

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



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## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Week Ending Friday, December 12, 1997

**The President's Radio Address**

*December 6, 1997*

Good morning. Yesterday the community of West Paducah, Kentucky, came together to remember the three young girls struck down at school in a terrifying act of violence. Our entire Nation has been shaken by this tragedy. West Paducah, on the southern shore of the Ohio River, is at the center of our circle of prayers. America has lost three beautiful daughters. We mourn deeply with the Steger, James, and Hadley families, with those students who were wounded and their families, and with all those whose lives were changed forever by a 14-year-old with a stolen gun.

We may never know what drove the son of a respected church elder to extinguish the lives of classmates bowed in prayer. But in the aftermath we've seen great heroism, generosity, and love: a courageous act by a classmate to head off more violence, an outpouring of understanding for the sister of the alleged killer, the donation of organs for patients desperately in need, an entire nation reaching out in support. One terrible act could not poison the deep well of goodness West Paducah has drawn upon in this moment of grief.

Now the rest of us must do everything in our power to prevent such things from happening again. At a time when we're trying to prepare our children for the opportunities of the 21st century, high school seniors are more likely to take weapons to school than to take calculus in school. This is unacceptable. We simply cannot educate our children, and they cannot learn and live up to their full potential, when violence and drugs threaten their safety in school.

One thing we must do right away is to gain a much clearer view of the problem. Sadly, our national picture of school violence is neither complete, nor up to date. We know more about the overall patterns of car theft

in America than we do about the harm that comes to our children at school.

So today I'm directing Attorney General Reno and Education Secretary Riley to launch a major initiative to produce for the first time an annual report card on school violence. This report card will contain the data we all need in order to boost efforts to prevent violence from happening in the first place.

School safety is a challenge not only for police and parents, teachers and school officials, the scourge of young violence poses a challenge to every American. It demands that we do everything possible to find safe places for our children to learn and play and grow. It demands that schools follow a policy of zero tolerance for guns. It demands that we teach our children basic values, the unblinking distinction between right and wrong. It demands that we exercise responsibility when we create images for our children to see. Most urgently, it demands that whenever possible, we reach out to those who may be troubled, angry, or alone before they do something destructive and perhaps irreversible to themselves or others.

Youth violence represents an insistent, angry wake-up call to every parent, every teacher, every religious leader, every student. If we answer that call, we can ensure that the memory of Kayce, Nicole, and Jessica will help us to prevent other such tragedies. In the words of the girls' final prayer, we can ensure that their light will shine forever more.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:18 p.m. on December 5 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 6. In his remarks, the President referred to Kayce Steger, Nicole Hadley, and Jessica James, Heath High School students killed by gunfire following a prayer meeting; Michael Carneal, the alleged gunman, and his sister Kelly; and Ben Strong, a student who acted to end the shooting.

## Remarks at the Metropolitan Baptist Church

December 7, 1997

Thank you. Thank you, Reverend Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, members of the ministry. Thank you, Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton, for telling me I should come here today, thank you. I must say, I would rather be in the choir than in the pulpit. [Laughter] They were wonderful. Thank you. Mr. Mayor, City Council Chair Cropp, and members of the council; Dr. Swygert and Mrs. Swygert; my good friend Maya Angelou, thank you for being here; David Du Bois. I thank three members of my Cabinet—Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman; the Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater; and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Frank Raines—for coming with me, and many members of the White House staff and friends. We're all glad to be here, and we have a happy heart after hearing all the wonderful music and seeing the people here, and especially the children.

Sean and Ahjah and the other children gave me the letters and the drawings; I was back there reading them. One letter said, "Can Project Spirit come and visit the White House and see the Christmas tree?" [Laughter] Yes. As a matter of fact, Dr. Hicks, anybody, any of these children in your youth group you want to bring, just bus them on in. We'd be glad to see them, and we'll arrange it. I'd like that.

Now, the letters contain some interesting things. One young man wrote, "I'm not trying to get myself in trouble, but I've always had a crush on Hillary." [Laughter] Now, I can certainly understand that. [Laughter] A lot of the letters were serious. They said, can I do more to get rid of violence, guns. A lot of them said very specific things about what they'd like to do to make their schools better.

Why are we here today? Or, at least, why am I here today, instead of down the street at Foundry, where I normally am on Sunday? Ephesians says we should speak the truth with our neighbors, for we are members, one of another. I believe that. I think that is the single most important political insight, or social insight, in the Bible. And I think it is what should drive us as we behave together.

We have to decide whether we are members, one of the other: Is my destiny caught up in yours; are your children my children; do you care about my daughter; are we part of the same family of God? It's not enough to say that we are all equal in the eyes of God. We are all also connected in the eyes of God.

Now, just because we have responsibilities one to another doesn't mean we don't have a primary responsibility to ourselves. God helps those who help themselves. One great athlete once said, "You know, it's amazing, the more I practice, the luckier I get." [Laughter] So we have responsibilities to ourselves, but we owe a lot to each other.

I come here to say that I don't believe our National Government has always been the best neighbor to the City of Washington, Mr. Mayor, Ms. Cropp, Congresswoman Norton, but we are committed to becoming a better neighbor. Washington has gotten a lot of lectures from people in national politics about being more responsible, from making the schools work better, to the streets become safer, to the neighborhoods having more hope and economic opportunity. But in the essence of our Constitution is the idea that responsibility requires freedom.

And so I believe in the independence of Washington, DC. I want Washington, DC, to be able to run its own affairs. I want the crime to go down and the schools to go up and the neighborhoods to be strong and full. We are trying to do better. In this last meeting of Congress we did more things to take loads off of Washington that it should not have, and to give Washington responsibilities that it should have. And we must do more. I met with the mayor, the city council, the control board, and a lot of community leaders just a few days ago, a meeting that the Congresswoman requested. And we talked about what we could do together.

But I want to say to you that I come here at this Christmas season to say that I hope one of the gifts that I and our administration can leave for the 21st century is a National Capital that is a shining city on the hill for all America, that every American is proud of. I want a National Capital where every child looks like the children that I heard sing and who brought me those letters today, where they're all filled with a spirit of their own

goodness, where they all believe they are children of God, where they all are animated to believe that they can have hope to live out their dreams. And this place symbolizes that. Wouldn't you like it if your city and your country worked the way this church did? Wouldn't you like that? *[Applause]*

And I'm not violating the first amendment by saying that. *[Laughter]* This has nothing to do with the separation of church and state. This has to do with the values we all share. Most people who are not even Christians, who are Jewish people, who are Muslims, who are Buddhist, who are all the different religions we have in our country today, they'd still like it if our country worked more the way this church does—and often the way their houses of worship do.

And so I say to you, it begins when we speak the truth to one another, when we feel free to disagree, when we don't hide what we feel—but if you go on down in that chapter, when we don't let the sun go down on our anger, when we are genuinely kind to one another, for we are members, one of another. Now, on Christmas, we celebrate the birth of a child born in poverty, who never got elected to anything, never had a nickel to his name, and has more followers than any politician who ever lived for simply reminding us that we are children of God and that we are members, one of another.

So let us go out of here resolved to keep working together until every child is in a good school, until every family can be safe in their neighborhoods, until every grownup has a place to go to work in the morning. And we'll all be better off when we are selfishly selfless, recognizing that we are members, one of another.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. H. Beecher Hicks, Jr., senior minister, Metropolitan Baptist Church, and his wife, Elizabeth; Mayor Marion S. Barry, Jr., of Washington, DC; Linda Cropp, chair, DC City Council; Dr. H. Patrick Swygert, president, Howard University, and his wife, Sonja; poet Maya Angelou; David Du Bois, grandson of W.E.B. Du Bois; and Sean Nalle and Ahjah Prom, children who presented a book of children's letters to the President.

## Remarks at the Kennedy Center Honors Reception

December 7, 1997

Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, tonight the stars shine over the White House. Tonight we honor artists who in all seasons have lit up generations of our national life.

Ezra Pound once said that artists are the antennae of society, always probing, sensing, guiding us through the terrain of the human mind and spirit. I'm proud to salute five artists whose sensitivity, vision, and talent have challenged our minds and made our spirits soar.

Especially since Edward Villella danced here in the East Room at the invitation of President and Mrs. Kennedy, the performing arts have increasingly found a home in this, the Nation's house. But the belief that arts are vital to our democracy goes back to our very beginnings, to the first President to live in the White House, John Adams, who envisioned an America that would study not just politics but painting, poetry, and music.

The ultimate worth of our Nation will never be measured fully by the size of our treasury or the might of our military but instead in the endurance of our gifts to the human spirit. Already, our films, our music, our plays, our dance have inspired performers and captured audiences around the globe. Worldwide, they've spurred not only the forces of creativity but also, and especially recently, the cause of freedom. The arts are now, to borrow a phrase from one of our honorees, perhaps the strongest currents blowing in the wind.

Tonight we pay tribute to five men and women who have spent their lives listening to their hearts and lifting ours, whose work and talent make them American originals.

It all began with the look—*[laughter]*—and I can still hardly stand it—*[laughter]*—a downward cast of the chin, a shy, yet sly upward glance of the eye. The look captured Bogey and made Lauren Bacall a legend. After seeing her for the first time in "To Have and Have Not," all America recognized that Lauren Bacall had it. The great James Agee wrote, "She has cinema personality to

burn, something completely new to the screen.”

Bogey and Bacall gave us a series of classic films: “The Big Sleep,” “Dark Passage,” “Key Largo.” Then she showed us “How To Marry a Millionaire,” and established herself as a master of stylish comedy. She conquered Broadway in “Cactus Flower,” was discovered all over again as a musical star in “Applause,” and won a second Tony Award for “Woman of the Year.” Just last year, more than half a century after her first film, she won rave reviews and an Oscar nomination for “The Mirror Has Two Faces.” I’m grateful that she took time out from being a legend to campaign a little for me last year, too. [Laughter] Tonight, on behalf of all Americans, I salute you, Lauren Bacall, as our woman of the year and an actress for all time.

As a young boy growing up in Minnesota, Bob Dylan spent a lot of time in his room writing poems. Then at the age of 14 he bought a guitar. With it, he would set his poems to music, striking the chords of American history and infusing American popular music, from rock-and-roll to country, with new depth and emotion. With searing lyrics and unpredictable beats, he captured the mood of a generation. Everything he saw—the pain, the promise, the yearning, the injustice—turned to song. He probably had more impact on the people of my generation than any other creative artist.

His voice and lyrics haven’t always been easy on the ear, but throughout his career Bob Dylan has never aimed to please. He’s disturbed the peace and discomforted the powerful. President Kennedy could easily have been talking about Bob Dylan when he said that, “If sometimes our great artists have been most critical of our society, it is because their concern for justice makes them aware that our Nation falls short of its highest potential.” Like a rolling stone, Bob Dylan has kept moving forward, musically and spiritually, challenging all of us to move forward with him. Thank you, Bob Dylan, for a lifetime of stirring the conscience of our Nation.

I think our next honoree would want me to acknowledge that I can’t thank him for campaigning for me. [Laughter] Now, with that disclaimer—[laughter]—I do have a lot to thank him for. For when I was a young

boy in Arkansas and movies were my main source of inspiration, Charlton Heston showed me how to part the Red Sea, drive a Roman chariot, save medieval Spain—even after he was slain—[laughter]—and hold off a siege for 55 days at Peking. In more than 75 films, Charlton Heston has guided millions of movie lovers through nearly every great era of Western civilization, bringing to life a host of heroes, from Moses to Michelangelo to Buffalo Bill. He’s even played Democrats. [Laughter] But he was, to be fair, selective; they were Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. [Laughter]

If the big screen didn’t exist, they would have had to invent it for Charlton Heston. A film hero for and of the ages, he’s won an Oscar from the Academy, accolades from his peers, admiration from his audiences. But most of all, the characters he created, the courage and integrity and commitment they embody, remind all of us of the limitless possibility of the human spirit. He has been and always will be larger than life.

The first song she ever performed in public was “God Will Take Care of You.” Well, God was taking care of all us when he gave us Jessye Norman’s wondrous voice. From a church choir in Georgia to center stage at the Met, Jessye Norman has brought joy to music lovers and critics to their feet. Her voice has been called the greatest instrument in the world. Her greatness, however, lies not just in her sound but in her soul. She has that rare gift for capturing in musical truths of the human experience, truths that can never be fully expressed in words alone. Having brought new meaning to Mozart and Wagner, Berlioz, and Stravinsky, Jessye Norman remains an American diva. Indeed, when she sang “The Star-Spangled Banner” at my Inauguration earlier this year, I thought the flag was buoyed by the waves of her voice. I must say, Jessye, you were a tough act to follow. [Laughter]

After 40 albums, Grammy Awards, and the standing ovation of the entire world, she stands at the pinnacle of her art. Jessye Norman once said she wasn’t the kind of woman to walk into a room unnoticed. [Laughter] And I can testify that that is true, having been in many rooms with her and never failing to notice. Since she first burst on the scene,

her brilliance has held our attention, year-in and year-out. May the supernova of Jessye Norman shine forever.

As a young man, Edward Villella was a varsity baseball player and a welterweight boxing champion. He might have made the big leagues, but his heart led him into a different world. He was a major league dancer from the moment he joined the New York City Ballet. As graceful as he was athletic, he mesmerized audiences and choreographers alike. Balanchine and Robbins created dances that only Villella could dance. The art rose to meet the man, and the man was always flying.

He dominated the stage with space-swallowing charisma and leaps as effortless as they were breathtaking. He toured the Soviet Union at the height of the cold war and became the only American dancer ever to be “demanded” to give an encore. Today he brings the same energy and creativity to the shaping of the Miami City Ballet and to America’s next great dance company. Long before Michael Jordan, Edward Villella showed us that man indeed could fly. [Laughter] Thank you for taking American dance to new heights.

Lauren Bacall, Bob Dylan, Charlton Heston, Jessye Norman, Edward Villella: artists and Americans who have made indelible imprints on the performing arts and our national character. It is quite a tribute to them that all of you have come for them tonight. In them we find the sass, the raw emotion, the heroic strength, the passionate voice, the soaring aspirations of our Nation.

America salutes each and every one of you. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to choreographer Jerome Robbins and NBA basketball player Michael Jordan.

## **Memorandum on Emigration Policies of Certain Former Eastern Bloc States**

*December 5, 1997*

Presidential Determination No. 98-7

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Presidential Determination Under Subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—Emigration Policies of Albania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(a) and 2439(a) (the “Act”)), I determine that Albania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection 402(a) of the Act, or paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection 409(a) of the Act.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 8.

