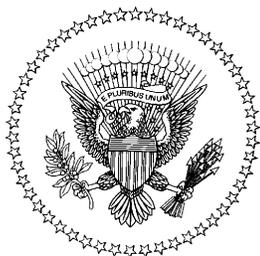


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, April 14, 1995

**Remarks to AmeriCorps Volunteers
in Dallas, Texas**

April 7, 1995

Thank you. Let's give Alexis another hand. [Applause] Was she great, or what? I don't think there is much more for me to say. [Laughter] She said it all, and she said it well. Congratulations. Thank you for your example. I want to say, also, a special word of welcome and thanks to your Congresswoman, Eddie Bernice Johnson. We have been friends now for over 20 years. And I'm sure that when we first met, well, I thought she might be in Congress some day, but I'm sure she never thought I'd be President. [Laughter] I want to thank all you—the local leaders for being here. We have people from the city council and from the county commission and from the State legislature. And we have Mrs. Rouse who's on the State commission for AmeriCorps. And Texas has been so supportive of AmeriCorps.

The Dallas Youth Service Corps is doing a great job here with the Greater Dallas Community Services Community of Churches and other AmeriCorps programs. But I want to tell you something you may not know. Texas has the largest number of AmeriCorps volunteers of any State in the country. You have people who are walking a police beat, teaching kids, building homes, helping seniors, cleaning up litter, immunizing children, doing all kinds of things to make this State and these communities and our children stronger and better for the future and earning money for education, as well.

I want to say a special word about this group. I didn't have a chance to ask everybody their story, but I can tell you just from the biographies I got walking down the block here, this is what I had in mind when we started AmeriCorps. I have met one person here who got off welfare to work in AmeriCorps and got a GED, and several others said they had gotten their GED. I met

one person here who's done part of a college education and is going to use the AmeriCorps money to help pay for those college loans to get the college education. I met one person here who was born to a mother on welfare and was a Head Start child who is a college graduate who came all the way to Texas to help people who were like her when she was a little girl.

When I started this national service program with the idea of giving our young people a chance to serve in a domestic Peace Corps, just like the Peace Corps was when I was a young man, except I wanted it to also be like the GI bill. My idea was that we needed more people to go to college, but we needed more people to relate to each other across racial and income and political lines. And if we had a national service project where people could do whatever folks in the community needed done, not what some bureaucrat in Washington would decide but what people in the community needed done, and if they could do it without regard to their race, their income, their background, just if they were willing to serve and they wanted to earn some money to pay for college education or to pay for their further education, then we had a chance to get the American people together.

Everywhere else, the American people—somebody's always trying to divide us from one another. They're always trying to get us to fight. They're always publicizing our fights. AmeriCorps is about getting people together, doing grassroots work, earning money for education by serving your community. And all of you are doing it. I am very, very, very proud of you.

As you know, and as Alexis said, there's been some controversy about the AmeriCorps program. And there are some people who say, "Well, we have to cut the deficit and we have to cut some spending, so we ought to cut that because it's new, or we ought to cut that because it's inefficient."

Well, it's not inefficient. You've got 20,000 young people out here working all across America for a minimum wage, working like crazy, and earning some money to go to college just like they would if they were serving in the military. The people who are serving in the military earn the GI bill. They're eligible for up to \$30,000 in benefits. But letting people earn enough for 2 years worth of benefits at about \$4,700 a year, that's not too much to pay to give young people the privilege of service and the energy and the opportunity to work with other people in other ways.

There are people who say that any national program is too bureaucratic. There is no bureaucracy here. These programs in Texas were funded by competition. People have to compete for these projects and compete for these slots. And nobody gets it unless they're doing a good job.

Then there are people who say that if we actually give young people the opportunity to work full-time in volunteer work and pay them a minimum wage and then let them earn some money to go to college, somehow that will discourage all the other volunteers. Well, look around here. I don't think that's a very good argument. All you've got to do is look around to see that that is not true.

There is plenty of work to be done in this country, folks. And the Government cannot do it all, and it cannot be all paid for. It's got to be done by community service groups. And you're a part of that.

And there are people in our country who have dreams and aspirations and who have personal problems, and they can't be solved by some high-flown program. They have to be solved by people who make a decision to change their lives, just like all these young people behind me and all of you out there with your AmeriCorps T-shirts. But it helps to change your life if you know there's somebody pulling for you, somebody giving you a chance to serve, and somebody giving you a chance to get a good education so you can have a good future. That's what AmeriCorps is all about. We ought to keep it. We ought to stand behind it, and we ought to keep going.

You will find this hard to believe, I bet, but when I was your age—most of you—

when I got out of high school, our country had a lot of problems. The racial problems were more severe than they are now. And we were involved in a cold war with what was then the Soviet Union. And we didn't know for sure that there would never be a nuclear war. And now, for the first time since atomic bombs have been made, there are no nuclear weapons pointed at the American people by the Russian people. I am proud of that.

But this age and time has its own problems. If anybody had ever told me that we'd have as many children born out of wedlock, I wouldn't have believed that. If anybody had ever told me we'd have as many single mothers raising little children in poverty, I would not have believed that. We have new problems and new challenges. And the only answer to it is for people in the community to take responsibility for themselves and for each other and to have the chance to pull themselves up and work their way out. What did you say? That you wanted a hand up, not a handout. That's as good a way to say it as I can imagine. That's what AmeriCorps is all about.

This is a very great country, and there is nothing we face that we cannot do. But we're going up or down together. And if we're going up together, we're going to have to make sure everybody, everybody has a chance to get a good education, because in a world economy, what you can learn determines what you can earn. And we're going to have to remember that whatever we do and how ever busy we are and whatever else we've got on our mind, we need to take some time out to serve, to be citizens, to work together to solve our common problems.

Don't you feel better at the end of every day, after you work and you do something for somebody else? When you go home at night, aren't you proud of it? And aren't you making friends with people who are different from you that you would never have known otherwise? And don't you think that will stay with you all your life?

I just want you to make the most of your life that you can, solve as many problems in this community as you can, get that education, and stay with AmeriCorps. I'll stay with you, and together we can save it.

God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. at Fair Park. In his remarks, he referred to AmeriCorps volunteer Alexis Brisby and Eloise Medows Rouse, board member, Texas Commission for National and Community Service. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Remarks on Arrival at
McClellan Air Force Base
in Sacramento, California**

April 7, 1995

Thank you very much. Thank you, Congressman Fazio, Congressman Matsui, General Yates. General Phillips, thanks for having me back. You'll have to start charging me rent if I don't quit coming out here. [*Laughter*] Lieutenant Governor Davis, Mayor Serna, Supervisor Dickinson, Mr. Sherman, to all the others who are here: Let me say, I love coming here. I've been in this hangar before, but I've never had so many young people and students here. I'm delighted to see all of you. Thank you for coming. I'm glad to see the college students, the ROTC students, the City Year students here, the elementary school students. I'd also like to say it is quite wonderful to come to California when there is no flood, no fire, no earthquake. I just want to be here. I just wanted to come. And when I was here not very long ago, I went out to Roseville, and I had a meeting in a home that had been totally destroyed. And the people who hosted me are here, and I understand they're rebuilding their home. I'd like to ask them to be recognized; they're brave people, Rick Miranda and his wife. Stand up there, and let's give them a hand. [*Applause*]

That was really ungracious of Congressman Fazio to mention the basketball game. [*Laughter*] But since he brought it up, I don't think I'm so brave for coming out. If we had won, it would really take courage for me to show up here. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to be here at McClellan. Vic said this is my west coast home. We couldn't very well close this Air Force base; I wouldn't have anyplace to park when I fly out. I don't know what I would do.

I'm delighted to be joined here by the wonderful Secretary of Education, Richard Riley. I thank him for coming out West with me. And I have a lot of Californians on my staff, and a bunch of them came back with me: my Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta, who in his former life or, as he likes to say, back when he had a life, was a Congressman from northern California and, of course, Doris Matsui—Congressman Matsui in our White House is known as Doris' husband because she's a valuable member of our staff—and many others. We have tried to be closely in touch with California.

For the benefit of the Air Force base, I want to make one announcement today. I'm happy to report that Congress has passed my requested defense supplemental appropriations bill which will give us the funds we need to make sure we are adequately training and preparing our personnel in all the armed services. And I know that McClellan and its families are happy about the passage of the defense appropriations bill.

With all these young people here, I want to take just a few moments to talk about their future and ours and how they are bound up together. I ran for President in 1992 because I strongly felt that our National Government was not doing enough to invest in our future and to strengthen the future prospects of America's working families and our children. I believed then and I still believe it was right that we were exploding our deficit but reducing our investment in our people. I believed then and I believe more strongly today that the global economy in a technological information age will reward what we know and what we are capable of learning and, conversely, will punish us for what we refuse to learn and for the people whose skills and abilities we refuse to develop.

Now, there is a great debate going on today about what our mission should be as a Nation in the aftermath of the cold war and what the role of the National Government should be in that mission. But to me, it is crystal clear. Our mission should be to ensure that the American dream is alive and well for every child in this country and every child in this hangar well into the next century.

Our mission should be that we maintain our position as the world's strongest nation and greatest force for peace and freedom and democracy and that we use that to help our own people develop their human capacities. And the role of the National Government, it seems to me, is clear. We must first strengthen our security around the world and here at home. That's why I have worked so hard to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons, to be a force for peace from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to Southern Africa but also to pass a crime bill here that will stiffen sentences, put more police on the street, have more prevention funds, and do everything we can to bring down the crime rate and make our streets and our neighborhoods and our schools safer places.

The role of the Government should be to change the Government. It should be smaller and less bureaucratic and less cumbersome and burdensome and more efficient and more flexible for the information age. We have done that. The Congress in the last 2 years has voted for budgets that will reduce the size of the Government by 272,000, to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office; to deregulate great portions of activity the Federal Government used to do, to give more responsibilities back to the States. We are giving the American people a Government that is less bureaucratic.

But the last two things in some ways are the most important of all. Government's role is also to create economic opportunity and to help people who, through no fault of their own, have sustained economic burdens.

The recommendation from the Secretary of Defense for McClellan is that the airbase should stay open because of the important mission you are pursuing. But you know that California has been very hard-hit by base closings in the aftermath of the cold war's end. I took the position, which I here reaffirm today, that when the United States asked the people of California and the people of the United States all across this country to host our bases, to host our military families, to play a role in winning the cold war—if we have to downsize the military, we have an affirmative obligation to help the communities and the people rebuild their lives and to have prosperity and strength in the future.

That is a part of building economic opportunity.

That's why I fought so hard to have conversion funds, to help people move from a defense-based to a civilian-based economy; and why I have supported bases like McClellan, which have used their military technology for civilian purposes to help to strengthen us in the years ahead. That's what the general was talking about when he mentioned the intelligent tutor program—military technology being made available to school districts all across America to teach children as people in the military are taught to develop their skills more rapidly and more deeply than ever before. That is part of our obligation, to give people a chance to make the most of their God-given abilities by creating economic opportunity.

If you look—you have an example right here in Sacramento. Look at what happened with the Army depot and Packard Bell. The world's third largest computer manufacturer has moved on to large portions of the closed base and plans to employ more than 3,000 Californians.

There are many other things we have worked to do, to sell more of your high-tech products abroad, to sell your agriculture products abroad, to open up the California economy in a positive way. And the unemployment rate has dropped almost 2 percent in the last 2 years. We have a long way to go, but we are moving in the right direction. It is the affirmative responsibility of the United States Government to do everything we can in partnership with people to create those kinds of economic opportunities. If everybody has a good job and a bright future, this country's future as a whole will be more secure.

Now, the last thing that I want to say is perhaps the most important of all. I believe it is our responsibility to do everything we can through education to give the people of this country, and especially the young people of this country, the knowledge and the skills they need to compete and win in a tough global economy. We cannot guarantee people a job for life, but we can guarantee them access to education for life. And we ought to do it. Nothing is more important.

When I ran for President, I thought there were too many people in Washington who had rhetorical debates and didn't work on the real people's problems. I thought to myself, if I were living out in Sacramento, for example, and I listened to what I see on television at night, I might wonder if those folks were really talking about me and my family and my children.

You know, we had trickle-down economics and tax-and-spend economics, and what we really needed was invest-and-grow economics. We once had people who thought the answer to our public's problems was to spend more money on everything. Now we have people who think the answer is to spend less money on everything. The answer is to spend less money on the wrong things and more money on the right things. And the most important right thing is education for our young people and for our adults.

You know, I am very proud of the fact that these Members of Congress behind me have been part of a group of people who supported my initiatives to expand educational opportunities from Head Start to preschoolers—for preschoolers, to more investment so our schools could meet national standards of excellence, to apprenticeship programs for young people who don't go on to college, more affordable college loans for young people on better repayment terms, to lifetime training for adult workers. That must be our mission. We must make it clear that in the United States we will tolerate nothing less than the most excellent educational opportunities and the highest standards for all of our people for a lifetime.

You know, I see these young AmeriCorps people behind me who are cheering when I called their name. There are some people who believe we ought to get rid of AmeriCorps. They say it costs a lot of money, and besides that, why pay people to volunteer? Let me tell you what these young people do if you don't know. They can earn minimum wage and work for 1 or 2 years, and for each year they work they can earn money for their college education. They don't work in big national bureaucracies. They work in community service projects. They work side by side with other people. They help in floods and fires. They help to rebuild homes.

They help to immunize children. They work with police on the beat. They do a lot of different things all across the country, not based on what someone in Washington tells them to do but based on what community leaders say they should do. And in so doing, they earn money and help build up their communities.

I just came from Dallas, Texas, where I met with an AmeriCorps volunteer who was 52 years old, who was going back working in the community to earn money to go to her local community college to get a degree in college. I met a young woman who got off welfare because they gave her a chance to work in AmeriCorps. And she got her GED, and now she's going to use the money to go to college. I met a young woman who was a graduate of one of our finest State universities. But she was born to a mother on welfare, and she thought she owed it to her country, since she had moved from welfare to a university degree, to give up a couple years of her life working in the community to help lift the prospects of other people. That is what AmeriCorps is all about, it is working to educate America.

The other day I was in Florida talking to people about college education. Many of you who have sent or are preparing to send a child to college know that it can be a pretty expensive proposition and that it's gone up quite a lot. There are some in Congress who believe that the way to reduce the deficit is to increase the cost of the student loans. I disagree with that. I don't think we ought to increase the cost of student loans at a time when we want more people to go to college.

Our proposal is different. Our proposal is to let more people borrow money on better repayment terms but to have tougher requirements to repay the loans. If everybody who borrowed money repaid it we wouldn't have a budgetary problem with the student loan program. So what have we done? We've loaned money to more people at lower interest rates, but we're making more people repay the loans. That's the way to save money in the student loan program, not to cut the program, get the loans repaid.

And finally, to all of you let me say this: There is a lot of talk in Washington about cutting taxes. Now, nothing is more popular.

But I would remind you of this: number one, we still have a sizable deficit, even though I have cut it by \$600 billion, and we now have a Government that, except for the interest on the debt that was piled up in previous years, your Government has an operating surplus for the first time in 30 years. We do that.

But our interest payments on our debt are so great we have to keep bringing this deficit down. That limits the size of any tax cut. We have to continue to finance a strong national defense. That limits the size of any tax cut. We have to continue to invest in education. That will limit the size of a tax cut. So we have to ask ourselves, what kind of tax cut do we need and who ought to get it?

My view is we shouldn't give a tax cut to people like me, in upper income groups, who did just fine in the eighties and the nineties. We ought to give it to middle class people whose incomes stagnated in the eighties and nineties who need the money. That's who ought to get it. And we ought to give it to people and not just give them a check that they can spend and then the money's gone; the money should be devoted to helping strengthen our families and to support education so that we raise people's income in the short run with a tax cut and in the long run by improving their earning skills. That's why I think the best tax cut would be giving the American people a tax deduction for the cost of themselves and their children for all education after high school. That is the best investment in our future.

Now, I also believe that we ought to have the individual retirement accounts, the IRA's, available to more Americans, and people ought to be able to withdraw from them tax-free to use money for education or for health care emergencies or for a first home or for the care of an elderly parent. That's the sort of tax cut we ought to have.

Now, believe me, my fellow Americans, we can afford that and still reduce the deficit, still increase our investment in education, and still have a strong defense. That is a responsible approach.

So I say to you without regard to your political party, this is a time of great change in our country. I want to work with this new Congress. I agree with them about a lot of

things they want to do. But we can't go too far. We can't say that there's no difference in Government spending. Education is different. National defense is different. Things are different. Some things matter more than others. We can't say that everything the Government does is bad and everything that happens in the private sector is good. We need a partnership. And we know if California's economy is going to come back we ought to invest in defense conversion. We ought to do what we can to help the people in this State who have great talents and great resources, who can no longer use them in the defense plants but can use them in the economy of tomorrow.

And most importantly of all, we ought to look around at all these young people and say they deserve to believe in the American dream, in the promise of tomorrow. They deserve to be able to do whatever their God-given capacities and their willingness to work will let them do. Nothing, nothing, nothing is more important than that.

So, to all of you who have been at this base, who have worn the uniform of our country, who have stood up for the security of the United States, what did you do it for? So that freedom and opportunity might be passed on forever in this country. This is a very great country. There is nothing we cannot do if we do the best we can to do right by the young people who are here and all over America. That must be our mission. It is mine, and I believe it is yours.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Ronald W. Yates, Commander, Air Force Materiel Command; Gen. John F. Phillips, Commander, Sacramento Air Logistics Center; Lt. Gov. Gray Davis of California; Mayor Joseph Serna, Jr., of Sacramento, CA; Sacramento County Supervisor Roger Dickinson; and Brad Sherman, chairman, California State Board of Equalization. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak)

April 7, 1995

The service reductions announced by Amtrak are tough but necessary choices in the

face of stark fiscal realities and, along with the adjustments Amtrak announced last December, represent an urgent attempt to move the passenger railroad toward a stable economic future.

This administration remains committed to the future of rail passenger service in this country and has included significant capital support for Amtrak in its 1996 budget.

To address the pressures Amtrak faces and to promote a more business-like approach, the Department of Transportation today transmitted to Congress the Amtrak Restructuring Act of 1995.

I encourage rail labor, Congress, Governors, mayors, and other constituents to continue to work closely with Amtrak as it works to develop rail passenger service for the 21st century. We look to our partners in Congress to support the Amtrak Restructuring Act of 1995 and for continued financial support of rail passenger service.

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

The President's Radio Address *April 8, 1995*

Good morning. I ran for President because I believe the American dream was at risk for millions of our fellow citizens. I wanted to grow the middle class, shrink the under class, create more opportunities for entrepreneurs to succeed, so that our economy would produce the American dream. I wanted to promote mainstream values of responsibility, work, family, and community. And I wanted to reform Government to make it smaller, less bureaucratic, put it back on the side of ordinary Americans.

We're working at making progress on all these fronts—unemployment down, jobs up—real progress in giving people in the under class a chance to work their way into the middle class. But there's still a lot of challenges we face. There's no greater gap between mainstream American values and Government than the failed welfare system.

Last night the Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, spoke eloquently about the need to reform the welfare system. And I ran for President saying that I would work to end

welfare as we know it. This has been a big issue for me for long time. I've worked to move people from welfare to work for 15 years now. So the Speaker and I have a lot in common. We both want bold welfare reform. We both think that we need to make people leave welfare after a specific number of years. We both want to require welfare recipients to work to get benefits. We both want States to have a lot of flexibility to adopt their own programs.

I've gone a long way toward doing that by letting 25 States adopt bold new reforms for their own welfare systems. And we both want tough steps to enforce child support. The welfare reform plan I sent to Congress last year included the toughest possible child support enforcement. And now the Speaker and his colleagues in the House have taken our child enforcement measures and put it into their bill, including our plan to ask States to deny driver's licenses and professional licenses to deadbeat parents.

