

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Editor’s Note: The President was in Cambridge, MA, on June 5, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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

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Week Ending Friday, June 5, 1998

Proclamation 7102—Small Business Week, 1998

May 29, 1998

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Our great Nation is renowned worldwide as the land of opportunity. Americans are dedicated to bettering their lives, pursuing the American Dream with entrepreneurial spirit and ingenuity.

Small business owners across our country are among the true heroes of our great American success story. We owe much of today's prosperity to our Nation's 23.6 million small businesses. Small businesses represent 99.7 percent of all employers, account for 47 percent of all sales in the country, employ 53 percent of the private work force, and are responsible for more than half of the private gross domestic product. New business formation reached another record level in 1997, with 884,609 new employer firms—the highest ever, and a 5-percent increase over the last record set in 1996.

Recognizing the extraordinary contributions of small businesses to the strength and continuing growth of our economy, my Administration has worked hard to implement policies and programs designed to help small businesses develop and expand. We are directing tax relief to more small businesses, expanding access to capital, supporting innovation, providing regulatory relief, opening overseas markets to entrepreneurs, and strengthening America's work force through investments in education, training, and better benefits.

The U.S. Small Business Administration plays a key role in my Administration's efforts to help Americans start, build, and grow their small businesses into the 21st century. Since the end of fiscal year 1992, the SBA extended or guaranteed more than \$48 billion in loans

to small businesses, more than in the previous 12 years combined. The SBA's current portfolio guarantees \$29 billion in loans to 200,000 small business owners who otherwise would not have access to capital. Realizing the enormous potential of today's revolution in technology, we are leading the world in the development of electronic commerce and in using the Internet to help advance small business opportunities.

As Americans observe Small Business Week, let us pay tribute to the hundreds of thousands of small business owners across our Nation whose energy, innovative spirit, and faith in our system of free enterprise have done so much to generate the unprecedented prosperity and growth we enjoy today.

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 May 31 through June 6, 1998, as Small Business Week. I call upon Government officials and all the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs that celebrate the achievements of small business owners and encourage the development of new enterprises.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 2, 1998]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on June 3. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address*May 30, 1998*

Good morning. I want to talk to you today about the role of faith in our lives and in the education of our children.

Our Nation was founded by people of deep religious beliefs, some of whom came here to escape oppression because of their beliefs. Their trust in God is enshrined in one of our most treasured documents, the Declaration of Independence. Today, Americans are still a profoundly religious people, and our faith continues to sustain us.

Our Founders believed the best way to protect religious liberty was to first guarantee the right of everyone to believe and practice religion according to his or her conscience and, second, to prohibit our Government from imposing or sanctioning any particular religious belief. That's what they wrote into the first amendment. They were right then, and they're right now.

But resolving these two principles has not always been easy, especially when it comes to our public schools. Just as our religious faith guides us in our everyday lives, so, too, do our Nation's public schools strengthen the moral foundation of our society. We trust our schools to teach our children and to give them the knowledge and skills they need to succeed in life.

But schools do more than train children's minds. They also help to nurture their souls by reinforcing the values they learn at home and in their communities. I believe one of the best ways we can help our schools to do this is by supporting students' right to voluntarily practice their religious beliefs, including prayer in school, and to pursue religious activities on school grounds. Studies show that children who are involved in religious activities are much less likely to use drugs. In a world that increasingly exposes children to images of violence and immorality, common sense tells us they are more likely to stay out of trouble and live up to their full potential when they're spiritually grounded.

There's no question that the issue of prayer in schools is a complex and emotional one for many Americans. It has long been a matter of great controversy in our courts. But nothing in the Constitution requires schools

to be religion-free zones, where children must leave their faiths at the schoolhouse door.

To help clear up the confusion about what kind of religious activity is and must be permissible in public schools, in 1995 we issued comprehensive guidelines to every school district in America. These guidelines represent a very broad consensus of many religious groups. Here is what is at their core: students have the right to pray privately and individually in school; they have the right to say grace at lunchtime; they have the right to meet in religious groups on school grounds and to use school facilities, just like any other club; they have the right to read the Bible or any religious text during study hall or free class time; they also have the right to be free from coercion to participate in any kind of religious activity in school.

Now, since we've issued these guidelines, appropriate religious activity has flourished in our schools, and there has apparently been a substantial decline in the contentious argument and litigation that has accompanied this issue for too long.

The guidelines have encouraged communities to develop common understandings about what kind of religious activity is permissible in schools and help them to avoid costly lawsuits and divisive disputes. For example, after parents sued the school board because their son was wrongly punished for praying quietly in the cafeteria, St. Louis used the guidelines to adopt more explicit policies for the future. In suburban Atlanta, where schools hold workshops and distribute the guidelines to teachers at the beginning and middle of every school year, disputes about religious activity have all but disappeared.

To make sure our national guidelines are consistent with current court cases, so that more school districts follow these communities' lead, we are reissuing the guidelines with minor modifications, and we're mailing them to every school district in the country. I call on all districts to make sure the guidelines are understood and used by school principals, teachers, parents, and students themselves.

Helping communities to find common ground about religious expression is the right

way to protect religious freedom. There's also a wrong way: amending the Constitution. Some people say there should be a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in our public schools. But there already is one; it's the first amendment. For more than 200 years, the first amendment has protected our religious freedom and allowed many faiths to flourish in our homes, in our workplaces, and in our schools. Clearly understood and sensibly applied, it works. It does not need to be rewritten.

George Washington once said that Americans have, and I quote, "abundant reason to rejoice that in this land, every person may worship God according to the dictates of his own heart." Americans still have cause to rejoice that this most precious liberty is just as strong today as it was then, and it will still be there for our children in the 21st century.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 12:11 p.m. on May 29 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 30.

Statement on Further Nuclear Testing by Pakistan

May 30, 1998

The United States condemns today's second round of nuclear tests by Pakistan. These tests can only serve to increase tensions in an already volatile region. With their recent tests, Pakistan and India are contributing to a self-defeating cycle of escalation that does not add to the security of either country. Both India and Pakistan need to renounce further nuclear and missile testing immediately and take decisive steps to reverse this dangerous arms race.

I will continue to work with leaders throughout the international community to reduce tensions in South Asia, to preserve the global consensus on nonproliferation.

I call on India and Pakistan to resume their direct dialog, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty immediately and without conditions to reverse the arms race there, and to join the clear international consensus in support of nonproliferation.

Memorandum on Sanctions Against Pakistan for Detonation of a Nuclear Device

May 30, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-25

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Sanctions Against Pakistan for Detonation of a Nuclear Explosive Device

In accordance with section 102(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, I hereby determine that Pakistan, a non-nuclear-weapon state, detonated a nuclear explosive device on May 28, 1998. The relevant agencies and instrumentalities of the United States Government are hereby directed to take the necessary actions to impose the sanctions described in section 102(b)(2) of that Act.

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

William J. Clinton

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting the Detonation of a Nuclear Device by Pakistan

May 30, 1998

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

Pursuant to section 102(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, I am hereby reporting that, in accordance with that section, I have determined that Pakistan, a non-nuclear-weapon state, detonated a nuclear explosive device on May 28, 1998. I have further directed the relevant agencies and instrumentalities of the United States Government to take the necessary actions to impose the sanctions described in section 102(b)(2) of that Act.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

Statement on Support for Russian Reform

May 31, 1998

On Friday, I welcomed Russia's new economic program for 1998 and encouraged strong IMF and World Bank engagement in support of reform. Implementation of this program will strengthen the fundamentals of the Russian economy and foster maintenance of a stable ruble. Following my conversation with President Yeltsin last week, we directed our officials to consult on the Russian economic and financial situation. The United States endorses additional conditional financial support from the international financial institutions, as necessary, to promote stability, structural reforms, and growth in Russia.

Memorandum on Assistance to Africa and Southeast Asia

May 29, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-24

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as Amended

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I hereby determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$37,000,000 be made available from the United States Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to meet the urgent and unexpected needs of refugees, victims of conflict, and other persons at risk in Africa and Southeast Asia. These funds may be used, as appropriate, to provide contributions to international and nongovernmental agencies.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the obligation of funds under this authority and to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 1.

Proclamation 7103—To Facilitate Positive Adjustment to Competition From Imports of Wheat Gluten

May 30, 1998

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. On March 18, 1998, the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) transmitted to the President a unanimous affirmative determination in its investigation under section 202 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the "Trade Act") (19 U.S.C. 2252), with respect to imports of wheat gluten provided for in subheadings 1109.00.10 and 1109.00.90 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States ("HTS"). Under section 202 of the Trade Act, the USITC determined that such wheat gluten is being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to be a substantial cause of serious injury to the domestic industry producing a like or directly competitive article. Further, the USITC, pursuant to section 311(a) of the North American Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act ("NAFTA Implementation Act") (19 U.S.C. 3371(a)), made negative findings with respect to imports of wheat gluten from Canada and Mexico. The USITC also transmitted its recommendation made pursuant to section 202(e) of the Trade Act with respect to the action that would address the serious injury to the domestic industry and be most effective in facilitating the efforts of the domestic industry to make a positive adjustment to import competition.

2. Pursuant to section 203 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253), and taking into account the considerations specified in section 203(a)(2) of the Trade Act, I have determined to implement action of a type described in section 203(a)(3). Such action shall take the form of quantitative limitations on imports of wheat gluten, provided for in HTS subheadings 1109.00.10 and 1109.00.90, imposed for a period of 3 years plus one day, with annual increases in such quota limits of six percent in the second year and in the third year. Except for products of Canada, Mexico,

Israel, beneficiary countries under the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA) and the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA), and other developing countries that have accounted for a minor share of wheat gluten imports, which shall be excluded from any restriction, such quantitative limitations shall apply to imports from all countries and the quota quantity shall be allocated among such countries. Pursuant to section 203(a)(1)(A) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(a)(1)(A)), I have further determined that these actions will facilitate efforts by the domestic industry to make a positive adjustment to import competition and provide greater economic and social benefits than costs.

3. Section 604 of the Trade Act, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2483), authorizes the President to embody in the HTS the substance of the relevant provisions of that Act, and of other acts affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder, including the removal, modification, continuance, or imposition of any rate of duty or other import restriction.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including but not limited to sections 203 and 604 of the Trade Act, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, do proclaim that:

(1) In order to establish quantitative limitations for wheat gluten classified in HTS subheadings 1109.00.10 and 1109.00.90, subchapter III of chapter 99 of the HTS is modified as provided in the Annex to this proclamation.

(2) Wheat gluten that is the product of Canada, of Mexico, of Israel, of beneficiary countries under the CBERA and the ATPA, and of developing countries listed in general note 4(a) to the HTS shall be excluded from the quantitative limitations established by this proclamation, and such imports shall not be counted toward such limitations for any quota period created herein.

(3) In the event that a quota quantity established by this proclamation and allocated to a country or to "other countries" is significantly underutilized, the United States Trade Representative is authorized to reallocate all

or part of the unfilled portion of such quota quantity to any other country or countries and, upon publication of notice in the *Federal Register*, to modify the HTS provisions created by the Annex to this proclamation to reflect any such reallocation.

(4) Any provisions of previous proclamations and Executive orders that are inconsistent with the actions taken in this proclamation are superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

(5) The modifications to the HTS made by this proclamation, including the Annex hereto, shall be effective with respect to goods entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after 12:01 a.m. EDT on June 1, 1998, and shall continue in effect as provided in the Annex to this proclamation, unless such actions are earlier expressly modified or terminated.

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

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 2, 1998]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on June 3. This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 1.

Memorandum on Adjustment to Competition From Imports of Wheat Gluten

May 30, 1998

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Action Under Section 203 of the Trade Act of 1974 Concerning Wheat Gluten

On March 18, 1998, the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) submitted to me a report that contained: (1) a determination pursuant to section 202 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2252) (the "Trade Act") that imports of wheat gluten

are being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to be a substantial cause of serious injury to the domestic industry; and (2) negative findings made pursuant to section 311(a) of the North American Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (the "NAFTA Implementation Act") (19 U.S.C. 3371(a)) with respect to imports of wheat gluten from Canada and Mexico.

After considering all relevant aspects of the investigation, including the factors set forth in section 203(a)(2) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253), I have implemented actions of a type described in section 203(a)(3). Specifically, I have determined that the most appropriate action is a quantitative limitation on imports of wheat gluten. I have proclaimed such action for a period of approximately 3 years in order to provide time for the domestic industry to implement an adjustment plan that will facilitate its positive adjustment to import competition. I have set the quantitative limitation at an amount equal to 126.812 million pounds in the first year, an amount which represents total average imports in the crop years ending June 30, 1993, through June 30, 1995. This amount will increase by six percent annually for the duration of the relief period. I believe that this amount is the relief necessary to remedy the serious injury and to promote positive adjustment. The quota is allocated based on average import shares in the period covered by the crop years ending June 30, 1993, through June 30, 1995. Shares of countries excluded from the quota are assigned on a pro rata basis to countries subject to the quota. To ensure that the quota is substantially filled, I have authorized the United States Trade Representative to reallocate any significant unused quota allocations. I considered taking other forms of action, such as increasing tariffs on imports of wheat gluten, and have determined that action in such forms would not, in light of the nature of trade in wheat gluten, meet the goals of remedying serious injury and facilitating industry adjustment.

I agree with the USITC's findings under section 311(a) of the NAFTA Implementation Act, and therefore determine, pursuant to section 312(a) of the NAFTA Implementa-

tion Act, that imports of wheat gluten produced in Canada do not contribute importantly to the serious injury caused by imports and that imports of wheat gluten produced in Mexico do not account for a substantial share of total imports of such wheat gluten. Therefore, pursuant to section 312(b) of the NAFTA Implementation Act, the quantitative limitation will not apply to imports of wheat gluten from Canada or Mexico. Similarly, the limitation will not apply to imports of wheat gluten from Israel, and beneficiary countries under the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA) and the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA), in light of the USITC's statement that its recommendation does not apply to imports from those countries. Moreover, other developing countries that have accounted for a minor share of wheat gluten imports are excluded from the quantitative limitation.

As an additional means of arriving at a long-term solution to this trade issue, I have directed the United States Trade Representative, with the assistance of the Secretary of Agriculture, to seek to initiate international negotiations to address the underlying cause of the increase in imports of the article or otherwise to alleviate the injury found to exist.

I have determined that the actions described above will facilitate efforts by the domestic industry to make a positive adjustment to import competition and provide greater economic and social benefits than costs. This action provides the domestic industry with necessary temporary relief from increased import competition, while also assuring our trading partners significant continued access to the United States market.

I also note that, pursuant to section 204 of the Trade Act, the USITC will monitor developments with respect to the domestic industry, including progress and specific efforts made by workers and firms in the domestic industry to make a positive adjustment to import competition, and will provide to me and to the Congress a report of its monitoring no later than the date that is the midpoint of the period the action is in effect.

The United States Trade Representative is authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 1.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders
Transmitting the Proclamation and
Memorandum on an Adjustment to
Competition From Imports of Wheat
Gluten**

May 30, 1998

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

Pursuant to section 203(b)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, I am transmitting to you copies of my proclamation and memorandum describing the action I have taken, and the reasons therefor, under section 203(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 concerning wheat gluten.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 1.