## **Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report on Emigration Policies of Certain Former Eastern Bloc States**

*December 5, 1997*

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

I hereby transmit a report concerning emigration laws and policies of Albania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan as required by subsections 402(b) and 409(b) of title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the “Act”). I have determined that Albania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are in full compliance with subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Act. As required by title IV, I will provide the Congress

with periodic reports regarding the compliance of Albania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan with these emigration standards.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 8.

### **Memorandum on the Palestine Liberation Organization**

*December 5, 1997*

Presidential Determination No. 98-8

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Presidential Determination on Waiver and Certification of Statutory Provisions Regarding the Palestine Liberation Organization

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under section 539(d) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1998, Public Law 105-118, I hereby determine and certify that it is important to the national security interests of the United States to waive the provisions of section 1003 of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, Public Law 100-204, through June 4, 1998.

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

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 8.

### **Letter to Shelia Davis Lawrence**

*December 8, 1997*

It is with a deep sense of personal sadness that I received your letter this afternoon. I will of course ensure that the Department of Defense accommodates your wishes.

I will always remember Larry for his friendship and for his service to his commu-

nity and our country. And I will never forget Larry's remarkable success as a businessman, his generosity as a philanthropist and his skill as a diplomat.

I know this has been a difficult time for you and I sincerely hope that you find peace in the days ahead.

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

### **Statement on the Death of Jeanette E. Rockefeller**

*December 9, 1997*

Hillary joins me in extending our condolences to the family of the late Jeanette E. Rockefeller, who died yesterday at the age of 79. As the wife of former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, she was a pioneering First Lady of Arkansas, helping her former husband bring the "New South" to our State and leading women into the mainstream of political and public life. She spearheaded education and cultural outreach across the State through the Arkansas Arts Center. As a tireless campaigner, Mrs. Rockefeller was a strong voice against discrimination, with an uncanny ability to relate to the common man and woman. And, at a particularly tense time in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination, she organized a memorial service in his honor on the steps of the State Capitol.

The people of Arkansas have lost a true and valued friend.

### **Statement on the 40th Anniversary of the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division**

*December 9, 1997*

I congratulate the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice on its 40th anniversary. For 40 years, the Civil Rights Division has protected the American dream for all our people. By diligently and faithfully enforcing our civil rights laws, the lawyers and members of this division have helped all of us live closer to the ideals that lie at the heart of that dream—freedom and equality of opportunity to work, to learn, to live, and to

raise our children in communities where they can thrive and grow.

Today, the task of fulfilling the promise of our civil rights laws, of keeping the American dream alive for all citizens is far from over. That is why I have nominated an eminently qualified person to lead this division into the 21st century. Bill Lann Lee has lived the American dream, and he has dedicated his life to making the dream come alive for all Americans. Bill Lann Lee deserves to be America's next Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights.

**Proclamation 7059—Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1997**

*December 9, 1997*

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

Human rights are the cornerstone of American democracy. The founders of our democracy, in their wisdom, recognized the inherent dignity of every human being and enshrined in the Bill of Rights our profound commitment to freedom of speech, religion, and assembly and the right to due process and a fair trial. Through more than two centuries of challenge and change, these guiding principles have sustained us. They form the common ground on which our racial, religious, and ethnic diversity can flourish.

It is a measure of our greatness as a Nation that each new generation of Americans has sought to advance and extend the rights set forth by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and by the framers of our Constitution. Promoting human rights and democracy around the world is a central pillar of our foreign policy. We seek to protect and advance human rights for all, not only because a world that respects such rights will be freer, safer, and more prosperous, but also so that we may keep faith with the vision of our founders, who knew that these rights are the deepest reflection of America's fundamental values.

This week marks the beginning of the world's celebration of the 50th anniversary year of the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights. The adoption of this set of principles by the United Nations on December 10, 1948, was a landmark event in the course of modern human history. The Declaration represented a collective condemnation by nearly 50 U.N. member states of the widespread and devastating human rights abuses committed prior to and during World War II, and it reflected a consensus on what the postwar world should seek to become. Among the Declaration's 30 articles are affirmations of the right to life, liberty, and personal security; the right to freedom of thought, religion, and expression; and the right to freedom from slavery, torture, and arbitrary arrest and detention.

It was fitting that a great American, Eleanor Roosevelt, played a pivotal role in the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which so closely reflected the tenets of our own Bill of Rights. As Chair of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, she led the efforts of its 18 members to define basic rights and freedoms and to draft the international affirmation of rights that was ultimately adopted by the General Assembly. Today, thanks to those efforts, scores of countries across the globe have incorporated these fundamental principles into their laws and practices, and millions of people are leading freer, happier, and more fulfilling lives.

Now our challenge is to reaffirm the universality of these precepts and to ensure that all the world's peoples share in their protections. While we have made great progress in this endeavor, we must recognize that intolerance, discrimination, and persecution continue to darken our vision of a better future. Each of us has a part to play in upholding human rights for men and women of all political, ethnic, religious, and racial backgrounds. The words of Eleanor Roosevelt are both an inspiration and a challenge, not only to Americans, but also to citizens throughout the international community: "The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all of our citizens and all of our communities."

**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 December 10,

1997, as Human Rights Day; December 15, 1997, as Bill of Rights Day; and the week beginning December 10, 1997, as Human Rights Week. I call upon the people of the United States to celebrate these observances with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities that demonstrate our national commitment to the Bill of Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the promotion of human rights for all people.

**In Witness Whereof**, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of December, 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, 8:45 a.m., December 11, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 12.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Burma**

*December 9, 1997*

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

I hereby report to the Congress on developments concerning the national emergency with respect to Burma that I declared in Executive Order 13047 of May 20, 1997, pursuant to section 570 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act (the "Act") and the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of IEEPA, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c) and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c). This report discusses only matters concerning the national emergency with respect to Burma that was declared in Executive Order 13047.

On May 20, 1997, I issued Executive Order 13047 (62 FR 28301, May 22, 1997), effective on May 21, 1997, to declare a national emergency with respect to Burma and to prohibit new investment in Burma by United States persons, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued in conformity with section 570 of the Act. The order also

prohibits any approval or other facilitation by a United States person, wherever located, of a transaction by a foreign person where the transaction would constitute new investment in Burma prohibited by the order if engaged in by a United States person or within the United States. This action was taken in response to the large-scale repression of the democratic opposition by the Government of Burma since September 30, 1996. A copy of the order was provided to the Congress on May 20, 1997.

By its terms, nothing in Executive Order 13047 is to be construed to prohibit the entry into, performance of, or financing of a contract to sell or purchase goods, services, or technology, except: (1) where the entry into such contract on or after May 21, 1997, is for the general supervision and guarantee of another person's performance of a contract for the economic development of resources located in Burma; or (2) where such contract provides for payment, in whole or in part, in (i) shares of ownership, including an equity interest, in the economic development of resources located in Burma; or (ii) participation in royalties, earnings, or profits in the economic development of resources located in Burma.

The prohibitions of Executive Order 13047 apply to United States persons, defined to include U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens wherever they are located, entities organized under U.S. law (including their foreign branches), and entities and individuals actually located in the United States. The sanctions do not apply directly to foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms, although foreign firms' activities may be affected by the restriction on United States persons' facilitation of a foreign person's investment transactions in Burma.

The term "new investment" means any of the following activities, if such an activity is undertaken pursuant to an agreement, or pursuant to the exercise of rights under such an agreement, that is entered into with the Government of Burma, or a nongovernmental entity in Burma, on or after May 21, 1997: (a) The entry into a contract that includes the economic development of resources located in Burma; (b) the entry into

a contract providing for the general supervision and guarantee of another person's performance of a contract that includes the economic development of resources located in Burma; (c) the purchase of a share of ownership, including an equity interest, in the economic development of resources located in Burma; or (d) the entry into a contract providing for the participation in royalties, earnings, or profits in the economic development of resources located in Burma, without regard to the form of participation.

Since the issuance of Executive Order 13047 on May 20, 1997, the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), acting under authority delegated by the Secretary of the Treasury, has implemented sanctions against Burma imposed by the order. During the current 6-month period, OFAC issued several determinations with respect to transactions provided for by agreements and/or rights pursuant to contracts entered into by United States persons prior to May 21, 1997. One license was granted authorizing a United States person's disinvestment in Burma, since this transaction necessarily facilitated a foreign person's investment in Burma.

On May 21, 1997, OFAC disseminated details of this program to the financial, securities, and international trade communities by both electronic and conventional media. This included posting notices on the Internet and on 10 computer bulletin boards and 2 fax-on-demand services, and providing the material to the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon for distribution to U.S. companies operating in Burma. In addition, in early July, OFAC sent notification letters to approximately 50 U.S. firms with operations in or ties to Burma informing them of the restrictions on new investment. The letters included copies of Executive Order 13047, provided clarification of several technical issues, and urged firms to contact OFAC if they had specific questions on the application of the Executive order to their particular circumstances.

The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from May 20 through November 19, 1997, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to

Burma are estimated at approximately \$300,000, 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 Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel), and the Department of State (particularly the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and the Office of the Legal Adviser).

The situation reviewed above continues to represent an extraordinary and unusual threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. The declaration of the national emergency with respect to Burma contained in Executive Order 13047 in response to the large-scale repression of the democratic opposition by the Government of Burma since September 30, 1996, reflected the belief that it is in the national security and foreign policy interests of the United States to seek an end to abuses of human rights in Burma, to support efforts to achieve democratic reform that would promote regional peace and stability and to urge effective counternarcotics policies.

In the past 6 months, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) has shown no sign of willingness to cede its hold on absolute power. Since refusing to recognize the results of the free and fair 1990 elections in which the National League for Democracy won a vast majority of both the popular vote and the parliamentary seats, the ruling junta has continued to refuse to negotiate with pro-democracy forces and ethnic groups for a genuine political settlement to allow a return to the rule of law and respect for basic human rights. Burma has taken limited but insufficient steps to counter narcotics production and trafficking.

The net effect of U.S. and international measures to pressure the SLORC to end its repression and move toward democratic government has been a further decline in investor confidence in Burma and deeper stagnation of the Burmese economy. Observers agree that the Burmese economy appears to

be further weakening and that the government has a serious shortage of foreign exchange reserves with which to pay for imports. While Burma's economic crisis is largely a result of the SLORC's own heavy-handed mismanagement, the SLORC is unlikely to find a way out of the crisis unless political developments permit an easing of international pressure. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

**Remarks Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in New York City**

*December 9, 1997*

Thank you very much, Gay, for your introduction and for your superlative work. Thank you, Ambassador Richardson, for your distinguished representation of our country and for the campaign speech you gave for Gay—[laughter]—proving that diplomacy and politics can never be fully separated and shouldn't be. Thank you, Mr. Morgenthau, for all you have done for the people of New York and for the contributions that you and your family have made, which are memorialized in this wonderful place. And I thank you and David Altshuler for the tour I had before we started tonight.

I'd like to thank the others who are here in our administration who have worked on areas of human rights: OAS Ambassador Victor Marrero; ECOSOC Ambassador Betty King; Ambassador Nancy Rubin, our representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to John Shattuck, the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, who has really worked hard for a very long time under enormously adverse circumstances—sometimes when his

President couldn't do everything he wanted him to do. Thank you, and God bless you.

I thank Congresswoman Nita Lowey for being here and for her alert leadership on so many issues. And we thank the President of the General Assembly and all the members of the diplomatic corps who are here as we launch the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As human rights advocates, defenders, and educators, more than anyone else, the people in this room and those whom you represent give life to the words of the Universal Declaration. You shine the light of freedom on oppression, speak on behalf of the voiceless, spark the conscience of the world. Again I want to thank Gay for her tireless commitment to justice and equality. But I thank all of you for the work you do every day to make human rights a human reality.

The idea of a global declaration of rights emerged from the trauma of global war in which human rights were the first casualty. Here at the Museum of Jewish Heritage, we remember the evil of the Holocaust. But thanks to the marvelous conception of this unique place, we can also celebrate the strength of the human spirit, the will to endure and to preserve human dignity.

Under the wise, compassionate leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, half a century ago 18 delegates from China to Lebanon, Chile to Ukraine forged the first international agreement on the rights of humankind. On December 10th, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration without a single dissenting vote. I am very proud that the First Lady, who has traveled the world to advance human rights, especially for women and young girls, will take part in tomorrow's United Nations commemoration.

Over the past half-century, the declaration's 30 articles have formed a constellation of principles to which all people can aspire. They have entered the consciousness of people all around the world. They're now invoked routinely in constitutions and courts. They set a yardstick of humanity's best practices against which we must all now measure ourselves.

But as Eleanor Roosevelt said, words on paper bring no guarantees, and I quote, “unless the people know them, unless the people understand them, unless the people demand that they be lived.” Promoting respect for human rights is a fulfilling, but never fulfilled, obligation. Fifty years since the charter was forged, communism has been discredited, but threats to freedom and human rights still persist. Human rights are still at risk from Burma to Nigeria, from Belarus to China. Although more than half the world’s people now live under governments of their own choosing, democracy’s roots are still fragile in some countries. Others are besieged by forces ranging from drug cartels to organized crime. And even in democracies, human rights, which so often mean minority rights, are not guaranteed.

And while we celebrate the end of communism and the fact that it’s enabled so many people to affirm their special differences, religious, ethnic, and cultural, we have also seen from Bosnia to Rwanda that old hatreds can become the newest human rights abuses. And let us remember in this museum that having a people who are well-educated and prosperous, even having a government that is popularly elected are not in themselves sufficient to guarantee human rights.

But let us also remember that being educated by Western standards and prosperous are not necessary conditions for human rights or for people who want them. Men and women from Cambodia to Romania, Argentina, South Africa, and Russia have shown that, regardless of the economic condition of a nation, freedom is not—contrary to what the critics of the declaration say—an American or a Western or a wealthy nation right; it is a human right and a universal aspiration.

Advancing human rights must always be a central pillar of America’s foreign policy. Looking back over the last 5 years, we see notable achievements; we also see missed opportunities. And looking ahead, we see an enormous amount of work still to be done.