In spite of these similarities we still have two key differences I want to talk to you about. They relate to work and to children. First, cutting costs is the primary goal of the Republican welfare bill. By arbitrarily cutting future welfare costs the Republicans get money to pay for their tax cuts. Well, I agree we need to cut costs, but we also have to be sure that when people leave welfare they have the education, training, and skills they need to get jobs, not simply to be off welfare and turn to lives of crime or to remain in poverty.

If we cut child care, how can we expect mothers to go to work? If we cut job training, how will people learn to work? If we cut job programs and these people can't find jobs in the private sector, how can we require them to work?

My top priority is to get people off welfare and into jobs. I want to replace welfare with work, so people earn a paycheck, not a welfare check. To do that, we have to take some of the money we save and plow it into job training, education, and child care.

I want tough welfare reform, but we've got to be practical. If we're going to make people on welfare work, we have to make it possible for them to work. If we're going to make people self-reliant, we have to make it pos-

sible for them to support themselves. We can be tough, but we've got to be practical.

I want welfare reform that moves people from dependence to independence, from welfare to work. So my proposal is a welfare-to-work plan, not just a welfare plan that cuts welfare. So that's the first change I want to make in the Republican welfare proposal. Before I'll sign it into law it's got to have a stronger work component.

Second, the House bill is too tough on children. It cuts off aid to children who are on welfare just because their mothers are young and unmarried. These children didn't choose to be born to single mothers; they didn't choose to be born on welfare; they didn't choose to be born to women who are teenagers. We ought to remember that a child is a child, a baby is a baby. Whether they're white, black, or brown, whether they're born in or out of wedlock, anybody anywhere is entitled to a chance and innocence if it's a baby. We simply shouldn't punish babies and children for their parents' mistakes.

So we can be good to our children and give them a chance to have a better life because we're got a stake in that. Just think about it. Every child born in America, whether they're born to a welfare family or to a middle class family or to a wealthy family, is going to grow up and be a part of our future. The child may grow up to be in a university or be in jail or somewhere in between. But the chances are awful good that what happens to the child will be influenced by what happens to the babies in their earliest days and months and years.

So let's don't punish these babies and children for their parents' errors. Instead, let's give them a chance to grow up with a good education and a head start, so they'll be independent, working citizens.

So I say to Speaker Gingrich and to the leaders of the Senate and the House in both parties, let's work together to get this job done. Let's prove to the American people that we can reform welfare, really reform it, without letting this issue divide us. It is time to end welfare as we know it, to put people to work without punishing children.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8 p.m. on April 7 in the Hilton Inn in Sacramento, CA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on April 8.

Remarks to the California Democratic Party in Sacramento

April 8, 1995

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you for the wonderful, wonderful welcome. And thank you for the wonderful film. It's nice to see the record out there in a compelling way. Thank you, and bless you.

I guess you all know that this is Bill Press' birthday. We threw him a good party, didn't we? Happy birthday—[*applause*].

I'm delighted to be here with all the officers of the Democratic Party, with Arlene Holt and of course with our Chair, Don Fowler. I thank him for this remarks. Wasn't Barbara Boxer wonderful this morning? I'll tell you, you have no idea what a joy it is to see her in Washington, with all those other politicians kind of tippy-toeing around and trying to be just careful, you know. And there's Barbara every day just right there through the door, the same way every day. I want to think the members of the California delegation who are here, Norm Mineta, Bob Matsui, Vic Fazio, Maxine Waters, Walter Tucker. They have been our friends and our partners. They have worked hard to turn this country around and move it forward and to help California. I thank them. I'm glad to be here with Willie Brown. I was watching him on the television back there, and he was smiling, you know. And I thought, I hope I look half that good when I'm his age. The truth is he already looks younger than me, and I resent it. [*Laughter*] Senator Lockyer, I'm glad to be here with you. And Mayor Serna, thank you for hosting us. [*Applause*] I'm glad to be here with your State controller, Kathleen Connell; your superintendent of education, Delane Eastin; and of course, I love hearing Gray Davis talk. It's nice to know that you're always going to have a Governor, no matter what, and a good one on occasion.

I'm delighted to be here with a number of my California staffers, of course, led by my Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta. I know a lot of you used to be represented by him,

and you're glad to see him. And you all give him a good hand. He doesn't get much of this in Washington, so he needs it. I mean, he needs it. Give him really more. Give him a little more. [Applause] Don't overdue it; he might quit and come home. [Laughter] That was just about right. Thank you.

I want to also tell you that after we leave here we're going down to Los Angeles, and we're going to have an event with the National Education Association on school violence. So we have representatives here from the national NEA, and our wonderful Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, is also here with me today. And I'd like for you to welcome him.

I was looking at that film, and I don't know how many of you know this, but there was only one moment in that film when I got kind of a twinge and I sort of had to control myself when that picture of me in the academic robe and the tassel, that was at UCLA. [Laughter] Well, they won it fair and square, and they deserved it.

I am delighted to be here. You know, you folks believed in the campaign I ran in 1992 well enough to go out and work your hearts out to try to turn the direction of the country and the direction of California around. And we carried this State for the first time a Democratic President had carried it since 1964, and I thank you for that.

I also want to thank you for all of the applause that came out of this audience when the picture of Hillary appeared on the screen. Thank you for that. Hillary and Chelsea have just come home, you know, from a very long trip. They went to India, to Pakistan, to Bangladesh, to Nepal, to Sri Lanka, always looking at the condition of women and young girls in these countries, in that very important part of the world.

You know this in California because you have so many people living here who come from those places. But the future of the globe will be determined in no insignificant measure by what happens in those nations, and the ability to preserve democracy and hope and freedom in those nations depends in no small measure on how women and girls are treated and whether they have the opportunity to live up to their God-given capacities.

My fellow Americans, we are at an historic moment and an interesting time in our history. You know because of what was on that film that I have kept the commitments I've made to the people of California and the people of the United States in the campaign of 1992.

I ran for President because I was deeply concerned about the lives of ordinary Americans, because half of our people were working harder for the same or lower wages than they were making 15 years before, because people were working harder, sleeping less, spending less time with their children, because we had profound problems in the fabric of our society, pressures on the family unit, more and more of our children being born out of wedlock, high rates of crime and violence and drugs, the absence of hope for so many of our people who felt isolated and abandoned. Because the Government seemed to me to be caught in a gridlock where one side could blame the other, but the facts were that we had 12 years of trickle-down economics in which the deficit exploded, investment in our people went down, and nobody was really willing to take on the serious problems of the country. So that most people in their ordinary lives just felt left out. The National Government became less and less and less relevant to their lives, except at tax time when it was a burden. And so I thought we could change that.

I ran for President because I thought our country had three great tasks: First, we needed to begin once again to reestablish the American economic dreams, to grow the middle class, shrink the under class, and create more opportunities for entrepreneurs to live out their dreams. Second, because I thought we needed to reassert the fundamental values that made this country great, responsibility, responsibility in our individual lives, in our work lives, in our family lives, and in our communities, taking responsibility one for another, understanding that we are going up or down together in this country whether we like it or not, so we had better make the most of it. And thirdly, because I thought we ought to reform Government, to make it more relevant and more effective to our daily lives, to do four things: to create more economic opportunity; to shrink the

bureaucracy; to make our people more secure, not only around the world but here at home on our streets and in our schools and in our homes; and most important of all, to empower people through education to make the most of their own lives in the global economy.

Now, in the first 2 years, we have gone a long way toward keeping all those commitments. The economy is up; the deficit is down. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation this country's had in 25 years in spite of the economic problems that continue to endure in this State, and I'm proud of that.

In California, which was hit hardest by the 1989-90 recession and hit by far harder than any other State by the defense cutbacks, the unemployment rate has now dropped about 2 percent. So we are moving in the right direction in terms of the economy. We're trying to help places that have been left behind with empowerment zones and extra investments in cities that need it.

We are trying to establish community development banks in cities that will loan money to people who previously could never get any money, so we can bring free enterprise into poor areas and give people the promise that they can get a bank loan and start a business and hire their friends and neighbors and get something to happen.

We have plainly shrunk the bureaucracy, something they never thought the Democrats would do. The Democrats reduced the deficit, and the Democrats shrunk the Government bureaucracy by 100,000 in 2 years and put it all into paying for safety on our streets. That's something the Democratic Party did.

My friends, when you go back out of this room and you see people you know who don't belong to the Democratic Party, you just remind them of this: that this Government is the first Government in 30 years that is running an operating surplus, that is, except for the interest on the debt, run up between 1981 and 1982, before our administration took over, our budget would be in balance today. And don't you forget it. And you ought to be proud of that.

The third thing we have done is to make this country more secure. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there are

no Russian missiles pointed at the children of the United States of America. And we have taken on a lot of tough issues to make our world more secure, from North Korea to Northern Ireland to Haiti to Mexico. I've done a lot of things that weren't popular, but they were right, to make this country more secure, to have this country have a better future.

And perhaps most important of all, we really have moved on the education agenda I promised in 1992. We expanded Head Start. We have given more money to our schools to meet high standards. We have supported apprenticeship programs for young people who don't go to college but do want to have good education. We have made over 1.5 million people right here in California alone eligible for lower cost college loans and better repayment terms, so that everybody can go to college who wants to go. And here and throughout the country, our national service program has given 20,000 young people a chance to earn their way to college by serving their communities at the grassroots level in the best, old-fashioned, American tradition. And there are some of them right there.

Now, let's talk about where we are today. You might say, well, if we've got 6.3 million new jobs in the country; the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 25 years; we're making progress in terms of our national security abroad and here at home with the crime bill, the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, 100,000 more police on our streets; if we have shrunk the size of the Federal Government; and if we are doing more for education and that's the central problem of our time, how come they won the last election?

Well, let's talk about it. One reason is we spent too much time working and too little time talking about it. And they're better talkers, and we're better workers. And we ought to give them credit for that. They're great; they say one thing one day and another thing the next, and it doesn't bother them. And they sometimes get rewarded for that. So you can say that's what happened. But that's not really what happened.

What really happened is that this country's economic problems have been building for

20 years, and our country's social problems, tearing at the fabric of orderly life, have been developing for 30 years. And they are clashing against one another in place after place. And Government's irresponsibility has been there for more than a decade. And in this new age, a lot of what we do in Washington to help the economy, whether it's bringing the deficit down to get interest rates down so people invest and create jobs or expanding trade so we get more high-wage jobs, those things have an indirect effect on people, not a direct effect on people.

So a lot of people's lives haven't changed. There may be more jobs, but most people haven't gotten a raise. There may be more jobs, but a lot of big companies are still downsizing and making people feel insecure. And a lot of the things that we have done that are good have an indirect effect on people. So in 1994, the people said, "We still feel insecure, we still feel uncertain. We want more done. We want it to happen faster." And they gave the Republicans a chance to control the Congress.

Well, in the last 100 days, the House of Representatives has certainly passed a series of bold initiatives. Of the 10 items on their contract, they passed all but one, term limits, which they didn't really want to pass anyway, now that they're in control. [Laughter] And then, in the Senate, one has been defeated, the balanced budget amendment. Two items [applause]—two items I was proud to sign into law, because I also campaigned on them in 1992, and I'll talk about that more in a minute.

So here we are now at the beginning of the second 100 days. Now, one of the things we ought to do is to reaffirm what we are as Democrats. Barbara Boxer did that; you cheered; that's good. Don't forget. Don't forget. But we also ought to say, what are we going to do in the next 100 days and beyond? What do you want us to do in Washington, what do we believe we must do, and what should you be doing out here in the country?

Keep in mind—keep in mind the object of this for you is to remind the American people that we've been up there fighting for them and that a lot of these items don't have much to do with their welfare. They won't raise their incomes; they won't educate their

kids; they won't create any more jobs; they won't help to bring us together. That is not what is going on here. They basically amount to an attack on Government and an assertion that the private market is always better than anything done by Government.

Now, that is plainly not so. But let me go through these things with you item by item and tell you what I'm going to do on them. And let me remind you that we have an unfinished agenda. We have not yet done everything we pledged to do in 1992. I believe what the country wants us to do is to get up there and try to do something that makes sense that helps ordinary people improve their lives. That's what I think the country wants us to do.

When I ran for President, I wanted to do things to change your life for the better. I did not imagine that I would go there to try to make political points by piling up a stack of vetoes. I still don't want to do that, but I will if I have to. What I want to do is to do what is best for the country.

Now therefore, we have to look at where we are. So let's just go through the items, one by one, on their agenda and on our agenda. Taxes: In 1993, I made a commitment to try to give some tax relief to the middle class. In 1993, the Congress passed our economic plan which ended trickle-down economics, cut the deficit, and invested more in education and economic growth. What happened? We made a down payment on the middle class tax cut. In California today, when people file their taxes, the average tax cut for families of four with incomes of \$25,000 a year or less in this State will be \$1,000 because of what we did in 1993. We concentrated on that group of people. Why? Because people with modest incomes who work full-time and raise children should not be in poverty. You want welfare reform? Make work pay. Reward people who work.

So I do believe in this recovery. Since most people have not gotten a raise, we ought to have tax relief for people in the middle class so they can feel what is going on in the economy. But this \$200 billion tax cut that was passed by the House is a fantasy. We can't afford it, it's not fair. It will be paid for by cutting programs for poor people and for children, and we shouldn't do it. That won't

happen. So the question is, what will happen?

It's also important to remind you that we have to keep bringing that deficit down because that gets interest rates down. That means more money for more people in California to expand the economy, to buy homes, to do the things that have to be done to put this country back together.

So what should we do? First, we ought to target the tax cut to the right people. Give the tax cut to middle class people who are working hard and haven't gotten a raise. Don't give it to people who have done very well in the eighties and the nineties. Their tax bill gives half the aid, half, to the top 10 percent of our people and 20 percent of the aid to the top 1 percent. All of those folks have done real well in the eighties and the nineties. They do not need it. Middle class people whose incomes have been stagnant or declining need help. That's where the tax relief should go.

Second question: What should the money be for? Should we just give people a check and say go blow it? No. We should target the money to things that will grow our economy over the long run and lift people's earnings in the short run and the long run. If you get a tax cut, your income goes up. But will your income go up in the long run? It depends on what the tax cut is for. So I say, target the tax cut to the work that is being done in America that is most important. Target it to raising children and target it to education. Give a tax cut for the cost of education after high school to the American people.

I'll say more about this in a moment, but what is giving rise to all this anxiety behind the affirmative action debate? Because—I'll tell you what it is. The middle class is splitting apart in America. The middle class is splitting apart. This is a big, new development. From the year I was born at the end of World War II until the year I was first elected Governor of my State in 1978, all of us as Americans rose together economically. The income of all groups of Americans roughly doubled from 1950 to 1978, except for people in the lowest group, the lowest 20 percent. And theirs went up even more. So we were going up together, and we were coming together.

What's happened since then? We are splitting apart. Even within the great American middle class, we are splitting apart. Why? In a global economy the fault line is education. Those who have it do well; those who don't get punished. Give a tax break for education, so we can lift the country and put it back together again.

Let's talk about welfare reform. Yesterday the Speaker said he passionately wanted welfare reform. Well, so do I. In 1992, I ran for President with a commitment to end the present welfare system as we know it. In 1994, they put it in their contract. What happened in between? I have given 25 States, half of this country, permission to pursue welfare reform on their own initiatives. And I gave Congress the most comprehensive welfare reform ever presented.

What do I want to do? I want to promote work and responsible parenting and tough child support enforcement. That's what I want to promote. I want these young parents who made a mistake to have a chance to put their lives back on track. And I want these children to have a better future. Now, that's what's really important.

So I take up that challenge. Let's go do welfare reform. But look what's in the House bill. I agree that there should be time limits, if there's a job at the end of the road. I agree we should let the States have more flexibility, because the problems are different from State to State. And I am gratified that the House took all of our tough child support enforcement provisions, including yanking driver's licenses and professional licenses from people who owe money for their kids and they won't pay.

But I do not agree with the rest of the bill because primarily it is designed to save money to pay for the tax cuts by cutting aid to welfare. We should cut aid to welfare by genuinely, honestly reducing the welfare rolls by putting people to work, so they can be good parents and good workers. That's the way to cut the welfare budget.

As compared with our support, theirs is weak on work and tough on kids. It ought to be the reverse. That's what ought to happen. Let me give you an example. Their bill says, no welfare if someone has a child before the age of 18 for the mother or the child

at least until they become 18. If the State doesn't want to give them any money ever, that's fine. I just think that's wrong. Why punish the child for the sins of the parents?

You know, you look across this State or Nation, a baby is a baby. You know, in my little Baptist Sunday school class we used to sing a song, "Yellow, brown, black, or white, they are precious in His sight." In or out of wedlock, those kids are going to grow up someday. They're going to be in Stanford, Berkeley, or San Quentin, or someplace in between. You think about it. They're going to be in Stanford, Berkeley, San Quentin, or someplace in between. They're going to be in prison; they're going to be in university; they're going to be in someplace in between. And whether they are or not is due in part to what we do and how we behave. Let us not punish the children and cut off our own nose to spite our face in this welfare reform. [Applause] Thank you.

And as to the parents, think of this. What good does it do to punish somebody for a mistake they have already made? If you have a child, better to say to the child, "Now things will change. You must be a responsible parent. You must be a student. You must be a worker. You must become independent. We want you to succeed as a citizen, as a worker, as a parent." So I don't have any problem at all with having tough requirements on children. But the tough requirements should be designed to give the child a chance to grow into responsible adulthood, to be a productive citizen. So let's be tough, but let's be smart. Let's do something that makes sense.

Senator Boxer talked about cutting the deficit. I'm glad they want to cut the deficit. We cut it \$600 billion in the first 2 years without a lick of help from them, so I'd be glad to have some help.

When we did the deficit cutting before, they were AWOL. I was told the first week I became President by their leader in the Senate, "There will be no votes, none, for your deficit reduction package, none. We'll give you not one. We don't believe in imposing any tax increases on the wealthiest Americans, and we just want you to be out there. And if it succeeds, you can get credit, but we'll blame you anyway and call it a tax bill."

That's the first week I was President, that's what they told me.

Well, we did it anyway, because it was right for the country. We—[inaudible]—some political heat because it was right for the country, and that's why we have 6.3 million jobs today. And you ought to go out of this hall and remind people that that's what we did and that's what we're going to do in the future.

But nonetheless, we're here where we are today, and the country would be better off if we could figure out a humane and smart way to reduce the deficit. So I say to the Republicans: Let's work on making sensible cuts, not partisan cuts. Let's don't do something that's really foolish. I don't think it helps us to cut our children. I don't want to cut immunizations or school lunches or infant formulas or nutrition programs. I can't imagine what good that will do.

In their budget, two-thirds of the cuts come out of the poorest people in the country who get only 5 percent of the benefit of their proposed tax cuts. You don't have to be a genius to figure out what happens to the fabric in America and our need to give everybody a chance at a fair shot at the American dream. It is not fair, and it is not in our interest to do that. So let us not make those cuts. That is wrong, it is unfair, it is unnecessary.

And let me give you an example. I want to compliment Senator Boxer and Senator Feinstein. We just had a big debate in Washington on the so-called rescission bill. Now, the rescission bill is a bill that cuts the present budget, the one that we adopted last year, to get savings to pay for our California earthquake aid and our California flood aid and to pay for some other investments we have to make and to reduce the deficit a little more. I was open to that. But the House-passed bill had terrible cuts in it. They cut education. They cut child nutrition. They cut the environment. They cut housing. They gutted the national service program. A lot of it was politics and ideology. It was extremist.

I insisted on restoring some more cuts. The Senate Republicans were even embarrassed by some of the things they did, and they put some back in. And then we said, "Put the other cuts back for the kids. Restore

them. We'll give you some better cuts." And Senator Boxer and every Democrat in the Senate refused to let the bill come for a vote until they did it. They did it. It was sensible. It passed 99-0 because of Barbara Boxer and the other Senate Democrats, 99-0. So I can tell you that it would work. It would work.