**Joint Statement on the Visit of His
Highness Shaikh Essa Bin Salman Al-
Khalifa, the Amir of the State of
Bahrain**

June 1, 1998

President Clinton received His Highness Shaikh Essa Bin Salman Al-Khalifa, the Amir of the State of Bahrain at the White House on June 1, 1998. The Amir's visit reflects the close and long-standing relationship between the State of Bahrain and the United States of America as well as the commitment of both governments to high-level consultations on a broad range of issues of mutual interest.

The President and the Amir discussed the deep and enduring ties between their two nations, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the U.S. Navy's relationship with Bahrain and the one hundredth anniversary of

the American hospital in Bahrain. The President recognized the United States' historic friendship with Bahrain and underscored our commitment to build on this strong foundation of partnership by continuing this close relationship into the twenty-first century.

The two parties discussed issues of mutual concern, focusing particularly on their shared commitment to peace, security and stability in the Middle East. Both His Highness and the President pledged to continue their close cooperation in pursuit of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace. The President reviewed America's ongoing efforts to reinvigorate the peace process. Bahrain expressed its respect and appreciation for these efforts. Both sides agreed that the best way to achieve the peace so greatly desired is by the full implementation of each side's obligations under the Oslo and Washington Accords. The two sides recognized the importance of resuming negotiations on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks as soon as possible and expressed their support for the implementation of Resolutions 425 and 426.

The President and the Amir discussed the situation in the Gulf, affirming their shared commitment to upholding regional security in the face of external threats. Both sides recognized the importance of stable boundaries between states, and emphasized the need to resolve the outstanding territorial disputes throughout the region by peaceful and legitimate means acceptable to the parties.

The United States and Bahrain call upon Iraq to fully implement all Security Council resolutions including full disclosure of its Weapons of Mass Destruction. As members of the Security Council, Bahrain and the United States continue to support the mission and functioning of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM). Both governments expressed great sympathy for the Iraqi people and call upon Iraq to comply fully with all United Nations Security Council Resolutions. The two sides agreed that UN Security Council Resolutions must be enforced and made clear that the Iraqi government bears sole responsibility for the misery of the Iraqi

people. They welcomed the adoption of Resolution 1153 to expand humanitarian assistance and to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people.

The two sides reviewed with interest recent developments regarding Iranian policy and welcomed the emerging moderate tone in Iran's statements. They looked forward to seeing Iranian substantive policies consistent with these statements and conducive to the improvement of Iran's relations with neighboring states and with the international community. They agreed that Iran's continuing commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of neighboring states will reflect on Tehran's interest in promoting peace and security in the region.

President Clinton and His Highness reviewed international economic developments and agreed to continue their close consultations on means to improve opportunities for trade and investment in the region. The United States recognized the potential of Bahrain's economy due to its highly developed infrastructure and suitable environment for investment opportunities. They agreed to capitalize on the opportunities presented by the United States Economic Dialogue with the Gulf Cooperation Council to advance progress and prosperity throughout the region.

The United States and Bahrain expressed their concern at the increased risk of a nuclear arms race escalating and urged India, Pakistan and other non-signatory countries to accede to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) without conditions. The United States and Bahrain also call on the Governments of India and Pakistan to announce a moratorium on future tests and experimentation on delivery systems. The Amir expressed his appreciation for the warm welcome and gracious hospitality accorded to him and to his accompanying delegation by President Clinton during the visit. The President conveyed the warm greetings and best wishes of the American people to the citizens of Bahrain and wished His Highness good health and long life. His Highness the Amir extended an invitation to President Clinton to pay an official visit to the State of Bahrain.

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

Memorandum on Plain Language in Government Writing

June 1, 1998

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Plain Language in Government Writing

The Vice President and I have made reinventing the Federal Government a top priority of my Administration. We are determined to make the Government more responsive, accessible, and understandable in its communications with the public.

The Federal Government's writing must be in plain language. By using plain language, we send a clear message about what the Government is doing, what it requires, and what services it offers. Plain language saves the Government and the private sector time, effort, and money.

Plain language requirements vary from one document to another, depending on the intended audience. Plain language documents have logical organization, easy-to-read design features, and use:

- common, everyday words, except for necessary technical terms;
- "you" and other pronouns;
- the active voice; and
- short sentences.

To ensure the use of plain language, I direct you to do the following:

- By October 1, 1998, use plain language in all new documents, other than regulations, that explain how to obtain a benefit or service or how to comply with a requirement you administer or enforce. For example, these documents may include letters, forms, notices, and instructions. By January 1, 2002, all such documents created prior to October 1, 1998, must also be in plain language.
- By January 1, 1999, use plain language in all proposed and final rulemaking documents published in the *Federal Register*, unless you proposed the rule before that date. You should consider

rewriting existing regulations in plain language when you have the opportunity and resources to do so.

The National Partnership for Reinventing Government will issue guidance to help you comply with these directives and to explain more fully the elements of plain language. You should also use customer feedback and common sense to guide your plain language efforts.

I ask the independent agencies to comply with these directives.

This memorandum does not confer any right or benefit enforceable by law against the United States or its representatives. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget will publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

**Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion
on the 2000 Census in Houston,
Texas**

June 2, 1998

The President. Thank you. Thank you for that wonderful welcome, and thank you, Marta, for the wonderful work you're doing here. I enjoyed my tour. I enjoyed shaking hands with all the folks who work here and the people who are taking advantage of all your services. And I'm glad to be here. Mr. Mayor, you can be proud, and I know you are proud of this center and the others like it in this city.

I'd like to thank all the Members of Congress who are here from the Texas delegation, and a special thanks to Representatives Maloney and Sawyer for coming from Washington with me today, and for their passionate concern to try to get an accurate census.

I thank the Texas land commissioner, Garry Mauro, for being here; and the members of the legislature, Senator Gallegos, Senator Ellis, Congressman—Representative Torres, and others, if they're here, the other city officials; Mr. Boney, the president of the city council; Mr. Eckels, the county executive judge; Rueben Guerrero, the SBA Regional Administrator. If there are others—I think our Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Mr.

Mallett, is here, who is from Houston. I thank you all for being here.

Before I say what I want to say about the census, I think, since this is the first time I have been in Texas since the fires began to rage in Mexico, that have affected you, if you'll forgive me, I'd like to just say a word about that. The smoke and the haze from these fires has become a matter of serious concern for people in Texas and Louisiana, and other Gulf States. It has gotten even further up into our country. And of course, the greatest loss has been suffered by our friends and neighbors across the border in Mexico. Now, we are doing everything we know to do to help, both to help the people of Mexico and to stem the disadvantageous side effects of all the smoke and haze coming up here into the United States.

I had an extended talk with President Zedillo about it. And, of course, here we had the EPA and Health and Human Services and FEMA monitoring the air quality. We're working very hard with the Mexican Government to help them more effectively fight these fires. We provided more than \$8 million in emergency assistance to Mexico since January, with 4 firefighting helicopters, an infrared imaging aircraft to detect fire hotspots, safety, communications, and other firefighting equipment for over 3,000 firefighters. Over 50 experts from our Federal agency have provided important technical advice, and tomorrow, our Agriculture Secretary, Dan Glickman, and our AID Administrator, Brian Atwood, are going to Mexico to see these fires firsthand and to see what else we can do in consultation with Mexican officials.

I think that we will be successful, but this has been a long and frustrating thing. As you probably know, we've had extended fires over the last year in Southeast Asia as well and in South America. This is a terrific problem that requires change in longstanding habits on the part of many people in rural areas in a lot of these countries, but it also is a function of the unusual weather conditions through which we have been living. And we'll continue to work on it.

Now, let's talk about the census. Since our Nation's founding, the taking of the census has been mandated by the Constitution. How we have met this responsibility has changed

and evolved over time as the country has grown in size and population, and as we've learned more about how to count people. Today I want to talk about the newest changes that we propose to make and how important it is to your work and your community. That's why we're here—so that we can put a human face on the census and its consequences.

We do this every 10 years. The first time we had a census, Thomas Jefferson, who was then the Secretary of State, actually sent Federal marshals out on horseback to count heads. We relied on this system of sending workers out to count our people, household by household, person by person, for nearly two centuries. But as the population grew and people began to move more frequently, this process became increasingly both inefficient and ineffective, even as it became progressively more expensive. By the time we finished counting, we'd have to start all over again for the next census.

In 1970, therefore, we started counting people by mail. For three decades now, Americans have been asked to fill out census forms that come in the mail and send them back for processing. Now we know that this method, too, needs to be updated. For a variety of reasons, millions of people, literally millions of people, did not send their 1990 census form back. For the first time, the census in 1990 was less accurate than the one before it. Before that, the census had become increasingly more accurate.

We know now that the census missed 8 million Americans living in inner cities and in remote rural areas. We know, too, interestingly enough, that it double-counted 4 million Americans, many of whom had the good fortune to own 2 homes. [Laughter] The number of people not counted in Los Angeles—in Los Angeles alone—was enough to fill a city as big as Tallahassee, the capital of Florida. The census missed 482,738 people in the State of Texas, 66,748 of them here in Houston.

Now, if we are really going to strengthen our country and prepare for this new century, we have to have a full and accurate picture of who we are as a people and where we live. We rely on census statistics every day to determine where to build more roads and

hospitals and child care centers, and to decide which communities need more Federal help for Head Start or Federal training programs, or for the WIC program. Marta and I just visited your WIC program here in this center, and we saw a baby being weighed and measured. The baby liked being weighed more than it liked being measured. I don't blame him. [Laughter]

The WIC program is just one example. The Congress, with all the fights that we've had over the last 6 years, we've had pretty good success in getting a bipartisan majority to continue to put more money into the WIC program, because people know that it makes good sense to feed babies and take care of them and provide for them when they're young. But the funds, once appropriated, can only flow where they're needed if there is an accurate count of where the kids are. So, ironically, no matter how much money we appropriate for WIC, unless we actually can track where the children are, the program will be less than fully successful.

Now, more than half of the undercounted in the last census were children. A disproportionate number of undercounted Americans were minorities. That means some of our most vulnerable populations routinely are omitted when it comes time to providing Federal funds for critical services. An inaccurate census distorts our understanding of the needs of our people, and in many respects, therefore, it diminishes the quality of life not only for them but for all the rest of us as well.

That's why we have to use the most up-to-date, scientific, cost-effective methods to conduct an accurate census. That's why—to go back to what Congressman Green said—we should follow the National Academy of Sciences' recommendations to use statistical sampling in the next census.

Scientists and statisticians are nearly unanimous in saying that statistical sampling is the best way to get a full and fair count of our people for the 2000 census. It is estimated that if we use good statistical sampling, supplemented by what are called quality checks, where you go out into selected neighborhoods and actually count heads to make sure that the sampling is working, that we can cut the error rate to a tenth of a percent, or that

in the next sample we would miss, out of a country of nearly 300 million people by then, only 300,000, as opposed to 8 million in the 1990 census.

Now, as far as I know, nobody in this room had anything to do with coming up with this proposal. All of us just want an accurate count. Whatever the count is, wherever the people are, this is not a political issue; this is an American issue. But the people who know what they're doing tell us that this is the way we should do it. There is no serious dispute among the experts here.

It is, therefore, I think, quite unfortunate that some in Congress have so vociferously opposed sampling, because improving the census shouldn't be a partisan issue. It's not about politics; it's about people. It's about making sure every American really and literally counts. It's about gathering fair and accurate information that we absolutely have to have if we're going to determine who we are and what we have to do to prepare all our people for the 21st century.

In Texas, I would think every Republican would be just as interested as every Democrat in seeing that every Texan is counted so that this State does not lose another billion dollars or maybe \$2 or \$3 billion by then, in undercounting in ways that will help you to meet the challenge of your growing population and to seize the opportunities that are out there for all of you.

So that's what we're here for. And all the folks on this panel, I want to thank them in advance for their willingness to be here, because I'm basically just going to listen to them now, give you what I hope will be a fuller picture of what the consequences of this whole census issue are in very stark, clear human terms. But remember, it's not a political issue; it's a people issue. Nobody has got an ax to grind for any method; we should all want the most accurate method. And when it's all said and done, all we should want is to have everyone of us properly, accurately, fairly, and constitutionally counted.

Thank you very much. [Applause] Thank you.

Well, as I said earlier, everybody here, around this panel, has a different perspective on the importance of the census. And I would like to hear some specific illustrations now

about how the census is used and why the accuracy is important. And maybe we should start with Dr. Craven and with Dr. Kendrick—if you could start.

[*Dr. Judith Craven, president, United Way of the Texas Gulf Coast in Houston, explained the importance of accurate census numbers to funding for services in the area.*]

The President. So this is very important because—so what you're saying is, when United Way funds are distributed, private funds—

Dr. Craven. That's correct.

The President. —you need the census, first of all, to tell you where the problems are, and secondly, to know how much to give.

Dr. Craven. How much to give and how we can leverage what's already being done by the Government, and making sure that Government dollars have come in an equitable amount to leverage and maximize the resources here to deliver those services.

The President. This as an important point because it's something you almost never hear, that because of the work of United Ways all over America, and because of the way they work, and because of the generosity of the American people, if the census is inaccurate, it has an indirect, bad effect on private investment in people, in community needs, as well as on Government investment.

Dr. Kendrick.

[*Dr. Mary des Vignes-Kendrick, director, City of Houston Health Department, described how critical accurate census data is to public health and is used as the denominator for a variety of policymaking decisions.*]

The President. Thank you very much. Maybe we could be a little more specific about what some of the specific repercussions are, or have been, as a result of the undercount in the 1990 census.

Mr. Moreno, could you respond to that?

[*Gilbert Moreno, president and chief executive officer, Association for the Advancement of Mexican-Americans, described the impact that the census will have on the Mexican-American community.*]

The President. Dr. Mindiola.

[Dr. Tatcho Mindiola, Jr., director, Center for Mexican-American Studies at the University of Houston, described how areas such as Houston's East End, which are generally poor, have been traditionally undercounted. Dr. Mindiola applauded the President's support of the statistical sampling method for the next census.]

The President. Thank you.
Reverend Clemons.

[Rev. Harvey Clemons, Jr., pastor, Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, described how an accurate and comprehensive census count would help provide the tools needed to bring about community revitalization in hard-to-develop areas which have been traditionally undercounted.]

The President. What about the business community? Ms. Joe, would you like to talk about that?

[Ms. Glenda Joe of Great Wall Enterprises, a marketing, advertising, and public relations firm catering to Asian-American markets and demographics, described how inaccurate census data discourages corporate ventures and investment in the region. She explained that poor census data affected funding allocations for Asian nonprofit organizations. Ms. Joe then noted that the sharp growth of the Asian-American community in the Gulf Coast region of Texas has not been accurately reflected in the census.]

The President. If I might say—this is a problem—this particular problem she has mentioned is a bigger problem with Asian-Americans than with any other minority group, but it is also a general problem in the work that we're trying to do around the country in revitalizing the inner cities.