I am proud that we stood down a brutal dictatorship and restored Haiti’s destiny to its own people, but there is more to be done there if democracy and economic prosperity and basic human rights are to be safe-

guarded. I am proud of the role of the United States in stopping the unspeakable slaughter in Bosnia, the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II, a veritable case of human rights abuses. But now we have to persevere in strengthening Bosnia’s democratic institutions, promoting its reconstruction, enabling refugees to return to their homes, helping those who can’t, building institutions of democracy that have real integrity and durability. This year, the United States resettled 22,000 Bosnians. Next year, there will be more.

We also have to keep striving to bring to justice to those who caused the bloodshed, not only because it’s right but because it is necessary for full reconciliation. Our Nation is now the major contributor to the international war crimes tribunals. We’ll increase our support next year. We must bring Bosnia’s war criminals to justice. And I believe strongly that before this decade and this century end, we should establish a permanent international court to prosecute crimes against humanity. This week delegates from many nations are meeting to undertake that task. The United States strongly supports them.

We have led in strengthening international institutions, including the creation of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights. Now, we have to ensure that Mary Robinson has the resources to do her job, and I am committed to increasing substantially America’s support for that effort.

We’ve put the promotion of women’s rights in the mainstream of American foreign policy, and I am very proud of that. This was highlighted, of course, by the First Lady’s speech in Beijing, but I want to emphasize its major elements. We want to lead the world’s efforts in combating trafficking in women. We want to steer more of our assistance to women and young girls. We want to recognize women’s roles as democracy builders by encouraging full political participation.

Now, as I urged a year ago, I call on the Senate to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Surely, this is not an issue of party but of principle. It is time to show

the world that America joins those 161 countries which have gone on record to oppose discrimination and violence against women around the world.

We continue speaking out for human rights without arrogance or apology, through our annual human rights reports, in meetings with foreign officials, in intensified advocacy for religious freedom around the world. As long as America is determined to stand for human rights, then free people all around the world will choose to stand with America.

But for all our efforts to prevent abuses, promote accountability, and push for reform, enduring progress must come from changes within the nations themselves. Democracy, the rule of law, civil society: Those things are the best guarantees of human rights over the long run. We have helped democracies on every continent solidify their reforms. We are working with China to promote the rule of law and institutions which will regularize it. We're helping post-conflict societies like El Salvador, Bosnia, Rwanda, Mozambique, to build a durable foundation for peace. We support NGO's working to support human rights and political liberalization. And we want to expand these efforts.

Supporting the spread of democracy, with respect for human rights, advances the values that make life worth living. It also helps nations in the information age to achieve their true wealth, for it lies now in people's ability to create, to communicate, to innovate. Fully developing those kinds of human resources requires people who are free to speak, free to associate, free to worship, and feel free to do those things. It requires, therefore, accountable, open, consistent governments that earn people's trust.

The key to progress on all these issues is for government and civic groups to work together. The NGO community is a vital source of knowledge and inspiration and action. We will keep faith with those working around the world, often at tremendous personal risk, for change within their societies. And in this 50th anniversary year, Amnesty International has asked world leaders to affirm that we will do all we can to uphold the principles of the Universal Declaration. I make that pledge to you today.

Finally, I commend the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation for their efforts to teach a new generation of Americans that the future of human rights is in their hands. Eleanor Roosevelt understood that our greatest strength abroad was the power of our example at home, our commitment to work together across the divides to create one from many and opportunity for all.

I believe our Founding Fathers knew a long time ago that their dedication to form a more perfect Union was an intentional statement of the English language; that is, they knew that there would never be a perfect union but that we would always have opportunities to make it more perfect in every age and time. And so let us here who are citizens of the United States honor this 50th anniversary by promising ourselves that we will always strive to make a more perfect Union here at home; to be a better model of liberty and justice; to be living proof to the cynics and the tyrants of the world that economic growth and constitutional democracy not only can go together but in the end must go together; to prove that diversity is not a source of weakness but a source of strength and joy; to prove that out of harmony of different views there can be a coherence of loyalty to a nation stronger than anything that can ever be enforced from above.

America has its own challenges today. We have our hate crimes; we have continuing discrimination. But we also see across party lines and across the region broader support for the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act," a new determination to eliminate all last vestiges of discrimination against women, a genuine depth of popular interest in resolving the racial divides which continue to bedevil us and a genuine interest and understanding in the increasing racial diversity that is shaping our country for the 21st century in ways that present not only racial but cultural and religious challenges and opportunities we have never known before.

There is plenty for us to do. And it is our responsibility to do it, to dedicate ourselves, in other words, to the eternal quest of a more perfect Union and the lasting goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 p.m. in the Museum of Jewish Heritage. In his remarks, he referred to Gay J. McDougall, executive director, International Human Rights Law Group, and candidate for membership on the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson; Robert M. Morgenthau and David Altshuler, chairman of the board and director of the museum; and Minister of Foreign Affairs Hennadiy Udovenko of Ukraine, U.N. General Assembly President.

### Remarks to the Bronx Community in New York City

December 10, 1997

Thank you. Carmen was great, wasn't she? Let's give her another hand. [Applause] I thought she was great. Thank you. Thank you, Genny Brooks, for your vision and for your persistence. Thank you, Paul Grogan, for your vision and your persistence. The whole approach of LISC was years and years and years ahead of Government, and what we have essentially tried to do is to get all of our Government policies to follow the model that LISC was based on all along, and we thank you.

I'd also like to acknowledge the presence here of three people from the city of New York who are very important now to the future of America: our brilliant HUD Secretary, Andrew Cuomo; the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, from Brooklyn, Aida Alvarez; and the Assistant to the President for Public Liaison—I don't know where she is, but she's from the Bronx—Maria Echaveste. Where are you, Maria? Thank you.

I also want to join in congratulating my good friend, your borough president, Freddie Ferrer, on Bronx being an All-American City. Stand up. [Applause] Thank you. I want to thank the deputy mayor for being here, and Senator Rosado and Assemblyman Diaz and the other members of the assembly and city council who are here. I'd like to thank the Boys and Girls Club—the boys and girls of Clara Barton School. I think they made this for me, and it's quite beautiful, isn't it? [Applause] And I thank the Madison Square Boys and Girls Club for hosting us.

I want to thank all the financial institutions who have helped, who were mentioned earlier. I understand that Frank Duma, the chairman of Bankers Trust, and Walter Shipley, the chairman and CEO of Chase Manhattan, are here.

I'd also like to say—you know, I got my little tour of Charlotte Street on the way up here and it was—to show you what a small world it is, it was given to me by the current president of the Mid-Bronx Desperadoes, Ralph Porter. And I want you to know that—to show you what a small place this is, he will probably have to testify about this now—[laughter]—we grew up in the same town in Arkansas, and his wife worked with my mother for many years in the hospital there. And when he came here, he decided to pitch in—instead of walk away—like the rest of you. And I appreciate that, what all of you have done.

Let me say, more than anything else I want to begin by thanking the people of the Bronx not only for the example you have set here but for the support that you have given to me and to the First Lady and to the Vice President so that we can continue to work to try to make this example real in the lives of people all over this city, all over this country, because my one message here is: Look at where the Bronx was when President Carter came here in despair. Look at where the Bronx was when President Reagan came here and compared it to London in the Blitz. And look at the Bronx today. If you can do it, everybody else can do it. And we are determined to see that it be done.

What we have got to do is to take what you have shown us works and help more neighborhoods all across America do it. And we have seen that this did not happen by accident. It happened, first and foremost, because of visionary, committed, determined leadership at the local level—people who just wanted a good life. Citizen leaders like Genny, citizens like Carmen said, this is not complicated; why shouldn't I be able to get married and have children in my hometown? Why shouldn't people be able to work there? Why shouldn't people be able to live in decent housing there? Why shouldn't our children be able to walk the streets there? Why

shouldn't our children be able to go to decent schools there? Why? There is no reason why.

They started by asking the right questions. And over time, they got the right answers. This didn't happen in a year or two. No single person can claim credit for it. But over time, you got it right. Now we have to take what you have done here, show the before and after—if I could have any wish out of this, it is not that my speech would be reported tonight on the evening news or in the press tomorrow; I would just like one thing. I would like for every single American to see before and after. And they would know.

And then I would like for them to say, "How did this happen?" and tell your story. Because what I have tried to do relentlessly for 5 years is to reorganize the National Government, to reinvent and reinvigorate it so that we would be organized in a way that would support what you have done.

When I became President, I had been a Governor for 12 years in a State that had a lot of the same problems that the South Bronx had. We never had an unemployment rate under the national average the whole time I was Governor, for 10 years, until I started running for President and a lot of things we had been working on began to manifest themselves.

But I know what it does to people, good people, if they think they can't live in decent housing, in strong neighborhoods, and grownups can't get up and go to a job that makes them proud in the daytime, and the kids can't get up and go to a school that makes them proud in the daytime, and they're scared going to and from work and school anyway. I know what that does to people, and it doesn't have to be that way.

And the debate that was going on in 1992 when I first came to the Bronx—and President Ferrar and I were reminiscing about it today—the debate that was going on in the country was a crazy debate. The debate was, one side said the Federal Government should do more just like we're doing it—give people money, but we know how in Washington they should live and what they ought to do, and put a lot of strings on it, have a lot of rules and regulations, set up a bureaucracy, and just pat people on the head and tell them we would take care of it. That didn't

work very well. Then there were other people who said the Government has messed it up so much, the Government is the problem; if we would just get out of the way and go home, everything would be hunky-dory. No money—this is really not a money problem at all.

One of my rules of politics over more than 20 years has been, if you ever hear a politician say it's not a money problem, he's talking about somebody else's problem. [Laughter] Then when you see a politician interested in an issue, all of a sudden it becomes a money problem when he's interested in it, or she is.

I say that because that was a phony debate. You can't have Government in Washington dictating the solution; you can't have Government in Washington sitting on the sidelines. Government has to be a partner and has to get it right. And what is getting it right? Getting it right is saying, there is nothing we can do for you you won't do for yourselves, but if you're willing to do for yourselves, we will give you the tools and help to create the conditions so that you can have the power to change your own lives. That is the right message.

And that is what we are trying to do. And we've worked at it hard for 5 years. That's what we've tried to do with HUD under Secretary Cuomo. That's what we've tried to do with the SBA under Aida Alvarez. That's what we've tried to do with our whole approach to law enforcement. And it is producing results, not by creating programs that foster dependency and not by looking the other way but by giving people the tools to create their own lives through empowerment and investment.

Now, that's what Charlotte Gardens represents to me. That's the picture I want America to see; that's the message I want America to get. There is an urban renaissance occurring all across America today, but we know we need to do more. Unemployment is still higher in many inner-city neighborhoods than it is in the country as a whole. Only a small percentage of the new jobs which have been created in this last boom—nearly 14 million now—only a small percentage of them have come in the inner-city neighborhoods.

That's why we want more empowerment zones like the one we have in Manhattan and the South Bronx, and why we want more of them around the country, why we want more enterprise communities, where if people will do what you've done here, we will give them more help.

And we're trying to do our part. We have reformed the Community Reinvestment Act, which basically says what guidelines there ought to be for reinvesting in areas that have been underinvested in; that brought \$270 billion in commitments from financial institutions to help people in distressed areas improve their communities. This is a little-known action of the Federal Government, the way we've changed the Community Reinvestment Act. That act has been on the books for 20 years. Seventy percent of all the money loaned under the Community Reinvestment Act in 20 years has been loaned in the last 5 years—7 times as much, on an annual basis, as before. I am very proud of that. And that's just as important—in fact, it is more important than the public tax dollars coming in.

We have got to get the private sector to look at people like you all over America and say, this is an opportunity. If people are underemployed, if they're underhoused, if we are underinvesting in them, that's where America's growth can come. That's where America's future is. We don't have a person to waste. We don't have a community to waste. We're trying to get the unemployment down more and the growth up higher. Go look for the people who have growth potential. That's what happened here, and that's what we have to do everywhere else in America.

We're helping to fund community development financial institutions. That's a fancy term for community banks that loan money to people that otherwise might not be able to get loans, but are good risks and honorable people and have good ideas for businesses. Your country has spent lots of money setting up these kinds of banks all over the world—all over the world. We spent money to try to help poor village women in places like Bangladesh get loans—hundreds of thousands of them. And yet there have only been a few communities in America that have aggressively adopted this philosophy. If it's

helping to revive people in countries that are a lot poorer than the South Bronx, then we ought to make those same kinds of institutions and that same kind of capital available to the American people to give them a chance to revive their fortunes.

Secretary Cuomo is modernizing HUD's Federal housing administration to make homeownership a reality. We now have two-thirds of the American people in their own homes for the first time in the history of the country, and we want to do better, and we can.

We did, as Genny said—one of the things that really has helped here is the low income housing tax credit. It gets people to invest for a tax credit to make housing more affordable and more available than it would otherwise be. Finally, in this last budget we made it permanent. You don't have to worry about whether Congress is going to do it now year-in and year-out, it is now a permanent part of the Tax Code, so that investors can know if they stake their future in neighborhoods like this one, that will be there. They know what the economic rules are and they don't have to worry about someone changing the rules in the middle of the game. And that has made a big difference as well.

One other thing I want to say—we also have to recognize that our country is going through a period of economic transition that every wealthy country in the world is facing, where there are relatively fewer low-skilled, good-wage jobs; relatively more low-skilled, low-wage jobs; but many more higher-skilled, high-wage jobs. Now, the most important thing we can do is to set up a system of lifetime training to give everybody access to continually improving their skills.

I live in Washington, DC. It breaks my heart when I drive around what is now my hometown and I see people who don't have work, and then I pick up the newspaper and read that in every county around Washington, DC, there is a vast shortage of technical workers. And businesses are constrained in their growth because they can't hire people because there is not anybody available that knows what they need. So we need to do that. And in the meanwhile, we need to do

what we can to improve the incomes of people who are working hard every day and doing their best.

That's why we raised the minimum wage; that's why we lowered income taxes on working families with incomes below \$30,000 and we doubled the earned-income tax credit—it amounts to about \$1,000 a year, a family, for a family with two kids with an income of under \$30,000. That's why we are doing what we can to expand health insurance to 5 million uninsured children in the last balanced budget bill, and why we provided a \$500-a-year tax credit per child to help working families on modest incomes actually raise their incomes by having the Government take less and provide more help to them for their children's health care. These things are important.

In the welfare reform bill—now, we had the welfare rolls go down by 3.8 million, but we left people with the guarantee of health care and nutrition for their kids, more money for child care. And now we've provided \$3 billion to cities like New York to try to make sure that there are public funds available for work for people if they're required to go to work and there are no private sector jobs.

