie in Washington now over whether the Congress will prohibit me and the Secretary of Education from spending any tax money to have a nonpolitical board, established by Congress years ago, with Republicans and Democrats on it and educators on it, develop a national examination for reading for fourth graders and math for eighth graders to be given voluntarily and with no mandated consequences to every fourth and eighth grader in the country in 1999. Why? We are the only advanced economy in the world that does not have a national set of academic standards, a definition for academic excellence, even a definition for academic adequacy.

This has nothing to do with local control of the schools. Reading and math are the same in Michigan and Montana and south Florida and San Diego and northeastern Maine and northwestern Washington. It's about whether we believe our kids can learn and whether we're going to expect them to. I can tell you this: All the evidence is they can. Our schools are getting better. This last year, for the first time ever, America's fourth graders scored above the international average in math and science. And we had a few thousand kids take it, but they were representative by race, by region, and by income.

So our kids can learn what they need to know to do well, but we've got to measure

it to see whether they do or not. Any of you running any enterprise here, if I suggested that you stop measuring it tomorrow, you would be without profits before long. If you didn't keep up with your performance, if you didn't define success in some way, if you had no way to know whether you were up or down truly measured against the competition which is global in nature, you would have difficulty. That's all I want to do.

We're going to try to deal with some of the most difficult issues in the world over the next several months in trying to reconcile our need to grow the economy and the environmental problems that are developing around the globe and the requests that have been made of all of us, Europe, Japan, all the advanced economies, to try to do something about greenhouse gas emissions. Can we do it without hurting economic growth? Of course we can if we do it right. It's going to be something that all of you will have to be concerned about and involved in.

We have to reform the entitlements for the baby boom generation so the next generation will have Social Security and Medicare. It is wrong for us not to make modest changes now that will save Social Security and Medicare over the long run. We've already made some modest changes in Medicare that I believe will add more than a decade to the life of the Trust Fund. But you can't expect all these young people to support those of us who are in the baby boom generation when there will be barely two people working for every one person retired, without making some changes. We cannot raise the payroll tax any more on ordinary people or small businesses. There are ways—modest changes that can be made over the next 2 to 3 to 4 years, very modest changes which will avoid that, and we have to deal with that.

Just one or two other things I wanted to mention. We are finally, it looks like, going to get a vote in the Senate for the first time in 5 years on campaign finance reform, and I think that's a good thing. But I want everyone to understand who is here at this dinner today, the real problem with campaigns is how much they cost. The amount of money raised is a direct relationship with the perceived requirements of how much they cost.

So if you want to have campaign finance reform, particularly if this country is not prepared to go to taxpayer-financed elections, like many nations do across the board, except we just do it for Presidents now, then we must do one thing: You must give people access to mass communications for free or reduced rates if they adhere to the standards of the campaign finance laws. That must be done. And we're looking into that. But the Senate has got a good bill before it. They're going to debate it. They're going to vote on it, and that's a good thing. And I'm proud that it was precipitated at least in part by the unanimous vote of the members of my caucus in the Senate—our party's caucus—to support the McCain-Feingold bill.

Finally, let me say this. If you look to the future and you ask: What is the issue most likely to define America in the 21st century? Of all the many issues we can deal with, what is the issue most likely to define us? Well, what has defined us for 200 years?

People think this is a place uniquely devoted to freedom and opportunity, where every person gets his chance at the brass ring. They know that we've been imperfect. I'm leaving you to go home to Little Rock to observe the 40th anniversary of the Little Rock Central High School crisis, a glaring, timeless example of the imperfection of America the Nation not living up to America the idea. But we also know that from the beginning, when we started out with a Constitution that said African-Americans equal six-tenths of a person, we have come a long way. We have steadily pushed back the barriers that bore down on people, people of color, on women, all the groups of people that have ever been discriminated against. We are steadily pushing back those barriers.

But if you really think about what's likely to define us, you imagine what's the world going to be like. It's going to be a high-tech world dominated by information technology where distances will be shortened, millions—that's no exaggeration; I talked to the people who set it up last week—millions of new contacts are happening on the Internet every month, probably every week. They can't be measured. Literally it's growing by millions and millions and millions a month and probably a week. That is the world we're going

to live in. Now, if we in the United States have the most multiethnic, multiracial functioning democracy, where we don't just live in the same country but in little different places, and then we vote on election day, and that's all we have in common, but we actually live and work together and learn together and grow together, then we will be the most well-positioned country in the world for the 21st century.

It is, therefore, in our self-interest to rid ourselves of the last vestiges of the poison which seen in its darkest form can destroy a place like Bosnia, can bedevil the home of many of us in this room, including Mayor Murphy, in Ireland—we think we're making some progress there—can keep the Middle East in constant turmoil, and they've got all kinds of social problems in a lot of those countries there. If they were all working together they could turn the whole region around in a matter of a decade. And on and on and on—you know the stories.

If we are the polar opposite of that in a world where we have the world's finest system of higher education, where we're on the cutting edge of technology, where we're committed to all the things we've been talking about today, and we're all getting along together, this country is going to do very well, and the next 50 years will be the best 50 years in American history.

Now, I was raised to believe that's what we owe our children. And I was raised to believe that none of us—it is not given to any of us to solve all the problems or to transform human nature; it is our responsibility to leave the world better than we found it. It is our responsibility in the great stream of human existence to make our contribution to the right direction. That's what we've got a chance to do. And we owe it to our children.