If you look at the American unemployment rate now, which is about 4.3 percent—it's the lowest it's been since 19—I think '74, '73, something like that, now—and when I became President, the conventional theory among economists—we had these huge arguments, I remember, after I was elected in '92 and before I took office, and we got everybody down around the table at the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock and talked about this. Conventional economic wisdom was that if unemployment dropped much

below 6 percent, you would have terrible inflation, the economy would be in bad shape, and we'd have to run it back up again.

Well, the American people have proved that that's not so, through high levels of productivity and technology. But then you ask yourself, well, how can we keep this economy growing now that—if the national unemployment rate is down to 4.3 percent? How can we grow the economy without inflation? The obvious answer is, go to the places where the unemployment rate is still higher, where people will work for competitive wages, and where they can create markets because they do have money to spend if people invest it there.

So, you see this also in Hispanic communities in places like Los Angeles, where we've put together a \$400 million community development bank to go into these neighborhoods and make small loans to entrepreneurs to start businesses. You see it in these community development banks we've put up in New York and elsewhere.

In New York City the unemployment rate is still almost 9 percent, so obviously there is an enormous opportunity there for growth, and a lot of the unemployed people in New York are Hispanic, African-American, Asians, people from the Caribbean, not counted. So you go and you say, "Well, make me a loan, and I'll go start this kind of business, and there are this thousand many people in my neighborhood and in my market area." And somebody picks up a census and says, "No, there are not, there are only half that many."

So this is a free enterprise issue as well, because I'm convinced that we have an opportunity that we've not had in 30 years to really crack the unemployment and the underemployment problem and the lack of business ownership in inner cities throughout this country. But to do it, even if you have generous and sympathetic bankers and a Government program that says you're supposed to target low-income areas, you've got to know what the market is.

So it's a problem—the one you said is not just specific to you in here, it's a huge general problem throughout America that an accurate count would help. So it actually, I believe, would help us to keep the growth of the economy going and help us to lower the

unemployment rate further by knowing where investment capital could flow.

Let me just ask—and I guess I'd like to start with Dr. Klineberg because he started the Houston area survey—how possible do you think it is to get an accurate survey, and what do you think—what steps need to be taken? And what arguments do you think we could make to the skeptics who say no statistician with a computer can compete with people going around door-to-door and counting heads?

This is a—you know, it's kind of like a—it's not an easy argument to win. You know, the average person, you just come up to somebody and say, "We're here to figure out how many people are in this room. Would you think it would be better to have an expert look in the room and guess or have somebody walk up and down the rows and count?" So we've got to figure out how to—we've got to win this argument with average American people who aren't used to thinking about these sort of things. And we have to prove that we can do it. So maybe we ought to talk about where we go from here. But, Doctor, would you like to say a few things?

[Stephen Klineberg, professor of sociology, Rice University, described how the census was used and why accuracy was important to the work of sociology and political science in understanding America at a time of great demographic change from an amalgam of European nationalities to an amalgam of worldwide nationalities. Rev. Clemons commended the President for his support of statistical sampling, but urged collecting detailed data in the census.]

The President. Let me ask you another way, because this is where I think—obviously, I'm here in part because I was—because I wanted to come here to illustrate the importance of the census. I'm also here in part, to be candid, because the outcome of this battle is not clear. We all know that. That's why Congressman Sawyer and Congresswoman Maloney came all the way from Washington with me today.

And suppose I got all of you, and I put you in a van. We all got in the van; we drove across town; and we stopped at a little real estate office. The people had never had any

contact at all with the census except they always filled out their form—or we stopped in a service station, and we met a couple guys that—they never thought about this issue for 5 minutes. They're not conscious that it affects them at all. How can we convince ordinary citizens in all the congressional districts, whether they're represented by Republicans or Democrats, without regard to party, that statistical sampling will give them a more accurate count than hiring 6 million people to go door to door? What can you say that is consistent with the experience of ordinary working Americans that will make them understand that?

Dr. Mindiola.

Dr. Mindiola. Mr. President, if I were you I would tell them this story. Most Americans, I think the vast majority of Americans go for medical checkups. And during that process, they do a blood test. But when you go get your blood test, the doctor or the nurse does not draw 100 percent of your blood out of your body. They draw a sample. And based upon that sample—*[laughter]*—and based upon that sample, they can tell your cholesterol level, whether you have too much acid in your blood, et cetera, et cetera. And I think in those common, everyday terms, the average American citizen should be able to understand the validity of sampling, because that's a common, everyday experience.

The President. That may go down in history as the Dracula theory of the census. *[Laughter]* That's pretty good, though.

Go ahead, Marta.

[Marta Moreno, director, Magnolia Multi-Service Center, a Woman, Infants, and Children (WIC) program facility, stated the importance of making people feel comfortable with filling out the census form and advocated public service announcements to achieve that goal. She also favored hiring minority groups to participate in data collection for the census.]

The President. Gilbert.

Mr. Moreno. I think that transportation ultimately is one of the most impacted areas, and boy, in Houston if you're sitting in that rush hour traffic, you're going to have our vote, because you're sitting in bumper-to-bumper traffic in 100 degree weather.

The President. So you'd make a practical argument.

Mr. Moreno. It is. Houston, as you know, is the fourth fastest growing city in sheer numbers. Dallas is third. The towns in south Texas are growing at an incredible rate, and they're stacked on a very poor highway that links those cities.

The President. We're trying to build you one, though.

Mr. Moreno. Yes, exactly. It's dangerous to drive from San Antonio to Houston on a Sunday night because the traffic is just stacked.

The President. You know, one of the things that I find works sometimes is the analogy to political polling. I mean, most people understand that a poll taken before an election is a statistical sample. And sometimes it's wrong, but more often than not it's right. And there you may only sample a thousand people out of millions of voters. I mean, there are ways to do this, but I just think—I wish you would all think about it because, again—the other point that I think is important that a lot of you have pointed out is that, a lot of people, you can send all the forms you want to their house, and they either won't or can't fill out the forms. And we know that in some cases, almost—and maybe even without an attempt to deceive, people have gotten census forms if they have a vacation home or two homes, so that ironically, the most over-counted people tended to be upper-income people who would be the least likely to benefit from a lot of these investments, and they might have innocently filled out the forms twice, not necessarily wanting to be over-counted, and just done it.

So I think that that's—the other thing is to point out that people are moving all the time, and sometimes people aren't home, and sometimes somebody is home and somebody is not, which means that even if you thought sending out 10 million people to physically count the other 200 and—how many people did you say we were—268 million of us—it may not be physically possible to do. So that even if you could do it, even if we could put 10 or 15 or 20 million people on the street for a couple of months, it might do no more of an accurate job than a very good sample.

The only place I know that probably got a good head count recently—well, you may have seen the press, where they have a much more controlled society, where people don't get to move around on their own, is Iraq, where they shut the whole country down for a day. You remember that? Nobody moves; everybody stays home; kids have to play in front of their house—stay there. That doesn't seem to me to be a practical alternative for us. *[Laughter]*

Glenda.

[Ms. Joe stated that it is necessary to convince citizens that the accuracy derived from statistical sampling serves their self-interest. Rev. Clemons stated that minorities are reluctant to answer the census because they believe the information would do harm rather than good and that reversing that perception was essential for participation. Dr. Mindiola stated that the census is not a political issue and politics should be taken out of it. Dr. des Vignes-Kendrick commended facilities such as the Magnolia Multi-Service Center and underscored the need for accurate census data in order to more fully serve their communities. She stated that if census data can be demonstrated to link service, resources, and opportunity to the community, participation would increase.]

Mr. Moreno. Mr. President, we're about out of time, but we did want to thank you tremendously for your visit to the East End of Houston. This is a real historic visit. It's my understanding that you're the first President since FDR to visit and so—

The President. Is that right?

Mr. Moreno. Hopefully, it won't be that long again.

The President. Thank you. Let me say one other thing. I would like to close this—thank you all for your participation, and thank all of you—but I would like to close by putting this issue even in a larger context if I might, just to close.

To me, having an accurate census is a big part of having a strategy for racial reconciliation in America and building one American community that works. Why? Because if people feel they're undercounted, and they don't get—their children don't get the help they need, whether it's an education or health

care or whatever—it will breed, inevitably, a sense of resentment, a sense of unfairness, a sense that people aren't really part of the mainstream and the future. And this is really important.

I know a lot of people think I'm obsessed with this, but I think the fact that we are growing more diverse as the world gets smaller is an enormous, enormous asset for the United States in the 21st century if we really live together on terms of the quality and harmony and cooperation—and if we're growing together, not being split apart.

But if you look at what I have to spend my time doing as your President when I deal with countries around the world, how much of it is dealing with people who are burdened down with group resentments? Why were we all rejoicing when the Irish voted for the peace accord? Because the Catholics and the Protestants had given up their group resentment to work together for a unified future.

What is the problem in Kosovo, a place that most Americans had never heard of before a few months ago? Ethnic Albanians and Serbs fighting over group resentments. What was Bosnia about? The same thing. What is going on in the Middle East? What is the dynamic within India now? It's just all in the news because of the nuclear test, where you have a Hindu party claiming that the Hindus historically have been insufficiently respected and oppressed by the Muslim minority, and you have group resentments.

I mean, this whole world is so full of people's resentments because they think that the group they're a part of is not getting a fair deal from everybody else if they happen to be bigger or richer or whatever.

We have—with all of our problems in America—we have slowly, steadily, surely been able to chip away at all of the those barriers and come together. That, in the end, may be the largest issue of all about the census: Can we succeed in building one America without knowing who we are, how many we are, where we are, and what kind of situation we're living in? I think the answer to that is, it will be a lot harder. And if we do it right, we'll be a lot stronger.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. at the Magnolia Multi-Service Center. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Lee Brown of Houston; State Senators Mario Gallegos and Rodney Ellis; State Representative Gerard Torres; Jew Don Boney, president, Houston City Council; Robert A. Eckels, Harris County Commissioners Court; and President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico.

Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Reception in Houston

June 2, 1998

Thank you so much. First, let me join in thanking Richard and Ginni for welcoming us into their magnificent home and this magnificent art gallery. [Laughter] You know, it's amazing how you use cliches year-in and year-out, and sometimes something happens that it gives whole new meaning. This lunch has given a whole new meaning to the Democratic Party as the party of the big tent. [Laughter] It's really very, very beautiful, and we're grateful to you.

I want to thank all the Members of Congress who are here, all the candidates for Congress who are here; my great longtime friend Garry Mauro; and Jim Maddox and Ann Richards, who had to go. And I thank you, B.A. Bentsen, for being here, and thanks for giving us a good report on Lloyd.

Ladies and gentlemen, what was just said about Martin Frost is true and then some. Right before I came up here, I was sitting down there, and Mary—[inaudible]—asked me about my dog, Buddy. I don't know if you've ever had a Labrador retriever, but they're smart, and they're loving, but, Lord, are they insistent. [Laughter] And about once a day my dog comes into the White House, to the Oval Office, and he'll go in the back room—he knows where all his toys are—and he'll sort through his toys, and he'll go get his ball, and he comes and throws the ball down at my feet. And you know, I could be talking to Boris Yeltsin on the phone—[laughter]—but he doesn't care. He just starts barking. [Laughter] The whole Federal budget could be an issue. Buddy doesn't care. He just starts barking. [Laughter] And he'll keep right on barking until I go out and throw that ball with him for a while.

That's the way Martin Frost is about these events. [Laughter] If I'd had thought about it, I'd have called Buddy, Martin. But I say that out of real admiration, because somebody's got to do this work—somebody's got to do this work.

In 1996 we would have won the House back if we hadn't been outspent in 20 close districts in the last 10 days, about 4 to 1. That's not an exaggeration. Now, we had a long way to come back, and we had to spend some money along the way, and it's not going to be that bad this time. But Martin Frost understands that.

And this is a completely thankless job. In Texas, at least you can express your appreciation for him, you can support, you know. But he's out there helping people in Connecticut, in Colorado, in Washington, Wisconsin, and California. And it's a completely thankless job except to people who understand that the future of the country is in large measure riding on our ability to be competitive in a lot of these races. So I want to say—I make a lot of fun of Martin barking at me, but I love him for doing it. And I thank you, sir, for what you've done.

I'd also like to remind everybody that this is not just an election year; it's an election in which there are high stakes and important issues. I have done my best to not only turn the country around but to do it with a Democratic Party that was rooted in our oldest values and pointed toward the 21st century. A lot of you in this room have helped me to do that. I'd like to say a particular word of appreciation to Bill White for what he's done as chairman of the Democratic Party here and what he did in my administration. And a thank you for over 25 years of friendship to my friend Billie Carr, who is just celebrating her 70th birthday, but she doesn't look it. And I love you for it.

Keep in mind what people—what the Republicans used to say about the Democratic Party. In 1992, when I ran for President, I thought they might get away with it one more time. You know, they, after 12 years of stewardship of the country, we had to quadruple the national debt, and they said, "Well, it's only because of the Congress," even though the Democratic Congress had, in fact, appropriated slightly less money than the Presi-

dents had asked for in the previous 12 years. But they had one-half the country convinced that we couldn't be trusted with the economy; we couldn't be trusted with the deficit; we couldn't be trusted with taxes; we couldn't be trusted with welfare, or crime, or the management of the foreign policy of the country, or anything else that amounted to anything to a lot of Americans.

And when I presented my economic program in which then Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen was spearheading in 1993, a lot of the leaders of the Republican Party, including a certain Senator from Texas, said that if you do this, it will bring on a recession; it will increase the deficit. Well, we're about to have the first surplus since Lyndon Johnson was President, and it's not an accident that he was a Democrat, too.

So the first thing I want to say is that all the people here who helped me—Mayor Brown, who was my drug czar; Bill was in the Energy Department; a lot of you just helped in the Congress and the administration—you should be proud of the fact that no one can now say, with the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years, the first balanced budget and surplus in 30 years, the lowest interest rates in 32 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years, and the lowest crime rates in 25 years, the biggest expansion of trade in American history—no one can say that the Democrats cannot be trusted with the economy or with social policy or with the safety of our streets.

And all of you played a role in that. And I'm proud of the success that the country has had, but I think it's also important to say that as we look ahead we have to say, what else still needs to be done for the 21st century? Because elections are always about the future, and the fact that you did a good job in the time you were given, all that means is that that's some evidence that you might do a good job if you get another term.

So we have to continue to press our agenda for the future. And I'd just like to remind you that these are important things that affect every American. There are people up in Washington that want to spend the surplus before it's materialized. I don't want to spend one red cent of it until I know that we have saved the Social Security system for the 21st

century so we don't bankrupt our kids when the baby boomers like me retire. That's an important thing to do.

I believe, and I think you believe, that we will never have the America we want, where everybody can participate in this prosperity, until we can offer every child a world-class education. That means we have to continue to work on our schools.

We now can say that one of the achievements of this administration is we've now opened the doors of college to everybody who will work for it, with the tax credits, the scholarships, the grants, the work-study program, the AmeriCorps program. We've done that. Now what we have to do is to improve our public schools and give our kids the tools they need to succeed.