Political reform. The two bills I've signed are political reform bills. One applies to Congress the laws they put on the private sector; I'm for that. The other limits the ability of Congress to impose on State and local governments mandates they don't help pay for; I'm for that, and I'll bet your legislators are, too. But there's more to political reform than that. We need campaign finance reform, and we sure need lobby reform.

I'll guarantee you—you heard Barbara Boxer talk about this—when the Congress takes out a bill that will raise \$3.2 billion over 10 years simply by telling billionaires, "Look, if you make a lot of money in our country as Americans, you can't get out of paying the tax that you owe on the money you made as an American by renouncing your citizenship before the tax bills are due." And it was put in, and then they took it out.

Now believe me, that was not an act of total charity. Somebody lobbied for that, hard, carefully, secretly. And I think the American people are entitled to know. I think the American people are entitled to know.

So I applaud them for what they've done, but let's go the rest of the way. Let's give the American people what they really need, which is lobby reform, campaign finance reform, and an even shot in every election to have the will of the people manifested.

Let's talk about regulations. You know, they cuss regulations. Well, all of you can cuss regulations. I bet there's not a soul here that can't think of one stupid thing that was at least done to you at one time by the State, the Federal, or a local government. Everybody can tell a story that would make you believe the Government would mess up a one-car parade. That's the staple of American life. But the answer is to fix it, not to stop Government from regulating what it ought to.

We have done what we could to fix it. Let me give you an example. Our Environmental Protection Agency Director, Carol Browner,

has set up a compliance center. If you're a small business person and you're worried, "Am I out of compliance with the environmental laws," if you call and ask for help in good faith, you cannot be fined for 6 months, because we know that you're trying to do better.

We now give our people the right to waive fines for any first-time violators if they're doing it in good faith. We now give our people the right to tell people, instead of being fined, why don't you keep this money if you will spend it to fix the problem that you've got in the first place, clean the environment.

So we're going to cut 20 million hours of paperwork burden out of the American people's time next year in dealing with the EPA. That's fine. But if they send me a bill that lets unsafe planes fly or contaminated meat be sold or contaminated water get into the city water systems, I will veto it, because we need to do that. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Look at this—let me give you some other examples. Look at the crime bill. Everybody is against crime. Anybody who is for crime, please stand up. [*Laughter*] And it's a very serious issue. It's a very serious issue. I never will forget when I was doing one of my town meetings in northern California, looking at that young man who changed schools with his brother because they were so terrified at the school they were in. And when they were standing in line to register at the new school, a crazy gunman walked in the school and shot his brother standing in line—somebody he didn't even know.

This is a big deal. And it's part of the volatility in our country today. People feel if we can't even be safe, is there no discipline, is there no control, is there no direction in our society? This is an important thing.

Well, after 6 years of political posturing, we passed the crime bill last year. All the law enforcement agencies in the country supported it. It had stronger punishments, including a "three strikes and you're out" law. It had more money for prisons if States had strong sentencing provisions. But it also had money for 100,000 police, for community policing of the kind that we have seen actually lowers the crime rate, because, after all, that's our objective, isn't it? We want a safer society. We want to lower the crime rate.

And it had money for prevention, to give our young people something to say yes to as well as no to. It was a balanced, balanced bill. And it was a joy to sign.

Now, they say they want their crime bill and they want to be even tougher on crime. Well, I say if they send me a bill that repeals 100,000 police or repeals the assault weapons ban, I will veto that bill because that is wrong. But if they have some good ideas that will allow us to build on last year's crime bill to be more effective in making people safer, we would be wrong to turn away from it. We would be wrong to turn away from it.

Crime should not be a Republican or Democratic issue. It was not a partisan issue last year until we got right up to the campaign and they saw that they could twist it around and turn it into a pork argument. They had been supporting the effort all along. And we should not do to the American people what they did to the American people to get a few votes in last November's election. This should not be a partisan issue. When somebody gets killed or robbed or raped, I don't care what their political party is, it is wrong. And all of us should say, "We don't want this to be a political issue. We'll work with you, but don't tear down what we've done."

Let's talk about environmental protection. I've already said I want to ease the burden of foolish regulation. But I do not want and I will not tolerate the compromise of any effort to clean our water or our air or to clean up our toxic waste dumps. That, too, would be wrong. The environment cannot protect itself. It requires effort. The California Desert Protection Act was a good example of the effort. In implementing environmental protection it requires sensible compromise.

I'm proud of the fact that previous administrations just let everybody fight, but we hammered out a compromise dealing with the old-growth timber in the Pacific Northwest. We handed out a compromise that we hammered out dealing with the farmers and the environmentalists over the use of water here in California. We've been able to work out some compromises dealing with the Endangered Species Act so that responsible developers can do their work in California. We should not be immune to compromise. A lot

of these acts can be implemented in a way that defies common sense. But we should not, we should not sit on the sidelines and watch the work that has been done by Republicans and Democrats together for 25 years to protect the environment of America, be wiped away with some ill-advised laws overnight.

Let me give you one example. If that law, which was passed by the House, the so-called Takings bill, which would require the Government to pay property owners billions of dollars every time we act to defend our natural heritage of seashores and wetlands and open spaces, were to pass, it would either tie our hands in the environment or bankrupt the budget. If that is the law in States throughout the country, what it means is that local Governments have to give up zoning altogether. This same provision has been on the ballot in 20 States and has been defeated every time, even in conservative Republican States.

In Arizona, the bill the House just passed was on the ballot last November, in Arizona, hardly a bastion of the Democratic Party, and it was defeated 60-40. Now that's how extremist this legislation is. Now the people don't have a vote on this bill, but I do, and I say, no, it will not become the law of the land.

Let me say something else that most Americans don't care much about today, but I want you to think about it, and that's our foreign policy. The House passed a so-called peacekeeping bill that would restrict the ability of the United States to cooperate with the United Nations in solving the problems of this old world. Well, the U.N. is 50 years old this year, and it's going to be a big celebration out here of that. But it's only 4 or 5 years old in terms of a real force for peacekeeping, because the cold war and Soviet vetoes kept it from being what it could have been for a long time. Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, Dwight Eisenhower and Senator Vandenberg, Republicans and Democrats alike, always believed the United Nations could be a force for peace and that the United States would be a partner in that.

Now there are those who say that we're oppressed, we're mistreated in the U.N., everything's terrible, we should just walk away.

Folks, they're wrong. They're just wrong. What we did in Haiti was a noble thing and a good thing. But for all of our frustrations in Bosnia, the United Nations troops on the ground there—none of them American—are risking their lives to minimize the slaughter. They're doing it; they don't ask us for our troops. All we do is to supply them food and medicine, and our ships are there, our planes are there to help them in case they get in trouble. It would be wrong for us not to support them when they are there, putting their lives on the line, trying to keep people alive.

I know at a time when we have so many problems here at home it is easy to say let's just walk away from this. But we are a great country, and the world looks to us for leadership. We must not let this kind of thing stand.

So these are the things that are in the contract. I will work on welfare reform. I will work on crime. I will work on regulatory reform. I will work on tax cuts. I will work on deficit reduction with the Republicans. But my idea of cutting spending in the Agriculture Department is to close 1,200 offices; that's what we did, not to cut the school lunch program.

So I say to you, when you leave here and you see people you know who aren't ardent Democrats like us, say to them, "We're not against deficit reduction; we're not against tax cuts; we're not against welfare reform. We want America to be a safer place. We want our streets and our schools and our own homes to be safer, but let's don't go too far. Let's don't be extreme. Let's remember that we've got to put the American people first; we've got to put the future of this country first. And we've gotten past the first 100 days; now, let's roll up our sleeves and do something that makes sense. Otherwise, we'll have to say no. Better to say yes to our future, but better to say no than to go to an extreme which we will regret for the rest of our lives."

Now, I also ask for your support for three other things. They are unfinished agenda from the New Covenant that I ran on. One is, we've got to do something about health care. Now, I am well aware that by the time the interest groups and our political adversaries got through spending \$300 billion to tell the American people how lousy my ideas were, reverse plastic surgery had been per-

formed on them. [Laughter] And I am well aware of the fact that the American people believe that I bit off more than I could chew in the bill I sent to Congress last year.

But I also have not forgotten the fact that we got over 1 million letters, Hillary and I did, from people who had heartbreaking problems, that there are people every year who have to give up more and more coverage because of the cost of health care, that there are millions of people who don't have any health insurance, that we are the only wealthy country in the entire world where there's a smaller percentage of people today with health insurance than people who had it 10 years ago. Nobody else has this problem, only us, because we refuse to deal with it.

So let's take it one step at a time. Let's say, you cannot lose your health insurance when you change jobs. Let's make the benefits portable. Let's say that a family ought to be able to get health insurance even if somebody in the family has been sick. Pre-existing conditions preventing people from getting health insurance is wrong. Let's say that every State ought to have a huge pool where all small business people and farmers and self-employed people can buy health insurance for the same price as those of us who work for government or big corporations can buy it. And let's expand home care for the elderly and the disabled, so that they don't have to spend themselves into poverty and go into a nursing home to get any decent care. We can afford to do this.

My fellow Americans, we can afford to do this without raising taxes and without expanding the deficit, while lowering the deficit. We can do these things. So let's ask them to do it. And let's do two more things. Let's ask the Republicans to start acting like Republicans used to act and join with us as Democrats and raise the minimum wage.

They say they want to index tax rates to protect against inflation, which mostly helps the wealthiest people. And they want to guard the defense budget against inflation, and I respect that. The only people they don't want to protect against inflation are the people that are getting hurt worst by it.

You know, you cannot raise a child on \$8,500 a year anymore. You just can't do it. And if we don't raise the minimum wage this

year, next year the minimum wage will be at its lowest value in 40 years. Now, we're going around telling everybody, get off welfare, go to work, we're going to extol the work ethic, we're creating 6 million new jobs. Is your version of post-cold-war America, is your version of a high-technology information age one in which minimum wage workers make their lowest income in 40 years? Not mine. Let's raise it, and let's ask them to help us.

Finally, let's ask them to reduce the deficit without cutting education. Let's say instead we should increase education. We should increase education. Do you really seriously believe that California is going to be stronger 10 years from now because of all the hits education has taken out here in the last few years?

Audience Members. No-o-o!

The President. Nobody does. Nobody does. You know, they used to attack us and say, "Oh, the Democrats are indiscriminate. They just want to spend more money on everything." Well, that's not true anymore. We cut 300 programs. I've asked the Congress to cut 400 more or consolidate them. I don't want to spend more money on everything. I want to spend more money on the right things. They want to spend less money on everything. Neither extreme is right. The right thing to do is to say education is the fault line in the modern world; if you want the American dream, if you want the middle class to grow, if you want us to go up and down together, we had better get every last person in this country a decent education. And we had better not walk away from it.

You imagine this. Imagine what California would have been like when all these layoffs started occurring if we had had the GI bill for America's workers that I proposed. Take all these Federal training programs, put them in a block of money, and send a check to the unemployed worker for 2 years, say, "Go out and get your training. Do not sit where you are. We will help you pay for 2 years of education for a lifetime." We're going to have to do this if we want America to grow. We're going to have to do it.

Let me close with a few words on this affirmative action issue and know where we are as Democrats. Let me speak. Don't

scream, let's talk. That's just what they want us to do. They want to get this country into a screaming match. They win the screaming matches; we win the conversations.

You already heard what Barbara Boxer said about the incomes. We know that. We know there's still disparity in incomes. I'm really proud of the fact that under my administration the African-American unemployment rate is below 10 percent for the first time in 20 years. But there's still a big disparity. But there's still a disparity. Right? So we know that.

Let me tell you something else. There are still things in the human heart in this country that we're not totally aware of that affect our decisions. I'm old enough to remember that when I was still a young man first starting to vote, there were county courthouses on courthouse squares in my part of the country and in my State that still had restrooms marked "white" and "colored," in my lifetime, when I was as old as those young people out there.

Now, we have made great progress in the last 30 years. But we still don't all, any of us, understand fully what is in all of our hearts about all these complex issues of gender and race. Let me say something for all the people that are pushing for this. This is psychologically a difficult time for a lot of white males, the so-called angry white males. Why? Because those who don't have great educations and who aren't in jobs which are growing, even though they may have started out ahead of those of you who are female and of different races, most of them are working harder for less money than they were making 15 years ago.

Imagine what it's like for them, just for a moment, to go home at night when they're my age, and they're nearly 50, and they think, "Gosh, when I was 20 I thought the whole world was before me. I thought by the time I was 50 I'd have three or four kids, I'd be sending them all to college, my retirement would be secure, we'd have a good life." Now they've been working for 15 years without a raise, and they think they could be fired at any time. And they go home to dinner, and they look across the table at their families, and they think they've let them down. They think somehow, what did I do wrong?

It's pretty easy for people like that to be told by somebody else in the middle of a political campaign with a hot 30-second ad, "You didn't do anything wrong; they did it to you." But what I want you to understand is, that doesn't make their feelings any less real. You maybe aggrieved. Somebody may have been discriminatory against you, but that doesn't make their feelings any less real, either.

I got a letter the other day from a guy I went to grade school with. He was a very poor boy. He grew up and became an engineer. He worked over 20 years for a Fortune 500 company. They had a good year last year; they made a bunch of money. They laid off three of their engineers, gave their work to two others who were younger and less well-paid. And they trumpeted the fact that one of the other people was a minority. This guy wrote me a letter saying, "Mr. President, I'm glad you ordered a review of those programs, and I'm glad you didn't abandon them." But he said, "You have to understand what a lot of people are feeling out here is what I'm feeling. Three of us who are 50-year-old white males got fired. Now, they got rid of us because they wanted to cut their salary costs and cut their future health care and retirement costs. And the fact that we'd given over 20 years to our company didn't mean anything. There was no affirmative action reason they got rid of us. But it's easy for people like us to believe that's why it happened, because people then say, well, look at us, we're doing better on another front."

What I'm telling you, folks, is that what we have done to give more opportunities to women and minorities is a very good thing. And we should not stop doing that. But—and I'll give you three examples that I talk about all across the country that I'm proud of that prove that what we're doing is right.

If you look at the United States military, the United States Army not only produced General Powell, it produced a lot of other African-American generals and a lot of Hispanic generals. I was with a retired African-American general in Dallas yesterday who is phenomenally successful in business now in leading the fight to preserve the national service movement in Texas, because he sees it as giving young people the kind of oppor-

tunity that he got in the Army. And nobody in America thinks that's a bad thing.

But they do make a special effort to make sure every time there's a promotion pool that it reflects the racial and gender makeup of the people in the rank just below. No unqualified person ever gets promoted, but they do really work hard to make sure that people's innate abilities get developed and that they're there and they get a chance. And it's made a difference.

I'll give you another example. The Small Business Administration under my administration last year increased loans to minorities by over two-thirds, to women by over 80 percent, but didn't increase loans to white men. And we didn't make a single loan to an unqualified person. We gave people who never had a chance before a chance to get in business. I'm proud of that. We didn't hurt anybody.

Look at the appointments our administration has made to Federal judgeships. Look at them. We have appointed more women and minorities to the Federal bench than the past three Presidents, one Democrat and two Republicans, combined. But you know what I'm really proud of? We have by far the largest percentage of judges rated well-qualified by the American Bar Association. We did the right thing giving people a chance.

So we have to keep working on this, but we have to realize that there is a real problem out there in this country. We can't deny that. There are a lot of people who go home every night and look across the table at their families and think that either they have failed or they have been stuck by somebody treating them unfairly. That is what we must respond to.

What the people who want to use this issue out here for political gain hope is that we will get in a big old shouting match with them, and they'll have more people on their side of the shouting match than we will, and it'll be a wedge, and they will drive it right through the stake of progressive efforts in the State and in this Nation.

And what we need here is what I've tried to do in Washington. We need to evaluate all these programs, we need to defend without any apology whatever anything we're

doing that is right and decent and just that lifts people up, that lifts people up.

But we do not—we do not need to say that we're insensitive to what's going on in these other people's lives. We do not need to say that we are for people who are unqualified getting Government-mandated benefits over people who are. And we do not need to shrink as Democrats when we think there has been a case, however rare, of reverse discrimination. We entered a lawsuit, our Justice Department did, on behalf of a young, white man at Southern Illinois University who was told he couldn't even apply for a public job because he was the wrong gender and the wrong race. Now, that's clearly wrong.

So what we need to do is to say to these people—and what you ought to do in California—you can do it—you need to say, look, look around this room here. We're living in a global society. Does anybody seriously believe that we'd be better off if we were divided by race and gender? Look at this room. California, when you get through this terrible downturn caused by the military cutbacks, is once again going to become the engine of America's economy in large measure because of your diversity. Because of your diversity. And everything we do to empower people, everything we do to empower people to contribute—when you empower people with disabilities to work and to be self-sufficient, you strengthen the rest of us. When we empower Native Americans through letting them have more economic power, more say over their own tribal affairs, that helps the rest of us because more people live up to their God-given capacity. That's important. When we find every person we can—however poor, however different, wherever they are—and give them a chance to become what they ought to be, we're all better off.

So we can use this occasion for a great national conversation. We don't have to retreat from these affirmative action programs that have done great things for the American people and haven't hurt other people. We don't. But we do have to ask ourselves, are they all working? Are they all fair? Has there been any kind of reverse discrimination? And more importantly, what we really ought to ask ourselves is, what are we going to do

about all these folks that are out there working hard and never getting ahead. That's what the middle class tax cut is all about.

What are we going to do? What are we going to do about all these people who are being riffed by these big companies and by the Federal Government—although our severance package is much more humane—what are we going to do about these people in middle age who are being told, "Thank you very much for the last 25 years, but goodbye, goodbye before your full pension vests, goodbye 15 years before you can draw your pension. Goodbye to your nice health care package for yourself and your family. Goodbye to your future raises." What are we going to do for them?

Use this opportunity to tell people that we have to do this together. I'm pleading with you, stand up for the affirmative action programs that are good, that work, that bring us together, but don't do it in a way that gives them a cheap political victory. Do it in a way that reaches out and brings people in and says we care about you, too. Don't do it in a way that gives them a cheap political victory.

Now, I want to read you something. I want to read you something, and then I'm done. I got a letter—I got a great little poster. I had two posters greeting me when I came in from my morning run, one from a local kindergarten and one from the Bowling Green Charter School Number 8, Sacramento, California. And these children had written in their little handprints the virtues they were being taught in school. I want you to listen to these. These are what we are teaching our children: cooperation, respect, patience, caring, sense of humor, common sense, friendship, responsibility, flexibility, effort, creativity, initiative, communication, problem-solving, integrity, perseverance.

You know what? No place in there, this list of what we are teaching our children about how they ought to live is—demonize people that aren't like you, look for ways to divide people one from another, take a quick victory if you can by making people angry at one another. We do not practice our lives as citizens the way we teach our children to live, the way we try to run our families, the way we try to run our workplaces.

Now, that's what I'm asking you to do. Go out of here and engage these people and say, "Listen, we are moving this economy, we're moving on the problems of the country, we're changing the way the Government works, but we had better behave as citizens the way we try to teach our children to behave as human beings and the way we try to run the rest of our lives." You do that, and the Democrats are coming back.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:22 a.m. at the Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Don Fowler, chairman, Democratic National Committee; Bill Press, chairman, and Arlene Holt, first vice chair, California Democratic Party; Willie L. Brown, Jr., California State Assembly speaker; and Bill Lockyer, California State Senate president pro tem.