And from the day I started running for this job, all I ever wanted to do was to make sure that, when it was all said and done, people like you, who share the same values and ideas I did, could actually say together, we gave opportunity to everybody responsible enough to work for it; we are coming together as one country, not being divided; and we are the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom. I still think we're moving in that direction and we have another 3 years, and I'm going to give you every day I can to make sure we get there.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:39 p.m. in the Walnut Room at the Duquesne Club. In his remarks, he referred to David Matter, and Phil and Diann Stout, State Democratic Party trustees; John Connelly, president, J. Edward Connelly Associates; Mayor Tom Murphy of Pittsburgh; Mike Dawida and Bob Cranmer, Allegheny County commissioners; Audrey Dawida, wife of Commissioner Dawida; Judge Joseph A. Del Sol, Democratic candidate for Pennsylvania State Supreme Court; Mark Singel, chairman, Pennsylvania Democratic Party; State Senators Robert J. Mellow and Leonard Bodak; and Pittsburgh attorney Lazar Palnick, originally from Arkansas.

Notice—Continuation of Emergency With Respect to UNITA

September 24, 1997

On September 26, 1993, by Executive Order 12865, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ("UNITA"), prohibiting the sale or supply by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of arms and related material of all types, and petroleum and petroleum products to the territory of Angola, other than through designated points of entry. The order also prohibits the sale or supply of such commodities to UNITA. Because of our continuing international obligations and because of the prejudicial effect that discontinuation of the sanctions would have on the Angolan peace process, the national emergency declared on September 26, 1993, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond September 26, 1997. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to UNITA.

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

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 24, 1997.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:30 a.m., September 24, 1997]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on September 25.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Notice on UNITA

September 24, 1997

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared with respect to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ("UNITA") is to continue in effect beyond September 26, 1997, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on September 26, 1993, of a national emergency have not been resolved. The actions and policies of UNITA pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States. United Nations Security Council Resolution 864 (1993) continues to oblige all Member States to maintain sanctions. Discontinuation of the sanctions would have a prejudicial effect on the Angolan peace process. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to UNITA to reduce its ability to pursue its aggressive policies of territorial acquisition.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 24, 1997.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Ireland-United States Taxation Convention and Protocol

September 24, 1997

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Ireland for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income and Capital Gains, signed at Dublin on July 28, 1997, (the "Convention") together with a Protocol and an exchange of notes done on the same date. Also transmitted is the report of the Department of State concerning the Convention.

This Convention, which is similar to tax treaties between the United States and other OECD nations, provides maximum rates of tax to be applied to various types of income and protection from double taxation of income. The Convention also provides for resolution of disputes and sets forth rules making its benefits unavailable to residents that are engaged in treaty shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention, with its Protocol and exchange of notes, and that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 24, 1997.

Message to the Congress on Angola

September 24, 1997

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my last report of April 4, 1997, concerning the national emergency with respect to Angola that was declared in Executive Order 12865 of September 26, 1993. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

On September 26, 1993, I declared a national emergency with respect to the Na-

tional Union for the Total Independence of Angola ("UNITA"), invoking the authority, *inter alia,* of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) and the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287c). Consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 864, dated September 15, 1993, the order prohibited the sale or supply by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of arms and related material of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles, equipment and spare parts, and petroleum and petroleum products to the territory of Angola other than through designated points of entry. The order also prohibited such sale or supply to UNITA. United States persons are prohibited from activities that promote or are calculated to promote such sales or supplies, or from attempted violations, or from evasion or avoidance or transactions that have the purpose of evasion or avoidance of the stated prohibitions. The order authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as might be necessary to carry out the purposes of the order.

1. On December 10, 1993, the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) issued the UNITA (Angola) Sanctions Regulations (the "Regulations") (58 *Fed. Reg.* 64904) to implement my declaration of a national emergency and imposition of sanctions against UNITA. The Regulations prohibit the sale or supply by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles, equipment and spare parts, and petroleum and petroleum products to UNITA or to the territory of Angola other than through designated points of entry. United States persons are also prohibited from activities that promote or are calculated to promote such sales or supplies to UNITA or Angola, or from any transaction by any United States persons that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in the Executive order. Also prohibited are transactions by United States persons, or involving the use of U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, relating to transportation to Angola or UNITA of goods the exportation of which is prohibited.

The Government of Angola has designated the following points of entry as points in Angola to which the articles otherwise prohibited by the Regulations may be shipped: *Airports*: Luanda and Katumbela, Benguela Province; *Ports*: Luanda and Lobito, Benuela Province; and Namibe, Namibe Province; and Entry Points: Malongo, Cabinda Province. Although no specific license is required by the Department of the Treasury for shipments to these designated points of entry (unless the item is destined for UNITA), any such exports remain subject to the licensing requirements of the Departments of State and/or Commerce.

There has been one amendment to the Regulations since my report of April 3, 1997. the UNITA (Angola) Sanctions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 590, were amended on August 25, 1997. General reporting, recordkeeping, licensing, and other procedural regulations were moved from the Regulations to a separate part (31 CFR Part 501) dealing solely with such procedural matters. (62 *Fed. Reg.* 45098, August 25, 1997). A copy of the amendment is attached.

2. The OFAC has worked closely with the U.S. financial community to assure a heightened awareness of the sanctions against UNITA—through the dissemination of publications, seminars, and notices to electronic bulletin boards. This educational effort has resulted in frequent calls from banks to assure that they are not routing funds in violation of these prohibitions. United States exporters have also been notified of the sanctions through a variety of media, including via the Internet, Fax-on-Demand, special fliers, and computer bulletin board information initiated by OFAC and posted through the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Government Printing Office. There have been no license applications under the program since my last report.

3. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from March 26, 1997, through September 25,

1997, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to UNITA are approximately $50,000, most of which represent wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel) and the Department of State (particularly the Office of Southern African Affairs).