We've got an agenda, of smaller classes and more teachers, and higher standards and computer technology for everyone. That's our agenda. And we're fighting, and there are differences between the parties on this issue. We have a health care agenda. We ought to pass the Patients' Bill of Rights, and I am impatient that it hasn't already passed through this Congress.

I was telling the folks around our table at lunch today I did an event in Washington this week with a woman from Minnesota, a perfectly beautiful woman who came—I had never met her before—and she got up and talked about how she had a lump in her breast 2 years ago. And she asked her HMO to have it checked out, and they took x rays but no biopsy. And they said, "You're fine." Two years later, the lump is still there.

She paid for her own biopsy 5 weeks ago—stage two breast cancer. She's going to go in and have surgery, and they say, "You can't have a breast specialist. You can only have a general surgeon." She makes 123 phone calls—123 phone calls—no satisfaction; finally hires her own breast specialist. And when she's under the knife, in surgery, she gets a call finally from the HMO saying, "Well, we'll cover this procedure, but we're probably not going to cover your chemotherapy."

Now, I personally believe it's a good thing that we've gotten into better management of our health care resources. We couldn't continue to have health care costs go up at 3

times the rate of inflation. It would have consumed all the money in the country. But every change we adopt has to be rooted in basic values and the kind of decent things that allow people to build a life, build a family, and hold the society together. That's why we need the Patients' Bill of Rights. That's part of our agenda that we're trying to pass. And it's worth doing.

And I think—if you look at how many people there are in America today that are retired early, some of them have been forced into early retirement, and they can't buy any health insurance. We've got a proposal that doesn't cost the Medicare Trust Fund one red cent to let people who are over 55 years of age, who, through no fault of their own, lost their health insurance, buy into it—or their kids can help them buy into it. At least they'll have access to some insurance. That's a part of our program.

We've got an environmental proposal before the country that everybody in Texas ought to be for now, because you've been eating all this smoke from these fires that are the direct consequence of El Niño and the climate warming up. And we're going to have more of these unless we prove that we can continue to grow our economy while we reduce the things we do that heighten the temperature of the Earth.

In the 1990's, in this decade alone, the 5 hottest years since 1400 have occurred. This is not some bogus scare issue, this whole issue of climate change. We don't need to be panicked; we need to change our patterns of production in a way that will help us to grow the economy while we reduce greenhouse gas emissions. But also, parenthetically, it would be very good for the natural gas industry in Texas. But that's not why I'm saying it. It's the right thing to do, and we can do it and grow the economy. We have an initiative on that. That's good for the economy, not bad for the economy.

And finally, let me just mention, if I might, two other things. I think it is unconscionable that we have not already passed comprehensive legislation to protect our kids from the problems that are associated with the fact that one-third, now almost, of teenagers are smoking tobacco even though it's illegal. It's

the biggest public health problem in America. More people die from tobacco-related illnesses than all other conventional forms of problems every year combined. It's illegal for every kid in the country to be able to buy cigarettes. We've got a program before the Congress that passed 19 to 1 out of a Senate committee, and we can't seem to get a vote on it. And they've promised to kill it in the House. I believe if we could pass it out of the Senate, we could pass the bill in the House, and we can do something historic for public health and for our children's future.

And I don't understand why this is a political issue. Republicans have children just like Democrats. This is not a political issue; this is an American issue. And I hope you will make your voices heard and say, "We may not understand every detail. We may not be able to write every line of this bill, but the American people are smart enough to know that we are either going to do something, or not." And I am determined in this Congress to see that we do something on this tobacco issue. We've been fooling with it for 3 years, and the time has come to act.

Now, that's what we're for. So we've got a good record. The things they used to say about us in Texas so most people thought they could never vote for us aren't true anymore. And we've got the best program for the future. And that's what you're contributing to.

And I just want to leave you with this thought: Many of these Members of Congress and I just came from a neighborhood health center here in Houston, in Gene Green's district, where we met with Hispanics, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, plain old white Anglo-Saxon Protestants like me, a lot of people that look like Houston, and that look like America. We talked about the census. I've already said what I have to say about that. We just ought to get an honest count; we ought not to politicize it.

But I was looking at that crowd today and thinking, this is the future of America, and in a world that is smaller and smaller and smaller, where we're only 4 percent of the world's population, and we've got 20 percent of the wealth. So if we want to keep it, we've got to be dealing with the other 96 percent of the people—it is a Godsend that we are

growing more diverse—if we can get along with each other and avoid the kind of group think and group resentment that's caused so much trouble elsewhere in the world.

And in some ways maybe that's the most important reason to be a Democrat today. My heart was rejoicing when the land of my ancestors in Ireland voted for the peace process that a lot of us worked very hard to bring to fruit. What did they have to do? They had to give up group resentments. You now have to read about Kosovo every day in the newspaper like you used to have to read about Bosnia. What's it about? Albanians and Serbs believing that they can't trust each other, and there is group resentment. That's what Bosnia was about. Fundamentally what's holding up the next step of the Middle East peace process? A lack of trust between the two groups. Fundamentally what happened in Africa when 800,000 people were slaughtered in a matter of weeks in Rwanda? Tribal resentments.

I'm telling you, now that we have stripped off the veneer of the cold war, there's still some people that are just miserable if they're not hating somebody for something. And there are a lot of people who don't believe they matter unless they've got somebody to look down on. And then, to be fair, there are a lot of real problems out there that people have had for a long time that would make it hard for you if you were in their shoes to trust people who were different.

Our ability to be a great nation in the 21st century consists in no small measure in our ability to live together here at home. So when people look at us, they do not see the same devils that are tearing their own hearts out. And if we want people to listen to us, in other countries, in other parts of the world, we have to be able to hold up to them a shining light of America where people are judged, as Martin Luther King said, by the content of the character, not the color of their skin, not their religion, not anything else other than whether they show up every day and do their best. That's another thing that our party stands for, and I'm proud of it. And God willing, with your efforts, the American people will ratify it this November.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:44 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to reception hosts Richard and Ginni Mithoff; Texas Attorney General candidate Jim Maddox; former Gov. Ann Richards of Texas; Texas Land Commissioner Garry Mauro; former Senator Lloyd Bentsen, and his wife B.A.; Representative Martin Frost, chairman, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee; President Boris Yeltsin of Russia; and Mayor Lee Brown of Houston.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Dallas, Texas
June 2, 1998

Thank you very much. Thank you. First of all, Ray—can you hear me? I feel rather pathetic even needing a microphone after the last demonstration of music we had. [*Laughter*] Let me begin by saying that I know I speak for all of us when I say a profound word of thanks to Ray for welcoming us into his home and for bringing his art into this tent and bringing the wonderful music here. This has been a magnificent night, and I have loved it. I love the time you and your daughters took to show me through your home to see your art.

Once many years ago, before I ever could have known I would be here and you would be here, we would be doing this, I visited you in your office, and you showed me some of your wonderful artwork. And I thank you for being a great citizen and for helping us by having us all here tonight. Thank you so much.

I'd like to thank my good friend of many, many years, Roy Romer, for being here. He is not only the senior Governor in the United States but most people believe the best one. And it is our great good fortune to have him as our chair of the Democratic Party. I thank Len Barrack, who has come all the way from Philadelphia to be here, our finance chairman, tonight; Congressman Martin Frost; my friend of more than 25 years, Garry Mauro; Bill White; and all the cochairs. I thank you. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to all the people who performed tonight. They were magnificent. And to you, my friend Denise Graves, thank you for being here. I wish I could stay in Fort Worth and hear your concert.

You know, Ray was talking about the support that Hillary and I have tried to give to the arts. Tomorrow night I'm going back to Washington to have the annual PBS "In Performance" night at the White House. We've had all different kinds of music there. We've had jazz and blues and classical music. One year, we had women in country. Tomorrow night—you can see this on educational television—tomorrow night we're having a gospel fest. And tomorrow night, unlike all the others, I actually picked some of the performers and some of the music. So if you don't like it, you can partially blame me as well.

But I was thinking—and I saw all those wonderful performers who came from little towns in America, as they were introduced—I don't know if that wonderful man really did come from a town called Resume Speed, South Dakota, but it's a great story. [*Laughter*] And I intend to tell it as if it were true for the rest of the year. [*Laughter*]

But anyway, I was thinking about what Ray said, about the support that Hillary and I have tried to give the arts. We're celebrating the millennium in 2000. It will be the last year of my Presidency. We have devised this great national endeavor called "Honoring the Past and Imagining the Future," and among the things we're trying to do are to preserve the great treasures of our natural and national heritage, like the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence. We're trying to get record amounts of research into biomedical and other critical areas of research. And we're trying to preserve and elevate the role of the arts in our lives at the very time when many leaders in the other party still seem determined to defund the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

But I don't really want to talk about the funding issue tonight. I want to talk about what lies behind all this. Why do we get a thrill out of seeing some young man or woman stand up and sing as they sang tonight? What is it that moves us when we look at this art, when we walk out there among the magnificent pieces of sculpture? Why do we like it better when we feel elevated and when we feel sort of united by a common

bond of humanity that we feel coming back to us from a piece of artistic genius? Because we know that we feel more alive and we feel better about ourselves, better about other people, and better about life in general when we're feeling and being and reaching big, rather than when we're feeling and being and digging small.

And if you think about a lot of what I have to do as President, a lot of what I try to do, what I really tried to do when I got here was to clean away a lot of the underbrush that was holding America back and to try to create the conditions and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives and to build good families and strong communities and make our Nation stronger and reach out to the rest of the world, so that we could be our better selves.

And it may sound kind of corny and old-fashioned and Pollyanna, but I really believe that that's the secret of America's success, that we try to capture every day in some way in all the work we do and the way we live our lives, the way those performers made us feel tonight. And whenever we don't, we sort of disappoint ourselves, and we disappoint the rest of the world.

So, to me, I'm very grateful that I had the chance to serve in these last 6 years. I'm grateful that we have the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years and the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years and the lowest crime rate in 25 years, and we're going to have the first balanced budget and surplus in 29 years. And we've got the highest homeownership in history. I'm grateful for all that. But you've got to understand why I'm grateful for all that. I'm grateful for that because all that means, when you strip it all away, is that people are freer, and they have more capacity to live big lives instead of small ones, to be happy and to give happiness and to find fulfillment, instead of just clawing out a miserable existence in conflict with their fellow human beings.

And that really, I think, is what our party has come to represent. All the things they used to say about us, "Well, you can't trust the Democrats to run the economy or handle the welfare system or get the crime rate down or manage trade or foreign policy or

national defense" and all that—all that is gone now. And I'm grateful for that.

But your presence here tonight will help us to take a message into this election season in 1998 about where we're going into the 21st century: What should our agenda be; what is the unfinished business of America; and maybe more important than anything else, what will be the dominant spirit that pervades the Nation's Capital and the Nation's public business?

If you think about where we are and where we still have to go, we've still got a lot to do. Shoot, we haven't balanced the books in 30 years, and I've already got folks up there in Congress trying to spend money we don't have yet. I don't think we ought to spend a nickel of that surplus until we secure the Social Security system well into the 21st century so us baby boomers don't bankrupt our kids and our grandchildren. That's an important thing about the future that will enable us to be big. We're not going to feel very big when all the baby boomers retire and our kids have to pay money they can't afford to support us because we allowed the Social Security system to go bankrupt. So that's a big issue that will enable us to keep going in the right direction.

I think we ought to keep working until we have not only the best system of college education in the world, which we already have, but the best system of elementary and high school education in the world. That's why I'm working for all the smaller classes and the higher standards and the computers for all the kids, and all those things—because the world we live in imposes a heavy penalty on people who cannot learn for a lifetime and gives a rich reward for those who can.

Those of you in Texas have had a very personal experience in the last few weeks with all the residue from the fires in Mexico coming over the skies here. Believe me, it is just a sign of more to come unless we face the fact that the 5 warmest years since 1400 have occurred in the 1990's. All those people that tell you global warming and climate change is some big ruse are not right. We are putting more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere than it can absorb without heating up the planet. We're going to have more extreme events which will manifest itself and more

extreme weather conditions, heat and cold and rain and sleet and snow, and more fires in places where they're vulnerable.

We've got to find a way to use American ingenuity and technological advances to prove we can live in closer harmony with the environment and still keep growing the economy. I know we can do that. I believe in the possibility of America, but it's a big part of our challenge. As I said in Houston earlier today, parenthetically, it's also good for people who are in the natural gas business in Texas. But I say it when I'm other places as well. We have to prove we can do this.

We have to prove that we can maintain the world's best health system and make it available to everybody, and not let managed care be more than it should be, which is managing care. We shouldn't take the care out of managed care. That's why we're for this Patients' Bill of Rights. That's why I think people that lose their health insurance who are older ought to be able to buy into Medicare.

But all these things—all the specifics are not as important to me as the big issue. I'm just trying to do what I think is necessary to take this country into the 21st century with the American dream alive for everybody, with our leadership in the world for peace and freedom and prosperity unquestioned, and with the country coming together instead of being divided.

Look at the foreign policy issues, for example, that it's been my responsibility to deal with as your President in the last few days. Let me just give you a few of them, just in the last 30 days. I went to Geneva, Switzerland, to talk about the trading system we need for the 21st century. Some of my fellow Democrats think we don't need to expand trade anymore. I think we need to expand it faster. There are 4 percent of the population in America with 20 percent of the income. You don't have to be a genius to figure out we've got to sell something to the other 96 percent of the people if we're going to maintain our standard of living. But we have to do it in a way that helps other people with their lives as well.

Then I went to Birmingham, where we worried about the economic crisis in Indonesia and the political crisis there, and we've

been working on the economic challenges that Russia is facing.

I recently came back from Africa, where I went to Rwanda, and we're trying to help them deal with the aftermath of 800,000 people killed in tribal murders, and building up the good things that are going on in Africa at the same time.

And of course, the number one problem—and I could mention many others—I've been for the last month heavily involved in trying to get the Middle East peace talks back on track. We were involved happily in a success in Ireland, where the people voted for peace there, which I'm very proud of. And for the last couple of weeks, I've spent more time than anything else on the tensions between India and Pakistan that were manifested in the nuclear testing by both countries.

But if you back away from all the specifics again and you look at the general problem, what is it? Why did these nuclear tests occur? Because, two things: One, the two nations felt insecure as compared with each other, and for India against China, there wasn't enough trust there; and secondly, they felt they had to define themselves as big in a way that I think is fundamentally negative. I don't think they're more secure now than they were when they set off those nuclear tests. And I think whenever we try to define ourselves as big in a way that's negative, by putting somebody else down or separating ourselves from others, we inevitably pay a price.

One of the reasons I've worked so hard for the last year on this One America Race Initiative, to try to get people together across all the lines that divide us, is I actually believe the increasing diversity of America is in a fundamental way our meal ticket to the future in a world that's smaller and smaller and smaller, where there are—I don't know—more than a million people a day being added to the Internet, all these home pages coming on now at rapid rates, a hundred million users now. It will be 200 million by the end of the year around the world. There were only 50 Web sites 6 years ago when I became President—only 50.