Remarks at the National Education Association School Safety Summit in Los Angeles, California

April 8, 1995

Thank you. Thank you for your welcome. Thank you for your work. Thank you for that very moving film. Thank you, Keith Geiger, for your introduction and for your outstanding leadership of this organization. You know, Keith Geiger is quite a gardener, and it's quite a beautiful day. It shows you how devoted he is that he's even inside, much less giving a speech. [Laughter] Thank you, Dick Riley, for such a wonderful job as Secretary of Education and for those fine remarks. Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, I'm delighted to see you. We're a little out of place here today. It's actually a pretty good time to be in Washington, DC. The cherry blossoms are out—and so is Congress. [Laughter] It's a pretty good time to be there. [Laughter] I know there are a lot of Los Angeles county supervisors and city council members here today, and I see your distinguished police chief. I know there are other—[applause]—and I thank you for being here, sir.

I also know that this is not just a gathering of teachers. There are a lot of school support folks here and parents and police officers and concerned citizens about a subject that I care

a great deal about as you could see from the film that was put together by the NEA.

Shortly before the New Hampshire primary in 1992, I was walking in a hotel one night in New York, and some of you may remember, since you helped me, that I was not doing very well then, and my political obituary was being written over and over again. [Laughter] "Will he fall into single digits in New Hampshire, or will he hang on at 11 percent?" And I was feeling pretty sorry for myself. And we were having this big fundraiser in New York, and for all I knew, there wouldn't be three people there. And they took me in the back way, you know, and I walked through the kitchen, totally preoccupied with my own problems.

And all of a sudden this gentleman who was working in the hotel came up to me and said, "Governor, my boy, who is 10, he studies politics in the school, and he says I should vote for you." "So," he says, "I'm going to vote for you." "But" he said, "I want you to do something for me." I said, "What is it?" He said, "I want you to make my boy free."

I said, "Well, what do you mean?" He said, "Well, I came here from another country, and we were very poor there, but at least we were free." He said, "Now we live in a place where we have a park across the street, but my boy can't go to the park unless I go with him to protect him. We have a neighborhood school that's just down the street, but my boy can't go to school unless I walk with him. If my boy is not safe, he is not free. So, if I vote for you as he asks, will you make my boy free?"

And the first thing I felt, frankly, was shame that I was preoccupied with my own problems. And the second thing I thought was, you know, how can we have learning in this country until our children are free?

Now, we're having this huge debate in Washington about what the role of Government ought to be. Yesterday at the American Newspaper Editors Association in Dallas, I had a chance to say where I stood on the issues remaining, both in the Republican contract and in the New Covenant that I ran on in 1992.

We know that we have a lot of economic challenges, that we have to grow the middle

class and shrink the under class and make America a good place for a new generation of entrepreneurs. We know that the Government is not well-organized for the information age and it needs to be less bureaucratic and more flexible.

But we also know, I take it, that there are two great obligations that we must, we must pursue as a people, and they are related and they come together here. The first is that we have to enhance the security of our people, not only beyond our borders, but here at home as well. And the second is that we have to empower them all through education to succeed in a world where education, more than ever before, is the key, not only to whether a society succeeds, but whether individuals can live up to their own dreams.

Today, you are coming to talk about both things. You can't succeed in school if you're not secure when you're there, and we can't expect our schools to be safe unless we do more to make our communities safe and our homes safe. So you are dealing with two of the great questions of this time. I applaud you for doing it. This is a very impressive program, and I wish you well.

Last year I fought hard to pass that crime bill because it was comprehensive, because it did have tougher punishment and more prisons, but it also put another 100,000 police on our street in community settings so we could lower crime and make people safer, because it had provisions for making our schools safer, because it had a domestic violence component for violence against women and children.

And the Secretary and I fought very hard for the Safe and Drug Free Schools Act which would provide funds to over 90 percent in our school districts to help to keep the schools safe, whether it would be in the form of security officers or security equipment or other things designed to make our schools safer and more free of drugs.

As we debate all these issues, it's important not to forget that the first mission of Government is to keep its citizens safe within rules of law, and our second mission is to meet the challenges of the time. The challenges of this time are the challenges of education. And we cannot do one without the other.

One of the most disturbing things in America today is the fact that there's so much social tension growing directly out the fact that most wages for most middle class people have been stagnant for more than 10 years. More than half the American people today are working a longer workweek for the same or lower wages they were making 15 years ago.

When you think about every political issue that's being faced in this country that is divisive, if you just imagine that fact, it explains a lot. It explains a lot about the anxiety, the resentment, the frustrations that people have in this country.

But whatever the debates are, we have to say, let's don't do stupid things. Let's invest more time, effort, resources, organization, and passion into making our people safer and educating our people better.

I want to cut spending. Senator Carol Moseley-Braun could tell you the story. We just had—I was just with Senator Boxer up at the California Democratic Convention, and she was talking about this. We had a big debate about how we could lower the spending in this year's budget more, in the so-called rescission bill to pay for the California earthquake costs and some other expenses we had and reduce the deficit a little more. And we got this bill originally from the House that was going to cut all kinds of education funding and cut funding for safe and drug-free schools, at a time when drug use is going back up among young people who have forgotten that is not only illegal, it is dangerous and stupid, and violence is a real problem.

So we worked and worked and worked. When the bill got over to the Senate, the Senate Republicans put some money back in, and then we insisted, if you're one of the Democrats to let it come to a vote, they'd have to put some more money—put the money back. So the money got put back.

But my point is, that in Washington, where we're so far away from these problems—you heard—I can't remember whether it was Keith or whoever, said it out here, that a lot of people who might pontificate about schools, never have been in a classroom. Well, I have been. I dare say I've probably spent more hours in more classrooms in more States than any person who ever had

the privilege of holding this office. And it is so easy to see where people in Washington—they get on a tear—that judgment goes out the window.

The Republicans used to attack the Democrats because they said they never met a program they didn't like. They were great at starting programs, but they couldn't stop them. Their solution to everything was to spend more money on it. Well, now the rage is, we never met a program we did like, and their solution to everything is spend less money on it. What we need is judgment. What we need is judgment. We need to reduce the deficit, but we need to invest more in education and we need to invest more in security. Because those two things, together, will determine our future.

I think you had somebody from the Centers of Disease Control in Atlanta earlier today. They are releasing today their preliminary report on school-related violent deaths. They have identified 105 violent school-related deaths in just the last 2 years. And they've shown that violence threatens schools and communities of all shapes and sizes. We know there are common elements to violent deaths among young people; the victim and the assailant usually know each other, they are usually the same race, and they're usually male. The incident starts as an argument, and there's usually a firearm involved.

Schoolyard fights have been around as long as schoolyards. But it used to be, when I got in them at least, that when kids got in fights, they found with their fists and adults broke them up.

Today, there are guns on the playground, guns in the classroom, guns on the bus. And as was pointed out in the film, 7 times more often, there are knives there. So as a result, serious injury and death and terror are far more likely to occur.

You know, the thing about being young is you think you're going to live forever, whatever is inside you working around is rushing at high tide, and the future is what happens 5 minutes from now. [*Laughter*] That's why our job is to calm people down and make them think about what happens 5 years and 10 years and 15 years from now. And we all have a fair chance to do it, unless they can do unlimited damage in the 5 seconds be-

tween when they start and when somebody else can get there. With a knife or a gun you can do unlimited damage.

I'll never forget when I was running for President, I gave a speech in New York City at a school. And I was talking about Martin Luther King, and everybody seemed so moved. And 2 weeks later, a kid got killed right in the same place I was standing.

I met a young man in northern California who had changed schools because his school was so violent, with his brother. And they were standing in line to register for class in the other school, and his brother got shot, this time by a stranger, just some nut walked in and got in a fight, his brother happened to be standing in the way.

The CDC found that in 1990, 1 in 24 students carried a gun to school in the 30 days before their study. In 1991, 1 in 18 carried a gun. Last week, the CDC reported that in 1993, 1 in 12 students carried a gun. That's more people than are packing a gun on the street. That's a higher percentage.

This is a national crisis. It requires a national response. It requires all kinds of people to be involved. Guns have no place in our schools and have no place in the hands of our children. If we don't stop this, we can't make the schools safe. We've always had bipartisan support for zero tolerance of guns in our schools. We ought to keep it that way. In 1990, a Democratic Congress passed a law creating gun-free zones around our schools, and President Bush signed it. At this moment, my administration is supporting that law all the way to the Supreme Court.

The crime bill we passed last year makes it a Federal crime for a young person to carry a handgun except when supervised by an adult. Last fall, we passed a law requiring States to adopt a simple but powerful rule: If somebody brings a gun to school, they'll be expelled for a year, no excuses. Senator Feinstein sponsored that law. Zero tolerance works. In 1993 in San Diego, the first year of the policy, the number of guns in schools was cut in half. This school year, authorities have found only five guns in the entire school system. It works.

That's why I directed Secretary Riley to enforce one rule for the whole country. If a State doesn't comply with zero tolerance,

it won't get certain important Federal educational funds, period. I have been very strong in giving more flexibility to schools, more flexibility to school districts, more flexibility to States, and more flexibility to State governments in a whole wide range of areas.

I've given 25 States permission to pursue welfare reform, 7 States permission to pursue big health care reform. And the education legislation we adopted last year, while enshrining then national education goals, gave local schools more flexibility in deciding how to educate their children than ever before. But this problem deserves and, indeed, requires a national response. Zero tolerance, there is no other rational option.

I also want to say something on behalf of the principals and the teachers who are here and even their security forces and their metal detectors. This is not just a school problem, this is a social problem. That's why we have to support the efforts of our police chiefs, our sheriffs, and our others to adopt policies that will lower the crime rate throughout our communities and throughout our country.

That's why it is important to support the work that was done in the crime bill last year. That's why it's important to support the work of people struggling to reduce domestic violence throughout our country. The schools will have violence and weapons and trouble as long as our society has them.

We can do better in the schools; to be sure we can do better. But we have to recognize it will never be a problem that is gone until we do better beyond the schoolhouse door. Parents have to teach their children right from wrong. Parents have to get involved, and community leaders have to get involved. We cannot expect the schools to do it all.

In the end, this country has got to get mobilized around this issue. I just studied about a year ago—I sat down one day and really looked at the differences between the 1980 and the 1990 census. And if you can bear to look at all of those numbers, you can see a lot about what's going on in your country. It is perfectly clear that the middle class in America is splitting apart. And that is what is giving rise to all of these social tensions.

From the year I was born until 1978 or so, we all rose together; in all income groups we rose together. We just about doubled our

income, no matter whether we were in the top 20 percent, the bottom 20 percent, or someplace in between. Except the bottom 20 percent increased almost time and a half what they had been earlier. So we were going up and going together.

Then, in 1978 or thereabouts, an amazing thing started to happen. Income stagnation among a lot of working people meant that for the first time since the end of the Second World War, the middle class started to split apart, so that this idea of the American dream began to be thwarted in family after family after family after family. Don't kid yourselves, that's really behind all this tension on affirmative action. That's really behind a lot of this tension and anxiety on immigration. It's behind a lot of this. There are too many families out here headed by people who think they have done everything they're supposed to do, who are living on the same or lower wages with a high level of job insecurity who don't believe they can do right by their children. Now, that's what's going on.

But the fault line dividing the middle class and the global economy is education. It's education. The only way we can offer hope to people of a successful life in the face of all these changes, the only way we can tell people you can seize all these wonderful things about the global economy is if we can educate everybody. And the only way we can do that is if we can make our schools safe and give childhood back to our children.

If there ever was an example of what I have been trying to preach for 3 or 4 years now, that we need a new covenant among our people of opportunity and responsibility, this is it. Education is an opportunity. Lawfulness is a responsibility. And you cannot have one without the other. I will do everything I can to support you. I ask that you do only this, whether you are a Republican or a Democrat or an Independent, ask our Congress to work with me to find ways to cut this deficit without undermining our investment in either education or security. We must go forward together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:24 p.m. at the Century Plaza Hotel and Towers.

Remarks at the United Jewish Fund Luncheon in Los Angeles

April 9, 1995

Thank you very much, Peter, for your very fine introduction. To you and Gloria, to Irwin and Helgar Field, to our good friends Senator Boxer and Congressman Berman and his wife, Janice, Lew and Edie Wasserman and Barbra Streisand and all the others who have come here to be with us today and mostly to all of you for inviting Hillary and me to share this moment with you, I thank you.

The terrible incident of violence upon the people of Israel which reached today also to some Americans who were also affected, gives me a way of beginning what I came here to say to you. I offer my condolences and the condolences of the American people to the people of Israel and the Government of Israel as well as to the American citizens and their families who were affected by this attack.

Once more, the enemies of peace have sought to abuse the opportunity peace presents, to kill it, to kill hope, to kill all possibility of a normal life for the people of Israel, for the Palestinians who are struggling to do the right thing there, and for, indeed, people throughout the Middle East who can see a permanent and lasting peace within their grasp.

As we give our sympathies to those who have suffered and died and their families, let us stiffen our resolve to say to those who seek to abuse human life so that they can continue to kill and continue to keep peace from people who want it: You will not succeed. You must not succeed.

I ask you to think today for a few moments about the connection between what you hope will happen in the Middle East—what I have worked for as your President in terms of peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland and South Africa and Haiti, worked for to reduce the nuclear threat in North Korea and to be able to say that this is the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age when no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of America—what is the connection between all of this and the work you have done here at home? The literally tens of millions of dollars that you have raised for any num-

ber of worthy public purposes and the partnerships that you have had with our Government, our National, State, and local governments, serving families, resettling refugees, helping the elderly and the sick, promoting education, and of course, as Mr. Gold said, dealing with the aftermath of the terrible earthquake; even the help you sent to the people of Rwanda and those who were affected by the Kobe earthquake—what is the connection between these two things?

You have a sense of mission and purpose. You know that it is for all of us to make the most of our God-given capacities, but that we can only do it if we work together with some common purpose. I believe that the role of our Government must be as a partner to people like you, people who are willing to give of your time and your money and your heart and soul to try to solve the problems of other people because you think your life will be richer and stronger as well, not—to use your phrase, sir—not because it's a matter of charity but because it's a matter of justice.

I have done what I could to be a good partner, and I thank you for what you said about the earthquake. We worked hard there. And we continue to work hard to make sure that all the consequences of the quake will be overcome and that the future will be bright.

What I want to say to you today is that if you look at the economic problems and the social problems tearing America apart, if you look at the level of violence and gangs and drugs among our children, the number of children who are born out of wedlock, if you look at the problems we have with stagnant incomes, and then you look on the other side of the ledger at the fact that we are creating new businesses at a record rate, we are creating new millionaires at a record rate, our country has the lowest combined rate of unemployment and inflation that we've had in 25 years, you might ask yourself, how can this global economy, how can the end of the cold war, how can the transfer from the industrial age to the information age bring us so much good and leave so many problems in its wake?

If you look at the Middle East, you see that the very act of making peace has made

it possible to have more violence. Look at what happened in Gaza. If peace is made and the PLO has a government there and the borders are open and the people are more integrated, then the incomes of the Palestinians go up, prosperity increases, the love of peace deepens. But if the borders are open, then that means there is also a greater possibility for terrorism, violence, murder, and killing the peace.

I want to make this common point. I believe the greatest challenge to civilization at the end of this century, with the globalization of the economy and the revolution of information and technology we're seeing is that all of the forces of integration, which give us the hope of building people up and having untold dreams fulfilled, seem to be accompanied by seeds of disintegration, which threaten our most basic human decency. And our job as citizens of our country and as human beings is to try to stabilize and shape and humanize those forces so that we can allow all the wonderful things of this new age to lift our people up and, at the same time, beat back the demons that would destroy us.

Now, I could give you a lot of examples of that: The financial crisis in Mexico. We signed NAFTA; everything looked great. The world financial markets are integrated. Money rushes into Mexico. Mexico grows more rapidly than ever could have happened 15 years ago. Errors were made, and instead of a mid-course correction, there is a huge flow of capital out of Mexico. The same speed that brought the country up threatened to bring it down, which is why I moved in, to try to stabilize the situation. Over-reaction, integration, disintegration.

Japan becomes a great industrial power by developing an incredible ability to fill different little market niches and do specific things, smaller and smaller things with bigger and bigger impacts. And the miniaturization and openness and rapid moving of that society also makes it possible for a religious fanatic to walk into a subway with a little piece of poison gas in a little vial and kill 60 people and hospitalize hundreds more.

Russia throws off the shackles of communism, gets rid of totalitarianism. No more oppression. Free enterprise banks. The first

thing you know, the biggest problem is organized crime taking over the banks. In the Baltics—Hillary and I went to the Baltics, and people were cheering us on, saying the United States got Russian troops out of the Baltics for the first time since before World War II; thank you very much. We had this moving ceremony. Everybody was in tears. We walked into a room to have a private meeting, and the first thing the leader of the country asked me for was an FBI office because now that they were free they were going to be vulnerable to organized crime and drug transit.

Closer to home, the more free and open we are, the more the free markets can lift us up, the more people who have great skills will be rewarded. That's why education is more important than ever before. But things are happening so fast, people who are willing to work hard but don't know a lot and can't learn a lot or don't have access to learning, are going to be far more punished than they have been in the past, which is why, in the last 15 years, you see a dramatic departure from all previous years before World War II when the middle class is splitting apart. The forces of integration are giving people who can triumph in the information age untold opportunities in America, but there are forces of disintegration for those who don't have them. They're not as obvious and tangible as the disintegration that comes from an earthquake, but they are happening nonetheless.

And you have stepped into the breach. The generosity you have shown by raising this money and working in partnership with public agencies and dealing with all these problems is of more historic importance than at ever before, at least in the latter half of the 20th century. Because we have to find a way to push for peace in the Middle East and not let the forces of disintegration destroy it. We have to find a way to help people overcome the horrible legacy of totalitarianism and build the institutions of freedom and not let them be destroyed by people who abuse freedom.

We have to find a way in this country to lift up all people in the technological and information revolution, which gives us the potential of liberating poor people at a more

rapid rate than ever before, without, instead, creating a huge class of new poor who are working all the time and cannot get ahead. That is what is fueling all the cauldron of feelings around immigration. It's what's fueling all the cauldron of feelings around the affirmative action debate in this State. It is the force of integration running smack dab against the force of economic disintegration.

And because you have a social conscience, because you understand that as a country and as a community we must go up or down together, because you know that our diversity, our freedom, our openness will ensure America's greatness indefinitely if we can solve this problem, you are critical to our future.

Now, in Washington today, we are having an unprecedented debate about what the role of the Government should be in this time. And it is fashionable now, as it once was fashionable to say that there were people in Washington who never met a Government program they didn't like, now you see people who never met one they did like. Where once the problem was people who wanted to spend more money on everything, today the problem is people want to spend less money on everything, who make no distinctions.

We cannot live without a public purpose and institutions to bring us together in public endeavors so that the forces of integration can triumph over the forces of disintegration, so that the people who are lifting us up can prevail.

I believe in the forces of the free market. I have done everything I could to unshackle them from destructive Government interference. I have done everything I could to expand trading opportunities for the American private sector. But the market alone, in a time when the forces of disintegration are powerful, will not solve all of our problems.

And so you must work with us to define the mission of your Government and the level of partnership we will have as we move toward the end of this century and into the next. But as you go home today, I want you to think about it. Think about the terrible burden that the people of Israel bear. The more risks they take for peace, the more at risk they are from openness.

And the same is true of the Palestinians proceeding in good faith. They never had to

run a police force before. They never had to turn the lights on before or run the water systems or make the trains run on time, to use the American slogan. They don't have the infrastructure to deal with this. And so their enemies say, "I liked it the other way. I could get plenty of money for making bombs. I could get plenty of ammunition for my uzi. I do not want to live in peace."

And peace requires openness and inter-change so that the more risks you take, the more at risk you are because disintegration becomes an option as you try to integrate people and bring them together. In this kind of a world, we must have strong institutions devoted to preserving responsibility, family, work, community, to giving everybody a chance to imagine that their tomorrows can be better than their yesterdays.