I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 24, 1997.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 25.

Remarks on the 40th Anniversary of the Desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas

September 25, 1997

The President. Governor and Mrs. Huckabee; Mayor and Mrs. Dailey; my good friend Daisy Bates; and the families of Wylie Branton and Justice Thurgood Marshall. To the cochairs of this event, Mr. Howard, and all the faculty and staff here at Central High; to Fatima and her fellow students; to all my fellow Americans: Hillary and I are glad to be home, especially on this day. And we thank you for your welcome.

I would also be remiss if I did not say one other word, just as a citizen. You know, we just sent our daughter off to college, and for 8½ years she got a very good education in the Little Rock school district. And I want to thank you all for that.

On this beautiful, sunshiny day, so many wonderful words have already been spoken with so much conviction, I am reluctant to add to them. But I must ask you to remember once more and to ask yourselves, what does what happened here 40 years ago mean today? What does it tell us, most importantly, about our children's tomorrows?

Forty years ago, a single image first seared the heart and stirred the conscience of our Nation, so powerful most of us who saw it then recall it still. A 15-year-old girl wearing a crisp black and white dress, carrying only a notebook, surrounded by large crowds of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers, her head held high, her eyes fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4th, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked to this door for her first day of school, utterly alone. She was turned away by people who were afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they simply could not understand. And America saw her, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and in the image we caught a very disturbing glimpse of ourselves.

We saw not "one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," but two Americas, divided and unequal. What happened here changed the course of our country here forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first embraced the idea that God created us all equal; like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died over whether we would remain one Nation, moving closer to the true meaning of equality; like them, Little Rock is historic ground, for surely it was here at Central High that we took another giant step closer to the idea of America.

Elizabeth Eckford, along with her eight schoolmates, were turned away on September 4th, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. Forty years ago today, they climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved our Nation. And for that, we must all thank them.

Today we honor those who made it possible, their parents first—as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "To give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself"—to honor my friend Daisy Bates and Wylie Branton and Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP, and all who guided these children; to honor President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell, and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution; to honor every student, every teacher, every minister, every Little Rock resident, black or

white, who offered a word of kindness, a glance of respect, or a hand of friendship; to honor those who gave us the opportunity to be part of this day of celebration and rededication. But most of all, we come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Most of us who have just watched these events unfold can never understand fully the sacrifice they made. Imagine, all of you, what it would be like to come to school one day and be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, taunted day after day by your classmates, to go all through school with no hope of going to a school play or being on a basketball team or learning in simple peace.

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. Speaking of simple peace, I'd like a little of it today.

I want all these children here to look at these people. They persevered, they endured, and they prevailed. But it was at great cost to themselves. As Melba said years later in her wonderful memoir, ''Warriors Don't Cry,'' ''My friends and I paid for the integration of Little Rock Central High with our innocence.''

Folks, in 1957 I was 11 years old, living 50 miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed here. Like almost all southerners then, I never attended school with a person of another race until I went to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's small grocery store, I learned lessons that nobody bothered to teach me in my segregated school. My grandfather had a sixth-grade education from a tiny rural school. He never made a bit of money. But in that store, in the way he treated his customers and encouraged me to play with their children, I learned America's most profound lessons: We really are all equal. We really do have the right to live in dignity. We really do have the right to be treated with respect. We do have the right to be heard.

I never knew how he and my grandmother came to those convictions, but I'll never forget how they lived them. Ironically, my grandfather died in 1957. He never lived to see America come around to his way of thinking. But I know he's smiling down today, not on his grandson but on the Little Rock Nine, who gave up their innocence so all good people could have a chance to live their dreams.

But let me tell you something else that was true about that time. Before Little Rock, for me and other white children, the struggles of black people, whether we were sympathetic or hostile to them, were mostly background music in our normal, self-absorbed lives. We were all, like you, more concerned about our friends and our lives, day-in and day-out. But then we saw what was happening in our own back yard, and we all had to deal with it. Where did we stand? What did we believe? How did we want to live? It was Little Rock that made racial equality a driving obsession in my life.

Years later, time and chance made Ernie Green my friend. Good fortune brought me to the Governor's office, where I did all I could to heal the wounds, solve the problems, open the doors so we could become the people we say we want to be.

Ten years ago, the Little Rock Nine came back to the Governor's Mansion when I was there. I wanted them to see that the power of the office that once had blocked their way now welcomed them. But like so many Americans, I can never fully repay my debt to these nine people. For, with their innocence, they purchased more freedom for me, too, and for all white people. People like Hazel Brown Massery, the angry taunter of Elizabeth Eckford, who stood with her in front of this school this week as a reconciled friend. And with the gift of their innocence, they taught us that all too often what ought to be can never be for free.

Forty years later, what do you young people in this audience believe we have learned? Well, 40 years later, we know that we all benefit—all of us—when we learn together, work together, and come together. That is, after all, what it means to be an American.

Forty years later, we know, not withstanding some cynics, that all our children can learn, and this school proves it. Forty years later, we know when the constitutional rights of our citizens are threatened, the National Government must guarantee them. Talk is fine, but when they are threatened, you need strong laws faithfully enforced and upheld by independent courts.

Forty years later, we know there are still more doors to be opened, doors to be opened wider, doors we have to keep from being shut again now. Forty years later, we know freedom and equality cannot be realized without responsibility for self, family, and the duties of citizenship, or without a commitment to building a community of shared destiny and a genuine sense of belonging.

Forty years later, we know the question of race is more complex and more important than ever, embracing no longer just blacks and whites or blacks and whites and Hispanics and Native Americans, but now people from all parts of the Earth coming here to redeem the promise of America.

