

icaid. I believe you don't get that done just by cutting Medicare and Medicaid unless you want to hurt the private sector. Therefore, I think we have to have some sort of health reform. That's what I believe. You have to decide if you believe that, but I think it's important.

Let me just close with this. This is the lead editorial in this morning's Washington Post. It says—on the entitlements mess—and it says as follows: “Nor have all the entitlements been badly behaved in recent years in terms of costs. The health care programs are the budget busters. By contrast Social Security costs have risen in stately fashion with population and inflation. And the costs of all the other entitlements taken together, including those that support the poor, has declined in real terms.” Remember what “real” means in Washington, less than the rate of inflation. “The real Federal budget problem”—that's the normal word “real”; here they mean real like you do—“the real Federal budget problem isn't entitlements, it's health care.”

So I say to you we can talk about these other entitlements, and we should. As we talk about them, let us not make our middle class squeeze problem worse than it is already. That's one of the profound problems that is driving this country. One of the reasons that Senator Wofford is in the Senate today is because of the anxieties of middle class workers in Pennsylvania.

Let us continue to work on this deficit. Let us realize the deficit is too big and the debt is much too large as a percentage of our gross national product. Let us realize that there are two problems with it. One is the deficit, and the other is we aren't investing enough. But on the entitlements issue, I would argue the real culprit is health care costs, and we can only address it if we have comprehensive health care reform.

And let me close by saying one more time, if Marge Mezvinsky hadn't voted for that budget, we wouldn't be here celebrating economic progress or talking about entitlements. We'd still be back in Washington throwing mudballs at each other. And I respect her for that, and I'm glad to be here today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. at Bryn Mawr College. In his remarks, he referred to

Mary Patterson McPherson, president of Bryn Mawr College; Alice M. Rivlin, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget; and Peter G. Peterson, former Secretary of Commerce and president of the Concord Coalition. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters in Bryn Mawr

December 13, 1993

Russia

The President. I'd like to, first of all, congratulate the Russian people on having their first parliamentary election—it was a clear democratic exercise throughout the country—and to say how very pleased I am that the new constitution was adopted because this now lays a foundation for a long-term—a legitimacy for democracy and for the expression of popular will that will not be solely dependent upon the occasional election for President. So I think that is also very, very good.

In terms of the results of the parliamentary elections themselves, I am informed by our people there that we don't yet really know what the results are going to be because a lot of the votes and a lot of the major areas have not been counted yet and it's not clear what the final distribution will be.

I will say this, I'm not particularly surprised by the showing of the ultranationalist party, because the Russian people have suffered a lot in the last few years. And you saw the same sort of thing happening in Poland, where there had been a lot of economic adversity. It's hard for people to go through these changes and not have a certain percentage of them vote for candidates which articulate protests most forcefully. So I wasn't particularly surprised.

I do think that it will be possible for a majority of people who favor democracy and don't favor a dramatic change of course in foreign policy for Russia to put together a coalition in the Parliament who can work

with the President and go forward. So I'm quite hopeful.

But I think in any country where ordinary people are having a hard time you're going to have some significant protest vote, including the United States.

Q. Mr. President, do you anticipate any change in your policy, American policy toward Russia in terms of aid, in terms of galvanizing the allies to somehow address this protest movement and try to diffuse it?

The President. Well, let me answer you this way. First of all, we need to wait in terms of—I anticipate no change in my policy in general terms towards Russia. I think we ought to wait and see how the votes come in, what the distribution of seats in the Parliament will be and how it all shakes out. It will be quite some time before you have a real feel for what's going to happen.

But I do think that the vote in Poland and this vote send a signal about how difficult it is to convert from that old Communist system to a market economy at a time of global recession, when the ability of any other nation or group of nations to give a big infusion of capital to provide temporary security is not there. If you look even in East Germany in the recent votes, where they've gotten a massive amount of money from West Germany, still just the transition process is extremely painful. And keep in mind all these changes, these economic and political changes, are playing out in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, the former Warsaw Pact countries, at a time of global recession when there is deep frustration and alienation among middle class voters in the wealthiest countries.

So this should not be too surprising. I think what it means is that we have to think through our approach to these nations and remember that there has to be a lot of sensitivity to the ability of ordinary working people to navigate their way through all these tough changes and at least be able to imagine how they're going to come out on top at the end. And I think that there will be a little more sensitivity to that, hopefully not just in the United States and Europe and in Japan, but also in the international organizations themselves.