All this is to help people through a transition, but the goal is to have everybody living in a place like this place, with a job and a neighborhood and a house and a school you can be proud of.

Finally, let me say—I was so glad to hear it mentioned earlier by Mr. Grogan—we can't get investments in the places that people don't think are safe. You cannot get people to invest money if people don't think it's safe. I'm trying to get people—I'm trying to make peace in the Middle East. You know, I've spent a lot of time on it. And you can't make—in the end there won't be any peace if those people don't have something to do. And 5 years ago, or over 4 years ago, I assembled 600 Arab-American and Jewish-American business people that said, "We will invest there when it's safe." Because there is no point in putting money in if it won't produce any result. Everyone understands that in the context of foreign policy. We must understand that here at home.

That's why we have—again, our whole law enforcement policy is a community

empowerment policy. The crime bill we passed in 1994, in effect, was written by police officers and community leaders and prosecutors and others who said, this is what we can do to lower the crime rate: put 100,000 more police on the street; give the kids something to do after school, give them something to do to stay out of trouble; take assault weapons off the street; don't sell guns to people with a criminal record. And we've had 5 years of declining crime in the country as a whole, the lowest crime rate in 24 years in the United States.

It has to be that way in every neighborhood. The lower you get the crime rate, the higher the investment will be, the more jobs there will be, the more opportunity there will be. I say that because we still have work to do. There are still too many of our kids getting in trouble. And I won't rest until we know that every single child has someplace to go and something positive to do when they get out of school. Most of the juvenile crime occurs after school.

Now, we have more to do. Let me just say a few things that I can say today that will affect the people in this room and throughout this city. We are going to release \$96 million to help create affordable housing here in New York through the Innovative Home Program, the same HUD program that helped to stimulate the revitalization we're celebrating today.

Second, Administrator Alvarez and the SBA have approved the Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation as the first certified development company in New York. Here's what that means. It means that over the next 5 years, the Bronx Overall Economic Development Company—or BOEDC, I guess, is the way you say it—will make \$50 million worth of fixed-rate loans to small businesses in the Bronx to help them make the investments in building the machinery they need to succeed. Most of the new jobs in this country are being created by small business—\$50 million coming into the Bronx to help these folks stay in business, hire more people, and grow the economy right here in your backyard.

The third thing I am doing is to put \$45 million more in my next budget to expand the Community Development Financial

Bank, so we can make more loans to individuals who can start their own businesses or hire people to create an economy where very often there isn't one.

And, finally, let me say I am very pleased that LISC and the Enterprise Foundation have gotten another \$250 million in corporate investments to help build affordable housing in New York City over the next 3 years. Thank you all very much.

Now, what does all this mean? I'll say it one more time. There is nothing that can be done for any neighborhood that people will not do for themselves. But people who are willing to do for themselves deserve a hand up; they deserve a partner; they deserve a Government committed to giving them the tools they need to succeed. That's what empowerment is. A lot of people think it's a buzzword; it is not a buzzword. Come to the South Bronx if you want to see empowerment. Go down these streets if you want to see empowerment. Look at the Mid-Bronx Desperadoes if you want to see empowerment. That is what it means. It is not some funny word; it's about people taking control of their lives and building a better future for their children. That's what we're going to do together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:47 a.m. at the Madison Square Boys and Girls Club. In his remarks, he referred to Charlotte Gardens resident Carmen Ceballo, who introduced the President; Genevieve Brooks, deputy president, Borough of the Bronx; Paul S. Grogan, president and chief executive officer, Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC); Deputy Mayor Randy M. Mastro of New York City; New York State Senator David Rosado; New York State Assemblyman Ruben Diaz, Jr.; and Ralph Porter, executive director, Mid-Bronx Desperadoes, a local community development corporation.

**Remarks at a Democratic  
Congressional Campaign Committee  
Dinner in New York City**

*December 10, 1997*

Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I thank Congressman Gephardt and Congressman Frost. Martin Frost is the most dogged person I know. Sometimes I show

up at these events just to get him to stop calling me. [Laughter] Most of the time I show up because I want to be here.

I thank Congressman Pallone and Engel and Congressman Maloney, and I think Congresswoman Lowey is here now. I thank them all for their wonderful leadership. Hello, Nita.

I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Andrew Cuomo, from New York, who is doing a brilliant job. And I want to talk more about that in a minute. I thank my friend, James Taylor, for coming here to sing tonight. Two of the truly great evenings in my family's life together, our family life, have come in no small measure because of James Taylor. When we were vacationing on Martha's Vineyard on two different occasions we went sailing off Martha's Vineyard, and James Taylor was a member of the crew. Now, it wasn't such a great thing watching him work the ropes and the sails although that's truly impressive. But when we got to a calm sea, he sang for us, and with the stars out and the moon out and the water calm, it's something that none of us will ever forget. And it was a great gift we cannot repay, but we thank you for being a good man and a good friend and a good citizen of this country.

Let me try to explain very briefly what I think is going on in this country now, and ask you to remember where we are now as compared with where we were in 1992. We had a stagnant economy, increasing inequality. We seemed to be drifting toward the future. And the operative philosophy in this country for 12 years had been that problems were to be talked about but not very much was to be done about them; the deficit was to be decried, but it was okay if it got bigger—you just tried to blame the other person; and that, essentially, Government was the problem so it should sit on the sidelines.

Now, that was the governing philosophy. And for it we had to show a \$290 billion deficit, a high unemployment rate, and nothing done to address 20 years of wage stagnation in the middle class, a growing underclass, and a lot of profound challenges caused by the globalization of the economy and the society.

Could we grow the economy and improve the environment? Could we take advantage of trade to get more new high-wage jobs in America and retrain people who were dislocated quickly enough? Could we deal with what I think is maybe the most prominently mentioned complaint I hear all the time: the conflict that families increasing in all income levels make, that they don't feel they can do right by their job and spend enough time with their children? In short, could we get the benefits of the world toward which we were moving and meet the challenges?

It seemed to me that we certainly couldn't do that if we stayed with the economic policy, the social policy, or the philosophy of government that dominated the 12 years before I became President. And today, before I came here, I had one of those days that reminded me of why, when I was a young man, I wanted to be in public service, because along with former Congressman Garcia, who is out here, and a number of others, I went back to the Bronx. And I went to those streets that were featured when Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan walked the streets of the Bronx, and President Carter said it was devastating, and President Reagan said it reminded him of London during the Blitz.

Today it reminds me of the American dream, because of what people can do together when Government is neither a savior nor sitting on the sidelines, but a constructive partner with community leaders who want to build strong families and strong communities and safe streets and good schools and a bright future. That's what I saw in the Bronx today. Everybody in New York ought to be proud of it, and it ought to basically reinforce your determination that you're doing the right thing here tonight because that's the kind of America we want to build in every neighborhood in this country.

Does it matter who's in the Congress? Does it matter how they vote? You bet it does. By one vote in the Senate and one vote in the House—and the vote in the Senate was the Vice President's; as he always says, "Whenever I vote we win," because he only gets to vote in the case of a tie; if someday we lose, I'll be in trouble, sure enough—[laughter]—we passed an economic plan that had reduced the deficit 92 percent before

the balanced budget bill was passed last year—nearly 14 million new jobs in our economy, the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years, and the lowest crime rate in 24 years.

Mr. Gephardt mentioned the crime bill—does it matter? You bet it does. There were hardly any Republican votes for the crime bill. We had more in the House I think than the Senate in the end. Why? Because they did not want to offend people who said that we shouldn't keep assault weapons off the streets. There were people who said it wouldn't make any difference if we put another 100,000 police on the street, people who said it was a waste of your tax money for us to give children something to say yes to when they got out of school. But we know most juvenile crime is committed between 3 o'clock in the afternoon and 7 o'clock at night. Well, we got the lowest crime rate in 24 years. The Democrats were right, and those who fought them were wrong.

They said the economic plan would bring on a recession; it would be unfair; it was going to raise taxes on middle class people. They were wrong. We now have the evidence. You don't have to—this is not a matter of debate. And I would have to admit it if the reverse were true. I'd have to say I was wrong. Our position was right, and they were wrong. And I am tired of seeing them get rewarded at elections because they have more money or they can divide the American electorate in some better way. And you being here is going to give a chance to the American people to vote for the people who have been right about the last 5 years and who are right about America's future. And that's why you're here, and I'm glad to see you.

Now, let me give you another example: The air is cleaner; the water is cleaner; the food supply is safer; and there are fewer toxic waste dumps today than there were 5 years ago. And there is always a big debate—we had a huge debate. One of the reasons the Government got shut down in 1995 is that we Democrats thought we could continue to improve the economy and clean up the environment. And they said it was a nice thing to have a clean environment, but it was a burdensome economic impediment, and it was an ugly, big, old Government on everybody's shoulders.

Well, we have evidence now. This is no longer subject to serious debate. What is the subject of debate, what we should be debating is, what is the best way to combat global warming; what is the most efficient way to clean up these toxic waste dumps; what is the most health-conscious way to guarantee the safety of a food supply that inevitably will have more imported food? That's a debate worth having.

But to debate whether it is right to protect the integrity of the environment and to improve it and grow the economy—that debate is over. Our side has been proved right. We have 5 years of clear evidence. And I would like to see people who are committed to environmental protection and responsible growth voted into the House of Representatives next year. That's why I'm glad you're here, and I hope you will follow James Taylor and help us to do that. This is not a subject of debate.

We passed the family and medical leave law. There were a lot of Republicans who voted for that—I'll give them credit for that—far more Democrats. My predecessor had vetoed it twice. Why? Because their theology said—their theology said it's a nice thing if people can spend a little time with their new-born babies or if someone in their family gets sick, but we couldn't think of requiring it because it would hurt the economy and the economy is always the most important thing.

We said the most important thing in any society is raising healthy children and keeping families together. And when you permit people to do the right thing, when their parents are sick or their babies are born, you will make them stronger and healthier and happier, and they will be better in the workplace and it will help the economy to do the right thing about the family unit.

Well, there's no longer subject to serious doubt—we passed the family and medical leave law. We've had study after study after study; hardly anybody affected by it has reported any problem with it. We were right. I think we should expand it. I think people ought to get time off to go to regular parent-teacher conferences at the school. I think people ought to get time off if they have to take a parent or a child to a regular doctor's appointment. I think the more we can help

people balance family and work the better off we're going to be. And I think the evidence is clear.

Now, let me move to—there is a second category of issues where Democrats and Republicans have voted for and against certain bills. I'd like to talk about them, because you can also see what matters there.

You look at this balanced budget bill. It's got the biggest increase in health care for children since 1965. We're going to get enough money to insure 5 million more children. Does anybody doubt which party in the bipartisan coalition in that balanced budget bill contributed that? This balanced budget bill contains the biggest increase in help for people that go on to college in 50 years, since the GI bill passed, a \$1,500 a year tax credit for the first 2 years of college, tax credits for the third and fourth years for graduate schools, for workers who have to go back and get retraining. Does anybody doubt which party contributed that? Finishing our determination to double the amount of job training money we're giving to people who are dislocated or underemployed over the last 5 years—does anybody doubt which party contributed that? It matters. And we have been right about these issues. That's why I'm here.

We were right to take on the NRA. Even though they took some of our Members out, the light of American history will shine brightly on them.

We were right to take on the tobacco issue because it's the biggest public health problem in America, and it's illegal for kids to do. And if we get a bill out of the Congress that's a bipartisan bill, just remember, we ought to give credit to everybody who votes for it, Republican or Democrat, if it's a good bill—but remember how it got started. It never would have happened without the progressive party in this country taking it on.

And finally let me say, there are lots of challenges in the future like that. I think we ought to have a health care bill of rights. We put a commission together, a quality health care commission, more and more people in managed care plans. I think on balance they've done a lot more good than harm. But the more you lose control over your own life, the more you want to know you've got some protection, some recourse, some guarantee.

It's not just the cost; it's the quality and availability of health care that matter. So we put this coalition together, and we had health care providers and business people, employers, and consumers of health care on it. And they came up with this health care bill of rights.

The leader of the other party in the Senate says, it's a terrible thing because it's too much of an imposition on the people who are running the programs. I disagree. Big choice. Who is right about the future? Are we right, or are they right? Whether we can pass it or not depends on the Members of Congress. And it will affect the lives of millions of people.

Once we get these 5 million kids insured, what about the other kids that don't have health insurance? What about all these people that work all their lives, and they have to take early retirement in companies, and they lose their health insurance, and they can't get into the Medicare program because they're not old enough? What's going to happen to them? There are lots of other challenges out there. You have to decide; who do you trust to meet these challenges?

Look at our schools. What's the next big challenge here? We've got to guarantee that all of our kids get a world-class education. The Democratic Party is firmly on record in favor of high standards, more investment, a national testing program—voluntary—to see if the kids are meeting these standards, and then opening the doors of college to every kid in this country. If you want young people not to be trapped in dead-end jobs, they have to be able to get education for a lifetime. Who do you trust to give education for a lifetime?

Now, the things that our friends in the Republican Party used to say about us—they used to say we couldn't manage the economy. Now we've got almost 14 billion new jobs and the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years. They used to say we couldn't be trusted on crime; we were soft on crime. We have the lowest crime rate in 24 years. And if our Democratic juvenile justice approach passes, it will be lower still.

They used to say we couldn't be trusted on welfare. Look at the welfare reform bill. A lot of Democrats voted against it; a lot of

them voted for it. But you know what's in that bill? We did not give in to their determination to take away health care and nutrition from kids. We've got \$4 billion more in there for child care and \$3 billion to give the poor neighborhoods, where there aren't enough private jobs for able-bodied people to go to work. Which party do you think made those contributions to that welfare reform bill?

These are important issues. They can't say that anymore. They used to say, well, we couldn't manage foreign policy, the national defense. This country is stronger and has made more contributions to peace and freedom in facing the security challenges of tomorrow than it was 5 years ago.

So I say to you we have a party we are proud of. And we are not ashamed that it is more progressive, that we believe we are one Nation, that we believe we have to come together across all the lines that divide us, that we believe in things like AmeriCorps and citizen service and people getting together and what I saw in the Bronx today. And if you want more of that, if you like what's happened in the last 5 years and you want more of it, you give me a few more of these folks, and you'll have it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. in the Empire Room at the Waldorf Astoria. In his remarks, he referred to singer James Taylor.