In a world that's coming together like that, a country that is both free and economically successful, that has people from everywhere living there, from all walks of life and all

kinds of religious and ethnic and racial backgrounds, where things aren't perfect, but where we get along and we're driven by values that say we're going to be big, not little; we're going to be united, not divided; we're going to try to let people's spirits flow and unleash them; and we're not going to be small and mean and petty; and we're not going to be caught in the same trap with the people we're trying to help by dividing our power by negative ways, or defining our power in negative ways. That is very important.

And if you really look at all of it, if you go back to the point Ray made, the position we've taken on the role of arts in American life, the importance of pursuing and preserving the National Endowment for Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities is nothing more than a metaphor for the differences in the two parties approach to national politics today.

Our approach to the future is optimistic. It's united, and it's big. It believes the heart is as important as the mind and that it's important that we go forward together. And we believe that America can only lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity if we are a worthy example.

So I'm grateful that the approach we started back in '93 has worked as well as it has. I'm grateful for all the support all of you have given to me and to our party, and I'm grateful for your presence here tonight. But in some ways, the biggest battles are yet to be fought, because sometimes when people enjoy a great deal of success, it makes them downright dumb. How many of us—haven't all of you been—had at least a moment of being downright dumb when you were really successful? Is there a person who is here who can say with a straight face you never had one moment of stupidity in the aftermath of some success you enjoy? Nobody can say that.

So what are we going to do with our success? Are we going to get bigger and bolder and better? I want us to feel as a country the way we felt in this wonderful setting tonight when those great American young people were singing. America should be singing. We've got a lot to be grateful for and a lot to do. And thanks to you, our party has more

than an average chance now to be successful in doing our part.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner host Ray Nasher; and Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado, general chair, and Leonard Barrack, national finance chair, Democratic National Committee. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks on Action Against Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia and Most-Favored-Nation Status for China

June 3, 1998

Good morning. Secretary Albright and Mr. Berger and I have just had a meeting before Secretary Albright leaves to go to Geneva for tomorrow's meeting of the Permanent Five Foreign Ministers, convened at our initiative on the situation in South Asia. Our goal is to forge a common strategy to move India and Pakistan back from their nuclear arms race and to begin to build a more peaceful, stable region.

Secretary Albright will speak to our agenda in Geneva in just a moment, and I understand later will be at the State Department to answer further questions. But I'd like to take a few moments to put this problem in its proper context. The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan stand in stark contrast to the progress the world has made over the past several years in reducing stockpiles and containing the spread of nuclear weapons. It is also contrary to the ideals of nonviolent democratic freedom and independence at the heart of Gandhi's struggle to end colonialism on the Indian subcontinent.

Through the START treaties, the United States and Russia are on their way to cutting nuclear arsenals by two-thirds from their cold war height. With our help, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan agreed to return to Russia the nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. We secured the indefinite, unconditional extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Brazil, Argentina, and South Africa each voluntarily renounced their nuclear programs, choosing to spend their vital resources instead on the

power of their people. And to date, 149 nations have signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which bans all nuclear explosions, making it more difficult for nuclear powers to produce more advanced weapons, and for nonnuclear states to develop them.

Two years ago, I was the first to sign this treaty at the United Nations on behalf of the United States. The present situation in South Asia makes it all the more important that the Senate debate and vote on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty without delay. The CTBT will strengthen our ability to deter, to detect, and to deter testing. If we are calling on other nations to act responsibly, America must set the example.

India and Pakistan are great nations with boundless potential, but developing weapons of mass destruction is self-defeating, wasteful, and dangerous. It will make their people poorer and less secure. The international community must now come together to move them through a diverse course and to avoid a dangerous arms race in Asia.

In just the last week, NATO, the NATO Joint Council with Russia, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, and today the OAS condemned the tests. That is about 80 other nations who want to work with us to move the world to a safer place.

And we must do more. We are determined to work with any countries who are willing to help us, and we want very much to work with both India and Pakistan to help them resolve their differences and to restore a future of hope, not fear, to the region.

Let me now express my appreciation to China for chairing the P-5 meeting to which Secretary Albright is going. This is further evidence of the important role China can play in meeting the challenges of the 21st century and the constructive Chinese leadership that will be essential to the long-term resolutions of issues involving South Asia.

This is an important example of how our engagement with China serves America's interests: stability in Asia, preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combatting international crime and drug trafficking, protecting the environment. At the same time, we continue to deal forthrightly with China on those issues where we disagree, notably on human rights; and there have clearly

been some concrete results as a result of this engagement as well.

Trade is also an important part of our relationship with China. Our exports have tripled over the last decade and now support over 170,000 American jobs. But just as important, trade is a force for change in China, exposing China to our ideas and our ideals and integrating China into the global economy.

For these reasons, I intend to renew MFN status with China. This status does not convey any special privilege. It is simply ordinary, natural tariff treatment offered to virtually every nation on earth. Since 1980, when MFN was first extended to China, every Republican and Democratic President who has faced this issue has extended it. Not to renew would be to sever our economic and, to a large measure, our strategic relationship with China, turning our back on a fourth of the world at a time when our cooperation for world peace and security is especially important, in light of the recent events in South Asia.

This policy clearly is in our Nation's interest, and I urge Congress to support it. Now I'd like to ask Secretary Albright to say a few words about our objectives in Geneva in the days and weeks ahead.

Madam Secretary.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Memorandum on Most-Favored-Nation Status for China

June 3, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-26

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Under Section 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—Continuation of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, Public Law 93-618, 88 Stat. 1978 (hereinafter "the Act"), I determine, pursuant to section 402(d)(1) of the Act, 19 U.S.C. 2432(d)(1), that the further extension of the waiver authority granted by section 402 of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine that continuation of the waiver applicable to the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

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

William J. Clinton

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting a Waiver on Most-Favored-Nation Status for China**

June 3, 1998

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the document referred to in subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the "Act"), with respect to the continuation of a waiver of application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act to the People's Republic of China. This document constitutes my recommendation to continue in effect this waiver for a further 12-month period and includes my determination that continuation of the waiver currently in effect for the People's Republic of China will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act, and my reasons for such determinations.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 3, 1998.

Memorandum on Most-Favored-Nation Status for Vietnam

June 3, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-27

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Under Subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—Continuation of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, Public Law 93-618, 88 Stat. 1978 (hereinafter the "Act"), I determine, pursuant to section 402(d)(1) of the Act, 19 U.S.C. 2432(d)(1), that the further extension of the waiver authority granted by section 402 of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine that continuation of the waiver applicable to Vietnam will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

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

William J. Clinton

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting a Waiver on Most-Favored-Nation Status for Vietnam**

June 3, 1998

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the document referred to in subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 (the "Act"), as amended, with respect to the continuation of a waiver of application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act to Vietnam. This document constitutes my recommendation to continue in effect this waiver for a further 12-month period and includes my determination that continuation of the waiver currently in effect for Vietnam will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act, and my reasons for such determination.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 3, 1998.

Memorandum on Most-Favored-Nation Status for Belarus

June 3, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-28

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Under Subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—Continuation of Waiver Authority

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974, as amended, Public Law 93-618, 88 Stat. 1978 (hereinafter the “Act”), I determine, pursuant to subsection 402(d)(1) of the Act, 19 U.S.C. 2432(d)(1), that the further extension of the waiver authority granted by section 402 of the Act will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act. I further determine that continuation of the waiver applicable to the Republic of Belarus will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act.

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

William J. Clinton

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Waiver on Most-Favored-Nation Status for Belarus

June 3, 1998

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit the document referred to in subsection 402(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the “Act”), with respect to the continuation of a waiver of application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act. This document constitutes my recommendation to continue in effect this waiver for a further 12-month period and includes my determination that continuation of the waiver currently in effect for the Republic of Belarus will substantially promote the objectives of section 402 of the Act, and my reasons for such determination. I will submit

separate reports with respect to Vietnam and the People’s Republic of China.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
June 3, 1998.

Memorandum on Waiver and Certification of Statutory Provisions Regarding the Palestine Liberation Organization

June 3, 1998

Presidential Determination No. 98-29

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Waiver and Certification of Statutory Provisions Regarding the Palestine Liberation Organization

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under section 539(d) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1998, Public Law 105-118, I hereby determine and certify that it is important to the national security interests of the United States to waive the provisions of section 1003 of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, Public Law 100-204, through November 26, 1998.

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

William J. Clinton

Remarks to the City Year Convention in Cleveland, Ohio

June 3, 1998

The President. Thank you. Well, since 600 City Year members like Lesley and Casey wrote and invited me, I thought the least I could do was to show up. I want to thank Lesley for that very wonderful introduction and for the terrific letter. I thank Casey for what he said. When he started talking about his mother, I almost started to cry, too. [Laughter]

I’d like to thank Harris Wofford and Eli Segal. I’d like to thank Mayor White and Congressmen Stokes and Sawyer for coming

with me today. Father Glynn, thank you for making us feel so welcome here at John Carroll. I thank the City Year Board of Trustees for their service, and the county and city officials and State officials here for their service. Thanks again, Lesley and Casey. And let me also say a special word of thanks to Alan Khazei and Michael Brown, the founders of City Year.

I found City Year, you know, back in 1991, when it was a much smaller program, beginning in Boston. And I was there as a candidate for President with about a one percent name recognition in Massachusetts. And so I had a lot of time on my hands. *[Laughter]* And I spent the better part of a day, as I recall, talking to the young people in City Year.

I wanted to be President because I felt that our country needed to take a new course if we were going to prepare for the 21st century so that for all of you the American dream of opportunity would be alive for everyone who was responsible enough to seize it; so that our country would still be the leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity and security in the world; and so that we would come together across all the lines that divide us into one America, bound in no small measure by citizen service.

Now, since 1991 and the election of 1992, my belief that our country could do better has certainly been vindicated. I am grateful beyond measure that, thanks to people like you and my friends in Congress and Americans throughout the country, we've been able to change America. I'm grateful that we have the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years, the lowest crime rates in 25 years. I'm grateful.

But what I want to say to you today is that all of these achievements basically leave us free to chart the right course for America toward the 21st century. Part of it must be done in Washington; part of it must be done in the hearts and minds and lives of our citizens, where the greatness of America has always resided.

One of the things I think I ought to mention today, because it's so timely in Washington, is that we have a chance to pass comprehensive legislation to protect young people from the dangers of tobacco, and we

ought to do it and do it right away. I just came from an elementary school here in Cleveland where I met a lot of City Year/AmeriCorps volunteers. They had worked with young children in this elementary school, the Stephen Howe Elementary School, to write 1,500 book reports this year, to build a new playground.

But one of the things I'd like for every child in that grade school to know is this: Smoking-related illnesses kill more people every year than AIDS, alcohol, car accidents, murder, suicides, drugs, and fires combined—combined. And 90 percent of all smokers started before they were 18, even though it's illegal to sell cigarettes to children under 18. Three thousand young people start smoking every day; a thousand will have their lives shortened because of it. So I say again, while there are some in Congress who seem determined to stall, stop, or kill the tobacco bill, we will never have a better chance to save a thousand lives a day and save a million kids in the next few years. And I hope you will help me send a loud message back to Washington, DC, to act and act now.

There are a lot of other things that we are working on back there that will shape the world you will dominate as adults. We're about to have our first balanced budget and a surplus in 29 years, and before we spend a penny of it, I want us to make sure we know how we're going to save Social Security so we don't bankrupt your generation when my generation retires. It's not right.

While we're strong and prosperous, I want us to do everything we can to invest in education so that not only our colleges but our grade schools, our junior high schools, and our high schools are the best in the country, and every child of whatever race or income or station in life can get a world-class education starting at kindergarten.

I want the Congress and the country to accept changes in the Earth's climate as real and commit ourselves to reduce the problem of global warming, even as we continue to grow the economy. We have to face the environmental challenges of the 21st century, and the sooner we get at it, the better off we're going to be.

There are many other things I want the Congress to do in health care and campaign

finance reform and adopting the initiative that the First Lady and I have tried to advance for a 21st Century Fund to put money into research, in biomedical research and scientific research, to build the next generation of the Internet, and also to preserve our precious natural heritage.

But I will tell you this. If America hasn't learned anything from you in the last 4 years since we've had the AmeriCorps program going, we should have learned that in the end, we will never be the country we ought to be, we will never meet the challenges that are there before us, we will never fully seize the opportunities that are there, until America believes in and practices citizen service.

As I said, when I started running for President in 1991, I had this idea—but it was just an idea in my mind—that we had two big problems. We needed more idealistic, energetic young people out there working on our communities, helping to solve problems at the grassroots level and touching other children one on one, helping people that would otherwise be forgotten, going to places where the private economy would not otherwise send them, and we also needed to open the doors of college to everyone. So I had this general idea, and then when I went to City Year in Boston, the lights came on in my mind, and I said, "This is what I want to do."

You know, out of the national service of our soldiers in World War II came the GI bill, which educated a whole generation of my parents and created the great American middle class. Out of the all too short service of President Kennedy came the Peace Corps, which took the idea of citizen service around the world. And I still see it as I travel for America, our best ideas and our greatest humanity manifest in these Peace Corps volunteers all across the world. I saw them recently when I was in Africa.

Out of AmeriCorps has come a blending of the two, taking the idea of service and the idea of education. It's almost like the Peace Corps comes home, in larger numbers, with a GI educational bill for citizen service. That is what we have done.

In only 4 years, nearly 90,000 young people have served through AmeriCorps in their communities; nearly 50,000 have become eli-

gible for the education benefits. This year alone more than 40,000 AmeriCorps positions are being filled around the country. And every young AmeriCorps volunteer, as anyone else could see from your enthusiasm, typically will generate 12 more volunteers helping on whatever the service is.

Last year AmeriCorps members taught or tutored 500,000 students, mentored 95,000 more, recruited 39,000 more volunteers, immunized 64,000 children, helped with disasters in over 30 States, worked with over 3,000 safety patrols, with local law enforcement and civilian groups, trained 100,000 people in violence prevention, built or rehabilitated 5,600 homes, helped put 32,000 homeless people in permanent residences, worked with people with AIDS and other serious diseases, and did a whole raft of environmental projects. Because of AmeriCorps, the SeniorCorps, Learn and Serve America, America is a better place today.

I am especially proud of our America Reads program, which relies on all our national services programs because one of the most important things we can do is to make sure every 8-year-old in America—and many of them don't have English as their first language now—can read independently by the time they leave the third grade. It's just terribly important to all other learning.

We now have—I learned this morning just before I came here that we now have over 1,000 colleges and universities that are allocating work-study positions or other volunteers to help make sure that by the year 2000, every 8-year-old can, in fact, read. And a lot of AmeriCorps volunteers have helped to mobilize, organize, and train those tutors, and I am very grateful for that.

I was also proud of the word used in my introduction, enabling, that I had enabled service. I think that's important because we don't dictate anything about AmeriCorps from Washington. You know that City Year is a grassroots, community-tied organization, even though it's a national network. We have enabled organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs, the Habitat for Humanity, hundreds of other nonprofit organizations, faith-based organizations—6,000 young AmeriCorps volunteers in faith-based organizations this

year—to select and use AmeriCorps members to continue and enlarge the work that they are doing.