Now, we could take every last issue being debated in Washington and every last issue being debated in the global community, and it all comes down to that. And I ask you not to forget that some of the forces who are arguing that we don't need any kind of Government are also arguing that we should withdraw from the United Nations, turn our back on peacekeeping, not be involved in the rest of the world. That would be a disaster for the future of our country and this globe. And we must not do it.

This is not a partisan issue. At the end of this century, at the dawn of the next, we must have public institutions working in partnership with public-spirited citizens to enhance our security, to enhance opportunity, to insist on more responsibility, and to empower people through continuous education to make the most of their own lives and to develop the self-confidence to believe that they can live good lives without hurting other people, that they don't have to define their success in life by someone else's failure. And that is the common element in all destructive behavior.

Why do people blow up buses in Israel? There are people who believe they can only be successful in life if someone else is dying. And in a much more pedestrian way, how many times do we see conflicts within our own borders from people who believe they can only be successful if someone else is failing?

You have believed, always, there was a public interest, there were shared values, there were common goals, we could go up together. That is what America needs now. We need it in thinking about own problems. We need it in looking out to the world. We need to behave as citizens the way you behave as members of this organization. We need to give, because when we give, we get; because we're better off if we're all doing better. We dare not define our success in life by someone else's failure.

So I say to you, keep doing what you're doing. But when you go home and when you continue this conversation, think about how many examples there are of the point I have made to you today. And think about all the wonderful opportunities the world affords us. I believe America's best days are still ahead. We have only to figure out how to get the benefits of these fantastic new changes without bearing the burdens of the forces of disintegration. It will not happen unless we believe in the public interest, unless we believe in the human ties that bind us, and unless we join hands to work together. That is the wisdom you have to give to the rest of America, and I ask you to do your very best to impart it.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the Beverly Wilshire Regent. In his remarks, he referred to Peter Gold, 1995 Jewish Federation campaign chairman, and his wife, Gloria; Irwin Field, Jewish Federation president, and his wife, Helgar; Lew Wasserman, MCA, Inc., chairman and CEO, and his wife, Edie; and entertainer Barbra Streisand.

Message on the Observance of Easter, 1995

April 10, 1995

Warmest greetings to everyone observing Easter Sunday.

On this day of great hope and promise, Christians the world over celebrate God's redemptive grace as manifested in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. This day symbolizes the victory of good over evil, hope over despair, and life over death. Rejoicing in the miracle of Easter, we pledge anew to

hold in our hearts Christ's message of peace and joy.

As springtime returns to our corner of the earth, we are reminded of the beauty of new beginnings. Our faith in God lifts our spirits, and many Americans step back from the concerns of daily life to reflect on the power of our religious traditions and on the values they teach us. During this time of renewal, let us all thank God for the countless wonders of creation and rededicate ourselves to the common ideals that have made ours a land of infinite blessings.

Hillary joins me in extending best wishes to all for a joyous Easter celebration.

Bill Clinton

Message on the Observance of Passover, 1995

April 10, 1995

Warm greetings to all who are observing Passover.

A celebration of both liberation and spring, Passover is a special opportunity to give thanks for the blessings of freedom and to remember the faith that sustains us in our bleakest hours. During this holiday, millions of Jews around the world draw inspiration from the example of the Israelites, who preserved their beliefs, their culture, and their dignity throughout the brutal winter of slavery. When the warm spring of freedom finally came, the Jewish people rebuilt their community and thrived, ultimately infusing every corner of the earth with a powerful commitment to faith and family.

This year, let the Passover holiday remind us of the hope that can sustain us as a people. Hillary joins me in extending best wishes to all for a meaningful Passover.

Bill Clinton

Statement on Signing Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Legislation

April 10, 1995

Today I have signed into law H.R. 889, an Act "Making emergency supplemental appropriations and rescissions to preserve and

enhance the military readiness of the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.”

I commend the Congress for its action on my request to replenish the Department of Defense for funds used to perform contingency operations in the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, and elsewhere. These funds are required to ensure that our forces are provided the resources they need to continue their superb performance.

I also commend the Congress for recognizing that to maintain peace in today's world, we must continue our investments in a number of key nonmilitary programs. I commend the Congress for making certain that the United States is able to fulfill its promise to the Russians that is linked to their removal of troops from the Baltics. The Nunn-Lugar program was also spared from reductions that would seriously impair its effectiveness. In addition to enabling continued progress in dismantling the weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union, the Nunn-Lugar program helps ensure that personnel in the strategic rocket forces of the former Soviet Union do not become a source of instability.

Although funding for debt forgiveness linked to the historic peace agreement between Jordan and Israel was removed from this bill, it remains urgent that the Congress pass debt relief for Jordan as part of legislation that can be signed into law. This agreement has improved prospects for overall peace in the region markedly, and I urge the Congress to support this American promise.

Regrettably, rescissions will reduce some of my Administration's technology priorities, which serve as a foundation for America's future competitiveness and national security. Nevertheless, reductions in this Act are less than those in earlier versions of the bill. The Technology Reinvestment Project (TRP), Advanced Technology Program (ATP), and National Information Infrastructure grants program will remain vital components of my Administration's technology-related initiatives.

Despite my Administration's objections, the Act contains a provision that will rescind \$1.5 million for listing threatened and endan-

gered species and determining critical habitats needed for the recovery of such species, while imposing a moratorium until the end of this fiscal year on the remaining funds. As a result, these provisions will impair the Administration's ability to proceed on its recently announced package of reform principles and consequently, our ability to respond to the needs and concerns of private landowners.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
April 10, 1995.

NOTE: H.R. 889, approved April 10, was assigned Public Law No. 104-6.

Proclamation 6784—Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1995

April 10, 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The peoples of the Americas today live in a world of great promise. Fundamental democratic principles, such as the rule of law and free and fair elections, are being embraced throughout the hemisphere. In perhaps one of the most eloquent expressions of the commitment of American nations to democratic rule, Jean Bertrand Aristide was restored to his elected position as President of Haiti. Open markets work, democratic governments are just—and together they offer the best hope for improving the quality of life for all of us.

As we celebrate Pan American Day, 1995, we recognize that the nations of the Western Hemisphere are interdependent, and our futures are intertwined. We are bound together by our shared commitment to democracy, human rights, market economics, and effective governance. These common ideals have enabled us to form an extraordinary network of cooperation, encompassing endeavors from trade and environmental protection to science and technology.

The countries of the Americas have taken important steps to open their economies, create new jobs, and expand opportunities for

their citizens. These reforms represent a historic break with the past and begin to pave the road toward higher standards of living in the 21st century. The North American Free Trade Agreement marks an additional milestone on the way to the hemispheric free trade agreement envisioned at the Summit of the Americas.

At that summit in December of this past year, the 34 democratically elected leaders of the hemisphere determined to make our governments more effective, our economic growth more sustainable, and our environments safer and healthier. Our deliberations there were guided by a vital spirit of cooperation, and we continue to move forward today with the knowledge that, now more than ever, the economic prosperity of each of our countries depends on the progress of our neighbors.

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 Friday, April 14, 1995, as Pan American Day and the week of April 9 through April 15, 1995, as Pan American Week. I urge the Governors of the 50 States, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the officials of other areas under the flag of the United States to honor these observances with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 5:01 p.m., April 10, 1995]

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

Proclamation 6785—Education and Sharing Day, U.S.A., 1995

April 10, 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As we move toward a complex and challenging new century, excellence in American education is more vital to our Nation's success than ever. We live in an era when advances in science and technology create new questions and demand more of our citizens each day. Only a national commitment to high-quality education can prepare our young people to meet the great responsibilities and opportunities of the future.

Yet an education that prepares a child for a lifetime is more than an accumulation of facts or single-minded preparation for a career. It is also a set of ideals and ethics that unites all Americans and allows us to work together for a just and honorable society. Teachers, families, and communities play vital roles in passing on these shared values and common hopes for a better tomorrow.

Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, well understood the importance of nurturing the heart along with the mind. Throughout his long and rich life, he believed that the education of our young people would only be successful if it sought to build character as well as intellect, if it taught the lessons of honesty, tolerance, and good citizenship, as well as language, math, and science.

This year, let us rededicate ourselves to teaching the love of learning that was championed by Rabbi Schneerson and is strengthened by caring leaders like him throughout our Nation. As we provide our students with the information and practical tools they need, let us also pass on to them the capacity for understanding that can help to give fuller meaning to their lives.

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 April 11, 1995, as "Education and Sharing Day, U.S.A." I call upon Government officials, educators, volunteers, and all the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:48 a.m., April 11, 1995]

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

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Haiti

April 10, 1995

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

Attached, pursuant to section 3 of Public Law 103-423, is the sixth monthly report on the situation in Haiti.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan

April 11, 1995

The President. Please be seated. Good afternoon. It's a great pleasure for me to welcome Prime Minister Bhutto to the White House. I'm especially pleased to host her today because of the tremendous hospitality that the Prime Minister and the Pakistani people showed to the First Lady and to Chelsea on their recent trip.

I've heard a great deal about the visit, about the people they met, their warm wel-

come at the Prime Minister's home, about the dinner the Prime Minister gave in their honor. The food was marvelous, they said, but it was the thousands of tiny oil lamps that lit the paths outside the Red Fort in Lahore that really gave the evening its magical air. I regret that here at the White House I can only match that with the magic of the bright television lights. *[Laughter]*

Today's meeting reaffirms the longstanding friendship between Pakistan and the United States. It goes back to Pakistan's independence. At the time, Pakistan was an experiment in blending the ideals of a young democracy with the traditions of Islam. In the words of Pakistan's first President, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, "Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us the equality of man, justice, the fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of the glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations." Today Pakistan is pursuing these goals of combining the practice of Islam with the realities of democratic ideals, moderation, and tolerance.

At our meetings today, the Prime Minister and I focused on security issues that affect Pakistan, its neighbor, India, and the entire South Asian region. The United States recognizes and respects Pakistan's security concerns. Our close relationships with Pakistan are matched with growing ties with India. Both countries are friends of the United States, and contrary to some views, I believe it is possible for the United States to maintain close relations with both countries.

I told the Prime Minister that if asked, we will do what we can to help these two important nations work together to resolve the dispute in Kashmir and other issues that separate them. We will also continue to urge both Pakistan and India to cap and reduce and finally eliminate their nuclear and missile capabilities. As Secretary Perry stressed during his visit to Pakistan earlier this year, we believe that such weapons are a source of instability rather than a means to greater security. I plan to work with Congress to find ways to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to preserve the aims of the Pressler amendment, while building a stronger relationship with a secure, more prosperous Pakistan. Our

two nations' defense consultative group will meet later this spring.

In our talks the Prime Minister and I also discussed issues of global concern, including peacekeeping and the fight against terrorism and narcotics trafficking. I want to thank Prime Minister Bhutto and the Pakistani officers and soldiers who have worked so closely with us in many peacekeeping operations around the globe, most recently in Haiti, where more than 800 Pakistanis are taking part in the United Nations operation.

On the issue of terrorism, I thank the Prime Minister for working with us to capture Ramzi Yusuf, one of the key suspects in the bombing in the World Trade Center. We also reviewed our joint efforts to bring to justice the cowardly terrorist who murdered two fine Americans in Karachi last month. I thanked the Prime Minister for Pakistan's effort in recent months to eradicate opium poppy cultivation, to destroy heroin laboratories, and just last week, to extradite two major traffickers to the United States. We would like this trend to continue.

Finally, the Prime Minister and I discussed the ambitious economic reform and privatization programs she has said will determine the well-being of the citizens of Pakistan and other Moslem nations. Last year, at my request, our Energy Secretary, Hazel O'Leary, led a mission to Pakistan which opened doors for many U.S. firms who want to do business there. Encouraged by economic growth that is generating real dividends for the Pakistani people. The United States and other foreign firms are beginning to commit significant investments, especially in the energy sector. I'm convinced that in the coming years, the economic ties between our peoples will grow closer, creating opportunities, jobs and profits for Pakistanis and Americans alike.

Before our meetings today, I was reminded that the Prime Minister first visited the White House in 1989 during her first term. She left office in 1990, but then was returned as Prime Minister in free and fair elections in 1993. Her presence here today testifies to her strong abilities and to Pakistan's resilient democracy. It's no wonder she was elected to lead a nation that aims to combine the best of the traditions of Islam with

modern democratic ideals. America is proud to claim Pakistan among her closest friends.

Prime Minister Bhutto. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I'd like to begin by thanking the President for his kind words of support and encouragement.

Since 1989, my last visit to Washington, both the world and Pak-U.S. relations have undergone far-reaching changes. The post-cold-war era has brought into sharp focus the positive role that Pakistan, as a moderate, democratic, Islamic country of 130 million people, can play, and the fact that it is strategically located at the tri-junction of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Gulf, a region of both political volatility and economic opportunity.

Globally, Pakistan is active in U.N. peacekeeping operations. We are on the forefront of the fight against international terrorism, narcotics, illegal immigration, and counterfeit currency. We remain committed to the control and elimination of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the delivery systems on a regional, equitable, and non-discriminatory basis.

Since 1993, concerted efforts by Pakistan and the United States to broaden the base of bilateral relations have resulted in steady progress. In September 1994, in a symbolic gesture, the United States granted Pakistan about \$10 million in support for population planning. This was announced by the Vice President at the Cairo summit on population planning. This was followed by the Presidential mission, led by Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary, which resulted in agreement worth \$4.6 billion being signed. And now, during my visit here, we are grateful to the administration and the Cabinet Secretaries for having helped us sign \$6 billion more of agreements between Pakistan and the United States.

During the Defense Secretary's visit to Pakistan in January 1995, our countries decided to revive the Pakistan-United States Defense Consultative Group. And more recently, we had the First Lady and the First Daughter visit Pakistan, and we had an opportunity to discuss women's issues and children's issues with the First Lady. And we found the First Daughter very knowledgeable. We found Chelsea very knowledgeable

on Islamic issues. I'm delighted to learn from the President that Chelsea is studying Islamic history and has also actually read our holy book, the Koran Shariah.

I'm delighted to have accepted President Clinton's invitation to Washington. This is the first visit by a Pakistani Chief Executive in 6 years. President Clinton and I covered a wide range of subjects, including Kashmir, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Gulf, Pakistan-India relations, nuclear proliferation, U.N. peacekeeping, terrorism, and narcotics.

I briefed him about corporate America's interest in Pakistan, which has resulted in the signing of \$12 billion worth of MOU's in the last 17 months since our government took office. I urged an early resolution of the core issue of Kashmir, which poses a great threat to peace and security in our region. It has retarded progress on all issues, including nuclear and missile proliferation. A just and durable solution is the need of the hour, based on the wishes of the Kashmiri people, as envisaged in the Security Council resolutions. Pakistan remains committed to engage in a substantive dialog with India to resolve this dispute but not in a charade that can be used by our neighbor to mislead the international community. I am happy to note that the United States recognizes Kashmir as disputed territory and maintains that a durable solution can only be based on the will of the Kashmiri people.

Pakistan asked for a reassessment of the Pressler amendment, which places discriminatory sanctions on Pakistan. In our view, this amendment has been a disincentive for a regional solution to the proliferation issue. Pakistan has requested the President and the administration to resolve the problem of our equipment worth \$1.4 billion, which is held up. I am encouraged by my discussions with the President this morning and the understanding that he has shown for Pakistan's position. I welcome the Clinton administration's decision to work with Congress to revise the Pressler amendment.

Thank you, Mr. President,

The President. Thank you.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Pressler Amendment

Q. Mr. President, you both mentioned the Pressler amendment, but I'm not sure what you intend to do. Will you press Congress to allow Pakistan to receive the planes that it paid for or to get its money back?

The President. Let me tell you what I intend to do. First of all, I intend to ask Congress to show some flexibility in the Pressler amendment so that we can have some economic and military cooperation. Secondly, I intend to consult with them about what we ought to do about the airplane sale.

As you know, under the law as it now exists, we cannot release the equipment. It wasn't just airplanes; it was more than that. We cannot release the equipment. However, Pakistan made payment. The sellers of the equipment gave up title and received the money, and now it's in storage. I don't think what happened was fair to Pakistan in terms of the money. Now under the law, we can't give up the equipment. The law is clear. So I intend to consult with the Congress on that and see what we can do.

I think you know that our administration cares very deeply about nonproliferation. We have worked very hard on it. We have lobbied the entire world community for an indefinite extension of the NPT. We have worked very hard to reduce the nuclear arsenals of ourselves and Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union. We are working for a comprehensive test ban treaty. We are working to limit fissile material production. We are working across the whole range of issues on nonproliferation. But I believe that the way this thing was left in 1990 and the way I found it when I took office requires some modification, and I'm going to work with the Congress to see what progress we can make.

Kashmir

Q. Mr. President, what was your response to Pakistan's suggestion that the United States would play an active role in the solution of the Kashmir issue?

The President. The United States is willing to do that, but can, as a practical matter, only do that if both sides are willing to have us play a leading role. A mediator can only

mediate if those who are being mediated want it. We are more than willing to do what we can to try to be helpful here.

And of course, the Indians now are talking about elections. It will be interesting to see who is eligible to vote, what the conditions of the elections are, whether it really is a free referendum of the people's will there. And we have encouraged a resolution of this. When Prime Minister Rao was here, I talked about this extensively with him. We are willing to do our part, but we can only do that if both sides are willing to have us play a part.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Nuclear Nonproliferation

Q. Madam Prime Minister, why do you need nuclear weapons? And Mr. President, don't you weaken your case to denuclearize the world when you keep making exceptions?

Prime Minister Bhutto. We don't have nuclear weapons. I'd like to clarify that, that we have no nuclear weapons. And this is our decision to demonstrate our commitment to—

Q. But you are developing them?

Prime Minister Bhutto. No. We have enough knowledge and capability to make and assemble a nuclear weapon, but we have voluntarily chosen not to either assemble a nuclear weapon, to detonate a nuclear weapon, or to export technology. When a country doesn't have the knowledge and says it believes in nonproliferation, I take that with a pinch of salt. But when a country has that knowledge—and the United States and other countries of the world agree that Pakistan has that knowledge—and that country does not use that knowledge to actually put together or assemble a device, I think that that country should be recognized as a responsible international player which has demonstrated restraint and not taken any action to accelerate our common goals of nonproliferation.

The President. On your question about making an exception, I don't favor making an exception in our policy for anyone. But I think it's important to point out that the impact of the Pressler amendment is directed only against Pakistan. And instead, we believe that in the end we're going to have to

work for a nuclear-free subcontinent, a nuclear-free region, a region free of all proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And the import of the amendment basically was rooted in the fact that Pakistan would have to bring into its country, would have to import the means to engage in an arms race, whereas India could develop such matters within its own borders.

The real question is, what is the best way to pursue nonproliferation? This administration has an aggressive, consistent, unbroken record of leading the world in the area of nonproliferation. We will not shirk from that. But we ought to do it in a way that is most likely to achieve the desired results. And at any rate, that is somewhat different from the question of the Catch-22, that Pakistan has found itself in now for 5 years, where it paid for certain military equipment, we could not, under the law, give it after the previous administration made a determination that the Pressler amendment covered the transaction, but the money was received, given to the sellers, and has long since been spent.

Q. But will you get a commitment from them to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

The President. I will say again, I am convinced we're going to have to have a regional solution there, and we are working for that. But we are not making exceptions.

Let me also make another point or two. We are not dealing with a country that has manifested aggression toward the United States in this area. We're dealing with a country that just extradited a terrorist or a suspected terrorist in the World Trade Center bombing; a country that has taken dramatic moves in improving its efforts against terrorism, against narcotics, that has just deported two traffickers—or extradited two traffickers to the United States, a country that has cooperated with us in peacekeeping in Somalia, in Haiti, and other places.