Forty years later, frankly, we know we're bound to come back where we started. After all the weary years and silent tears, after all the stony roads and bitter rides, the question of race is, in the end, still an affair of the heart.

But if these are our lessons, what do we have to do? First, we must all reconcile. Then we must all face the facts of today. And finally we must act. Reconciliation is important not only for those who practice bigotry, but for those whose resentment of it lingers, for both are prisons from which our spirits must escape.

If Nelson Mandela, who paid for the freedom of his people with 27 of the best years of his life, could invite his jailers to his inauguration and ask even the victims of violence to forgive their oppressors, then each of us can seek and give forgiveness.

And what are the facts? It is a fact, my fellow Americans, that there are still too many places where opportunity for education and work are not equal, where disintegration of family and neighborhood make it more difficult. But it is also a fact that schools and neighborhoods and lives can be turned around if, but only if, we are prepared to do what it takes.

It is a fact that there are still too many places where our children die or give up before they bloom, where they are trapped in a web of crime and violence and drugs. But we know this too can be changed but only if we are prepared to do what it takes.

Today children of every race walk through the same door, but then they often walk down different halls. Not only in this school but across America, they sit in different classrooms. They eat at different tables. They even sit in different parts of the bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Indeed, too many Americans of all races have actually begun to give up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. For the first time since the 1950's, our schools in America are resegregating. The rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut the doors of higher education on a new generation, while those who oppose it have not yet put forward any other alternative.

In so many ways, we still hold ourselves back. We retreat into the comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. We just don't deal with people who are different from us. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often separation is still the rule. And we cannot forget one stubborn fact that has not yet been said as clearly as it should: There is still discrimination in America.

There are still people who can't get over it, who can't let it go, who can't go through the day unless they have somebody else to look down on. And it manifests itself in our streets and in our neighborhoods and in the workplace and in the schools. And it is wrong. And we have to keep working on it, not just with our voices but with our laws. And we have to engage each other in it.

Of course, we should celebrate our diversity. The marvelous blend of cultures and beliefs and races has always enriched America, and it is our meal ticket to the 21st century. But we also have to remember with the painful lessons of the civil wars and the ethnic cleansing around the world, that any nation that indulges itself in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

We have to decide—all you young people have to decide—will we stand as a shining example or a stunning rebuke to the world of tomorrow? For the alternative to integration is not isolation or a new separate but equal, it is disintegration.

Only the American idea is strong enough to hold us together. We believe, whether our ancestors came here in slave ships or on the

Mayflower, whether they came through the portals of Ellis Island or on a plane to San Francisco, whether they have been here for thousands of years, we believe that every individual possesses the spark of possibility, born with an equal right to strive and work and rise as far as they can go, and born with an equal responsibility to act in a way that obeys the law, reflects our values and passes them on to their children. We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian- and Vietnamese- and Polish-Americans and goodness knows how many more today. But above all, we are still Americans. Martin Luther King said, ''We are woven into a seamless garment of destiny. We must be one America.''

The Little Rock Nine taught us that. We cannot have one America for free, not 40 years ago, not today. We have to act. All of us have to act. Each of us has to do something. Especially our young people must seek out people who are different from themselves and speak freely and frankly to discover they share the same dreams. All of us should embrace the vision of a colorblind society but recognize the fact that we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the doors of educational and economic opportunity.

All of us should embrace ethnic pride, and we should revere religious conviction, but we must reject separation and isolation. All of us should value and practice personal responsibility for ourselves and our families. And all Americans, especially our young people, should give something back to their community through citizen service. All Americans of all races must insist on both equal opportunity and excellence in education. That is even more important today than it was for these nine people, and look how far they took themselves with their education.

The true battleground in education today is whether we honestly believe that every child can learn, and we have the courage to set high academic standards we expect all our children to meet. We must not replace the tyranny of segregation with the tragedy of low expectations. I will not rob a single American child of his or her future. It is wrong.

My fellow Americans, we must be concerned not so much with the sins of our parents as with the success of our children, how they will live, and live together, in years to come. If those nine children could walk up those steps 40 years ago, all alone, if their parents could send them into the storm armed only with school books and the righteousness of their cause, then surely together we can build one America, an America that makes sure no future generation of our children will have to pay for our mistakes with the loss of their innocence.

At this schoolhouse door today, let us rejoice in the long way we have come these 40 years. Let us resolve to stand on the shoulders of the Little Rock Nine and press on with confidence in the hard and noble work ahead. ''Let us lift every voice and sing, till Earth and Heaven ring,'' one America today, one America tomorrow, one America forever.

God bless the Little Rock Nine, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. on the front steps of Central High School. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Mike Huckabee of Arkansas and his wife, Janet; Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock and his wife, Patti; Daisy Bates, NAACP attorney in 1957; and Rudolph Howard, current principal, and Fatima McKendra, current student body president, Central High School.

Remarks at the Reception for the Congressional Medal of Honor Society in Little Rock

September 25, 1997

Thank you very much. Secretary Gober, President Bucha, Mayor Dailey, Mayor Hays, Senator Beebe. Governor McMath, it's wonderful to see you here tonight, sir.

I thank Secretary Gober for his introduction. It was overly generous but a good illustration of Clinton's first law of politics: Whenever possible, try to have yourself introduced by someone you have appointed to high office. [*Laughter*] Did you hear the story Secretary Gober said about he was in the Army, then he was in the Marine Corps, and his wife was in the Navy and then the Air Force. They're the only people I ever knew who organized a 30-year campaign to

be Secretary of Veterans Affairs. [*Laughter*] It worked.