### **Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Hispanic Gala in New York City**

*December 10, 1997*

Thank you. I was—please, sit down—I was sitting over there when Hillary was talking, thinking how grateful I am that she wrote that wonderful book, “It Takes A Village,” and how many copies it sold, and how it embodies what we believe in. And then I was thinking that after we leave the White House, she could write another book and sell even more copies if the subject of the book was, “all the things I wish I could have said all the times I introduced my husband.” [*Laughter*] Thank you once more for refraining. [*Laughter*] Let me say to all of you—some

nights she kind of—she says, here's Bill, or who knows. [Laughter]

I am profoundly honored to be here tonight. This is a very special night. Hillary and I both wanted to be here. I thank the members of the Cabinet and the administration who are here that have been introduced for the work they have done, as well as for their presence here. I thank the Members of Congress who are here. I thank the Lieutenant Governor and the public advocate and the other officials from New York City and from the boroughs who are here. I thank Miguel and Marife and Dennis and the other leaders of this dinner.

This is truly an historic event, because the Latino business and labor communities have come together as never before to support the Democratic Party. And for that we are grateful. This is a fitting way for me to end the day because I started my day today in New York in the Bronx and in that borough with the highest percentage of Latinos. And I was standing on the very spot where, over 20 years ago, President Carter bemoaned the condition of the Bronx and said he would try to help; and then when President Reagan, nearly 20 years ago, said it reminded him of London during the Blitz in World War II.

Today it reminds you of any other thriving, successful, middle-class neighborhood, with beautiful homes and well-kept sidewalks and streets, and a beautiful school in the background, and enthusiastic, exuberant children, because of what people have done over the last several years together.

I want to thank, in particular, Secretary Cuomo for the work that he has done in the last several years that he has been at HUD to try to help make this happen. But if you think about what we have been about, trying to prepare this country for the 21st century, and you ask yourself, "Why am I a Democrat; why am I doing this?" I think you have to answer, first of all, because I don't buy the argument that was made by the other side for the 12 years before we came in that Government is the problem; it is inherently bad; and if we just got rid of it and it sat on the sidelines, everything would be hunky-dory. That's not true.

Neither is it true that we can go back to the time when Government handed down

edicts from Washington. Governments should be a partner with people in their local communities working together. That's our philosophy. Our philosophy is the role of the National Government in our domestic life is to create the conditions and give people the tools to make their own lives, to build successful careers and families and communities, and make those streets safe and give people a chance to do the things that I saw done in the Bronx today. And it was exhilarating.

I was walking down that street, and I thought, this is why I ran for public office the first time, and this is why I ran for public office the last time. This is public service at its best—grassroots people working with national policy together, public and private sectors, and it was a truly thrilling moment.

And I think of all the communities in America, the Latino community knows best that people should never ask Government to do something for them that they can do for themselves; nor can Government ever pretend to replace the strength and joys of family life or the integrity of work life. But neither can people who are struggling to make the most of their own lives be denied a hand up when it's important to give it to them. That's what we stand for.

The other thing that I think we stand for that is unique now is that we really like the fact that we're so different from each other. We like the fact that America has so much diversity. We think in a global economy, in a global society, where we have to cooperate with all different kinds of people and do business with all different kinds of people, it is a great thing. And we think that if you're a good, upstanding citizen who obeys the law and pays your taxes and if you're grown you go to work and if you're a kid, you go to school and if you're—through no fault of your own—in trouble, you get help. We think that we're all part of the *familia*. That's the difference. And I'm proud to be on that side of the divide in America. I want every American to have a chance to be a part of our future. I feel good about that, and I want you to feel good about that.

There are other differences as well. We had a different view about economic policy. We tried trickle-down economics for 12

years, and we had a \$290 billion deficit, enormous interest rates, a high unemployment rate. Then we set about balancing the budget, and before the last balanced budget bill was passed in a bipartisan way, the Democrats-only budget passed in 1993 had succeeded in reducing the deficit by 92 percent, driving interest rates down. We have now almost 14 million new jobs and the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years. I think invest-and-grow is better than trickle-down. I think we are right with our economic policy.

We changed the crime policy. The crime policy of the National Government, as near as I could tell, was either to do nothing but talk tough or to talk tough and say we need to lock them up and throw away the key. We said, "How about stopping crime in the first place? Let's put more police on the street. Let's take assault weapons off the street. Let's not let people who have got criminal records have handguns. Let's give some money so that communities can give kids something to say yes to in the first place." We've got the lowest crime rate in 24 years. I think our crime policy is better. It works. People support it at the grassroots level.

We have different views about the environment. We believe we can grow the economy while we improve the environment. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 4 years than they did in 12; we need to do some more. We've got a lot of serious environmental challenges. We're trying very hard. We've been working like crazy—and I want to thank the Vice President especially—we have been working so hard for the last several weeks, and especially in the last few days, to reach agreement at the international conference in Kyoto on climate change, to try to find a way to drive down our emission of greenhouse gases here, drive down the world's emissions of greenhouse gases, and still grow the economy. We Democrats, we believe we can do that. We believe we can do that.

Our friends on the other side of the aisle, if there is the slightest question, they say, "I'm sorry, it would be nice to have a good environment, but we've got to go for the economy. We can't afford to burden it." If you look at the high-technology world in

which we're living, we're going to create more new jobs if we commit ourselves to cleaning the environment in the proper way. We will explore new technologies. We will create new businesses. And more important, we will fulfill our moral obligation to leave our children and our grandchildren a planet upon which they can live in peace with one another, because of the resources that are left. I think the Democrats are right about that, and I am proud to be a part of that.

I believe that we were right to stand up for family and medical leave. I believe we were right to give a tax cut to the lowest income families with children. I believe we were right to raise the minimum wage. I believe we should do more of that. We should help to do more to help people reconcile the demands of work and family. I believe we were right to try to provide access to health care to all Americans, and I'm proud of the fact that we're going to cover 5 million children. I'm proud of the fact that it's now against the law to take somebody's health insurance away from them just because they change jobs or somebody in their family gets sick. And I want to pass the consumer's bill of rights in health care, because I think as more and more people are insured by health maintenance organizations, they at least have a right to know that they'll know what's going on, that they can have access to the best professional opinions, and that they can get quality as well as access to health care. And I think the Democrats are more likely to provide that. I'm proud to be on that side of the divide, and I hope all of you are as well.

And let me just mention one other thing. I want more than I can convey to you to see every neighborhood in every distressed area of America look like the neighborhood I walked through in the Bronx today. I want every child to be able to have access to world-class education. I want every adult who loses his or her job or can never get a raise because they're not so competitive in the global economy to be able to go back and get further training.

And I'm proud of the fact that in the last year we put more money into education than had been put in since 1965 at the national level, that we did more to help people go to college than we've done in 50 years. I think

you can really say we've opened the doors of college to all Americans, with a \$1,500 tax credit for the first 2 years of college and tax credits for the other years and help for people who have to go back after they've been working a while, and more Pell grants and more work-study positions and more national service positions. I'm proud of all that.

But we've got a lot more work to do. You know as well as I do that you cannot stand here and look at me in the eye and tell me that every child in every community represented in this room is getting a world-class education. You know that it's going to provide new challenges to us—you know, we have this sort of bilingual debate going on around the country now—do I want every child in America to be able to speak English and read English and learn in English? You bet I do. Do I think they should have to quit learning anything while they do? No, I don't. That's why I support bilingual education, because I think that we ought to have both.

But the Latino community now has got to go out and tell America, this is not a Latino-Anglo issue anymore. You know how many languages are spoken by the kids in the school district nearest me across the river—across the Potomac River in Virginia? One hundred languages.

Now, our party has got to lead the way toward high standards and access and opportunity. We've got to lead the way. We've got to give every single one of those children a way to find their way into a 21st century America where they can be winners. And that's just one of the many challenges we're going to face.

So I say to you, our record in the last 5 years is good; I'm proud of that. Our record in the years ahead can be better if we continue to build on the strengths of the last few years.

I want to thank the Lieutenant Governor for joining the Democratic Party, and congratulate Judith Hope—and I want to congratulate Judith Hope, the chair of the New York party, and all the other Democrats here. They picked up over 200 local seats in the elections of 1997 in the State of New York. Fine. Because I think people do believe Government ought to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives and not

sit on the sidelines. And they know that we're not yesterday's Government; we represent something different. Why? Because I think people do want us all to be one family. I think they think everybody that obeys the law and does their job deserves to be treated with dignity and equality in this country. And that's the last thing I want to say.

I have done my best—maybe because I grew up in the segregated South and I saw all the dark side of people not getting along and working together, but when I say that I want us to be one America, in the end that's the most important thing of all. My work here will be over in 3 years. And I'm doing the best I can to deal—like we've got a Medicare commission now. We want to deal with the long-term problems of Medicare so we can secure Medicare without overburdening our children and grandchildren. I will do everything I can to solve every big problem that I can that I think will load up America for the next 25 or 30 years. But I will not be able to completely foresee the future. No one can.

One thing I know, this country is still around here after 220 years because every time we faced a real challenge, we pulled together and somehow we found the strength, the courage, the wisdom, the determination to do the right thing.

Now we're going to become more diverse than ever before. That's what this race initiative is all about. California, our biggest State, will soon have no majority race. People of European heritage will not be in a majority. Sometime in the next century, probably in the first half of it, that will become true of America. We have many other differences as well. And I'd just like to emphasize that this race initiative of mine is basically about three things.

First of all, we've taken a few licks about talking, but it's about talking. Why? Because people are both fascinated by and afraid of people who are different from them when they haven't had contact and they don't understand each other, and we've got to have a community process in every neighborhood in this country for people to talk together across the lines that divide them.

Secondly, it's about enforcing the laws against discrimination. A lot of you have

stood up with me to support the idea that Bill Lann Lee ought to be head of the Civil Rights Division. I thank you, those of you who have done that. I must tell you, when I appointed him and I saw what an even-tempered man he was and what a fine record he had and how he was a Chinese immigrant's son from Harlem who then lived in Los Angeles and spent his whole life trying to keep people from being discriminated against, I thought, now, there is no way in the wide world anybody could vote against this guy. [Laughter] He has one totally disqualifying characteristic: He agrees with his President about affirmative action. I find that very curious that I'm being told that I can appoint anybody I want into the Civil Rights Division unless they agree with me. [Laughter] I thought we had an election about that.

Now, if my position was not to enforce the law, not to recognize the restrictions on affirmative action the Supreme Court has imposed upon it, that would be one thing. That is not my position. I will vigorously honor the law—the letter and spirit of the law. But that's—the thing that bothers me is that we have not obliterated all discrimination in housing. Secretary Cuomo is working day and night to try to deal with legitimate and severe claims of discrimination in housing. We haven't eliminated all discrimination in the work force. We haven't eliminated all discrimination in education. And virtually 100 percent of the American people, without regard to party, agree that what is illegal should be illegal and that the law should be enforced.

So I wanted somebody who had lived a lifetime in this, who also was committed to getting people together and changing the environment so we don't have to have so many of those kinds of problems lead that division. And I still think he deserves the job. And I thank all of you who stood with him.

The last thing that this "One America" race initiative is about is finding ways that we can work together across racial lines that will, by definition, obliterate a lot of the problems we have today. And I can tell you that there are three that dwarf all others: the more we learn together, the more we work together, and the more we serve our communities together across lines that divide us, the

more likely we are to build that kind of one America.

That's why I'm so grateful we've got 800 colleges with their students working in our schools to teach children to read independently by the third grade. That's why we're working very hard on an initiative to reduce the Hispanic dropout rate, and a lot of you in business can help us with this. We now have almost no difference in America in the high school graduation rate between Anglos and African-Americans—it's a stunning statistic—almost none.

There is still a big gap between both of them and Latinos. And I am convinced it is because so many Latin Americans come here as first generation immigrants and they want to get out there and go to work and support their parents and support their children and do the responsible thing, and historically that's worked. But we're now living in a world where people who don't have a high school education are going to suffer dropping earnings in the workforce, they won't even be able to hold their own.

So we have got to find ways to make it possible for our first generation Latin American children, no matter how difficult their circumstances at home, to stay in school and to go on to college and to get the message that that is now the responsible thing to do for their families because we don't want them stuck in a place where they can't have a future. And you've got to help us with that.

So I say again, let's work on this and be proud that you're here. And know this, too, I want you to be involved in the life of this country and the life of this administration and the life of this party in a positive way, with your ideas and your experience. We're grateful for your contributions but your contributions should also include not just a check, but your knowledge and your experience and what you can do to prepare this country to go forward as one America with opportunity for everybody, with responsibility from everybody; coming together, not drifting apart; leading the world for peace and freedom. That's what I'm working for, and tonight you have helped to make that more possible.

And let me just say, finally—this is the last thing I want to say—all my life I wanted to

dance with Rita Moreno—[laughter]—all my life. And it only lasted 30 seconds, but it was worth the trip.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. at the Rainbow Room. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gov. Betsy McCaughey Ross; New York City Public Advocate, Mark Green; Miguel Lausel, Marife Hernandez, and Dennis Rivera, event chairs; Judith Hope, State Democratic chair; and actress Rita Moreno.

### **Remarks on Departure From New York City and an Exchange With Reporters**

*December 10, 1997*

#### ***Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change***

**The President.** I'm sorry about the rain. I'll make this brief, but I want to take a moment before I leave to comment on the outcome of the climate change negotiations that have just been completed in Japan.

I am very pleased that the United States has reached a truly historic agreement with other nations of the world to take unprecedented steps to address the global problem of climate change. The agreement is environmentally strong and economically sound. It reflects a commitment by our generation to act in the interests of future generations.

The United States delegation, at the direction of the Vice President, and with the very, very skilled leadership of Under Secretary Stu Eizenstat, showed the way. The momentum generated by the Vice President's visit helped to move the negotiations, and I thank him very much.

I'm particularly pleased that the agreement strongly reflects the commitment of the United States to use the tools of the free market to tackle this problem.

There are still hard challenges ahead, especially in the area of involvement by the developing nations. It's essential that they participate in a meaningful way if we are to truly tackle this problem. But the joint implementation provisions of the agreement open the way to that result. The industrialized nations have come together and taken a strong step, and that is real progress.

Finally, I cannot say enough about the extraordinary leadership of Prime Minister Hashimoto. The people of Japan should be very proud of the spirit and the work that their country's leaders did to make this historic day possible.

Thank you very much.