Here in Cleveland, more than 200 citizens of all ages and backgrounds are serving in 14 different AmeriCorps programs, including those serving with City Year Cleveland. In Cleveland, AmeriCorps does everything from tutoring children, to building homes, to organizing neighborhood watches, to cleaning streams. I guess the next message I'd want you to help me send back to Washington today is that AmeriCorps works, and it should be extended by Congress into the 21st century so more young people have the opportunity to do that.

Now, I want to make one other point about AmeriCorps and citizen service. As you bring volunteers to communities in need, you also bring people together. I mean, just look around. The first thing I remember blazed in my mind when I first went to AmeriCorps—to the City Year project in Boston was that there was a young person who had been in an Ivy League school who dropped out of school for a year to work full-time, working side by side with a young person who had gotten in trouble in New Hampshire, and the juvenile authorities said, "If you'll go work for City Year, that's the best rehabilitation you could do." They learned a lot from each other, those two young people. And they both did very well in the future as a result of it.

If you look around at this crowd today, it's a pretty good picture of America. And I have always believed that in the 21st century, America would have its greatest days in no small measure because we are growing more diverse as the world grows smaller. So it simply stands to reason that we're better off if we have people who look like people from everywhere in the world, who share their cultures, their language, and their religions, but who are bound together by common devotion to American ideals, to personal responsibility, expressed through constructive citizenship.

I believe that the key to solving a lot of our racial tensions in America is to make sure we keep living together, working together, learning together, and, in some ways most important of all, serving together, giving to-

gether. It can unite us across all the lines that divide us. It can even unite us across political lines. And after spending a few days in Washington, I sometimes think those are the deepest divides of all.

Last year, I was so honored to be with Presidents Bush and Carter and Ford, Mrs. Reagan, and General Colin Powell at the Presidents' Summit on Service in Philadelphia. Some of you were there. I believe everybody who was there felt this enormous sense of excitement and also a great sense of possibility as we defined an agenda that we wanted every child to be a part of. We wanted every child to have a caring adult in his or her life, a safe place to grow up, a good school to attend, a healthy start in life, and a chance to serve the community.

Now, since that summit we've worked to do our part in Washington. Again, there's some things the Government should do. We've worked to expand health insurance to 5 million children. We've worked to expand access to child care so parents can be more effective at home and at work. We've worked to implement something called the High Hopes mentoring program, that will involve young people like you with other kids who are younger, starting in junior high school, for 6 years. And also we'll give you an extra tool; you'll be able to tell those seventh graders, "Look, if you learn, if you stay in school, if you live a good life, I can tell you right now here's how much college aid you will get to guarantee you can go to college when you get out of high school."

We've been helped by corporations, by nonprofits, by other organizations who've committed fabulous sums of money to try to implement this agenda under the leadership of General Powell around the country. We want to do more, because in the end you know and I know from what you're doing that the most important thing we can still do in America with a lot of human problems is to make one-on-one contact and that you can put up all the money in the world, but hands build houses, hands clean streams, hands immunize children. People have to do these things.

So what I want to say today is I'd like to do some more to fulfill the goals of the Presidents' Summit on Service. And the Corporation for National Service is now prepared to commit another additional 1,000 AmeriCorps leadership positions targeted only to the goals of the Presidents' Summit. These AmeriCorps volunteers will support these State and local efforts. But you think about it, 1,000 volunteers trained to be leaders of community efforts. Wouldn't you like to know that when you finish and when you start your careers that every American child has a safe place to grow up, a good school, a healthy start, a caring adult, and a chance to serve just like you're doing? I think it's worth our making that effort.

I hope that one of the legacies of this period at the end of the 20th century will be a renewed spirit of community, a renewed sense of idealism, a renewed commitment to service. I hope, in other words, that when I finish my work and you finish yours we will have helped to make real the pledge that you take when you join AmeriCorps in the lives of all Americans. Indeed, I wish every American would take that pledge. I think it might be well again to send that message to the country.

So if you'll help me, I'd like us to conclude with that AmeriCorps pledge. I'll say it, then you say it.

I will get things done for America to make our people safer, smarter, and healthier.

Audience members. I will get things done for America to make our people safer, smarter, and healthier.

The President. I will bring Americans together to strengthen our communities.

Audience members. I will bring Americans together to strengthen our communities.

The President. Faced with apathy, I will take action.

Audience members. Faced with apathy, I will take action.

The President. Faced with conflicts, I will see common ground.

Audience members. Faced with conflicts, I will see common ground.

The President. Faced with adversity, I will persevere.

Audience members. Faced with adversity, I will persevere.

The President. I will carry this commitment with me this year and beyond.

Audience members. I will carry this commitment with me this year and beyond.

The President. I am an AmeriCorps member.

Audience members. I am an AmeriCorps member.

The President. And I am going to get things done.

Audience members. And I am going to get things done.

The President. Let me say to all of you, in every generation young Americans are called upon to renew our country, to deepen what it means to be free, to widen the circle of opportunity, to strengthen the bounds of our national community. Because of the progress that has been made in this time, your generation has an incredible opportunity. You can finish the work that was done when I was your age by the people you saw in that video.

Thirty years ago this week, Robert Kennedy was killed. Thirty springtimes ago, we lost both Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King. Their effort to bring America together and lift America to higher ground was delayed by a lot of the things that happened along the way. But now that we have regained our sense of confidence, that we know we can make our economy work, we know we can make our schools work, we know that we can make our streets safe, we know we can take poor people and give them a second chance and give them a chance to work and succeed in raising their children as well as working, we know that America can be more and better, and that we can live up to our highest ideals, your generation will have a chance to make that the history of the 21st century.

I am so proud of you. I can't even convey what it feels like for me to stand here and look into your eyes. I know now that one of the best decisions I ever made was to fight to create AmeriCorps and to fight to keep others from taking it away and to fight to give you the chance to serve.

But remember—remember what you promised in the pledge, that you will serve now and beyond. For when you no longer wear these jackets or T-shirts every day, if

you continue to believe and you continue to service and you continue to have the feelings inside toward your fellow human beings that you have today, then you will write a remarkable history for America in the 21st century. We need you to do that, and I believe you will.

God bless you, and Godspeed.

[At this point, Stephen Spaloss, coexecutive director, City Year Philadelphia, made brief remarks and presented the City Year Lifetime of Idealism Award to the President.]

The President. Thank you. Let's give him a hand, he was great. [Applause] I want you to know that I still have Stephen's sweatshirt, and I'll have it with me forever to remember when I first met him and I first met City Year. You keep it with you forever, too.

God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. in the gymnasium at the Don Shula Sports Center at John Carroll University. In his remarks, he referred to City Year members Lesley Frye of Chicago and Casey Hunt of Cleveland; Eli Segal, president and chief executive officer, Welfare to Work Partnership; Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland; Rev. Edward Glynn, president, John Carroll University; and Gen. Colin Powell, USA (Ret.), chairman, America's Promise—The Alliance For Youth.

Remarks at a Reception for Gubernatorial Candidate Lee Fisher in Cleveland

June 3, 1998

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen; I am delighted to be here. I'm sorry to have kept you waiting, and I know it's a little warm. If it makes you feel any better, yesterday I was in Dallas. It was 105. [Laughter]

I'd like to begin by thanking Mayor White for his truly outstanding leadership in Cleveland. It's been a great pleasure for me to be able to work with the city of Cleveland and to support the initiatives that he has done so much to implement.

I thank my good friend, Lou Stokes. I will miss him terribly, and he has done a magnificent job for this city, for all of Ohio, and for the country.

I thank Congressman Tom Sawyer for being here, and I congratulate Stephanie Tubbs Jones, and I wish Mary Boyle well. And Hillary is going to be here for her in a few weeks, and I hope you will all support her. I'd like to say to Michael and Frankie Coleman, I'm glad you're taking this great adventure with Lee and Peggy, and I think you'll be proud of the trip when it's over. And especially to Lee and Peggy Fisher, I thank them for just giving me the opportunity to be here to try to repay in some small measure the friendship and support they have always given to me.

This State, as I'm sure most of you in this crowd today know, has been very, very good to me. In 1992 I officially got enough votes to be nominated on the first ballot of the Democratic Convention when the Ohio primary results were announced, and then when we had the convention in New York, Ohio's votes put me over the top. And then on election night in '92, the election was called after the vote from Ohio came in, and I appreciate that.

In 1996 we tripled our victory margin here thanks to a lot of you in this room, and I thank you for that.

People—all kinds of people from Ohio have been critically important to the success of our administration. There's a wonderful young woman from Cleveland named Capricia Marshall who now runs the White House for us. And Mike White mentioned the tensions we're having now in the Indian subcontinent in the nuclear tests. Dick Celeste is now our Ambassador to India, and we couldn't have a better person there to deal with this very significant problem, and I appreciate that.

So I'm glad to be here, and I'm feeling pretty good about things in our country and about Ohio. I just came from—Mike and I, as he mentioned, were at the national conference of a group called City Year, which is one of our AmeriCorps national service projects. And they have people here in Cleveland, 200 of them, who do everything from tutor in schools to work with seniors to environmental clean-up projects. They represent the spirit of citizen service I've tried to spread across this country. And the

young people are also earning credits for college. They can earn money for a year's worth of service to City Year to help them pay for their college tuition. One of the lesser known but perhaps, over the long run, more important achievements of this administration is that now in the last 4 years, 90,000 Americans have given a year or 2 years of their lives to serve in our national service program in community projects like this all across America. So I'm very, very proud of that.

Let me say, I'm here partly because I want to help Lee and Peggy and Michael and Frankie, but mostly because I'd like to do Ohio a favor. I think Lee Fisher becoming the Governor would be doing Ohio as big a favor as Ohio would be doing for Lee Fisher. This is a subject on which I can speak with some authority, because I was a Governor for 12 years before I became President. I had almost gotten the hang of the job before I left it. [Laughter] And I can tell you that—the first thing I'd like to say is that it's more important now than it used to be, and I've worked hard to make it that way because, while I have wanted a more aggressive National Government, I've also wanted one that was more focused, more centralized, and that left more decisions about how to achieve our national objectives to Governors and to mayors.

The Federal Government is now 310,000 people smaller than it was when I took office; it's the smallest since John Kennedy was President. We've eliminated hundreds of programs, thousands of pages of regulations, cut two-thirds of the regulations in the Education Department alone. We have tried to give more freedom to Governors and to mayors.

But when you do that, it means the person you elect is more important than he or she used to be. Their judgments matter; their values matter. And I've known Lee Fisher a long time. I associate him with children, families, public safety, and the future. I named him to be the Chairman of the President's Commission on Crime Control and Prevention. And we have worked on a lot of these issues for a long, long time.

Let me just give you a couple of examples of what I mean. When we signed the balanced budget bill last year, which will

produce, by the way, the first balanced budget and surplus in 29 years this year, one of the lesser known provisions of the bill provided enough funding to the States to extend health insurance coverage to 5 million children who don't have it. Almost all these kids are the children of working families on modest incomes, where they don't get health insurance at work. And we know from painful experience that children who don't have access to good health care run far greater risks of having problems in childhood and later in life.

Now, that's the good news. But the second part of the story is it's up to the States to design and implement a program that will actually work to add 5 million kids to the ranks of the insured and give peace of mind to the couple of million families or so who are the parents of those children.

The next Governor of Ohio will have a heavy responsibility there: Is this program going to be carried out properly or not; is it going to be designed well, or not; what will happen to those children, those families? And if you're on the board of a local hospital, what will happen to you if you have people in emergency care that ought to be getting funded that aren't? Every Ohioan has a stake in this decision.

Let me give you another example. I'm working very, very hard now to pass comprehensive tobacco legislation to protect our children from the dangers of tobacco. Three thousand kids a day start smoking even though it's illegal to sell cigarettes to kids; 1,000 will die earlier because of it. More people die from tobacco-related illnesses than die from cancer, AIDS, murders, accidents, and fires combined every year.

Now let's assume we pass the legislation. It will, among other things, require a substantial increase in the tobacco tax which all the surveys show huge majorities of the American people, including adult smokers, support. But the rest of the story is this: A substantial portion of that money will be given back to the States, and then there will be a laundry list only, not a specific directive but a laundry list, of the kinds of things that the States can spend this money. We're talking major money to a large State like Ohio.

One of the things on that list will be to make child care more affordable, one of the most significant challenges we face in the country. Now, there will be all kinds of other things that deal with trying to help kids stay off tobacco or out of trouble and to help build up the quality of health in this State. The Governor will have to make recommendations about how that's going to be spent. To some extent, the Governor will be able to decide, although the legislature will be involved as well. It really matters who's going to be the next Governor of Ohio if we pass this, because this is a huge set of decisions that will affect your lives.

I'll give you another example on which there has been a lot of publicity in this State, and that's welfare reform. I'm very proud to have been involved in now a 6-year effort which has given us, along with an improving economy, the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years. But there's a twofold objective here. You don't just want to move people off the welfare rolls. You want people who used to be on welfare to be successful as workers and to be successful as parents.

We just passed a new transportation bill, by the way. It provides a lot of funding to help people who are very poor who don't have cars get from their homes to their work. But the States have to decide, how is that going to be done working with the local communities. So it really matters who the Governor is and what the Governor's vision is for making families succeed at home and at work and building a community which we can all pull together.

One final example: We have a great task in this country today to try to continue to lead the world away from this incredible rash of violence and potential violence rooted in ethnic, racial, and religious hatred. It's the new problem at the end of the cold war. And the prospect that that might get mixed with weapons of mass destruction is what troubles people about the nuclear tests in South Asia. And it's what troubles us when we demanded the inspections in Iraq be complied with because we don't want to see a country that might foment trouble build up chemical and biological weapons capacity.

In order to continue to do that work, which sometimes has a happy success like the re-

cent vote in Ireland—and I met with a number of Irish Ohioans today who thanked me for our administration's efforts there—which has ongoing importance in our work in the Middle East, which has ongoing importance in our work in the Balkans, where we've got the Bosnian peace process working, but new troubles in Kosovo between the Serbs and the Albanians, and which has special meaning now in South Asia.

We have to prove that in America we can set a good example. And if you look at Ohio and the heartland of the country, if you look at Cleveland, if you look at the diversity of Ohio, if you look at the endless fields that I saw in 1992—the best corn crop I ever saw in my life I saw on the bus trip across Ohio—and you compare and contrast the life that people in small towns and rural areas in Ohio have with the bustling, incredible diversity of Cleveland, it matters that there is a Governor who is sensitive to the importance of that, that Ohio reflect the very best in America, not only the best of our past but the best of our future.