We are trying to find ways to fulfill our obligations, our legal obligations under the Pressler amendment, and our obligation to ourselves and to the world to promote nonproliferation and improve our relationships across the whole broad range of areas where I think it is appropriate.

Prime Minister Bhutto. May I just add that as far as we in Pakistan are concerned,

we have welcomed all proposals made by the United States in connection with the regional solution to nonproliferation, and we have given our own proposals for a South Asia free of nuclear weapons and for a zero missile regime. So we have been willing to play ball on a regional level. Unfortunately, it's India that has not played ball. And what we are asking for is a leveling of the playing field so that we can attain our common goals of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Kashmir

Q. Mr. President, why has the United States toned down its criticism of India's human rights violations in Kashmir—why has the United States toned down its criticism of India's human rights violations in Kashmir?

The President. I'm sorry, sir. I'm hard of hearing. Could you—

Q. Why has the United States toned down criticism of India's human rights violations in Kashmir?

The President. There's been no change in our policy there. We are still trying to play a constructive role to resolve this whole matter. That is what we want. We stand for human rights. We'd like to see this matter resolved. We are willing to play a mediating role. We can only do it if both parties will agree. And we would like very much to see this resolved.

Obviously, if the issue of Kashmir were resolved, a lot of these other issues we've been discussing here today would resolve themselves. At least, I believe that to be the case. And so, we want to do whatever the United States can do to help to resolve these matters because so much else depends on it, as we have already seen.

Self-Employed Health Care Legislation

Q. Mr. President, a domestic question on the bill you signed today for health insurance for the self-employed. Other provisions in that bill send a so-called wrong message on issues like affirmative action, a wrong message on wealthy taxpayers. Why then did you sign it as opposed to sending it back? Were you given any kind of signal that this was the best you'd get out of conference?

The President. Well, no. I signed the bill because—first of all, I do not agree with the exception that was made in the bill. I accept the fact that the funding mechanism that's in there is the one that's in there and I think it's an acceptable funding mechanism. I don't agree with the exception that was made in the bill. And it's a good argument for a line-item veto that applies to special tax preferences as well as to special spending bills. If we had the line-item veto, it would have been a different story.

But I wanted this provision passed last year, and the Congress didn't do it. I think it's a down payment on how we ought to treat the self-employed in our country. Why should corporations get a 100 percent deductibility and self-employed people get nothing or even 25 percent or 30 percent? I did it because tax day is April 17th, and these people are getting their records ready, and there are millions of them, and they are entitled to this deduction. It was wrong for it ever to expire in the first place.

Now, I also think it was a terrible mistake for Congress to take the provision out of the bill which allows—which would have required billionaires to pay taxes on income earned as American citizens and not to give up their citizenship just to avoid our income tax. But that can be put on any bill in the future. It's hardly a justification to veto a bill that something unrelated to the main subject was not in the bill. It is paid for.

This definitely ought to be done. It was a bad mistake by Congress. But that is not a justification to deprive over 3 million American businesspeople and farmers and all of their families the benefit of this more affordable health care through this tax break.

Pakistan-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, don't you think that the United State is giving wrong signals to it allies by dumping Pakistan who has been an ally for half a century in the cold after the Iran war?

The President. First of all, sir, I have no intention of dumping Pakistan. Since I've been President, we have done everything we could to broaden our ties with Pakistan, to deepen our commercial relationships, our political relationships, and our cooperation.

The present problem we have with the fact that the Pressler amendment was invoked for the first—passed in 1985, invoked for the first time in 1990, and put Pakistan in a no-man's land where you didn't have the equipment and you'd given up the money. That is what I found when I became President. And I would very much like to find a resolution of it.

Under the amendment, I cannot—I will say again—under the law, I cannot simply release the equipment. I cannot do that lawfully. Therefore, we are exploring what else we can do to try to resolve this in a way that is fair to Pakistan. I have already made it clear to you—and I don't think any American President has ever said this before—I don't think it's right for us to keep the money and the equipment. That is not right. And I am going to try to find a resolution to it. I don't like this.

Your country has been a good partner, and more importantly, has stood for democracy and opportunity and moderation. And the future of the entire part of the world where Pakistan is depends in some large measure on Pakistan's success. So we want to make progress on this. But the United States, a, has a law and, b, has large international responsibilities in the area of nonproliferation which we must fulfill.

So I'm going to do the very best I can to work this out, but I will not abandon Pakistan. I'm trying to bring the United States closer to Pakistan, and that's why I am elated that the Prime Minister is here today.

Prime Minister Bhutto. And I'd like to say that we are deeply encouraged by the understanding that President Clinton has shown of the Pakistan situation, vis-a-vis the equipment and vis-a-vis the security needs arising out of the Kashmir dispute, and also that Pakistan is willing to play ball in terms of any regional situation.

We welcome American mediation to help resolve the Kashmir dispute. We are very pleased to note that the United States is willing to do so, if India responds positively. And when my President goes to New Delhi next month, this is an issue which he can take up with the Prime Minister of India. But let's get down to the business of settling the core dispute of Kashmir so that our two countries

can work together with the rest of the world for the common purpose of peace and stability.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 92d news conference began at 1:50 p.m. in the Cross Hall at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao of India.

Statement on Signing Self-Employed Health Insurance Legislation

April 11, 1995

Today I have signed into law H.R. 831, the "Self-Employed Health Insurance Act," that extends permanently the tax deductibility of health insurance premiums for the self-employed and their dependents.

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-514) provided a 25 percent tax deduction for health insurance premiums for the self-employed and their dependents. However, this deduction expired on December 31, 1993. This Act reinstates the 25 percent tax deduction for health insurance premiums for 1994 and permanently increases that deduction to 30 percent beginning in 1995.

I strongly support the permanent extension of this deduction. This Act will permit 3.2 million self-employed individuals to claim this deduction for health insurance premiums on their income tax returns, beginning with returns filed for 1994. By making this deduction permanent, we are treating the self-employed more like other employers—as they should be.

The increase in the deduction to 30 percent is a step in the right direction. In 1993, in the Health Security Act, I proposed an increase in the deduction to 100 percent. Increasing the amount of the deduction will make health insurance more affordable for self-employed small business people who are today paying some of the highest insurance premiums in the Nation.

In approving H.R. 831, however, I must note my regret that the bill contains a provision that repeals, as of January 17, 1995, the current tax treatment for the sale or exchange of radio and television broadcast facilities and cable television systems to minority-owned

businesses (so-called “section 1071 benefits”).

My Administration has undertaken a comprehensive review of affirmative action programs, including certain aspects of the section 1071 benefits. The Act has unfortunately preempted the Administration’s ability to examine section 1071 in the context of this comprehensive review.

I am also concerned that, in repealing section 1071 benefits, a highly objectionable provision was added to H.R. 831 in conference. This provision will permit certain pending applicants to receive section 1071 benefits, while denying them to other pending applicants. This is a perfect example of where a President could use line-item veto authority to weed out objectionable special interest provisions. I urge the Congress to appoint conferees and move forward expeditiously with line-item veto legislation that provides authority—this year—to eliminate special interest tax and spending provisions.

Finally, I regret that the conferees on the part of the House of Representatives objected to including in H.R. 831 a provision that would have closed a tax loophole for the wealthy. This provision, which was in the Senate-passed version of the bill, closely resembled a provision I proposed in my FY 1996 Budget. The provision would have prevented wealthy Americans from avoiding their U.S. tax obligations by renouncing their citizenship.

Despite these concerns, I am signing H.R. 831 because of the very important benefits this legislation will provide to our Nation’s self-employed and their families.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
April 11, 1995.

NOTE: H.R. 831, approved April 11, was assigned Public Law No. 103–7.

Remarks on Arrival at Lawson Army Air Field in Fort Benning, Georgia

April 12, 1995

Thank you very much, Senator Nunn, General Hendrix, Congressman Bishop, Congressman Collins, Mayor Peters, distin-

guished Georgia State officials and members of the legislature and local and county officials here. I am glad to be back in Georgia. If I had known that there had been no President here since 1977, I would have come to Fort Benning earlier. I’m glad to be here a little late.

You know, when Senator Nunn was reeling off all of the awards won by all the bases in Georgia, I thought to myself, well, that’s why Georgia never suffered from any of the base closings. It had nothing to do with Sam Nunn’s influence; it was all on the merits that you did so well. [*Laughter*]

I do want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Nunn for his leadership over so many years in behalf of a strong American military and especially for his counsel and advice to me after I became President. Having been a Governor, having never served in the Congress before, it was especially invaluable to have the counsel of Sam Nunn about matters of national security.

As I have said many times all across this country, the mission we face today as a people is to move into the 21st century, now just 5 years away, still the strongest country in the world, the world’s greatest force for peace and freedom and democracy and still the country with the American dream alive, the dream that if you work hard and make the most of your own life, you can live up to your God-given capacities.

I believe that in this challenging but hopeful time we have to do a number of very important tasks. We are up there now trying to change the way Government works. We’ve been working on that for 2 years, to make it smaller and less bureaucratic but still able to do the work of the people. We have to create more economic opportunities for our people, and we are working on that—over 6 million new jobs in the last 2 years.

We have to invest in the education and training of our people. Much as the military has done, we must do for all Americans and not just when they’re young but throughout their work lives to enable people to make the most of their own lives. We know clearly that in the 21st century, what you earn will depend upon what you can learn. And we know that the great divide in our country today between those that are doing well and

those that are struggling is often defined by how much education they have and what they still can learn.

And finally and still critically, we have to strengthen our security at home and around the world. At Fort Benning, you have done a magnificent job of achieving that last goal. You are fulfilling the mission that President Roosevelt left to us.

In his last speech, which he did not live to deliver, Franklin Roosevelt wrote these words, "We have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. We as Americans do not choose to deny our responsibility." I thank you, America's soldiers, for upholding FDR's last commitment.

General Hendrix gave me a brief rundown of the commands based here, and I know that you are all proud of your work. But let me say a special word of thanks to those of you who served in Somalia, to those of you who went to Rwanda and saved so many lives there, to those of you who responded so quickly when Iraq made a move last fall toward Kuwait's border. When we sent you to the Persian Gulf, Iraq withdrew. And I thank you for that, and so do the people of Kuwait.

I have recently returned from Haiti, and I want to say a special word of thanks to the MP's, the engineers, the medics, the army civilians from this base who helped to give the people of Haiti a second chance.

Ten days ago I saw dozens of hand-painted signs all across Port-au-Prince with three simple words: Thank you, America. They were thanking you, Fort Benning. You did something remarkable, something astonishing, and something for which those people and our people should all be very grateful.

I also want to congratulate you on repeating your award, the Commander in Chief's Army Community of Excellence Award. I was kind of hoping my basketball team would do that this year. [Laughter] And I know just how hard it is to do. Are any of you planning on going for a "three-peat," I wonder? What do you think? I want to say, I know you won the last two awards with the help of someone who won't be around, and I'd like to especially acknowledge Sergeant Major Acebes, who is retiring tomorrow after 30 years. Could you stand up, sir? [Applause]

I know a lot about him: A Ranger, a Special Forces soldier, a master parachutist. He's done it all. He's also reputed to be the best listener in the Army. He let his bulldog, Sister, even chew his ear off at one time. [Laughter] See, the President finds out things. [Laughter]

Ladies and gentlemen, even though we have downsized the military dramatically, and many of you have helped in that process and it has been somewhat traumatic, I think it is fair to say that no major organization in the history of the United States has ever gone through so much change so rapidly, with such a high level of professionalism and commitment and ultimate success. We still have the best-trained, best-equipped, most highly motivated, most effective military in the world.

It is now important that we do whatever we can and whatever we must to maintain that strength. On Monday, I was pleased to sign the defense supplemental appropriations bill, which will give us more funds in this fiscal year to maintain the readiness of our forces.

Even as you have served as such a valuable force for America's security interests around the world, I would like to close by thanking you for being a valuable force for our long-term security here at home. For so many of you are role models to our young people, role models to those who are discouraged, who may want to quit, who may think that they can't make the most of their lives, who understand that they may have personal problems or be living in a country with big economic problems that they don't feel they can overcome. All of you can make a difference.

And our security involves what we do here at home as well as what we do beyond our borders. We spent a lot of effort, the Congress and I have, in the last 2 years, making sure that we could reduce the Federal Government dramatically and give that money back to our local communities to hire more police officers and to take other steps to make our streets safer. That's a part of our security, giving our people reward for work, permitting them to take a little time off without losing their jobs or giving them help in providing health care. That's a part of our security.

But doing something about the crime and the violence and the still-rampant abuse of drugs and alcohol among our young people, that is also a part of our security. And I cannot tell you how many places I go around this country where young people, who are despairing, who are confused, who don't know what they're going to do with their lives, at least look at you and know that if they live by old-fashioned values and they support the American way, they can succeed. You are that to them.

So I ask you, never forget that your mission in improving, enhancing, and protecting our security, not only involves what you may be called upon to do in distant places around the world but what you may do every day just walking down a street or speaking to a child or standing tall so that people can see that in this country if you do the right thing, you can live a good life and be a great American.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Bobby Peters of Columbus, GA; and Maj. Gen. John W. Hendrix, Commanding General, and Sgt. Maj. William Acebes, Command Sergeant Major, U.S. Army Infantry Center, Fort Benning.

Remarks Honoring Franklin D. Roosevelt in Warm Springs, Georgia
April 12, 1995

Thank you very much. Governor Miller, President Carter, other distinguished honorees, Commissioner Tanner, Mr. Barrett, Anne Roosevelt and members of your family: Thank you so much for your wonderful remarks. And Arthur Schlesinger, thank you for yours. After the last three speakers, I see I don't have to worry about whether what I am about to say would be considered too political on this occasion. [*Laughter*] I am delighted to be joined here by two Members of Congress, Congressman Collins and Congressman Bishop; many State officials; and appropriately for this day, the Social Security Administrator, Shirley Chater. I thank the Morehouse Glee Club. I couldn't help thinking when I walked up here and heard them singing that President

Roosevelt would have been happy to have had the opportunity to walk down these lanes and hear those melodic voices.

In the 50 years since Franklin Roosevelt died in this house behind me, many things have happened to our country. Many wonderful things have changed life forever for Americans and have enabled Americans to change life forever for people all across our planet. This is a time when we no longer think in the terms that people thought in then and perhaps a time when we cannot feel about each other or our leaders the way people felt then.

But I think it's important just to take a moment to remember that even though Franklin Roosevelt was the architect of grand designs, he touched Americans, tens of millions of them, in a very personal way. They felt they knew him as their friend, their father, their uncle. They felt that he was doing all the things he was doing in Washington to help them. He wanted them to keep their farms and have their jobs, have the power line run out by the house. He wanted them to be able to have some security in their old age and see their children come home in peace from war.

In my home State of Arkansas, the per capita income of the people was barely half the national average when Franklin Roosevelt began his work. And when he came there during the Depression, people were so poor that when they were preparing for him to come, there was literally not enough paint to paint the houses along his route. And so they all split the paint and painted the fronts of their homes so at least the President could see the effort they made. That's the way people felt.

My grandfather, who helped to raise me, was a man with a grade school education in a tiny southern hamlet who worked as a dirt farmer, a small storekeeper, and for an ice house back before we had refrigerators and there really were ice boxes. He really thought Franklin Roosevelt cared about whether he had a job. And I never will forget the story he told me during the Depression when he came home—the only time in his life when he was unable to buy my mother a new dress for Easter, and he wept because he did not have \$2. He thought Franklin Roosevelt

cared whether people like him could buy their children Easter outfits. That is the way people felt. And even into the 1960's when, as a young man, I began to go from town to town, working for other people who sought public office, there were people in the sixties who had pictures of President Roosevelt in modest homes in tiny, remote towns, on their mantles or hanging on the wall, because they thought he cared about them.

Like our greatest Presidents, he showed us how to be a nation in time of great stress. He taught us again and again that our Government could be an instrument of democratic destiny, that it could help our children to do better. He taught us that patriotism was really about pulling together, working together, and bringing out the best in each other, not about looking down our nose at one another in claiming to be more patriotic than our fellow countrymen and women.

Above all, he taught us about the human spirit. In the face of fear and doubt and weariness, he showed we could literally will ourselves to overcome, as he had done and as has been already said so powerfully in his own life. He led us from the depths of economic despair, through a depression, to victory in the war, to the threshold of the promise of the post-war America he unfortunately never lived to see.

He did all these things and so many more to change America and the world. A lot of things we just take for granted today that even today nobody's tried to do away with, like the Securities and Exchange Commission, which safeguards our financial markets, or the Tennessee Valley Authority or the very emblem of the New Deal, Social Security.

He and his remarkable wife, Eleanor, whom we remembered together and who we must remember today, did a lot of things just to bring out both the problems and the potential of Americans. And he also changed America with a brilliant team. I saw here today Mr. Schlesinger. I was looking at Mr. Galvira sitting out there, wondering how many of you are going back over your lives and remembering what you were doing then.

I'm very honored to have as my Deputy Chief of Staff here, Harold Ickes, whose father was President Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior. Like me, this is his first visit

to Warm Springs. But he has lived with the honor of that legacy for his entire life.

I think it's also important that we remember today that President Roosevelt helped to found the March of Dimes, and today marks the 40th anniversary of Dr. Salk's discovery of the polio vaccine, developed because of the work of the March of Dimes, which continues to the present day.

If I might pick up on something that Arthur Schlesinger and that Anne said, "I think if President Roosevelt were here, he would be asking us, 'Well, this is all very nice, and I appreciate the honor, but what are you doing today? What are you doing today?'"

At the end of the war, he left us what may be his most enduring legacy: a generation prepared to meet the future, a vision most clearly embodied in the GI bill, which passed Congress in June of 1944 just a few days after D-Day but before the end of the war in Europe and in Asia. He wanted to give returning GI's a hand up. He really captured the essence of America's social compact. Those people that served, they had been responsible, and they were entitled to opportunity.

The GI bill gave generations of veterans a chance to get an education, to build strong families and good lives and to build the Nation's strongest economy ever, to change the face of America, and with it, to enable us to change the face of the world. The GI bill helped to unleash a prosperity never before known.

In the fifties, the sixties, and the seventies, all kinds of Americans benefited from the economy educated veterans and their fellow Americans built. And we grew, and we grew together. Nothing like it had ever been seen before. Every income group in America, every racial group, all were improving their standing and growing together, not growing apart.

Somewhere around 20 years ago, that began to change, not because of anything that was wrong with the GI bill or wrong with the institutions we had put in place but because the world changed. The economy became more global. Our financial markets became more global. There was an information and a technological revolution which exploded the unity of America's economic progress. And all of a sudden, we began to

grow apart, not together, even when the economy was growing. We divided growth from equality for the first time since Franklin Roosevelt became President, and it has caused a terrible slew of troubles for the American people over the last 15 to 20 years.

In the 1980's, our response—since Arthur Schlesinger said that President Roosevelt was for democratic capitalism, I think you could say that the response in the 1980's was conservative Keynesianism. That is, blame the Government and blame the past, but deficit spend under the title of tax cuts and tilt the tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans because it is their investment that creates jobs.

Well, the massive deficits did spur growth, but it gave us the first permanent Government deficit in the entire history of the United States. And the inequality among working people did not go away; instead, it got worse. Meanwhile, our investment in our people—the thing Franklin Roosevelt believed most in—began to slow down, even in education and training because we decided that there was something wrong with public activity.

The result: We intensified the splits in our economy. We divided even the great American middle class as incomes stagnated, as people worked longer hours and slept less and spent less time with their children and still felt less secure. And at the same time, many good things were happening, but only to those who were prepared to seize the changes that we live with.

It is amazing that in America, we could have more than half the people today living on the same or lower incomes than they were enjoying 15 years ago and still creating the largest number of new jobs and having the largest numbers of millionaires coming out of our economy than we have ever known, these two things, existing side by side, the good and the bad.