He has done a wonderful job. And thank you, Secretary Togo West, for the job you do for the United States Army, sir. I'd also like to thank the United States Military Academy Cadet Glee Club. I thought they did a terrific job. Go ahead and give them a hand. [*Applause*] And I think we can forgive them if there was just a little more zip in the Army song than the others. [*Laughter*] That, after all, is befitting.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to be here with you. I thank you for coming to my native State. I hope you have enjoyed it. I'm especially honored to be in the presence of people who are in what has been described as the most exclusive club in America, the Congressional Medal of Honor Society. Along with every other American, I feel a profound admiration for all of you for your acts of valor and heroism. I am especially gratified that several who wear the medal and who are in this room tonight are my fellow Arkansans, including Nick Bacon, director of veterans affairs here; Scooter Burke; Clarence Kraft; and Nathan Gordon.

No one could live in this country for very long without being especially impressed with how genuinely patriotic most of our fellow citizens are. We are a nation of immigrants, proud of our roots, proud of what is distinctive about us, but there's an extraordinary amount of love in this country for our Nation, felt by almost every single citizen.

Indeed, there's so much love in our country that, as you know, we very often have people join the United States military even before they're naturalized as citizens. I never will forget when we welcomed the Pope to Denver for the first time and I was escorting His Holiness down the line of all the well-wishers there at Regis University. We got to a young man in a United States Army uniform, and he broke into this elaborate conversation with the Pope in Polish. And I thought to myself, we could have had a Haitian-American speaking to the Pope in Creole; we could have spoken to the Pope in Spanish and Chinese and Japanese, in any number of languages in the world. This is the only country in the world where you can say that. When we turned back the dictators and restored the duly elected leaders in Haiti, America was the only country in the world where we were able to send 200 United States-citizen soldiers to Haiti who spoke the native language, Creole. But we are united by this almost mystical love of our country and its history and what it means.

Nonetheless, we know that in every generation there will be a few who stand out, who are called upon to do things of such selfless heroism that their patriotism shines above all the others.

Twice since I have been President, I have bestowed the Medal of Honor. First, very sadly, to Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall Shughart posthumously, two men who bravely lost their lives in Somalia trying to save the lives of their fellow soldiers. Then, this year, because so much time had passed, a much happier occasion. Fifty years after the fact, we recognized seven African-American heroes of World War II who were prepared to sacrifice everything for our freedom, even though they didn't have full freedom when they came back home. That was a wonderful day. One painful, one wonderful, I will never forget either one, because both of them were examples of the truly extraordinary heroism which all of you who wear this medal have demonstrated in your service.

When the battle was darkest, when the fortunes of war often favored an unforgiving enemy, somehow those of you who won the Medal of Honor and who earned the Medal of Honor found the strength, the will to fight more valiantly and turn the tide, to save the lives of your comrades, to save the day for America.

Your president spoke a moment ago about the event we commemorated at Little Rock Central High School. Forty years ago, something happened here that none of us who are native to this State are especially proud of. Our former Governor, Governor McMath, who also was a Major General in the Marine Corps, tried to stop it. And I'll always be grateful to him. But in the end, those children were not denied admission to our high school, because the law of the land said we were all created equal. A Federal court issued an order to carry out the law, and the President of the United States and

the Attorney General of the United States and the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army did exactly that, and they stood up for the Constitution. They were heroes on that day as well.

And somehow I think it's fitting that you are here on this day, and we can celebrate your heroism and you can participate in a moment of unique citizen heroism in the history of America. Think what it was like for those nine kids to show up and face a jeering mob, armed only with their notebooks and their school books. Think what it was like for their parents to send them into the storm not knowing whether they would come home.

But if you look at the whole history of America, and if you look at the whole history of our military services, we see an unbroken chain in the continuing struggle to make our historic commitment to freedom and equality more real in each succeeding generation.

Every American knows about our military's vital role in protecting our national interest and our values around the world. But the Armed Forces also has reflected and protected our values here at home. Our military promotes equality by rewarding merit without regard to race or gender and sets an example for every American and for every American institution where two or more people work together.

And as I said, you cannot talk to any person who was alive and well in Little Rock 40 years ago who doesn't remember that it was the Army paratroopers who ultimately stood as a bulwark of protection for those nine little children, who were there for them because their President ordered them to stand up for the law of the land here at home.

So I hope that you will always remember, throughout all your conventions and all your meetings, that you happened to come to Little Rock on a special day for America and a special day for America's military, a special example of personal patriotism and bravery by civilians, and that all of us—all of us—are profoundly grateful that you're here, for your valor and your sacrifice, for being there when your country needed you the most.

Thank you for what you have done, and thank you, too, for what you continue to do as living examples of everything we love most about America.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:44 p.m. at the Aerospace Education Center. In his remarks, he referred to Paul Bucha, president, Congressional Medal of Honor Society; Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock; Mayor Patrick Henry Hays of North Little Rock; State Senator Mike Beebe; former Arkansas Governor Sid McMath; and Mary Lou Keener, wife of Secretary of Veterans Affairs Hershel Gober. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement Urging House of Representatives Action on Campaign Finance Reform

September 25, 1997

I am greatly encouraged by the statements calling for House action on campaign finance reform legislation made earlier today by Democratic Leader Gephardt, and yesterday by House Majority Leader Armey. I applaud these two House leaders for their commitment to scheduling a House floor debate on this critical issue before Congress adjourns for the year.

This bipartisan call for action is a promising sign that we are moving forward in our response to America's demand for reform. I urge the Members of the House to take the next step and give their full support for the meaningful bipartisan campaign finance reform offered by Representatives Shays and Meehan. This measure is both balanced and effective and it addresses many of the most pressing needs for reform.