I was talking to some of our folks coming in today about the pivotal role that Ohio played in our country's history between the Civil War and the turn of the last century, when, frankly, if you were a Republican and you fought for the Union Army and you were an officer and you were from Ohio, you had about a 50 percent chance of getting elected President of the United States. *[Laughter]* I mean, you had Grant and Hayes and Harrison and McKinley. By the time they got around to McKinley, I don't think he ever made general, and he still got to be President. *[Laughter]*

But Ohio had a pivotal role. If you think about the 21st century and the fact that your State is generally considered to be a bellwether in so many ways, Ohio will play a pivotal role again. Now, who the Governor is really matters. What kind of people will be in this government? Well, you get a pretty good indication from looking at this team. What will the values be? What will the message be? Will everybody feel that they have a seat at the table? This is very important.

Now, I know you were kind of expecting me to give you a stump speech today, but I want you to think about this because it's

a long time between now and the election. And you need to go out and talk to people about this. I know Lee Fisher well. And too often, elections get decided based on slogans. Well, if somebody wants to talk about being tough on crime, he should win that argument. But the thing that I like about him is he's also smart about crime. That is, sure, you have to punish people who are doing dumb things and bad things and evil things and who deliberately hurt other people, but even better is to work with police officers and community leaders and concerned parents to keep our children out of trouble in the first place.

So you want somebody that understands these things, that has character, depth, experience. And I think—I would just like to ask you—I thank you for contributing to this campaign; it makes a big difference. But I think there's something going on today in our politics which are very important. Yesterday, we had a raft of elections in America, and there were any number of campaigns where the person who won did not, as it happens, spend the most money. They had to have enough money, and that's why I'm glad you're here. [*Laughter*] You have to have enough to be heard. But there were many places where the person with the most money didn't win yesterday because the people who won were thought to be more closely connected, more deeply rooted to the communities, more in tune with what people wanted and the better future that we're all trying to build.

And I make no judgment about the outcome of any of those primaries. I just think that's an interesting thing for me to tell you because what that means is that voters are taking their responsibility seriously in this election. I think that is a good thing for Lee Fisher.

But you have to go about and talk about these things I shared with you. And remember, it will have a lot to do with what 21st century Ohio looks like, what your children and your grandchildren have to look forward to. And I believe that if you work hard, you're going to win, and when you do, you can be very, very proud.

Thank you. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m. at the Cleveland Playhouse. In his remarks, he referred to Cuyahoga County Prosecuting Attorney Stephanie Tubbs Jones; Mary Boyle, candidate for U.S. Senate; Michael Coleman, candidate for lieutenant governor, and his wife, Frankie; and Lee Fisher's wife, Peggy.

Remarks at "In Performance at the White House"

June 3, 1998

First, welcome to the White House and to another year of celebrating the beauty, the power, the diversity of American music. All our music is an important part of our national heritage. We must and we're going to do more to celebrate it as we move forward toward the millennium.

We've had in this White House, since I've been privileged to be here, jazz music and classical music, country music and rock music, rhythm and blues. We've had just about everything you can imagine. But tonight we celebrate music that is truly an American gift. Wedded to the powerful message of faith and conviction, gospel lifts our hearts and minds and soothes our souls, calms our spirits.

Gospel grew out of the musical traditions of Africa. Its roots were nourished by the blood, the sweat, the tears of millions of people who were held captive in slavery. Throughout this century, particularly during the civil rights era, the amazing grace of gospel music has been a sustaining force for countless Americans. It's a voice of hardship and hope, of pain and triumph.

And as we'll see tonight, gospel music's appeal now embraces Americans of very many different backgrounds and religious affiliations. Tonight we have with us people with great voices and great hearts: the Morgan State University Choir; Phil Driscoll; Mickey Mangun and the Messiah Singers from Louisiana; and our terrific mistress of ceremonies, CeCe Winans.

CeCe has an extraordinary ability to blend the wide range of popular styles into traditional gospels. She and her brother B.B. did a wonderful job at my Inaugural church service. She's had a terrific career. She's got a great gift. And I am honored to welcome her

here tonight to begin this wonderful performance.

CeCe, come on out.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to musicians Phil Driscoll and Mickey Mangun.

Remarks to the SAVER Summit

June 4, 1998

First let me say a special word of thanks to the Members of Congress who are here and especially those who sponsored the legislation which created this summit. I thank Governor Allen and Secretary Herman for doing their sort of bipartisan introduction thing. I couldn't help wondering what all of us look like up here to all of you. *[Laughter]* I bet we look like a bunch of school boys in the spelling bee dying for the recess bell. *[Laughter]* But this has actually been better—it's been enlightening for me.

The most encouraging thing of all that was said to me, from a purely selfish point of view was when the Speaker said, "If I got to be 50, I could look forward to living another 30 years." Yesterday I was in Cleveland, and I went to an elementary school to see some work that some of the AmeriCorps volunteers are doing, and I was shaking hands with all these little kids. And it really is true that they say the darndest things. And this young boy was 6 or 7 years old, maybe, a little bitty boy, and he said, "Are you the real President?" And I said, "Yes." And he said, "And you're not dead yet?" *[Laughter]* And I realized—I didn't know what he meant. First I thought he'd been reading the local newspaper here. *[Laughter]* And then I realized that to him the President was George Washington or Abraham Lincoln, and he actually thought it was a qualification of the job that you had to be deceased to hold it. *[Laughter]* It was an amazing encounter. *[Laughter]* But now, I've been reminded of the actuarial tables, and I'm ready to go back to work. *[Laughter]*

Let me say just a couple of words by way of introduction. Most of what should be said has already been said and very eloquently. And I thank all the previous speakers. But

I would like to make one point that has been alluded to, but I want to try to drive it home.

We're living in a time where we have the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years, the lowest welfare roles in 27 years, the lowest crime rates in 25 years, the lowest inflation rate in 32 years, the smallest Government in 35 years, and the highest homeownership in history. And we're about to have a balanced budget and a surplus for the first time in 29 years. This has given this country enormous self-confidence. We know that when we work together, we do get things done. We do not know when we'll have a time like this again.

All of our reading of human history teaches us that nothing ever stays the same forever. If we can't deal with this issue now, when will we ever deal with it? We have an obligation to deal with this challenge and deal with it now. And we have an opportunity to do so.

The balanced budget has freed up capital. It's led to an increase in—the efforts at fiscal responsibility have led to a significant increase in our national savings rate, even as individual savings has gone down. And that's been very good to this point because it's enabled us to have lower interest rates, higher investment, and higher growth. And you see here the relationship between savings and investment and growth, which has already been alluded to. So we've had an increase in net national savings and a decline in the budget rate, and it's led to more growth.

But the problem is that we have to have more personal savings as well. And we have to deal with the problems presented especially by Social Security and by the fact that there are 50 million Americans without private pensions and by the fact that very few people are doing any savings above Social Security in whatever pension they have or don't have for their own retirement. So this is a deeply personal issue that Senator Lott, I thought, grippingly discussed, and it's also a big issue for our country.

We have the opportunity and the obligation, I believe, to deal with a lot of our other long-term challenges, but a lot of our other long-term challenges affect our children and affect children who have a poverty rate much

higher, almost twice as high, as senior citizens. Unless we deal with this issue, unless we nail down Social Security for the 21st century and stabilize it, and unless we deal with the need for more private pension coverage, and unless we deal with the need for more savings, it will also—make no mistake about it—it will impair in a direct financial way our ability to fulfill our responsibilities to our children who are living in difficult circumstances. And now we can help to chart a different future, and eventually it will undermine the self-confidence we're now enjoying, and it will make people very shortsighted again when we could be dealing with these issues that will shape the future 10, 20, 30, 50 years from now. So I think it's a very, very important thing.

And to answer to Senator Lott's question, let's begin with Social Security. And I want to thank him for what he said and for what he said to me in private, and to both the Speaker and Senator Lott and the other Democratic leaders of the Congress. I believe, while I think this SAVER summit should keep meeting, I don't believe we should wait until all of your meetings years in advance to deal with the Social Security issue. The demographics are too clear.

We now have until 2032 before it starts to run a deficit, but that's very misleading. With modest changes now, we can have huge impacts later. If you wait, the closer you wait, the more dramatic the changes you have to make just to pay the bills. So my view is that we should continue to have these forums around the country, these bipartisan forums; we should continue to solicit advice; but our goal ought to be to have the Congress take up Social Security reform as the first order of business early next year and finish in the first half of 1999, saving Social Security for the 21st century, so that we baby boomers do not bankrupt our children in their ability to raise our grandchildren. And my commitment is to try to get that done on that timetable.

In order to do it, I have to say I still believe that we have to resist two temptations with the budget surplus. The first temptation is to say, "Well, it's large and projected to be growing," and maybe I've just been in executive positions too long in public life, but those

projections don't mean a lot because sometimes they don't pan out.

Now, we've been real lucky for the last 5 years, all our projects have been too conservative, and we've done better than we've projected. But I think the first thing we have to do is to resist the tendency to spend the surplus on spending our tax cuts until we have dealt with the Social Security issue. The second thing I think we have to do is to resist the temptation to take one thing, even it seems like a very good thing to a large number of people, like the individual accounts, and deal with that without knowing how you're going to deal with the whole system. So what my view is—that we ought to say that we're going to pass comprehensive reform. And I don't rule in or out any ideas here on that. That's not my purpose. And I solicit all of your ideas.

But I just think it would be a big mistake, knowing what the magnitude of the money we're talking about is, to miss this chance to say we're going to hold on to this surplus until we pass comprehensive reform. Then if there is money over and above that after we do this—I hope in early 1999—we can have a wonderful, old-fashioned American political debate about what the best way to proceed is, whether we should cut taxes, invest the money, pay down the debt. We can have that debate. But I think we should commit ourselves again to the idea that saving Social Security first is the right policy for America and the right thing for the 21st century. And I hope we will do that.

Now, let me say, in addition to that, we have some very specific proposals which I think respond at least in part to the concerns which were raised by earlier speakers on pension matters. The Vice President mentioned the Retirement Protection Act, which passed, I believe, with an almost unanimous vote in Congress in late 1994, to protect the pension benefits of more than 40 million workers. But I want to build on that.

In the balanced budget proposal that I have presented to Congress, I proposed to offer tax credits to small businesses who start pension plans to help them deal with the problems, the costs that you mentioned of starting it, starting the programs up and getting the advice. It could be worth, I think,

in the first year, about \$1,000 for small business, which should cover the costs involved in the start-up.

It would encourage employers who don't provide pension plans to give workers the option of contributing to IRA's through payroll deductions, the budget would. The budget also cuts the vesting period for 401(k)'s from 5 years to 3 years. Eventually—I'll make a prediction—it may not happen in our time here, but eventually we will have to figure out how to have people paying, investing continuously, no matter how frequently they change jobs, because you're going to have—if you look at all modern advanced societies, you have a higher and higher percentage of people doing part-time work, you have a higher and higher percentage of people doing more than one job, and you have more rapid turnover. You have a very high rate of vitality and activity in the business community. It means a lot of places being started, but the more businesses that start, the more you're going to have that also won't go on, that won't make it.

And in the increasingly churning, dynamic world, we are going to have to focus very carefully on that. This is something I believe, by the way, that I think the SAVER Summit could really work on in the years ahead because of the congressional legislation, you know, having you meet again in a couple of years and then again in a couple of years after that. But for right now—we know enough now to know we can preserve financial stability in a responsible way and cut this vesting period from 5 to 3 years. And I hope very much that we'll be able to do that in the budget discussions with the legislation that passes this year.

Finally, there's an easy to administer, defined benefit plan that's part of our budget proposal, and I hope the Congress will pass that.

Also, in an effort to encourage more workers to enroll in the 401(k)'s that are already available to them, we have made it clear that employers can automatically enroll workers in the 401(k) plans unless the workers themselves choose to opt out. Now currently, most companies require the employees to opt in to the 401(k) plans, a process that takes some time and some paperwork. Companies that

have cut out the paperwork with automatic enrollment policies that then the employees can opt out of report participation rates of about 90 percent, as compared with an overall participation rate of 67 percent for companies offering 401(k)'s. So that's something that you will discuss. It sounds like a small thing, but it's one thing that can really affect a very large number of people in getting them into the business of saving for their own retirement.

Let me just say, lastly, we all know we have to do more about personal savings. We have worked together in a bipartisan way to expand the availability of IRA's and the attractiveness of them so that people could invest in IRA's and then withdraw tax free if the money were used for education purposes or health emergencies or other things of that kind. But we need, clearly, to do more. And this is an area where, quite apart from the 401(k) issues and the pension areas, I invite you to give your best ideas to the administration and to the Congress, because—let me just give you an idea of what a difference it could make. A person who could afford to save \$5 a day for 40 years would have \$300,000 by the time he or she retired, at just a modest return, above and beyond Social Security and pensions. Young people have a unique opportunity, if we can get it into their minds early: If you save \$2,000 a year beginning at age 25 and you retire at 65, you have \$328,000; if you wait until you're 45 to start, you only have \$78,000. So that really matters.

And let me finally say that—let me begin—let me end where I began. This is a moment of real self-confidence for our country. People have the emotional space to think about the long term. If you just think about your own businesses, your own families, raising your kids; if your child is sick and you're really worried and your child is 10 years old, it's hard to work up the emotional space to think about where your child is going to college and how much it will cost. If you think you can't pay the electric bill at your business, it's pretty hard to think about whether you're going to buy a piece of expensive equipment next year that will make you productive 5 years from now.

Events intrude on nations just as they do on people in their individual, personal, and business lives. We have been given a gift, and we have to use it. This is a wonderful moment, but it is a moment of responsibility that we dare not squander.

Some of you probably know this, but it makes the point, finally, that if we have a saving nation, it means we have a nation of people who think about the future and who believe in it. When Benjamin Franklin died—you know, “a penny saved is a penny earned”—he left £2,000 sterling to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia, with only one caveat: Nobody could spend any of it for 200 years. By 1990, the £2,000 sterling had matured into \$6.5 million, quite conservatively invested.

By leaving that money to people 200 generations removed from himself and his family—I mean, 200 years removed, Benjamin Franklin made a simple, powerful, eloquent statement that he believed in the promise of America, he believed in the future of America, and he was prepared to contribute to it in a truly astonishing way. Well, we don't have to ask the American people to save for 200 years, but we do have to make sure they can think about tomorrow and prepare for it. And this is a magic moment to do it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 a.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to former Gov. George Allen of Virginia. SAVER is an acronym for Savings Are Vital for Everyone's Retirement.

Remarks to the Democratic Leadership Council National Conversation

June 4, 1998

Thank you, Antonio, for that wonderful introduction. Thank you, Senator Lieberman, Governor Romer, Al From, and Will, and all the other folks here from the DLC. I thank Governor Carper and Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, and all the other elected officials who are here. I thank Jill Docking for her work on this important project.

And let me say, I'm very glad to be here, and I wish I could sit here for a couple of

hours and listen to you, instead of the other way around. I find I nearly always fail to learn things when I am doing the talking. But I am honored to be here. And I just took a little picture in the next room with the elected officials, and I was thinking that we have come a long way since 1984, a long way since the New Orleans Declaration, a long way since Cleveland, and that all of you should be very proud to be a part of a growing national movement that at the same time is bearing faithfully our most treasured American traditions and ideas.