**Q.** [Inaudible]

**The President.** No. No. And the agreement we made is actually, because of the way the details are worked out and what counts against the total, even though we have committed to a 7 percent reduction, it's actually closer to our original position than that indicates. We will make some reduction. I think we can.

We got what we wanted, which is joint implementation, emissions trading, a market-oriented approach. I wish it were a little stronger on developing nations participation. But we opened the way—the only way we can get there through joint implementation of projects in those countries.

This is a very good agreement. It is going to be possible for us to do this and grow our economy. It is environmentally sound. It's a huge first step. And I did not dream when we started that we could get this far. We should be very, very proud of this.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 p.m. at John F. Kennedy International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to the Kyoto Protocol to the Framework Convention on Climate Change reached at the Third Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which was held in Kyoto, Japan, December 1–10. The President also referred to Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change**

*December 10, 1997*

I am very pleased that the United States has reached an historic agreement with other nations of the world to take unprecedented action to address global warming. This agreement is environmentally strong and economically sound. It reflects a commitment by our

generation to act in the interests of future generations.

No nation is more committed to this effort than the United States. In Kyoto, our mission was to persuade other nations to find common ground so we could make realistic and achievable commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. That mission was accomplished. The United States delegation, at the direction of Vice President Gore and with the skilled leadership of Under Secretary Stuart Eizenstat, showed the way. The momentum generated by Vice President Gore's visit helped move the negotiation to a successful conclusion, and I thank him.

I am particularly pleased the agreement strongly reflects the commitment of the United States to use the tools of the free market to tackle this difficult problem.

There are still hard challenges ahead, particularly in the area of involvement by developing nations. It is essential that these nations participate in a meaningful way if we are to truly tackle this global environmental challenge. But the industrialized nations have come together, taken a strong step, and that is real progress.

Finally, let me thank Prime Minister Hashimoto and the people of Japan for their spirit and dedication to the task.

### **Citation for Elinor Guggenheimer**

*December 10, 1997*

For the past 50 years, Elinor Guggenheimer has been a tenacious and effective champion on behalf of America's children. She began her crusade by persuading New York City to assume funding of Federal day care centers following World War II. Later, as founding President of the Child Care Action Campaign, she helped to elevate day care to a national concern. Throughout a lifetime of service, she has expanded the focus of her advocacy and generously lent her talents to issues that confront seniors, women, and consumers. Elly Guggenheimer's indomitable spirit and extraordinary efforts to improve the lives of her fellow citizens have helped to illuminate our common path to a better America.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: The First Lady presented the Presidential Citizens Medal to Elinor Guggenheimer in New York City on behalf of the President. An original was not available for verification of this citation.

### **Remarks to the Coast Guard in Miami, Florida**

*December 11, 1997*

Thank you very much, Lieutenant Britton, for your service and for that very thorough account of your activities. I hope that none of the Coast Guard will ever have to engage in ice-breaking in this area. *[Laughter]*

Admiral Kramek, Admiral Saunders, Admiral Rufe, the men and women of the Coast Guard; Secretary Slater, thank you for your remarks and your work. General McCaffrey, thank you for the extraordinary job you have done in such a short time in focusing our Nation's attention on the drug problem and, even more importantly, coming up with a strategy with which to approach it, a strategy that is beginning to show significant results.

Acting Customs Commissioner Banks, SOUTHCOM Commander General Wilhelm. I noticed that a lot of people laughed, General, when General McCaffrey said that you had a higher intellect than your two predecessors. *[Laughter]* One of them was General McCaffrey—I can understand him putting himself down—*[laughter]*—I don't know what General Clark thinks about it. *[Laughter]*

Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Congressman Lincoln Diaz-Balart, and my good friend Lieutenant Governor MacKay, thank you all for being here and for the support that you give to the United States in the work we have to do here to deal with the drug problem. Thank all of you for coming. I see a lot of my friends out in the audience, including State Senator Daryl Jones—I'm glad to see you. And of all the men and women of the Coast Guard here, I can't help noticing that my immediate past Coast Guard military aide is now a deputy group commander in St. Petersburg, Lieutenant Commander June Ryan, and I'm glad to see her over there with General Wilhelm, earning an honest living for a change after escaping the political life of Washington. *[Laughter]*

Before I get into my remarks about what you're doing here, Lieutenant Britton mentioned the fact that the Coast Guard is not involved in ice-breaking, but with El Niño, who knows. [Laughter] Now, we all laughed about that, but the truth is, as many of you know better than most of our fellow country men and women, there is an enormous body of evidence that the climate of the Earth is warming at a more rapid rate than at any time in the last 10,000 years. Many, many scientists believe in the next 100 years the climate will go—the average temperature will go up someplace between 2 and 6 degrees. To give you some idea of what the consequences of that kind of change were in the last Ice Age, 10,000 years ago, the average climate—average—climate temperature was only about 9 degrees lower than it is now.

If it were to happen that we had a significant increase in temperature within a brief period, huge lowland areas in the United States, including big portions of south Florida, and island nations in the Pacific could be completely flooded. That is why the nations of the world have been meeting in Japan to try to find a way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, to reduce global warming in a way that permits us to continue to grow our economies and work together in a responsible way.

Yesterday, at the 11th hour, the nations reached an agreement. I think it's of great relevance, especially to south Florida. It is environmentally strong, and it's economically sound. There's still a lot of challenges ahead. I believe we have to get the developing countries more involved, because this is a global problem, not an American problem or a rich country problem. But this is a huge first step. And I would urge all of you—I see already the papers are full of people saying, "The sky is falling; the sky is falling. It's a terrible thing." Every time we've tried to improve the American environment in the last 25 or 30 years, somebody has predicted that it would wreck the economy. And the air is cleaner, the water is cleaner, the food supply is safer, there are fewer toxic waste dumps, and the last time I checked, we had the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years. So don't believe the skeptics. Give us a chance to make the

case. And I just don't want the Coast Guard to be out there riding on any higher seas than we have already. And I think it's the right thing to do.

Let me also say that I want to express sincere thanks to all the people in the Coast Guard who do this work. I thank the crew of the Cutter *Chandeleur* for the tour I just got. I had the chance to see some of the new technologies that are making a tough job just a little easier and making smugglers' lives quite a bit harder.

For the last 5 years, we have been moving this country toward the 21st century, with a vision to provide opportunity for everyone responsible enough to work for it, to maintain our leadership in the world, and to pull our increasingly diverse people closer together. That has required us to have an aggressive view of what the National Government's role is, but a very different one, not that we could sit on the sidelines or that we could solve all the problems but that we had a sharpened responsibility to create the conditions and give people the tools to solve their own problems and make the most of their own lives.

Our economy is the healthiest in a generation. Our world leadership is strong. We're making headway across a whole range of social problems. Crime is at its lowest rate in 24 years. We've had a record drop in people on the welfare rolls, moving into the workplace. But surely we cannot meet all the challenges facing the American people unless we can break the deadly grip of crime related to drugs, and drug dependence itself, on our people especially and on our communities across the country.

I've come to Causeway Island today because I want America to know that off the coast of Florida you are waging a battle for America's future and America's children. The ammo is live, the dangers are real, and I want America to know you are making a big difference.

Almost 2 years ago, General McCaffrey and I came with the Attorney General to Miami to launch a comprehensive antidrug strategy for the Nation, a commonsense plan to address an uncommonly complex problem: Prevention to keep children from turning to drugs, treatment to help break the cycle of addiction and crime, interdiction to reduce

the flow of drugs, law enforcement to break up the sources of supply, and the largest counterdrug budget in history to back it up.

Thanks in no small measure to heroic efforts on the high seas, in the air, and along our borders, the strategy is starting to show promising results. In the areas of interdiction, the Coast Guard and its partners have just completed a banner year, increasing arrests of traffickers by 1,000 percent and seizures of cocaine by 300 percent. You've been true to your motto, *Semper Paratus*, and I know you're too modest to do it, but I think all the rest of us—and you can join in if you like—should give the United States Coast Guard a big hand for a remarkable year. [Applause]

I also want to congratulate the Customs Service on its success, particularly the drug seizure off the coast of Miami earlier this week. It's a feat worthy of one of these television movies—one officer, Senior Special Agent Joe Goulet, who is here with us today—stand up. Where are you? [Applause] Now, listen to this. You did not see this in a technologically altered movie. This happened. He single-handedly pulled alongside a drug-running vessel, cutting through the waves at 20 miles an hour, disabled the vessel, and dove back into his own vessel before it raced away. I can't tie my shoes that fast. [Laughter] With the help of Coast Guard personnel and air support, he and his fellow Customs officers seized more than 2,000 pounds of cocaine, the 10th major seizure in south Florida in the last 6 weeks alone.

This is an impressive record. But we know we must do more because the drug cartels will do more; after all, there's a lot of money in this. So we're already deploying new technologies, increasing the Customs budget, doubling the number of border patrol agents along the Southwest border. And today I'm committing another \$73 million to the Defense Department's \$800 million counter-narcotic's budget to help support the interdiction efforts in Latin America and the Caribbean. I want to especially thank the Secretary of Defense, Bill Cohen, for his leadership on these initiatives, and to thank our Armed Forces leaders for their continuing dedication to this part of America's security mission.

As General McCaffrey said, in all this we'll have to continue to work even more closely with our neighbors and our allies across the hemisphere. Mexico will soon launch with us our first joint counterdrug strategy. This spring we'll be with all the democracies in Latin America and the Caribbean at the Summit of the Americas in Chile, where we will do our best to build a true hemispheric alliance against drugs.

We'll also continue to work as we work to protect our borders, with law enforcement on the streets of America, targeting gang violence associated with drugs, helping people to adopt the kinds of strategies that where adopted have led to dramatic drops in drug trafficking and violence. I can just tell you, to cite one example, it has now been more than 2 years since a single child has been killed by a gun on the streets of the city of Boston, Massachusetts—more than 2 years in one of our largest American cities. If we can do that in one city, we ought to be able to do that in every city, and we owe our children and their future no less.

The one thing General McCaffrey recognized not long after he took office is that we can spend all the money in the world on interdiction, we can spend all the money in the world on law enforcement, we can spend all the money in the world even on preventive strategies, but somehow, some way, our children have to decide that we will stop becoming the world's largest consumer of drugs. If we have 4 percent of the world's population and we consume nearly half the drugs, we're going to have trouble. There will be big money in it, and we'll have to put big money and enormous resources and the lives of our finest young people in uniform against the effort. We have got to change the culture in America which has so many of our young people becoming willing drug users. The numbers are encouraging. They're going down, but they're still far too large.

A lot of this has to be done by people who deal with our young people one on one, starting with their parents. But Government can help. I want to applaud General McCaffrey for having the guts to go to Congress and ask them to give us \$195 million for a media campaign next month. Every other serious

endeavor in the United States is accompanied by a media campaign. But when we decided to ask for this, a lot of people thought we had slipped a gasket, because it made General McCaffrey and the whole effort so subject to cheap political attack. But in fairness to the Members of Congress, there was very little of it. And everyone understood that this was not a Democratic or a Republican issue, this was an American issue. And we had to reach our children however we could, whenever we could, in the best way that we could. So I thank you, General, for one more time risking a bullet for America's future.

I want to say, when these things start, I hope they will remind the parents, the teachers, the coaches, the religious leaders that they have to take the lead in making our children strong enough to take the right stands and turn away from drugs. This is not—this war on drugs, as it's often called, is somehow misleading, I think, in the sense that its not an offensive against a single enemy conducted by a single army. Instead, it's more like one of the Lieutenant Britton's hobbies. She just ran in a marathon race where there are lots of people running at different paces in different ways; everyone that finishes ought to get a medal. And it requires strength and determination and conditioning and unbelievable patience. It requires also a certain courage never, never to stop in the face of the relentless obstacles ahead. That's what this is. We're making progress in this marathon. The Coast Guard is leading the way. But all of us have a role to play, and we better determine to play it if we expect the 21st century to be America's best years. That's what I expect, and I think you do, too.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. at the U.S. Coast Guard Station. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Megan Britton, USCG, Duty Officer, Seventh District Command Center; Adm. Robert E. Kramek, USCG, Coast Guard Commandant; Rear Adm. Norm Saunders, USCG, Commander, Seventh Coast Guard District; Vice Adm. Roger T. Rufe, USCG, Commander, Atlantic Area; Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, USMC, Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern Command; Gen. Wesley K. Clark, USA, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe; and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida.

### **Remarks at a Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Buddy MacKay in Miami**

*December 11, 1997*

**The President.** Thank you very much. You all calm down now; we don't want to be too rowdy. [*Laughter*] You've got to save some of this for the spring and the summer and the fall, so that on election day you have maximum enthusiasm and energy for Buddy MacKay for Governor. I want you to do that.

Let me say, I am very honored to be here today. I want to thank so many people, but let me first say that Representative Kendrick Meek made such a good speech I thought the rest of us were going to be superfluous. Repetition is important, and he did it in a beautiful and eloquent way. And I thank him for his—for representing Florida's future so well.

I thank Attorney General Bob Butterworth for being my friend and for being with me for a long time and for his strong support of Lieutenant Governor MacKay. I thank Lawton Chiles for his great leadership of the State of Florida. He has done a wonderful, wonderful job. And he has helped me to be a better President, as well as to do a better job for the people of Florida. I will never forget it. And he showed us all 4 years ago how to win a tough election, and I haven't forgotten, Buddy MacKay hasn't forgotten, and all of you haven't forgotten. Let's bring our lessons to the table and push this thing forward next November. We can do it.

Thank you, Jim Pugh, and all the others who worked so hard to make this a success. And thank all of you for giving your contributions to Buddy MacKay. It is not easy to run a campaign, and they are not inexpensive. And normally our side is running against people who have more money than we do. But the important thing is not whether they have more, it's just whether we have enough. If our side has enough to get our message out, we'll be all right. And you've taken a major step in that direction today, and we are profoundly grateful to you.

Let me just take a couple of minutes of your time to tell you what I think this election is about and why I am here almost a year before. First of all, Florida is important to

America. It's not only one of the biggest States in America, it represents every good thing that is going on as we hurtle into the 21st century and presents almost all the challenges our country faces as we move into the 21st century. Just think about it. You have a booming economy and you have a gorgeous environment and you have the conflict between the two. How are you going to preserve your natural resources? Can we restore the Everglades? Will there be enough water here 5, 10, 15, 20, 50 years from now?