Congress faces the best opportunity in a generation to enact campaign finance reform. Let us work together in a bipartisan spirit to enact the Shays-Meehan legislation and answer the public's call for reform.

Proclamation 7027—Austrian-American Day, 1997

September 25, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For more than 200 years, the life of our Nation has been enriched and renewed by the many people who have come here from around the world, seeking a new life for themselves and their families. Austrian Americans have made their own unique and lasting contributions to America's strength and character, and they continue to play a vital role in the peace and prosperity we enjoy today.

As with so many other immigrants, the earliest Austrians came to America in search of religious freedom. Arriving in 1734, they settled in the colony of Georgia, growing and prospering with the passing of the years. One of these early Austrian settlers, Johann Adam Treutlen, was to become the first elected governor of the new State of Georgia.

In the two centuries that followed, millions of other Austrians made the same journey to our shores. From the political refugees of the 1848 revolutions in Austria to Jews fleeing the anti-Semitism of Hitler's Third Reich, Austrians brought with them to America a love of freedom, a strong work ethic, and a deep reverence for education. In every field of endeavor, Austrian Americans have made notable contributions to our culture and society. We have all been enriched by the lives and achievements of such individuals as Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter; Joel Elias Spingarn, who helped to found the NAACP; psychiatrist and educator Alexandra Adler; lyricist Frederick Loewe, who helped to transform American musical theater; and architects John Smithmeyer and Richard Neutra.

Americans of Austrian descent have also helped to nurture the strong ties of friendship between the United States and Austria, a friendship that has survived the upheaval of two World Wars and the subsequent division of Europe between the forces of East and West. On September 26, 1945, a conference was convened in Vienna among the nine Austrian Federal States that helped to unify the nation and paved the way for recognition by the United States and the Allied Forces of the first postwar Provisional Austrian Government. Setting the date for the first free national elections, this important meeting laid the foundation for the strong, prosperous, and independent Austria we know today.

In recognition of the significance of this date to the relationship between our Nation and the Federal Republic of Austria, and in gratitude for the many gifts that Austrian Americans bring to the life of our country, it is appropriate that we pause to celebrate Austrian-American Day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Friday, September 26, 1997, as Austrian-American Day. I encourage all Americans to recognize and celebrate the important contributions that millions of Americans of Austrian descent have made—and continue to make—to our Nation's strength and prosperity.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:59 a.m., September 29, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on September 30.

Proclamation 7028—Gold Star Mother's Day, 1997

September 25, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As a free people, Americans have always sought to live our lives in peace; but history's harsh lessons have taught us that to remain free, we must be prepared for war. At many times and in many ways throughout the year,

we remember the millions of selfless Americans whose wartime service helped preserve our freedom and the values we hold dear; and it is fitting that we should do so. But we must also remember that not all of the sacrifices that sustained us were made on the battlefield.

Long after the devastation of war ceases, the destruction left in its wake continues to afflict those who survive. For America's Gold Star Mothers—who have lost a child in the service of our country—the grief is particularly acute. The sons and daughters they cherished through the years, whom they guided and comforted through all the joys and heartaches of childhood and adolescence, were torn from their lives forever with cruel and sudden force. These mothers must live the rest of their lives knowing that the talents and ambitions of their children will never be fulfilled, that each family gathering or celebration will be shadowed by the absence of a dearly loved son or daughter.

Yet despite the enormity of their loss, America's Gold Star Mothers have continued to do what comes naturally to mothers: to comfort, to nurture, to give of themselves for the benefit of others. Through their devotion to our disabled veterans and their families, their generous community service, and their dedication to preserving the memory of the fallen, Gold Star Mothers remind us in so many poignant ways that true love of country often calls for both service and sacrifice.

For these reasons and more, and in recognition of the special burden that Gold Star Mothers bear on behalf of all of us, we set aside this day each year to honor and thank them and to rededicate ourselves to creating a world in which the kind of sacrifice they have been called upon to make need never be repeated. The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 115 of June 23, 1936 (49 Stat. 1895), has designated the last Sunday in September as ''Gold Star Mother's Day'' and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Sunday, September 28, 1997, as Gold Star Mothers's Day. I call upon all government officials to display the United States flag on government buildings on this solemn day. I encourage the American people also to display the flag and to hold appropriate meetings in their homes, places of worship, or other suitable places as a public expression of the sympathy and respect that our Nation holds for our Gold Star Mothers.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:59 a.m., September 29, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on September 30.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Future Free Trade Area Negotiations

September 25, 1997

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In accordance with section 108(b)(4) of the North American Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 3317(b)(4)), I transmit herewith the report containing recommendations on future free trade area negotiations.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Bill Archer, chairman, House Committee on Ways and Means, and William V. Roth, Jr., chairman, Senate Finance Committee.

Interview With Tom Joyner, Tavis Smiley, and Sybil Wilkes on the Tom Joyner Morning Show in Little Rock

September 26, 1997

Q. Mr. President, good morning.

The President. Good morning. You're having a lot of fun there for this early in the morning. [*Laughter*]

Q. And you're having a lot of fun, too, aren't you? Now that Chelsea is gone you all are having some fun. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's what Hillary says.

Desegregation of Central High School

Q. Mr. President, when this happened 40 years ago, how old were you?

The President. Eleven.

Q. And what was going through your mind when you saw all this, what happened here in Little Rock?

The President. I thought it was a bad thing. I didn't understand why people were so upset. But as I said yesterday, most of the white kids didn't think about it one way or the other until it actually happened. Until the Little Rock Nine were turned away, I think most people didn't think about it one way or the other. Children are basically self-absorbed in their own lives. It's part of the privilege of childhood.