GATT

Q. One of the things that people have been looking for is a way of breaking through the global recession or the GATT talks. What is your sense of where that stands now? Have they cleared away enough barriers to get an agreement by Wednesday, or are they still hung up on the audiovisual—

The President. Well, I've not received a final report today. As you know, I did quite a bit of work on it yesterday. I had a talk with Prime Minister Balladur and Prime Minister Major and Chancellor Kohl, and our folks, they're all working very hard. And the United States, I think, has certainly bent over backwards on all the issues outstanding that required us to show some flexibility. We have shown some, including in the audiovisual area and certainly in the agricultural area and some other areas.

I think it would give a big boost of confidence if we could get it done, but it's important that it be a good agreement. And I'm hopeful, but I don't know much more than I did yesterday afternoon real late. I'm hopeful, but I can't say for sure.

Russia

Q. Will the election affect, at all, your scheduled trip to Russia next month? For example, will you meet with Mr. Zhirinovskiy during your visit to Moscow?

The President. I've made no decisions. I haven't even had a chance to talk about that. I had always assumed that when I went there after the parliamentary election that there would be some opportunity for me to relate to the parliamentarians as well as to the President. I believe that's something we had always assumed. But in terms of who and how and what the specifics are, there have been absolutely no discussions of that. They haven't had time yet. They've just had the election.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:21 p.m. at Bryn Mawr College. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Message to President Arpad Goncz
of Hungary on the Death of Prime
Minister Jozsef Antall**

December 13, 1993

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept and convey to the Hungarian people my sincere condolences on the sad occasion of Prime Minister Antall's death. The Prime Minister's passing is a loss not only for Hungary but also for democratic nations around the world.

As Hungary's first post-Communist Prime Minister, Mr. Antall will be remembered for his strong leadership and commitment to freedom during these historic times. He was a friend to the United States and an active partner in the international effort to deepen and secure democracy, stability and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe. His loss will be greatly felt in Europe and here in the United States.

Our thoughts and prayers are with Prime Minister Antall's family and the people of Hungary at this difficult time.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

**Remarks at a Fundraiser for Senator
Daniel Patrick Moynihan in New
York City**

December 13, 1993

Thank you. Thank you very much, Senator Moynihan and Liz.

You know, before I met Pat Moynihan, I actually thought I knew something about government. Now I just feel like I'm getting a grade every time I talk in front of him. *[Laughter]* It's not always a good one.

I am honored to be here with Liz and with Pat, honored by the partnership that they have kept and the faith they have kept with the American people as well as with their own family for 40 years, deeply honored to have the chance to serve as your President while Senator Moynihan is the chairman of that committee which makes a quorum if he's

there and I, his messenger, are there—I'm his messenger out here. *[Laughter]*

A few months ago, when the fate of our economic plan was hanging in the balance and we didn't have a vote to spare, there were people in Washington who said, and I quote, "The very survival of this President now rests squarely on the shoulders of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee." Thank God he didn't shake me off. *[Laughter]* We made it here tonight.

And tonight, if this were a normal time, I would come and talk about the things that we often talk about: about the new GATT round that Senator Moynihan mentioned, about the fact that the economic program we passed which was so controversial has now been largely shorn of its false myths, the front page of the Wall Street Journal today saying that they said there were no spending cuts in it, but guess what? They cut a lot of spending, they cut a lot of entitlements, they cut and cut and cut. That's the Wall Street Journal, hardly the house organ of my administration—*[laughter]*—saying that. And of course, the markets have largely spoken with lower interest rates and inflation and higher rates of investments and a 19-year low in late home mortgage payments, millions of Americans refinancing their homes, more jobs in the private sector in 10 months than in the previous 4 years. I'd like to talk all about that. I do believe that by and large our country is going back in the right direction economically. And with all of our difficulties, and Lord knows they're plenty, we are now the envy of the other advanced industrial countries. In Europe and Japan they're having far worse troubles than we are at this moment. Not that I wish that on them; if they were doing better we would be, too.

I'd like to talk about how the image I had of Senator Moynihan—and even after working with him a little bit, but before I became President—was different than reality, something I'm very sympathetic with. You know, I thought, "Well, Moynihan has got an IQ of 300; he can't be bothered with the dirty details of practical politics. But if I hang around long enough I'll get four or five things that we can move the world with." And then he started wearing me out about Penn Sta-