If President Roosevelt were here, what would he see today? He would see a country leading the world's economy, producing millions of jobs with people literally afraid that their lives are moving away from them. He would see a world of turbo-charged capitalism in which it is possible to succeed economically, but millions of Americans don't know if they can hold their families and their communities and the disciplined rhythms of

life together. He would see people who are confused, saying, "Well, if there is an economic recovery, why haven't I felt it? He would see people angry, saying, "I've worked hard all my life, why was I let go at the age of 50, and how am I supposed to send my kids to college?"

He would see people who are cynical, a luxury no one could afford when one in four Americans were out of work or when our very existence was at stake in the Second World War. Now we can afford the luxury, and we have it in abundance, saying, "Well, it doesn't make any difference, nothing we do makes any difference. If I hear good news, I know they're lying."

He would see, indeed, a country encrusted with cynicism. He would see an insensitivity on the part of some people who say, "Well, I made it, and why should I help anyone else. If you help someone, all you make is an in-grate." He would also see a profound sense of division in the American psyche. People who really do believe that if someone else does well, that's why I'm not doing so well, and in order for me to do well, someone else must not do that well. That was not Franklin Roosevelt. He was not cynical. He was not angry. He was not insensitive. He did not believe in division. And he certainly was not confused.

He believed that we had to pull together and move forward. He believed we always had to keep the American dream alive. Langston Hughes once said, "What happens to a dream deferred? Does it shrivel like a raisin in the sun, or does it explode?" For Franklin Roosevelt, it was neither.

My fellow Americans, there is a great debate going on today about the role of Government, and well there ought to be. F.D.R. would have loved this debate. He wouldn't be here defending everything he did 50 years ago. He wouldn't be here denying the existence of the information age. Should we reexamine the role of Government? Of course, we should. Do we need big, centralized bureaucracies in the computer age? Often we don't. Should we reassert the importance of the values of self-reliance and independence? You bet we should. He never meant for anybody, anybody, to become totally de-

pendent on the Government when they could do things for themselves.

But should we abandon the notion that everybody counts and that we're going up or down together? Should we abandon the idea that the best thing we can do is to give each other a hand up, not a hand out? Should we walk away from the idea that America has important responsibilities at home and abroad and we walk away from them at our peril? The answer would be, from him, a resounding, "No."

My fellow Americans, Franklin Roosevelt's first job was to put America back to work. Our big problem today is, Americans are back to work, but they feel insecure. They don't feel their work will be rewarded or valued. And we have to find a way to raise America's incomes by making Americans more productive and making this economy work in the way that President Roosevelt dreamed it would.

Everybody knows we have a Government deficit. I'm proud of the fact that we brought it down 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President. Everybody knows that.

But let's not forget that we also have an educational deficit. Education is the fault line in America today. Those who have it are doing well in the global economy; those who don't are not doing well. We cannot walk away from this fundamental fact. The American dream will succeed or fail in the 21st century in direct proportion to our commitment to educate every person in the United States of America.

And so I believe if President Roosevelt were here, he would say, "Let's have a great old-fashioned debate about the role of Government, and let's make it less bureaucratic and more flexible. And those people in Washington don't know everything that should be done in Warm Springs." And he would say, "Let's put a sense of independence back into our welfare system." But he would also say, "Let's not forget that what really works in life is when people get a hand up, not a hand out, when Americans go up or down together."

If you look at this great debate we're having in Washington with our twin deficits, the budget deficit and the education deficit, I

say to you, we try to solve one without the other at our peril. We have brought the deficit down, and we will work to do it more. Congress and I, we will fight about what kinds of cuts we ought to have, but we'll get there and we'll bring it down some more. We already are running the first operating surplus in nearly 30 years, except for interest on the debt. And we will do better. But we cannot do it at the expense of education. We cannot do it at the expense of education.

There's a lot of talk about tax cuts. I say this, we have to worry about how much and who gets it and what for. We should not do it if we have to cut education. We should not do it if we have to explode the deficit. And if we're going to have a tax cut, we should do it in ways that lift the American people's income over the long run as well as the short run. We have to have—we have to have a sense that our future depends upon the development of our people. That's why I say, if we're going to have a tax cut, we must give people some tax relief for the cost of education. That is the most important tax cut we can have, and I will insist upon it and will not support a legislative bill that does not have it.

You know, everybody wants to have more disposable income, but what we don't want to have is disposable futures. So let us not sacrifice the future to the present. And let us not have a false choice between a budget deficit and an education deficit. We can have both.

I wish President Roosevelt were here. I wish he were just sort of on our shoulder to deride those who are cynical, those who are skeptical, those who are negative, and most of all, those who seek to play on fears to divide us. This country did not get here by permitting itself to be divided at critical times, by race, by religion, by region, by income, you name it.

And just remember this: President Roosevelt died here, and they took his body on the train out and America began to grieve. Imagine what the people looked like by the sides of the railroad track. Imagine the voices that were singing in the churches. They were all ages, men and women, rich and poor, black, white, Hispanic, and whoever else was living here then. And they were all doing it

because they thought he cared about them and that their future mattered in common. They were Americans first. They were Americans first. That was his contract with America. Let it be ours.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:14 p.m. at the "Remembering Franklin D. Roosevelt" 50th anniversary commemorative service at the Little White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Zell Miller of Georgia; Joe Tanner, commissioner, Georgia Department of Natural Resources; Lonice C. Barrett, director, Georgia State Parks and Historic Sites; Anne Roosevelt, granddaughter of Franklin D. Roosevelt; and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Roosevelt biographer.

Interview With Wolf Blitzer and Judy Woodruff on CNN

April 13, 1995

Ms. Woodruff. Mr. President, thank you for being with us.

The President's Role

The President. Glad to do it, Judy.

Ms. Woodruff. You are now well over 2 years into your Presidency. The common, increasingly common, perception out there is that because of the successes of the center-stage role that Newt Gingrich and the House Republicans have played, that your Presidency has been somehow diminished, made less relevant because of all the activity and the agenda-setting that they've been doing.

The President. Well, they had an exciting 100 days, and they dealt with a lot of issues that were in their contract. But let's look at what happens now. The bills all go to the United States Senate, where they have to pass, and then I have to decide whether to sign or veto them.

So now you will see the process unfolding. And I will have my opportunity to say where I stand on these bills and what I intend to do with the rest of our agenda. I have enjoyed watching this last 100 days, and have enjoyed giving them the chance to do what they were elected to do. And also I made it clear what I would not go along with.

Last Friday at the newspaper editors meeting, I went through item by item what's left

on the Republican agenda that has not either been defeated or passed, and also the unfinished items on my agenda that will create more opportunity and more responsibility in this country.

Ms. Woodruff. But it's the Republican agenda. And I think it—isn't it the case that throughout American political history, the party that is controlling the agenda is dominating the American political scene?

The President. Well, I don't necessarily agree that it's the Republican agenda. You know, I brought up welfare reform before they did. I started reducing the deficit long before they did and without any help from them. We reduced the size of Government before they did. We reduced the burden of regulation before they did. We gave relief to the States from Federal rules before they did.

This can be an American agenda. And in addition to that, I have tried to make it absolutely clear that I believe that we must continue to press ahead nationally with the cause of education and training and that any tax relief must be geared to helping middle class people and to helping people educate themselves.

So I just simply disagree that it's an entirely Republican agenda. It's an American agenda. And there are a lot of things that are still unfinished on our agenda, but these things were started—many of the things that they talk about that will actually affect real people in their lives were begun under our administration.

Ms. Woodruff. But, Mr. President, again, the perception is Newt Gingrich has been out there on the news every day, the Republicans have been out there with headlines in the newspapers. How—

The President. Well, I'm not responsible—I can't control the perception. All I can do is show up for work every day. But I'll tell you this: our administration is the first administration in almost 30 years to run an operating surplus, that is, without interest on the debt. We have reduced the size of Government. We have done a lot of these things that they talk about. But more importantly, we've focused on creating opportunity for the American people.

Now, they are capturing the headlines now. They had their 100 days. Now the bills go to the Senate and the moderate Democrats, the moderate Republicans, and the President will have a huge say on what becomes law. I will have my say as the bills are debated in the Senate, and I'll decide whether to sign or veto them. So there will be more parity here as the American constitutional system unfolds.

And there are other items on our agenda that I want to see dealt with. I want them to raise the minimum wage. I want them to do something for education in the tax cut. I want them to deal with health care in a piece-by-piece basis. The American people thought I bit off too much at one time, so let's deal with it on a piece-by-piece basis. I've given them several elements that Republicans in the past have said they have supported.

I think the American people want us to work together. But meanwhile, look at where we are now compared with where we were 2 years ago. There are more jobs. There is more trade. There is a smaller Government, and we are moving in the right direction. That's all I can do. That's my agenda. If they are part of that—the American people can later sort out who gets credit for it when the elections get underway.

Taxes

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, Bob Dole, who is the Republican front runner right now for the Presidential nomination, has taken — accepted the pledge that he rejected in 1988, no more new taxes. Are you prepared to accept that pledge in New Hampshire as well, that you will not go forward with any new taxes?

The President. As a matter of principle, I think it's wrong for a President to do that. But look at our record. I told the American people exactly what I would do. I said the first time when I go in I'm going to ask the wealthiest Americans to pay more, not because I'm for class warfare but because they can afford to. We'll cut spending, raise taxes on the wealthiest Americans, and bring the deficit down. We did that.

Now, what else did we do? We cut taxes on 15 million families with incomes of

\$25,000 a year or less an average of \$1,000 a year. We made 90 percent of the small businesses eligible for a tax cut. We established a capital gains tax for investment, long-term and new businesses. We just—I just signed a bill passed by this Congress which I tried to pass last time which provides a tax cut for self-employed people for the cost of their health insurance. I have proposed a middle class tax cut in connection with continued deficit reduction and tied to education. That is my record.

I'm not out there raising taxes. I'm trying to lower the deficit and lower taxes. That is my record. That is my program for this Congress. That is the future. But on principle, I think a President runs the risk of breeding cynicism to sign that kind of pledge when you have no idea what will come forward.

Let me give you an example. I strongly believe that the Congress made a terrible mistake. The only tax break they've given anybody new this time is to reject my proposal to ask billionaires who gave up their American citizenship to get out of American taxes on money they made as Americans to pay their fair share. And for reasons I do not understand, the Republican Congress, in conference, in secret, after being lobbied by a former Republican Congressman and a former Republican Senator, let the billionaires off scot-free.

So if we sign that, am I raising taxes? I would sign that in a heartbeat. People ought to pay what they owe. They shouldn't be able to give up their citizenship; pay what they owe.

Mr. Blitzer. But you would have signed that into law after they included it in the different package, the billionaires loophole.

The President. They didn't include the loophole. They refused to impose a tax. So what I think they ought to do is close the loophole. What I did was to give the small-business people and the farmers and the professionals whose families are unfairly denied a tax deduction for their health care costs that tax deduction so they could get it by tax day, which is next Monday. I had to do that. But they ought to put that back in. This is an unconscionable thing which has been done.

But would it violate the pledge, or not? That's the problem I have with the question you asked.

Mr. Blitzer. Let me ask you one more question on taxes. The flat tax: The Republicans have now authorized this commission that Jack Kemp will head to see if there's a possibility of going forward with a flat tax, a simple flat tax. Is this something that you think you would support?

The President. I'm for tax simplification. Anything we can do to simplify the Tax Code, consistent with fairness and not exploding the deficit, we ought to do. The first time I heard about a flat tax I thought it sounded like a pretty good idea. But if you look at it, every analysis that I have seen done indicates that the flat tax proposals that are out there now will increase the deficit and increase taxes on all Americans with incomes of under \$200,000 a year. So my answer is, I'm going to put a pencil to a piece of paper and figure out how it works. And my suggestion to the American people is that they should put a pencil to a piece of paper and see how it works.

We must not explode the deficit. And we must not have a big tax shift from people making over \$200,000 to all people making under \$200,000. That's not the fair thing to do.

Use of the Veto

Ms. Woodruff. Well, in connection with that, Mr. President, you are the first President in something like I think it's 140 years to go this far in his Presidency without a single veto. Now, you've made some threats and you specifically made some at the end of last week. But House Majority Leader Dick Armey is out there, is just flatly saying that he thinks you're going to sign any tax cut bill, any tax bill that they send you. In other words, they're not taking you seriously.

The President. He's wrong. Keep in mind, why didn't I—I didn't have to veto anything in the last 2 years because it was only the third Congress since World War II—only the third Congress since World War II—when a President passed more than 80 percent of its programs in the Congress. That's only happened—President Eisenhower did it; President Johnson did it; and

I did it. The Congress did not send me anything they knew I was going to veto. So there was no need to veto.

Secondly, the abuse of the filibuster—and I say that advisedly, there has been an abuse of the filibuster, which means that one more than 40 Senators can hold up any bill—reduces the number of bills coming to the President's desk—

Ms. Woodruff. On which side are you talking?

The President. Well, in the last 2 years it worked for the Republicans. It may work for the Democrats this time. But the point is that the sheer number of bills coming to the President are now smaller than they used to be. Now, if I get the line-item veto—the line-item veto has passed the Senate; a line-item veto has passed the House. I worked very hard to get it through the Senate and to get the Democrats to go along with it, and they did. If they'll reconcile the differences, you will see a lot of vetoes under the line-item veto.

Ms. Woodruff. Well, again, on the veto point, I mean, you were just in Warm Springs yesterday honoring Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We looked into his record; over 13 years of his Presidency he had over 700 vetoes. And Arthur Schlesinger, the historian, was there at the ceremony. He was telling a reporter—he said, Franklin Roosevelt loved a fight. And he said, President Clinton would prefer to accommodate. Is that an accurate perception?

The President. No, I like to fight. That's how I got elected President. That's how I passed an economic program that broke the back of deficit spending and bipartisan irresponsibility. The Republicans and the Democrats sat up here for 12 years and told the American people what they wanted to hear. The Republican Presidents blamed the Democratic Congress. The Democratic Congress blamed the Republican Presidents. And they quadrupled the debt of this country when I got here.

What I did was to fight my battles in the Congress, and by one vote in both Houses won a budget bill that reduced this deficit. I fought for a trade bill that gave us more trade. I fought to get a crime bill that would reduce the threat of violence on our streets.

I've got things done that I wanted to signed. If they send me bad bills, I'll be happy to veto them. I think that the untold story of the last 2 years is how much we got done. I had no occasion to veto a bill. I have no doubt that I will have occasions to veto bills now.

President's Leadership Style

Ms. Woodruff. But just quickly, Mr. President, again, maybe we're talking perceptions again, but the perception is that you are a President who will bend, who will not stick with what you originally said you were for. Hence, you've got people out there like Arthur Schlesinger saying he thinks you're an accommodator. I mean—

The President. Well, let me ask all those people then, if that's so true, why did I break the back of trickle-down economics? Why did I break the back of 12 years of Democratic and Republican irresponsibility in Washington, to reduce the deficit 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President? If that's so true, why were we able to pass the NAFTA, which was deadlier than a doornail when I took office? If that's so true, why did we pass the crime bill with the assault weapons ban in it, which had been dead for 6 years? Why did we pass the Brady bill, dead for 7 years? Why did we pass family leave for working families, dead for 6 years? Because we got things done out of conviction and hard work.

Sometimes, it's more important what you do than what you don't do. Now, vetoes make a big splash. If they'll just simply send me some bad bills, I'll be more than happy to veto them. What we should be doing here is focusing on what we did to break gridlock, make this Government more responsible and get things done. It was tough. It required hard fights. They were bitter, tough battles that we won. When you win, you don't have to veto. I like to win, and we won. And the American people are better off. But all this talk is, "Well, let's see some vetoes." Send me a bad bill, I'll be happy to veto it.

I have had three bills since this Congress started a 100 days ago, three bills. They were all three bills I campaigned for President on: a bill to make Congress live under the laws it imposes on the private sector, a bill to re-

duce the burden of Federal action on State and local government, and a bill to provide a tax break to self-employed people for the health insurance costs they have. Those were things I ran for President on. How can I veto bills that I support. I support those bills.

Just because the Republican Congress passed them—I did not run for office to sign a pack of vetoes or to worry about my perception. I ran for office to turn this country around. This is a time of enormous change and uncertainty. Anytime a President takes on tough battles, gets things done, but tries to work through things in a spirit of good faith, you have to run the risk of changing perceptions.

It happened to Harry Truman. He barely had one in four people for it. And he was—until the last year of his campaign in 1948, he was regularly attacked not for being too decisive, too tough, too straightforward, but for being too accommodationist, what did he stand for, where was he. These are—it's just part of the times. I can't worry about the perception. I have to be tough in fighting for what's right for the American people. That's what I have done. That's what I will do. I did it by passing bills the last 2 years. I'd like to do it by passing bills now, but that's up to the Congress. I told them Friday what I'd sign and what I'd veto. Let's see what they do.

Welfare Reform

Mr. Blitzer. Well, let's talk welfare reform, which, of course, is an issue very close to your heart. You have said you want to end welfare as we know it. The House version is apparently unacceptable to you—the Republican version passed in the House.

The President. Do you want to see a veto? If the Senate passes the House bill, I'd be happy to veto.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, the Senate looks like the Republicans are now suggesting they would take out some of the more, what you would consider, onerous provisions of the House bill, but still give the States block grants to reform welfare as the States, the Governors, want to do it. The Republican Governors, that is. Is that something you would accept?

The President. No, but I think that they deserve credit for making some progress. You know, the Catholic Bishops basically pointed out that the House bill could actually be a pro-abortion bill, could encourage abortion, it was so hard on children, and it was so weak on work. Now, the provisions proposed by these three Republican Governors that the Senate is looking at gets out a lot of the stuff that tough on children and unfair to them. And that's good, and they deserve credit for that. It's still weak on work. And it's still unfair to the States that have huge growing populations of young children.

So this block grant proposal as it is written would put unbearable burdens on States, not necessarily—this is not a partisan issue, but the block grant proposal as written I think would be unfair to States like Texas and Florida, for example, and maybe very beneficial to States with static or declining welfare rolls.

Mr. Blitzer. Just to nail it down—so this Republican version in the Senate that is now being discussed, you would veto that?

The President. All we know about it is what we see in the papers. I believe that it is an improvement over the House bill. But it's got a long way to go. We need to be—what the American people want is to see people who are on welfare going to work and succeeding as workers and parents.

Now, what they've done that's good is they've adopted all my tough child support enforcement provisions. And I applauded the House for doing it. Line for line, they did it. I appreciate that, and it's good. The Senate now says, well, we're not going to be tough on children, we're not going to be—in effect, have a pro-abortion policy or at least a brutal-to-children policy. That's good. They deserve credit.

Now let's work on the work, and let's don't be fairer to the States that have bigger problems than some other States. The States—this proposal—I am for much, much, much more flexibility to the States. Keep in mind, it was our administration—not the two previous administrations but ours—that has given half the States the freedom to get out from under the Federal rules to do what they want on welfare. But we have to do it in a way that is fair to all the States. So my con-

cern about the block grants is that it won't be fair to all the States.

Abortion

Mr. Blitzer. Just wrapping up this segment—on abortion, an issue you just raised—you have said repeatedly you would like to see abortion safe, legal, and rare. What have you done to make it rare?

The President. One of the things I've done to make it rare is to push very strongly for more adoptions, and for cross-racial adoptions. One of the things that the Republicans and I agree on, although we may have some minor differences about how to do it, is that we should not hang adoptions up for years and years and years when there are cross-racial adoptions involved. If parents of one race want to adopt a child of another, they shouldn't be delayed and hung up by a lot of bureaucratic redtape. I think that is very important.