But then, all of a sudden, kids that had never thought about it before, it's all they talked about for weeks. And everybody then had to decide really how they felt about it. And it seemed obvious to me that sooner or later this was going to have to be done; it might as well be done soon.

But I also—I was always amazed at how there was an element in the South and probably in the rest of the country, too, of people that were—they always just needed somebody to hate, needed somebody to look down on. But it's no way to run a country and no way to run a life. Sooner or later, to me, it was obvious it had to change.

Q. Mr. President, there seems to be so much symbolism to the fact that you were opening the door yesterday for the members of the Little Rock Nine coming through, as well as this year that you have stepped before the Nation, before the world, and telling them that you are taking this step into the 21st century and making a difference in terms of race relations. This is a year in which you are just really making us aware and bringing these things out to us. And I commend you for that.

The President. Well, thank you. I think part of the symbolism yesterday was that—thank you very much. I think yesterday, part of the importance of the symbolism was that political leaders closed the doors and stood in the doors in the fifties and sixties and kept people out of the doors. And apparently, that idea to open the door came from the students at Central High themselves. It was a great, wonderful idea, and I was glad to be a part of it.

Q. Mr. President—first of all, to the affiliates of 93 stations around the country on the Tom Joyner Morning Show, as you can tell, we are running long. We're going to go right through the break. We want you to hang with us.

Mr. President, you said that what happened 40 years ago really developed your idea of what race relations in this country should be about. At 11 years old, you were thinking race relations?

The President. Well, it was discussed in my home because my grandparents were interested in it. That's what I said yesterday. So I had a chance to think about it earlier just because my grandfather expressed himself very strongly about it. He had once been a grocer and had a lot of black customers, and he knew a lot about black people as human beings and about the troubles they were facing and the problems in their lives and the potential they had. He thought it was wrong.

My grandmother was a nurse and she had a lot more contact with black people in the fifties than most white people did, and she thought it was wrong. And they just had a big impact on me, and they talked about it a lot. And even though my grandfather died in 1957, and everybody was talking about this happening in the 2 years coming up to that, I still remember as a little boy, 9, 10 years old, sitting around the table, having him walk through this with me and telling me that this was something that had to be done.

Q. Mr. President, Sybil asked you a moment ago about the symbolism of yesterday. I want to ask you about the substance, if I can. As you know, the two issues that are facing this country, certainly facing black America, with regard to education as we talk about this incident 40 years ago are the issue of school vouchers and this whole issue of resegregation of schools. You know, the NAACP was even considering earlier this summer reassessing their position on school integration. What are your thoughts specifically on how the issue of school vouchers and the issue of school integration are impacting

the African-American community? Where do you come down on that debate on those issues?

The President. Well, let me say, first of all, school vouchers—that is, giving people money that used to go to the school district that they can then use and spend in the school district or they can use it to defray the cost of tuition to private schools—school vouchers are the most extreme version of more school choice for parents and students. I have supported for years and years giving students and parents more choice for the public schools their kids attend and also the national charter school movement which allows groups of teachers and parents to organize schools on their own and be more loosely affiliated with public school districts and to meet the special needs of the community, and then they can have a lot of freedom from the rules and regulations of the school districts and the State as long as they meet high standards.

I support the school uniform movement which a lot of private schools have and which have made a big difference in a lot of school districts. The reason I have opposed school vouchers is that I think if you look at the facts, it's a relatively small financial contribution if you give somebody, for example, what the Federal Government gives to a school district, but if you take it away, you can have a big adverse impact on the school districts without helping any individual children very much.

Now, I will say this. I believe that sooner or later there will be a lot of people who will try going beyond Milwaukee and, I think, Cleveland unless we can prove that the public schools can work for children again. But I think, from my point of view, particularly with the Federal dollars, I simply don't believe that we should be diverting resources when our schools have been relatively underfunded on the whole. Instead, we ought to be concentrating on making them excellent.

On the other hand, there ought to be some competition there. The parents ought to have some say, which is why I think they ought to have more choice over the schools their kids attend, and they ought to have the right to participate in new schools that are outside a lot of the bureaucratic rules that burden school districts.

On the resegregation, I think that my own view is that we ought to continue to try to have integrated schools. We ought to recognize that segregated neighborhoods and different patterns in who has children of school age in various places have led to a resegregation of a lot of our schools. We still ought to try to integrate these neighborhoods and mix them not only racially but economically. We still ought to have, where reasonable, transportation plans that work and aren't too burdensome for the kids. But we shouldn't use the fact that a school is not especially integrated at this moment as an excuse not to give those kids an excellent education and do the very best we can.

Q. Ten years ago, Mr. President, there was a 30-year celebration for the Little Rock Nine that you helped organize when you were Governor here in the State of Arkansas. It was a lot smaller celebration than the one we had this week, huh?

The President. It was a lot smaller. I think they enjoyed it, but some of them—I'm not sure, you'd have to ask them—but I think there were a couple that hadn't been back to Arkansas very much before then. But everybody gathered. I wanted them to be able to come to the Governor's Mansion because it was the symbol of opposition to their efforts, and it was the place where a lot of the plotting was done to keep them out of school. I thought it would be a good thing if they came into the house that had once shut them out.

Q. If you were one of them back then, do you think you could have had the courage to do what they did, in all that adversity?

The President. I don't know. Boy, I'd like to think I would have. I think we all would like to think we would have. But I think, to be honest, none of us can know. You don't know until you're in a situation like that. I wish I could say yes because I certainly would like to have been a part of it, and I can tell you this: I'm glad they did. I'm certainly glad they did.