Then you have a wonderfully diverse culture with people coming from every country in our hemisphere and increasingly from all over the world. And you have some of the conflicts that that occasions. We have people living together and working together; we also have the challenges of crime and welfare. We have a place that people come to because they feel better and they feel healthier. And I can tell you, even though I didn't get here until after 2 o'clock last night, it still felt good when I got off the airplane after having stood in the snow in New York yesterday. So people come here because they feel good and they feel healthy, but you've got a whole lot of kids that don't have health insurance.

So you have the challenges and the joys and the opportunities of 21st century America writ large. It matters to America what happens in Florida. It matters to America whether Florida can meet its challenges and move forward together. That's the first thing.

The second thing I want to say is that what the previous speakers said about the leadership Florida has enjoyed under the Chiles-MacKay team was not just political luncheon rhetoric. This State is in better shape than it was 8 years ago. It has been very, very well led. And you should be very proud of that, and it matters who has these jobs.

It's also true that Lawton, as he said, and Buddy have had a remarkable partnership. And I did study up on the details a little when Al Gore and I took office, and the thing I liked the best was what Lawton said about—he got to do the good stuff and the Lieutenant Governor got to do the bad stuff. I've tried to implement that at every turn in Washington—[laughter]—with mixed levels of success, I might add. But I've done my very best.

I do think, you know, that it's clear that the Vice President has had more influence and a wider range of activity by far than any Vice President in history, in no small measure because I believe that's the way we ought to work. We ought to make maximum use of the talents of all of the people who can serve. And I saw when I looked at Lawton Chiles and Buddy MacKay that it could work, and so I am indebted in that way as well.

Finally, let me say, just on a personal note, I'm here because in 1991, when I started to run for President and only my mother thought I had a chance to win—[laughter]—Buddy MacKay stood up and stood by me in the straw poll in Florida and stayed with me in the darkest hours of my campaign. And when all the experts said that Bill Clinton is dead, he will be a minor footnote in history, we have to get somebody—in every election—he's the one we got out this time—Buddy MacKay said, "I don't think so. I think I'll stay right there." And so I'm staying right here. I feel very good being here with my friend.

There's something to be said for that. You ask, what do you want in a Governor? You want charisma, you want eloquence, you want somebody that's worked a lifetime and produced something for you. One thing you want is somebody who will stick right there, just pure old-fashioned personal strength of conviction. And all I know is I have no doubt that if any one of you or your beloved State were in trouble, he'd be the last guy to abandon ship. And that's important. I know it because I have seen it, and it matters in a leader of a State or a nation.

Now, anybody can rock along with you when the times are good or when the circumstances are comfortable or when there's just another nice little media event to do. It's quite another thing to stand there when the times are tough but the stakes are high. And you should be very proud of that.

Now, let me ask you this: What do you want in a Governor? What do you want? What do you want for your State? If I were to make the argument, I would say first of all, what we do works. And at some point, no matter how good our friends in the Republican Party are with their rhetoric, with their attacks, with their characterization,

sometimes, sooner or later, results should be rewarded.

You know, when I ran for President, remember what this country was going—we had high unemployment, stagnation, drift, division. And they had been telling us for 12 years that the Government was the problem and they were going to get it out of our lives. Meanwhile, they had quadrupled the national debt, and the deficit was \$290 billion a year. Crime was up; they didn't like it. Welfare was up; they didn't like it. They just didn't do anything about it.

And we said, consistent with, as the previous speakers have said, what we've tried to do with the Democratic Leadership Council, look, we don't think Government is the solution, but we don't think it's the problem either. We think it should be a partner. We don't believe Government can do everything, but neither do we want Government to go AWOL and sit on the sidelines. We believe the job of Government is to create the condition and give people the tools to solve their own problems, fulfill their own dreams, and make their communities in this country what it ought to be. That's what we stood for. And we said, look, we're going to have to do some things differently. If we want to restore the economy, rebuild the middle class, reclaim the future for our children, we have to do some things differently. We have to have different policies, policies that favor the future over the past, policies that help not just a few, and policies that unite us instead of policies that divide us for short-term political gain.

And so we have worked at that. And we have worked in partnership with your leaders here. And you heard Bob Butterworth say what the results were. We had a \$290 billion deficit the day I took office; it was \$22 billion this year. Ninety-two percent of the work was done by a Democratic economic plan before the last balanced budget passed. The lowest unemployment and the lowest crime rates in 24 years, and all we did on crime—does the Federal Government have anything to do with the crime rate? It depends on whether it's a good partner.

I'd heard all this talk all these years, but I was living out there in America like you. So I said, we're going to pass a crime bill

that is, in effect, written by local prosecutors and police officers and community workers trying to save our kids. And that's why we said, let's put 100,000 police on the street; let's take the assault weapons off the street; let's stop selling handguns to people with criminal records; and let's give our kids something to say yes to when they get out of school in the afternoon. And it's worked. It's worked.

In this last balanced budget bill, we got the biggest increase in investment for child health since 1965; it will help to insure 5 million people. But it will be done at the State level. Which Governor do you trust more to insure the largest number of people over the next 5, 6 years?

In this balanced budget bill, we've got the largest new investment in education since 1965 and a commitment to set higher standards and a commitment to accountability. And we opened the doors of college wider than we had in 50 years, since the GI bill passed. But the work of implementing these things has to be done at the State level. Who do you trust to stand up for opportunity and excellence and accountability in education and giving Florida the kind of schools you need for the 21st century? Buddy.

There are high stakes here. We have a good record; we have gotten results; we have done it by working together. Our theory of Government was right, and theirs was wrong. And you can see it in the evidence. But the most important thing is, look at Florida's future. You have to reconcile education opportunity as well as excellence in standards. You have to figure out how to continue to grow this economy, but you have got to stick up for the integrity of the Florida environment. Why have all these people moved here in the first place? Who do you trust to protect the environment of Florida for the 21st century?

**Audience members.** Buddy!

**The President.** So there are three issues: the environment, the economy, education and health care for children. And I can give you lots more. It is the nature of what we are trying to do in Washington to have a lot of this work actually done at the State and local level. If there is a partnership—and I'm trying to do what you want me to do, to set

the direction for the country but not to try to direct the country, to set the direction, and then let people in their local communities solve their own problems—then the Governors of this country become more important than ever before.

So Florida is in better shape than it was. The ideas that we've espoused have been proved right. And he is the person you can best trust to deal with the challenges of the future. That sounds like a pretty good case to me, and if you go out there and make it for a year, I don't care what other arguments are made, I don't care how much money is brought into play against him, I don't care what other national political currents are supposed to be bearing down on Florida and who is trying to get this electoral bloc or that one—just ask the people of Florida to vote for their children and their future and forget about the politics, and Buddy MacKay will be the next Governor of Florida.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. at the Radisson Mart Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to State Representative Kendrick Meek; Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida; and Jim Pugh, general chairman, MacKay Campaign for Governor.

### **Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Miami**

*December 11, 1997*

Thank you very much. Well, thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Penelas, Lieutenant Governor MacKay, and to Chris and Gene and Mitch Berger—I thank all three of them for all the work they did to make this night a sterling success.

I thank Governor Romer and Dan Dutko and Alan Solomont for the work that the DNC has done. And about the only thing harder than being President on a regular basis is trying to do a stand-up comedy routine at a fundraiser. And I thought they were both great, so let's give them another hand. I thought they were great. [*Applause*]

You know, I have a lot of friends in this crowd tonight. Many of you have been with me for a long time. And today I had two immensely satisfying experiences. First, I went out on a Coast Guard cutter and met

with a number of people in the Coast Guard who are working to protect the borders of our country here off the coast of southern Florida. In the last year they have had a 1,000 percent increase in the number of arrests and a 300 percent increase in the volume of drug confiscations because of their efforts. And I just went to encourage them and to thank them. And then we had, earlier today, a marvelous kick-off fundraiser for Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay's campaign for Governor. And many of you said something to me about that.

I want to thank you for being here for the Democratic Party. I want to thank you for being here for the people of south Florida, for the people of Miami-Dade County. This State has been extraordinarily good to me. My first real victory, when I started running for President, was in the Florida Democratic Convention straw poll in December of 1991. I will never forget that.

And we came very close to carrying Florida in 1992. And I strongly felt that we could and would carry it in 1996 because of the opportunity that so many of you gave me to work with you—for sensible immigration policies, for sensible policies toward our neighbors in this hemisphere, for sensible policies on crime and drugs and housing and economic growth, for sensible partnerships for the State of Florida, and one of the most important things we've done since I've been President, for an aggressive effort to save the Florida Everglades. Thank you all for the opportunities you have given me.

If you look at Florida, which in so many ways represents where America is going, with all of its opportunities and its challenges, a State full of people who are older—well, we're all getting older, and life expectancies are going up. And I don't know about you, but with every passing day I like that more and more. I think that's a fine idea. [*Laughter*] Florida, a State where people from all over the world are living here. We're all getting more diverse all over America; a State with high-tech employment and with people who are dying to work who don't have much education; a State with a lot of innovative partnerships to solve problems like crime and drugs, and on occasion, too much crime and drugs; a State with enormous economic

growth and a passionate commitment to the environment, with a profound challenge about how to save this often fragile environment and maintain the adequacy of a clean water supply, and the strength of your commitment to clean air, and the strength of your commitment to basically preserving the ecostructure that makes everybody else get in a car or get in an airplane and come to Florida.

So you ought to be on the forefront of the Democratic Party of the 21st century. You know, we started my campaign for President in '96, and they said, "Well, what does the map look like?" And I said, "I'll tell you one thing; it looks like Florida will be in our camp this time. And that's my priority." And let me say, I was the only guy in the meeting who thought that. [Laughter] But I spent a lot of time here; I knew what kind of people were leading Florida into the 21st century. I knew what the challenges were; I knew what the opportunities were; I knew what the passionate commitment to going forward together was.

And I never will forget this—we had our first campaign meeting—I said, "Look, don't tell me we can't win Florida." They said "Nobody has won it in 20 years, and President Carter came from a State that bordered Florida." I said, "Everybody in this room raise your hands who has been there the most times." I won that. I'd been to Florida more than any of the people who were advising me. And I said, "We're going to target Florida, we're going to win Florida. And what's going to happen is, early on election night they're going to have one of those funny little maps that are on television and Florida is going to blink on and off, on and off, on and off and the whole country will go nuts and say the election is over." And that's exactly what happened, and I thank you for that. It was a great day.

Now, what is it that we're trying to do? First, why are you here? What is the purpose of politics? What is politics? Does it deserve a good name or a bad name? The people who give it a bad name ought to think a long time. The reason this country is around here, after 220 years plus, as the oldest consistent democracy in human history, is because of politics. Politics is how free people work to-

gether to work their will and make their decisions and reach their principled compromise. And the framework within which it works is the system that has taken us from the Constitutional Convention to this moment. And I say to you, I think the purpose of it still is to preserve the liberty and the integrity of the American people and to give the American people a framework in which they can work together to meet the challenges of each new age so that we increase opportunity and so that we have a responsible citizenry and so that we continue to come together as a community.

If you look at the whole history of America, every period of crisis has required us to redefine our commitment to our national unity and has required us to ask ourselves what does it mean, our Constitution, in this context. What does it mean to say all of us are created equal by God? What does it mean to say we have an indissoluble Union? What has that got to do with the immigration decisions we have to make? What has that got to do with the education decisions we have to make? What has that got to do with the economic decisions we have to make or the environmental or health care or you-name-it decisions? That's what this is about.

And when I ran for President and came to Florida and asked the people here to help me, I said that we had to change the political debate in this country. The Democratic Party needed to take its oldest values and adopt some new ideas, and we needed to be unselfconsciously, unapologetically for policies that favored the future over the past, that favored everyone over a few, and that favored unity over division. And I was sick and tired of the politics of personal destruction and division which people seem almost pathologically trapped in in Washington, DC. And I'm still tired of it, and that's why this country is doing better.

I had what many people thought was a terminal disability when I ran for President: I hadn't been in Washington for 20 years. But I had been in a place where people got up every day and went to work and tried to make the best of their own lives and tried to make sense of what was going on in this country. And so, together, you and I, my friends, we began to change America. We began to

change the direction. We began to change the old debate over the role of Government.

I mean, to read in the papers for years what was going on in Washington was like—the Democrats said Government can do everything, and the Republicans said Government can do nothing. The truth is, I never heard a Democrat say that, but they said we said it—[laughter]—and they often get away with labeling us.

And I said, “We’ve tried for 12 years their way. For 12 years we’ve tried just railing about problems and talking tough and doing nothing about crime or welfare. For 12 years we’ve tried campaigning against the Government and talking about how it’s the problem. And I’ve seen the debt quadruple in this country.”

How about if we say the role of Government is to give people the tools and establish the conditions for people to make the most of their own lives, to build strong careers and strong families and strong communities and a strong Nation; and that Government should be seen as a partner—not sitting on the sidelines, not trying to dictate from Washington, but giving people the tools to do what has to be done? I’ve always believed the American people could do anything given a fair chance, given the tools, given a hand up.

And you know, I heard a lot of railing over the years about how we were the party of handouts. I always wanted the Democrats to be the party of the hand up. And I think that’s what we are today, and I think the results show that we have been right in that.

I say that because if your friends and neighbors come up to you in this Governor’s race next year and they ask you, well, why are you for the Democrat—or in the Congress races or in the Senate race, you ought to say, “Listen, I’m for Democrats because we believe that everybody ought to have an opportunity, everybody ought to be a responsible citizen and serve, and everybody ought to be part of a unified American community. We are not for demonizing, denigrating, or segregating any group of Americans who otherwise are law-abiding, go to work, go to school, pay their taxes, and do what they’re supposed to do. I am a Democrat because our policies were right, and theirs were wrong.”

When we said we’re going to reduce the deficit and grow the economy, in Washington all the Republicans voted against us. They said we were going to bring down the economy. Five years later, 14 million jobs later, the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years later, we now know our position was right, theirs was wrong. You need to tell the people of Florida they all need to come home to the Democratic Party to build a better future.

Now, when—I worried about Governor Chiles having to run for reelection 4 years ago because they said all the Democrats are trying to take our guns away. Nobody in rural Florida is going to be able to go hunting anymore. Bill Clinton betrayed his Arkansas roots, passing that neosocialist Brady bill, with the radical proposition that we ought not to be selling handguns to people who were felons, fugitives, and stalkers, and the radical idea that there’s no point in letting people who are in gangs on streets in tough neighborhoods and cities have assault weapons that were designed to kill people, not hunt birds, and the radical proposition that after 30 years in which we tripled crime, violent crime in America, but only increased our police forces by 10 percent, it might be a good thing if we put 100,000 police on the street and put them back in the neighborhoods where they can talk to people, work with people, and stop crime from happening in the first place. That was our idea.