The other thing I think we have to do is to make it clear to people that if they have children they will be able to raise them in dignity. I have tried to improve the lives of women and little children and support people who do bring children into this world, to say, "Okay, if you've got a child, even if you bore the child out of wedlock, you ought to have access to education and child care and medical care. And then you ought to get off welfare and go to work." I think if people see that they can bear children and still succeed in life, and if they understand that if they want to give the children up for adoption that they can do that and know it would be done in a ready and proper way, I think those two things can really work to reduce abortions.

The other thing I think we have to do to reduce abortion is to keep campaigning against teen pregnancy. And we have worked very aggressively in this administration on anti-teen pregnancy campaigns. So those are three things we've done to try to make abortion more rare.

Russian Nuclear Cooperation Withdrawn

Ms. Woodruff. Mr. President, let's move to a somewhat different area, international relations. You're going to Russia in about a month, a little less than a month from now,

to celebrate V-E Day, to meet with Boris Yeltsin. You are going to spite the fact that the Russians have refused, so far, U.S. pleas that they not sell nuclear technology to Iran. And the question is, I mean, even setting Chechnya aside and what they've done there, given the fact that this whole question of nuclear proliferation poses such a dangerous specter—creates such a dangerous specter for the entire world, will the Russians pay no price for this policy of selling this technology to Iran?

The President. Well, first of all, let me explain why I'm going to Russia, and let's look at this issue in the larger context. We are still negotiating with the Russians on this issue. We do not want them to sell this technology to Iran. It is true what the Russians say, that it's light-water technology, it's the sort of thing North Korea is going to get as a part of denuclearizing North Korea. We don't want Iran to have anything—anything—that could enable it to move toward developing nuclear capacity, so that we do not support this. And we are continuing to work to try to dissuade them.

But look at our relationships with Russia in the broader context. First of all, I think it very important that the rest of the world continue to support democracy, economic reform, and nonaggression in Russia. If you look at where we are now, compared to where we were 2 years ago, Russian reform, economically, is still in place, the Democratic system is still in place in Russia, the elections system and the constitutional system is still functioning. They have come a long way.

They made this agreement with Iran before I became President. The question is, are they going to follow through on it, or back off of it? But you have to see it in the larger context.

I am going, I might add, along with every other leader of a World War II country, to Russia, because the Russians lost 20 million people in World War II, far more than any other country did. Their price was great. And part of their alienation from the rest of the world, and the West in particular, has been rooted in their collective consciousness that we never understood why they were more, we thought, paranoid, at least more isolated than the rest of us because of that cost. So

I think I'm doing the right thing to go. I will continue to work on the Iranian thing, but I do not believe that disengaging with Russia and refusing to go and participate in this ceremony is the right way to do it.

Ms. Woodruff. Well, I understand what you're saying about history and about their sacrifice. And I think most Americans, no doubt, appreciate that point. But given the fact that the greatest danger out there facing this entire globe is nuclear proliferation, where is the United States prepared to draw the line?

The President. But what interest would it serve—if they can legally do this under international law, what interest would it serve for me to stay home when by going there and continuing to engage the Russians we might make progress.

Let me remind you of what has happened in Russia since I've been President. They have withdrawn all of their troops from the Baltics, for the first time since before World War II. We have completed START I. They are rapidly dismantling nuclear weapons. We have succeeded in getting all of the other former Soviet states to be nonnuclear states. So in the context of nonproliferation, we have made huge, huge progress in the last 2 years.

This is an area of disagreement. I intend to take it up with them. But I think engaging them, going at them, going right at them, and working through this is the way to do it.

Ms. Woodruff. Will they ultimately pay a price one way or another?

The President. Well, let's see what they do. Obviously, if they don't—obviously, if they do this, it will affect our relationships with them, just as all the positive things they've done have affected our relationships with them. The United States has been a very strong supporter of Russian reform. We have done everything we could to help them succeed, and we have gotten a lot for that. We have gotten a lot for that. They are rapidly destroying their own nuclear missiles. We are moving in the right direction.

This is one area of disagreement, but it pales in comparison to all the progress we've made to lower the nuclear threat in the world and our other agreements with Russia.

Iran

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, you've had this dual containment policy towards Iran and Iraq. Yet, U.S. oil companies still are the biggest buyers of Iranian oil, and they sell it around the world except in the United States. There is some talk that you're thinking about strengthening the U.S. sanctions against Iran. Can you tell us where you stand on that?

The President. We're looking at what all of our options are. I think we need to be as firm as we can be. Our administration stepped in when Conoco signed that agreement, and they backed off of it. That was a good thing. And we are looking at what else we can do.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, you could pass proposed legislation or just take Executive orders to force U.S. companies to no longer purchase Iranian oil.

The President. We are looking at all of our options, and I'm going to get a report pretty soon on what I can do by Executive order, what I might ask the Congress to do. The Congress is also looking at this.

Every country that we speak with, every world leader I talk to in the region and beyond still believes that Iran is the biggest cause of instability and the biggest potential threat to the future. And they have chosen not to change their conduct, so we are forced to continue to look at our options.

Americans in Iraq

Mr. Blitzer. How far are you willing to go in terms of Iraq in winning the release of the two American prisoners who are being held in Baghdad?

The President. I'm not prepared to make any concessions on the United Nations resolutions. The resolutions speak for themselves. Mr. Ekeus just issued his report in which he raised questions about what they might be doing on biological warfare. We saw in the horrible incident in the Japanese subway the potential of biological and chemical weapons in small vials, small amounts. So we have to separate the United Nations resolutions and the sanctions against Iraq from this incident. I want those two Americans home, the government should give them clemency. They did not—clearly, they did not go across

the border with any intent to do anything wrong. The United Nations has now taken responsibility for the mistake they made in letting them through the checkpoint. They should simply be released. It is the decent thing to do. But the United States cannot make any concessions on the sanctions issue to get their release. That would be wrong.

Cuba

Mr. Blitzer. One final loose end on an international issue, Cuba: Jesse Helms has a resolution, as you know, pending that would prevent the U.S. from dealing with companies in Europe or Canada or Japan that deal with Cuba, and this has caused an uproar around the world. You haven't taken a position on this Helms amendment yet. Are you prepared to say you support it or oppose it?

The President. I support the Cuban Democracy Act, which was passed in 1992 and which we have implemented faithfully. The Cuban Democracy Act gives us the leeway to turn up both the heat on the Cuban Government and to make certain changes in policy in return for changes that they make. It is a carefully calibrated, disciplined, progressive approach. I believe it will work. I do not—I don't know why we need any more legal authority than we already have.

I would be, obviously, as I have been in the past, interested in knowing the views of Senator Graham on this because I trust his judgment. He's been an expert in this area and he's worked hard, and was a sponsor, along with Mr. Torricelli, of the last Cuban Democracy Act. But we have been very firm. Our administration's position has been much tougher than the previous administrations, but we've also operated under the Cuban Democracy Act to restore, for example, direct telephone communications, which has been a good thing for the Cubans and a good thing for the United States.

So I like the way the act is now. I think we should continue to operate under it. I know of no reason why we need further action.

Ms. Woodruff. And just in connection with the Cuba question, Mr. President, your Secretary of State and National Security Adviser have been talking a little more lately

about some diplomatic opening, further diplomatic opening to Cuba. Is there something you're considering of that nature?

The President. There is nothing specific. What I want us to emphasize is the Cuban Democracy Act was a very carefully drawn bill of balance of sticks and carrots, not carrots and sticks, sticks and carrots. It toughened the sanctions on the front end but provided for the United States to take appropriate, carefully calibrated actions in return for things that might be done within Cuba to open the country politically and economically.

But I have been given no specific recommendations by them, and I certainly have not approved any.

Decline of the Dollar

Ms. Woodruff. International economic question: It's 50 years after World War II. The German mark and the Japanese yen are doing a whole lot better, a whole lot better, than the American dollar out there. And as you know, critics are pointing to your administration, to U.S. policy, and saying the dollar is falling because the policies of this administration and this government have contributed, have been wrong. What's going on?

The President. The economic condition of the American people is a whole lot better than the economy of Japan and Germany right now, although the German economy is coming back. We have lower unemployment; we've produced more jobs; we have low inflation.

Now, when—I would remind you that when I was in charge of economic policy and the Congress was supporting it—I'm still in charge of economic policy; the question is, what's the Congress going to do—we had lower deficits, low inflation, high growth, and a dollar that was stronger. I have no idea what is happening in the markets with the dollar, and neither does anybody else entirely. You ask them, a lot of people who make a living doing this, think it's maybe speculation. But I tell you this: We do have to reduce the deficit further.

But I would just like to point out that if you look at the total Government deficit in the United States on an annual basis today, it is tied with Japan for the lowest deficit

in the world. It is lower than Germany's. It is lower than any other European country. What is going on here? If they're saying something about the deficit, it's not because of the way we've managed the last 2 years, it's because of the massive accumulated debt of the previous 12 years which requires a lot of borrowing to finance.

So what does that mean? That means we have to do more deficit reduction. What does that mean? It means it's unwise to be out here talking about tax cuts until you explain how you're going to reduce the deficit. Deficit reduction and appropriate targeted, modest tax cuts, that's my policy.

The world markets may not know it yet, but that's going to be the policy of the United States. The United States will continue to reduce the deficit. We'll reduce it more. We will have a responsible policy, and the dollar will respond accordingly.

Jonathan Pollard Spy Exchange

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, I want to talk U.S. politics in a second, but one loose end. There's story out today that you're thinking about a swap that would free Jonathan Pollard, the U.S. naval intelligence analyst who was convicted of espionage for Israel, as part of a three-way deal with Israel, Russia, and the U.S. First of all, is that true? And second of all, do you think that—he's now served 10 years—is that long enough for the crime that he committed?

The President. No one has said anything to me about that. Nothing.

Mr. Blitzer. Not a swap either?

The President. Nothing.

Mr. Blitzer. Okay.

The President. And on Pollard, I'm going to handle his case the way I handle anybody else's: I get recommendations from people who apply for clemency from the Justice Department. I review them, and I make a judgment on them.

1996 Election

Mr. Blitzer. Let's talk U.S. politics for a few moments. Bob Dole is the front runner, but there are a lot of other Republicans out there. How do you assess the political scene right now in terms of the challenges not only from the Republican side, but potentially a

Democratic challenger like former Governor Casey of Pennsylvania trying to come into this race as well?

The President. Well, on the Republican side, I don't know how to assess it because it depends, obviously, as any primary battle does, on how they distinguish themselves from each other, and who votes in the primary and how the various States view it. And I simply don't know enough about their primary electorate to do that. I'm going to let them decide who they want to put up, and they'll do that in due course.

Bob Casey is a man I served with as Governor. I have a high regard for him, and I have a lot of respect for him. And I kept in pretty close touch with him and his family when he went through his medical problems. And I think he's a remarkable, resilient person. He is a committed anti-abortion, anti-choice person who has served with distinction in government. We agree on many, many issues. I believe you can be pro-choice and anti-abortion. He doesn't believe that. And he believes that the Democratic Party has been badly hurt by the abortion issue and that it's more important than any other issue. And he believes that with a real depth of conviction. And he will have to do whatever he thinks is right. And he will do that. I am sure he will do whatever he thinks is right.

I think when you look at the alternatives between the Democrats and the Republicans and the fact that the Republicans seem to like to—it's hard to know where they really stand on that issue, they talk one way and act another, I would hope that he would think about that and think about what would happen in the event of a campaign. But that's his decision and whatever he does, I will respect.

Mr. Blitzer. Still on politics, Mr. President, some of your political aides talk about you as the "43 percent President," referring to the percentage of the vote you got in '92. Is it the operating assumption around here and with you that there will be a third candidate in the general election, that there will be a Democrat—you—a Republican and someone else?

The President. I have no earthly idea. And you know—let me just say how I am

doing this. Sometimes you talk to people who work around here about this stuff more than I do. I try to minimize that kind of speculation. We have no control over that.

After the November election, when the people decided to give the Republicans control of Congress, I made a decision which I am adhering to, which is that I would do the very best I could to do exactly what I thought was right, that I would not worry about the monthly fluctuation in the polls, that if anything, worry about it even less than I had in the two previous years when I had taken a lot of unpopular positions. And I'm going to do more of what I did down in Dallas on Friday where I just took an outline of the positions that I feel, and I just get up there and say what I think, and let the American people digest it and deal with it the best way they can.

Ms. Woodruff. So you mean while there's all this wild political speculation out there about what's going to go on, you're able to ignore that? Is that what you are saying?

The President. I don't think about it much. Of course, I don't ignore it. But I don't spend a lot of time worrying about it. The one thing I think every President owes the American people is to focus on what the American people need, to do what he thinks is right and best, and to realize that you waste a huge amount of energy focusing on things over which you have no control. I have no control over who seeks the Republican nomination, whether anybody seeks the Democratic nomination, and I certainly have no control over whether there's a third-party candidate. That is irrelevant. So I can't worry about it. It's a waste of time.

The South

Ms. Woodruff. Well, let me ask you about something over which you may have some control, and that is these defections of Democrats to the Republican Party. We had Congressman Deal, Senator Shelby, Senator Campbell. Just looking at the South alone, I mean, the trend is all in the Republican direction. Are we now in a situation where you've got an all solid Republican South where we used to have a solid Democratic South, and is there anything you can do to stop that?

The President. Well, the solid Democratic South in Presidential elections has been breaking up since 1948. Harry Truman stood up for civil rights and he lost four States to Strom Thurmond.

Ms. Woodruff. So you are saying there is nothing you can do?

The President. Well, no, I think there is. I think what we have to do—first of all, we have to get down there and make our case at election time. You know, when I spoke to the Florida Legislature, for example, I noticed after it was over a lot of the Florida Democrats came up to me and said there were Florida Republicans who said they agreed with what I said. They did not know what the position of the administration was, and they felt reassured by it.

The South cares about education. The South cares about welfare reform. The South cares about a strong stance against crime. The South has done very, very well economically under our policies, changing trickle-down economics, not going back to tax and spend but working on the invest and growth strategy that I ran for President on.

Ms. Woodruff. But they are voting for Republicans?

The President. They are, but I think they will be fair-minded when there's an honest debate. I don't think that the—in many cases they've gotten the other side of the coin. If you look at Florida, for example, or in Georgia where you have two seasoned Democratic Governors that survived the biggest Republican tidal wave in decades, they did it because they were strong and tough, and they stood up for what they believed in, and they did not apologize or pussyfoot around. They just said, here's what I did; here's why I did it; and here's where I stand. And not only that, they talked about what they were going to do to in the future. And they survived the tidal wave. I think that the Democrats will do well by following the examples of Lawton Chiles and Zell Miller.

The Presidency

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, if you step back a little bit and look over the span of your Presidency, what has been the most exhilarating moment in your Presidency and

what has been the most depressing moment for you since becoming President?

The President. I've had a lot of exhilarating moments, but I think that in terms of what's happening for Americans, I was exhilarated when the economic plan passed by only a vote because I knew it was the beginning of turning the country around. And I knew that if we got the deficit down, if we gave lower income working people a break, if we made college loans more affordable, if we expanded Head Start—that is, if we offered more opportunity and demanded more responsibility; all that was in that economic plan—that we could get this economy going again, and we could offer some opportunity. So that was a great moment for me.

On a purely personal basis, I think the passage of the national service bill and seeing all those young people come up here and seeing them go out across our country and sort of cut through all the rhetoric and bureaucracy and everything and just start changing America from the grassroots up and earning their way into college has been the most personally rewarding thing for me.

Mr. Blitzer. And depressing?

The President. The most depressing moment, I think, for me was when our young men were killed in Somalia, because they went there to save the lives of the Somali people. They did a magnificent job, and it was a very sad thing. And I think we learned some valuable lessons from it, and the lesson is not to withdraw from the world, not to walk away. What we did in Rwanda, what we did in Haiti especially, shows that there is a good way and a right way to do these things, but that was a very—personally, it was the most personally depressing moment to me.

Entertainment Industry Values

Ms. Woodruff. Mr. President, Bob Dole said this week, 2 days ago, that the entertainment industry in this country, television, movies, advertising, is poisoning the minds of American young people. He said Hollywood ought to be shamed into improving all of these things. You've gotten a lot of money from Hollywood interests and political contributions. Do you think Hollywood—should

you be holding Hollywood more accountable for these sorts of things?

The President. Well, I would remind you that long before Senator Dole said anything about it, I actually went to Hollywood and challenged them to deglorify violence, to deglorify sexual misconduct, to deglorify drug use, to deglorify destructive behaviors, and to try to help to build this country up. I also said the same thing in the State of the Union Address. And if you'll remember, it got as strong a response as anything that we had done. I think there——

Ms. Woodruff. And you're still saying that?

The President. Absolutely. And I think there has to be—I think what we need is—nobody wants to abolish the First Amendment, but people who can shape our culture have a responsibility to try to help build it up. And when they show things that are destructive, they need to be shown in a destructive light, not in a glorified light.

So if I might give you two examples, I think that one reason people liked "Forrest Gump" is they thought it reasserted American values. And it didn't hide the problems of the sixties, seventies, and eighties; in fact, it explored them, but it showed them in a sad and tragic light.

The movie "Boys N The Hood" was a violent movie, but it deglorified, it demystified gang life. No one could watch that movie and walk away from it with anything other than that children should not do these things. So there is a way for these subjects to be dealt with and to be commercially successful and still send cultural messages that bring us together and make us stronger.

Ms. Woodruff. All right, Mr. President, thank you for joining us.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:40 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Rolf Ekeus, chairman, United Nations Special Commission (Iraqi Weapons).

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.

April 8

In the morning, the President traveled to Los Angeles, CA, from Sacramento, CA.

In the evening, the President attended a Democratic National Committee fundraiser at a private residence.

April 9

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC.

April 11

In the afternoon, the President hosted a working lunch for Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan.

The President announced his intention to appoint Wayne Shackelford as a member of the Federal Advisory Committee on Greenhouse Gas Emissions From Personal Motor Vehicles.

The President announced his intention to appoint Leland D. Tillman as Chairman and United States Commissioner of the Canadian River Commission.

The White House announced the President has invited President Kim Young Sam of South Korea to the United States for a state visit July 25–28.

April 12

In the morning, the President traveled to Fort Benning, GA, and then to Warm Springs, GA.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

April 14

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Camp David, MD, for the Easter weekend.

The President announced his intention to appoint John L. Hall to the Board of Directors of the Mickey Leland National Urban Air Toxics Research Center.

The President announced his intention to appoint Anthony Williams as a Department of Agriculture Federal Representative to the Rural Telephone Bank Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint Joseph C. Swift as a member of the

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Federal Advisory Committee on Greenhouse Gas Emissions From Personal Motor Vehicles.

**Nominations
Submitted to the Senate**

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

**Checklist
of White House Press Releases**

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

Released April 7¹

Transcript of a press briefing by Education Secretary Richard Riley on funding for education

Released April 8

Excerpts of the President's speech to the California Democratic Party in Sacramento, CA

Released April 10

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Memorandum from National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to Intelligence Oversight Board Chairman Anthony S. Harrington on the Government-wide review of allegations surrounding the death of Michael DeVine and the disappearance of Efrain Bamaca Valesquez

Released April 11

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Robin Raphel, and Director of Near East and South Asian Affairs for NSC Ellen Laipson on the President's meeting with Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan

¹ This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing the state visit of President Kim of South Korea

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the appointment of Carol Bellamy as Executive Director of UNICEF

Released April 12

Announcement by Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., on reinvention of Social Security operations

Released April 13

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Released April 14

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the President and Hillary Clinton's 1994 Federal income tax return

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved April 10

H.R. 889 / Public Law 104-6
Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions for the Department of Defense to Preserve and Enhance Military Readiness Act of 1995

Approved April 11

H.R. 831 / Public Law 104-7
To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the deduction for the health insurance costs of self-employed individuals, to repeal the provision permitting nonrecognition of gain on sales and exchanges effectuating policies of the Federal Communications Commission, and for other purposes