Q. I'll tell you, the President—smooth, ain't he? Pretty smooth.

Q. And you know, Mr. President, I think your grandfather would be very proud of you

for what you have done in terms of stepping forward not only yesterday but, as I said before, with taking people and making us take stock of ourselves and our relationships with others, people that don't look like us. And you've done that certainly in your Cabinet and on your staff of people who look like a lot of us that listen to the Tom Joyner Morning Show as African-Americans.

Q. Thank you, sir. And we're all FOB's.

Q. Yes, we are.

Q. We're FOB's.

The President. Thanks. [*Laughter*]

Chelsea

Q. So how is Chelsea doing in school? Has she called for money?

The President. Well, not for money yet. We've talked to her a couple of times, and she's having a good time.

Q. Well, tell her if she needs some campus fashion, Ms. Dupree has got some cousins who can hook her up. [*Laughter*]

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you for being a guest on the show, and thank you for being a part of all the celebration here for the 40th anniversary of the Little Rock Nine. Thank you, sir.

The President. Thank you. Goodbye, everybody. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 8:45 a.m. The President spoke from a private residence to the interviewers in the Clinton Ballroom of the Excelsior Hotel in Little Rock. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

September 20

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled from Palo Alto, CA, to San Francisco, CA. In the evening, they returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

September 21

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to New York, NY. In the evening, they attended a reception for the 52d Session of the U.N. General Assembly in the Starlight Room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

September 22

In the afternoon, the President met with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan in the 12th Floor Conference Room at the United Nations. Later, he met with Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral of India in Room 35 H at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a performance of ''Carmen'' at the Metropolitan Opera House. Later, they returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

The President announced the nomination of former Governor Richard Frank Celeste of Ohio to be Ambassador to India.

September 23

The President announced his intention to nominate Stanford G. Ross to serve as a member of the Social Security Advisory Board. Upon his confirmation as a member by the Senate, the President intends to designate Mr. Ross as Chair of the Board.

The President declared a major disaster in New Jersey and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding August 20–21.

September 24

In the morning, the President traveled to Pittsburgh, PA, and in the afternoon, he traveled to Little Rock, AR.

The President announced his intention to nominate Joseph B. Dial to be a member of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The President announced his intention to nominate Barbara Holum to be a member of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The President announced his intention to nominate Shaun E. Donnelly to be Ambassador to Sri Lanka and Maldives.

The President announced his intention to nominate Edward S. Walker, Jr., to be Ambassador to Israel.

The President named James M. Lyons to be Special Adviser to the President and to the Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives for Ireland.

September 25

The President announced his intention to nominate Arthur Bienenstock to be Associate Director for Science at the Office of Science and Technology Policy.

The President announced his intention to nominate James E. Hall to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate James Carew Rosapepe to be Ambassador to Romania.

The President announced his intention to nominate Peter F. Tufo to be Ambassador to Hungary.

The President announced his intention to nominate David W. Wilcox to be Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy at the Treasury Department.

September 26

In the morning, the President traveled to Houston, TX, arriving in the afternoon. In the evening, he returned to Little Rock, AR.

The White House announced that the President named the 1997 recipients of the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal. The Medal of Arts recipients are: Louise Bourgeois, Betty Carter, Agnes Gund, Daniel Urban Kiley, Angela Lansbury, James Levine, Tito Puente, Jason Robards, Edward Villella, Doc Watson, MacDowell Colony, and Jane Alexander. The National Humanities Medal recipients are: Nina M. Archabal, David A. Berry, Richard J. Franke, William Friday, Don Henley, Maxine Hong Kingston, Luis Leal, Martin E. Marty, Paul Mellon, and Studs Terkel. The President and Hillary Clinton will present the awards on September 29 at the White House.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

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

Submitted September 22

Richard Frank Celeste,
of Ohio, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India.

Submitted September 24

Shaun Edward Donnelly,
of Indiana, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Maldives.

George Caram Steeh III,
of Michigan, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, vice Barbara K. Hackett, retired.

Arthur J. Tarnow,
of Michigan, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, vice Julian A. Cook, Jr., retired.

Edward S. Walker, Jr.,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Israel.

Submitted September 25

David Timothy Johnson,
of Georgia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Head of the United States Delegation to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Stanley Tuemler Escudero,
of Florida, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Daniel Fried,
of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Poland.

Stanley Marcus,
of Florida, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Eleventh Circuit, vice Peter T. Fay, retired.

B. Lynn Pascoe,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Special Negotiator for Nagorno-Karabakh.

James Carew Rosapepe,
of Maryland, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Romania.

Peter Francis Tufo,
of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Hungary.

David W. Wilcox,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Joshua Gotbaum.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

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

Released September 20

Statement by Special Counsel Lanny J. Davis on Justice Department action to determine whether a preliminary investigation is warranted on 1996 campaign financing

Released September 22

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, NSC Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control Robert Bell, Assistant Secretary of State Rick Inderfurth, Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck, and Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the President's visit to the United Nations

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry and Assistant Secretary of State Rick Inderfurth on the President's visit to the United Nations

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: Emergency Board Proposes Framework To Settle Impasse Between Amtrak and its Maintenance of Way Employees

Fact sheet: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Fact sheet: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Safeguards

Fact sheet: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Chronology During the Clinton Administration

Released September 23

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Advanced text of remarks by National Security Adviser Samuel L. Berger prepared for delivery at Georgetown University

Released September 24

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: U.S. Economic Support for Northern Ireland Peace Process

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

Announcement of nomination for U.S. District Judges for the Eastern District of Michigan and for the Northern District of Georgia

Released September 25

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement of nomination for a U.S. Court of Appeals Judge for the Eleventh Circuit, Florida

Released September 26

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement of the 1997 recipients for the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal

Acts Approved by the President

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.

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