Now, the other side made a lot of hay 3 or 4 years ago, told all these country people I was going to take their guns away—beat some of our Congressmen, gave our Governor here a little scare. But now we know. We also have the lowest crime rate in 24 years. No law-abiding Florida hunter has lost his gun. Over a quarter of a million felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn’t buy handguns. Thousands and thousands and thousands of people have not been able to get assault weapons to further gang warfare. The police are on the street. The preventive programs are out there. We’ve got the lowest crime rate in 24 years. It is not subject to debate. You ought to tell the people of Florida to join the new Democratic Party and be for a safer future for all of our children. That’s what this is about.

In the last balanced budget—thank goodness, we finally had a bipartisan balanced budget. But don't forget, at the time on the day, the very day, October 1st, that the new balanced budget law took effect, we had, by then, under the old budget law passed in 1993—only by Members of our party—reduced the deficit by 92 percent from where it was the day I became your President—92 percent.

So then we got a bipartisan balanced budget. What was our party's contribution? The biggest increase in child health since 1964; biggest increase in aid to education since the same time; biggest increase in helping people go to college through tax credits, Pell grants, work-study programs, IRA's you can save for and withdraw from tax-free for education, the biggest increase since the GI bill in 1945.

We represent a commitment to excellence and opportunity in education. And that is the key to giving every American, no matter what his or her racial, ethnic, or economic background, a chance to succeed in the global economy of the 21st century. And that's another reason the people of Florida ought to support our approach, not only at the national level, but in this Governor's race, because if we don't have excellence in education, we will never be able to bring the rainbow of people who live in Florida together into one America. And you need to be out there leading the charge for us in 1998 for educational excellence.

There are lots of other things. I'm trying to pass a patient's bill of rights for people in HMO's, not because I'm against HMO's, but because I think you ought to have access to quality and information, as well as affordable health care.

I am determined to finish the job of helping the Everglades restoration and also to deal with this problem of global climate change. You think of what will happen in south Florida if the climate of the globe goes up somewhere between 2 and 5 or 6 degrees in the next 100 years. I'll tell you what will happen. Sometime in the next 100 years, half of it will be under water. This is not a bunch of games we're playing here. We are trying to get people together to grow our economy and preserve the environment of our country and this globe long term.

So the new fear is going to say, "Oh, there goes the President; he's going to wreck the economy with this cockamamie idea about global warming." I'll tell you what will wreck the economy, is if we continue to have more and more and more extreme weather and we have disruption along all of our coasts and people don't feel that they are secure anymore because our generation refused to take responsible actions to reduce the pollution of the atmosphere.

For 30 years, every time we've done something to clean up the air, the water, the food supply, clean up toxic waste dumps, people who weren't for it said we were going to wreck the economy. I have heard it for 5 years. Five years later, compared to the day I became President, there are fewer toxic waste dumps; the food is safer; the air is cleaner; the water is purer; and we've got 14 million new jobs and the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years. We can clean up the environment, and that's another reason you ought to be a Democrat. And I'm asking you for these things.

Finally, let me just make this last point. Mayor Penelas thanked me for the race initiative. To me, politics will always have a human face. Sometimes I read things people say, and they act like that's a weakness on my part, that I'm actually interested in people as individuals instead of as a great sea of unknown faces. But I am persuaded that even Presidents, when they get ready to breathe their last breath and they're laying down, they don't think about their greatest political triumph; they think about the people they loved, the people they like, what it was like in the springtime, what it was like when their children walked for the first time.

All politics is about is about giving everybody a chance to live their dreams. We represent the party of tomorrow's dreams. And that's what you're here supporting tonight. I want you to redouble your efforts so we can do it more and more and more in 1998.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Executive Mayor Alex Penelas of Miami-Dade County and his wife, Lilliam; Chris Korge, Gene Prescott, and Mitchell W. Berger, event chairs; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado, national chair, and Alan

Solomont, national finance chair, Democratic National Committee; Dan Dutko, chair, Victory Fund; and comedians Judy Gold and Carolyn Rhea.

### **Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Miami**

*December 11, 1997*

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Buddy, for giving me the chance to come here today to get your campaign kicked off and to repay in some small way the great obligation of friendship I feel for you for—as I said today at Buddy’s fundraiser—for being for me in late 1991, before the Florida straw poll, before anything happened, and when only my mother felt I could be elected President. Buddy was there. And I’m glad to be here for him tonight. Mayor, thank you so much for what you said and for the vigor and youth and energy of your leadership and the enormous promise of your future. I’ve loved being with you today, and I wish you well. And I cannot thank Chris and Irene enough. I was looking at this—you know, I knew farmers back in Arkansas that didn’t have ponds this big—[*laughter*—to feed hundreds of head of cattle. I am so—I love this place, and you’ve made us all feel so much at home. And at the end of a very long day, it’s wonderful to be here. I’d like to thank Governor Romer and Alan Solomont and Dan Dutko for coming down for the Democratic Party. I would like to thank not only Chris but also Gene Prescott and Mitch Berger for helping us tonight.

Some of you were at the other place, and I’ll try not to give the same speech twice—although I am reminded of—maybe that’s what I should do. One night I was at a concert by Tina Turner, one of my favorite political philosophers. [*Laughter*] And Tina Turner—it was about 10 years ago; she was just making her big comeback, you know, after she told a story about how Ike did her wrong and everything. She had all these new songs and she had that great saxophone player who was a bodybuilder and has chains all over his body. If you’re a Tina Turner fan, you’ve probably seen him. So anyway, so we had the concert and she sings all these new songs and they’re all real good. And then at the

end of the concert, the band starts playing the introductory bars to “Proud Mary,” which was her first hit. So she moves up to the microphone, and the crowd goes nuts. And they start screaming and cheering and she backs off and then she taunts them again and moves up and the crowd screams again. And she goes up to the microphone and says, “You know something, I’ve been singing this song for 25 years, but it gets better every time I do it.” [*Laughter*] So maybe I should just give the same talk. [*Laughter*]

Let me say, in 1991, when I decided to leave a job I loved and a State I loved and embark on the Presidency, I did it because I was afraid our country was moving into a new century and a new era without a strategy that would make everybody be a part of America and that in the end would not have America be as strong as it ought to be. I felt that the political debate in Washington was stale and often irrelevant and too infused with an impulse to personal destruction. There’s still a lot of that there, by the way—[*laughter*—one reason I kind of hate to go back tonight.

But the main thing I thought was that we were just thinking in yesterday’s framework. And I still believe that’s what was wrong. And so I went to the Democrats in the primary process, and I said, “Look, I want to do something different. I don’t want us to abandon our values, but I want us to take a new direction based on the time we’re living in and in the time toward which we’re going—a global economy, a global society, an information and technology revolution. All the patterns of how we live and work and relate to each other and the rest of the world is subject to change. I want us to focus on the future, not the past; on doing things that help everybody, not just a few people; and on promoting unity, not division. There’s enough division in this country. And I want the Government to be neither the savior, nor sit on the sidelines, but instead to focus on a clear mission which is to create the conditions and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives.” And that’s what we’ve been doing for 5 or 6 years now—5 years really, since I’ve been President, and the results have been pretty satisfactory.

And I think when the issue is whether you should support the Democratic Party or whether you should support Buddy MacKay or whether you should keep helping me and our crowd do what we're trying to do, you just need to know that everything that I do and everything I try to see that our party stands for, I try to make sure that we're thinking of everyone, not just a few; that we're promoting unity, not just division; and we're committed to the future, not the past.

There's still a lot out there to do. I'm glad we've got the lowest unemployment rate and the lowest crime rates in 24 years and the biggest drop in welfare in history and a gazillion other impressive things I could say. We still have to prove that we can grow the economy and do what it takes to preserve the planet. We still have to prove that we can provide for our parents, in terms of health care and retirement, save for our own retirement, and preserve Social Security and Medicare in a way that doesn't bankrupt our children.

You know, I'm the oldest of the baby boomers, and I'm increasingly mindful of that. I guess I'm what you call near-elderly. [Laughter] And when our crowd retires and we all get into the ranks of the retired, those of us who get there have a life expectancy up in the eighties somewhere. And there will be only a little more than two people working for every one of us that's retired. We have a moral obligation now, while I'm still in office, to try to figure out how to preserve Social Security and how to preserve Medicare, indeed, how to make sure other people who don't have access to retirement that's sufficient to support their lifestyle can save more for their own retirement and afford to keep getting health care in a way that doesn't bankrupt our kids. Now, can we do that? Of course we can. But we have to do it. We still can't say with a straight face that every American child without regard to their race, their income, or their station in life has access to world-class education. And until we can, we can't secure the future of this country.

Those are just three big issues. If you look around the world, there's a lot of fear in America apparently about expanding trade. I think it's a mistake—a third of growth comes from selling more things to other peo-

ple. If we've got 4 percent of the world's people and 20 percent of the world's wealth, we can't keep our income unless we sell something to the other 96 percent. On the other hand, you have to be sympathetic to American workers who figure that more and more and more what they say, feel, or think doesn't matter, that their whole pattern of existence can be wiped away in an instant by people who aren't accountable to anybody and not loyal to any country. That's the sort of negative of an emerging global economy. So what do we have to do? We have to find a way to get the benefits of trade and preserve the social compact. We can't protect people from economic change, because economic change is bringing a lot of benefit to a lot of people. But when people lose and they're still good people and they're willing to show up for work in the morning, we need to move more quickly to help them get the training they need, the skills they need, the future they need.

So there's plenty left to do. And that's why you're here, and that's why I believe the Democrats are the right party to do it, as I said at the earlier event. The two seminal decisions that were taken in 1993 and 1994 that have had a big impact on this country every day since was, first, the economic plan, which got no Republican votes, which had reduced the deficit by 92 percent by the time we adopted the balanced budget law; and second, the crime bill, which was bitterly opposed by the Republicans because the NRA didn't like it because we had the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, 100,000 more police, and preventive programs for kids.

But those are the strategies that are working in community after community after community throughout the country to lower the crime rate. In the work we're doing with the Republicans when we work together, I think our party makes a unique contribution. Both caucuses voted for the balanced budget. It was a remarkable document. The Republicans had a slightly higher percentage of House Members voting for it than the Democrats did. The Democrats had a higher percentage of Senators voting for the balanced budget than the Republicans did. But over two-thirds of both voted for it.

What did we give to that? First of all, we gave them 92 percent of the work. It's a lot easier to balance the budget and spend more money if you're almost home. But secondly, we said, now is the time to provide health insurance to the children of working parents who can't afford it. And they said, okay, and we did it. And we said, now is the time to give parents tax credits, not only for their children at home but for the cost of college tuition for all 4 years and graduate school and for people who lose their own jobs or are underemployed and have to come back. So we make a difference. And if you look at those challenges out there, they matter.

The last point I want to make is this—I said this before at the other thing, and I want to say this to you—I have taken a lot of good-natured ribbing and sometimes outright criticism by commentators for being a notoriously personal President, for being interested in individuals that I know and telling a lot of stories and seeing politics with a very human and highly individualized face, even if I'm just working a crowd. I have vivid memories of people I have met in crowds all my life and the stories they've told.

But the truth is, a nation is nothing much more or less than the sum of its stories. There was a report on one of the television networks the other night, a wonderful report about the State of Tennessee reviving the art of storytelling. Did any of you see that? They actually are now having an annual storytelling contest in Tennessee and bringing in all of these people out from the hills and these rural areas and letting people tell their stories and letting other people listen to them.

Mayor Penelas told me the story of his parents tonight—told me how much it meant to his mother to come to the Inauguration. He said that tonight would be her birthday if she were still with us, talked to me about his father. I don't know about you, but I think he does a better job as mayor every day because he respects his parents' roots, his parents' values, loves them when they're here and when they're gone, and they're part of the story of his life.

Every one of you has got a story to tell. That's what I try to tell people that work for me in the White House: Don't forget, every person you ever come in contact with has

got a story. It deserves to be respected, and you can learn something from it. This country is still around here after 220 years plus because people got a chance to live their dreams, and the stories got better generation after generation. And it will be here 220 years from now if we do our job to form a more perfect Union, to pull us closer together, and to meet the challenges of tomorrow. That is the job of every generation of Americans, but it begins by appreciating the absolute integrity of every person's life and every person's right to dream and giving everybody that chance at the brass ring. That's why I'm still a Democrat and why I expect to die one and why I hope between now and then I can convert a lot of others.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner hosts Chris and Irene Korge. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on the Indictment of Henry G. Cisneros**

*December 11, 1997*

Henry Cisneros has a distinguished career of truly dedicated public service. As mayor of San Antonio, as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and as a wise counselor to me, he always has the interest of ordinary people at heart. I have greatly valued his service. This is a matter before the courts, so it is not appropriate for me to comment further.

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

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

#### **December 7**

The President had separate telephone conversations with Presidents Fidel Ramos of

the Philippines, Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, Fernando Cardoso of Brazil, and Carlos Menem of Argentina concerning the discussions on climate change taking place in Kyoto, Japan.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended the Kennedy Center Honors in the Opera House at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, which was taped for broadcast on December 26.

#### **December 8**

The President declared a major disaster in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and ordered Federal aid to supplement Commonwealth and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Super Typhoon Keith on November 2-3.

#### **December 9**

In the morning, the President traveled to New York City.

#### **December 10**

In the evening, the President traveled from New York City to Miami, FL, arriving after midnight.

#### **December 11**

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

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### **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

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

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

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#### **Released December 8**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

#### **Released December 9**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Advance text of the President's remarks at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City

Fact sheet: U.S. Efforts To Promote Human Rights and Democracy

Announcement by the White House Millennium Council and the National Endowment for the Arts on the Millennium logo competition deadline extension

#### **Released December 10**

Announcement of nomination for a Court of Federal Claims Judge

#### **Released December 11**

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Adviser Gene Sperling, Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg, and the Vice President's National Security Adviser Leon Fuerth on the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change

Transcript of a press briefing by Office of National Drug Control Policy Director Barry McCaffrey on the Caribbean interdiction operation

Transcript of the Vice President's remarks on the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change

#### **Released December 12**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

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### **Acts Approved by the President**

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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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