I think it's worth remembering that in the early 19th century when the Democratic Party, when the term began to be used, very often the term was shortened from Democratic Party to just democracy; people used to refer to our predecessors as “the Democracy,” because we believed we were representing all Americans. And I think that that may be a better name for us now, even than it was then. Our party is again a party of hope, a party of the future, a party that empowers individuals and gives them a chance to be part of a larger national progress and unity. The credo of Andrew Jackson's day that I've heard Al From say a thousand times, “opportunity for all, special privileges for none,” is still a big part of what we believe.

Thomas Jefferson believed that we needed more freedom and more responsibility, and that's still what we believe. Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman believed that America had to lead in this increasingly interdependent world if we wanted to advance the cause of freedom and peace and prosperity and security. That's still what we believe.

And we have fundamentally, especially here at the DLC, been a group of Democrats committed to ideas. And in that sense, we have embraced one of the central gems of wisdom of the greatest Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, who, in a very eloquent series of statements that I'm sure many of you remember by heart, reminded us that we could never build our country up by tearing others down. I am proud to be a New Democrat with all of you.

We have called our approach “the third way,” with a Government that is more active, more effective, less expensive; one that can

bring us together and move us forward, not drive us apart and set us back.

I am profoundly grateful to the American people that in two Presidential elections we have been entrusted with the leadership of the country into the 21st century. I believe it is not an accident that this has happened. I do not believe it is a figment of the fertile imagination of me or any political expert that work for us. I think this happened because we had good ideas that were rooted in old values; that we were able to tell the American people in a convincing way that we could transform our Nation and, in the process, transform our party in a way that would enable us to do the eternal business of America; that in the face of new challenges and new opportunities we would find a way to change while still anchored in our basic values; and that we could bring good results to the American people.

That is what I think brought about those two election victories. And I believe that history, when people look back on it, will show that. And in that sense, every one of you who have been a part of all we have done here for more than 10 years, and especially since the issuance of the New Orleans Manifesto, can really take a lot of pride in the good things that have happened to America. We are, in effect, building an American example for the new millennium right now.

Now, just think how far we've come. Think about how America was in 1990, in 1991. We not only had problems, we were not only drifting apart and stagnating economically and our social problems were deepening, but there was a real belief on the part of many people that nobody was really concerned enough to do anything about it. And more and more we had folks in the other party saying, "Well, there's a reason we're not concerned. We can't do anything about it, because Government is the problem, and we just have to let this stuff happen, and if we don't, it will just get worse. If we try to make it better, it will just get worse.

And you remember all their speeches, "the Democrats would mess up a two-car parade" and all that sort of thing. That was the basic prevailing conventional wisdom that they tried to hammer home. So, yes, we have these problems, but we really can't deal with

them because Government is inherently the problem; that if you trust the Democrats, they'll just make it worse by trying to help. And then, to make the climate worse, there were politicians who really tried to make these social differences in our country bigger, when I'm trying so hard to make them smaller.

Every time they saw a point of tension in our society, they saw that as an opportunity for what the professionals call "wedge issues." And there were even people who believed, looking at all this, that our country was in some sort of long-term decline, and all the experts believed—the political experts believed—that it would be a very, very long time before any Democrat could be elected, because the other party said, "Government is inherently bad, and besides that, the Democrats can't run the economy, manage foreign policy. They're weak on crime, weak on welfare, and they'll run the deficit up. It will be a disaster." You remember all that.

Where is all that? It's all gone. What drove it away? Reality. [*Laughter*] You should be proud of that. You should be proud that you have been a part of that. We tried in this administration to be faithful to what we said in Cleveland in 1991, to stay with the themes of opportunity and responsibility and community. We've tried to make sure that our ideas were driven by our values, and our politics were driven by our policies, not the other way around. This really has been an administration of ideas.

Yesterday I had the pleasure to go celebrate one of those ideas. I went to Cleveland to the National Convention of City Year, one of our AmeriCorps affiliates. I saw 1,000 young people that are changing the futures for tens of thousands of other people all across America. It's been a stunning success. Nearly 90,000 young people have now come into national service in the last 4 years. And over half of them have earned the credits to go to college; that was a very essential part of the DLC idea of national service and earning money for education. And it is making America a better place.

If you didn't read about it, it's only because no one had a fight or called anyone a name. But it actually happened yesterday, and it was

quite wonderful. And it was very, very moving to see that an idea that all of us nourished for such a long time was actually out there alive.

One of the young men who spoke said, “the first time my mother ever said she was proud of me was when I became an AmeriCorps volunteer and I started working with children.” A young man that I met 7 years ago in Boston when I was running for President came up and reminded the audience that he’d given me the tee shirt off his back—the sweatshirt off his back—so I’d never forget the service project he was involved in. And I kept it and ran in it and still have it to this day. And he kept his service to this day; he now does it full-time.

There are young people like this all over America. How did this happen? It happened because the DLC developed this concept of national service. We had an election. It was part of the election debate, and the Congress ratified the judgment of the people in the election of 1992. And it changed America. There are lots of other ideas like this.

The DLC talked a lot about reinventing Government and how we had to change the way Government worked and brought in a lot of people to actually go through the details of it. And a lot of that is kind of boring, you know, and it doesn’t make great high-flowing lines in speeches. But a huge percentage of the savings that we will enjoy over the next 5 years that are helping us to balance the budget came because of the reinventing Government efforts that the Vice President led. And we now have over 300,000 fewer people, and 16,000 pages of unnecessary regulations gone, and more than 250 programs gone, and 640,000 pages of internal rules gone. We save a lot of trees—[laughter]—with this RIGO movement. It’s worked. The efforts have saved \$137 billion. Years ago, reinventing Government was a New Democrat idea. Today, it’s an American success story. You ought to be proud of that.

If you think about community policing, we just celebrated the fact that we’re ahead of schedule. We’ve now funded 75,000 of our 100,000 community police that we promised in the campaign of 1992—a DLC idea. We’re ahead of schedule and under budget. What was a New Democratic idea is now an Amer-

ican success story. The crime bill with the community policing, the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, the prevention efforts to do smart things in local communities with community leaders: All these things were part of the original, tough, smart crime package of the DLC. They were New Democratic ideas; now they’re American success stories.

We promised to ease the burden of taxes for working people, to reward work, to lift millions of working families out of poverty. When we doubled the earned-income tax credit we made the American dream real for people who work full-time. We said, “No matter how little you make, you shouldn’t live in poverty if you’re working full-time and you’ve got kids in the house.” That earned-income tax credit today is worth about \$1,000 a year to a family of four. It was a New Democrat idea, now it’s part of America’s success stories.

There are over 2 million children who have been lifted out of poverty because of an idea that started in a meeting like this held by the DLC and then appeared on a piece of paper and is now a part of the life of the United States. What you do here matters. Ideas matter. Work like this matters.

Now, I could give you lots of other examples. When I became President, I think there was one charter school in America. Today, there are hundreds and hundreds and hundreds. The State of California just voted to take the cap off of the number of charter schools that they could have. It’s sweeping America. For most people, it started as an idea being promoted by the DLC.

You can see it in the balance of tough child support enforcement with more support for children in welfare families. You can see it in the family and medical leave law. You can see it in our trade policy, in the empowerment zones, in all the other initiatives to bring the spark of enterprise to the inner city. You can see it in the HOPE scholarships, and, yes, you can see it in the balanced budget. They were New Democrat ideas; now they are American success stories.

And what are the results? Just think about it. If I had told you on Inauguration Day in 1993 that in 5½ years, I’d be able to come back here and assert to you that we have the

lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest welfare roles in 27 years, the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years, the first balanced budget and surplus in 29 years, the lowest inflation rate in 32 years, the smallest Government in 35 years, and the highest homeownership in American history, and, oh, by the way, along the way we opened the doors of college to every American willing to work for it and made dramatic advances for peace and freedom and security in the world, you would have said, "I don't believe it, but if it happens, I'll be proud." You should be proud because you're a part of it.

Now, that brings me to why you're here—because we're not nearly through. We still have to work to expand our own ranks within our party and to win elections with our adversaries in the election process. The American people need to understand even more clearly than they do now what the connection is between these ideas and the early actions that were taken and the consequences that have happened. But the most important thing to remember is this: Elections are always about the future. If all you have done is a good job, you're entitled to a gold watch. [*Laughter*] Elections are always about the future.

I remember one time in 1990, I was thinking about running for Governor again, and I was out at Governor's Day at the State Fair, and I said—this old guy came up to me in overalls. He said, "Are you going to run for Governor again?" And I said, "Well, if I do, will you vote for me?" He said, "Yeah, I always have." I said, "Well, I've been Governor 10 years. Aren't you sick of me after all these years?" He said, "No, but nearly everybody else I know is." [*Laughter*] And I said, "Well, don't they think I've done a good job?" He said, "Oh, they think you've done a wonderful job, but that's what we paid you for all those years." [*Laughter*]

Very important to remember: Elections are always about tomorrow. And that's the importance of this process in which you are engaged now. And what I'd like to say to you is, if you think about all these things I just said, what we'd really like is if that were more the normal condition of America. I mean, we'd really like it if we could sort of keep this thing going.

But what I want to say to you is that this is a moment where maybe the most important thing is Americans are upbeat again. They're optimistic. They have a sense of possibility, a sense of confidence. They even trust in Government, notwithstanding everything else they've been told. It's begun to edge up. Why? Because reality is out there. And no matter how much people may try to fill the atmosphere with other things, there is a reality out there.

The point I'm trying to make is this reality has given us a sense of collective self-confidence and security to be honest about what still needs to be done in America and to think about what the long-term challenges are to build a country we want for the 21st century. Now, let me just mention a few of them because I think there are clearly New Democrat approaches there.

The first thing I want to say is that we need to candidly tell the American people, "Yes, things are going well now, but if we are complacent, short-sighted, selfish, we will fritter away an opportunity to make sure that this country fulfills its potential in the 21st century, because we still have some very big challenges."

What are they? The first thing we've got to do is figure out how to deal with the coming retirement of the baby boomers and the increasing life expectancy of people, which is looking better to me all along. [*Laughter*] I think that's a high-class problem. [*Laughter*] But we have to figure out a way to deal with this without bankrupting our children and undermining our children's ability to raise our grandchildren, while still honoring the need of senior populations for a certain level of predictability and security and a decent life.

So the first thing I would say is, we have to maintain fiscal discipline. We shouldn't spend the surplus before it materializes, and we shouldn't spend a penny of it until we have secured Social Security for the 21st century, and we ought to pass the reform in early 1999.

Secondly, we also have a Medicare Commission chaired by another DLC leader, Senator Breaux, and we have to recognize that we have to deal with that. And we ought to

deal with that also in 1999. And the Democrats should not run away from making the necessary reforms in Social Security and Medicare. They are our programs. We brought them to America. They are the great gift of our party in the 20th century. Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson and their friends in the Congress gave this gift to America.

Who can say anything other than “hallelujah” that less than 11 percent of our seniors live in poverty? But when we get to the point when there are two people working for every person drawing Social Security at present rates of retirement, life expectancy, child birth, and immigration, even if we succeed in providing quality health care more or less in line with the rate of inflation, you don’t have to be a mathematical genius to know that we don’t want to be responsible for destroying that which we have created. And therefore, if we don’t want to destroy that which we have created, we should take the lead and tell the American people they should trust us to take the lead to reform it in a way that will be consistent with our values and that will preserve the gains of the last 50 years but drive them into the next 50 years with a 21st century system that meets the challenges of this day. And the Democrats ought to take the lead on that.

Furthermore, on health care, I think we have to continue to support both the Patients’ Bill of Rights and increased access to health insurance, especially for selected groups where they’re really often left out. And we have both addressed in different ways the need to deal with people who are not old enough to be on Medicare, but are, through no fault of their own, left without health insurance. It’s a terrible problem. Everywhere I travel in the country, somebody else comes up to me and talks about it.

This Patients’ Bill of Rights is a big issue because it’s a way of saying we support managed care in its benefits, but any system which is rooted in process only, that gets disconnected from the values of the purpose of the endeavor, in this case providing a healthier population, will get into trouble.

There was a woman with me from Minnesota the other day who, 5 weeks ago, was diagnosed with stage two breast cancer. Two

years ago she had a lump in her breast. She went to her HMO. They said “Well, we took a picture of it, and it looks all right to us.” But it never went away. Finally, she paid for her own biopsy. So this was about 6 weeks ago—she was here last week—they said, “You’ve got stage two breast cancer.” So then she goes to her HMO, and they said, “Well, you can’t have a breast cancer surgeon, but we’ll give you a general surgeon to do this surgery.” She said, “I don’t think so.” She made 123 phone calls trying to get them to give her a qualified doctor to do the surgery. So she said, “Well, I can’t afford it, but I’ll pay for it myself.” When she was under the knife, the HMO called her home and said they would cover it, but then they wouldn’t cover her chemotherapy afterward.

Now, this may be an extreme case, but I promise you something like that is happening somewhere today. Now, part of it is the extreme financial pressure these folks are under. But if you put health care decisions in the hands of people who don’t understand health care, then you have taken efficiency a step too far. And I believe it’s a mistake.

I also believe, however—it’s just like Social Security reform. I think we had to have some managed health care. We couldn’t continue to have health care costs go up to 3 times the rate of inflation. Eventually it would have consumed the whole economy. But if you don’t remedy the abuses and set aside a system, then you may wind up destroying the whole concept that you can manage the health care system in an efficient way.

So we ought to be out there out front on these issues. We ought to be continuing to support education reform until the charter school movement and public school choice is the rule in America, not the exception. We ought to support my initiatives for smaller classes and better teachers and higher standards and access to technology for all students. We ought to continue to support initiatives in juvenile crime and to rescue our inner-city neighborhoods generally, further economic issues, further public safety issues, further support in community efforts that have been proven to be successful in rescuing kids and keeping them out of trouble before they go to jail in the first place.

In the end, that's what we've got to do. We can't jail our way out of the juvenile crisis in America. We can punish people who ought to be punished, but in the end, we have to be smart enough to figure out how to save more of these kids. We need them for our future, and we can't let them go. And we ought to be on the forefront of doing that.

And let me just make one other—there are lots of other issues I could mention, but I'd like to mention one. I think that we need—and the DLC and the New Democratic forces need to do a lot more to define what our stakes are in the world of the 21st century. I'll just give you a few.

I went to Geneva the other day for the 50th anniversary of the World Trade Organization and urged them to do seven things to modernize the trading system for the 21st century. As a Democrat, I believe that we ought to have more trade. America's got 20 percent of the world's wealth and 4 percent of the world's population and you do not have to be a mathematical genius to figure out that we have to sell something to the other 96 percent if we want to maintain our standard of living. But as a Democrat, I also want our trading relations with other countries to lead to improvements in the conditions of life for ordinary people in those countries, because that's the only way that freedom and free markets will be widely supported and that will sustain themselves throughout the new century.

So I do think we have to find ways to push that. But the answer is not to run away from expanding trade. The answer is to broaden our agenda in aggressive and creative way that other countries will have an interest in supporting. I think we ought to be out there doing that.

I think we ought to recognize that there are new security threats in the 21st century that include, but are not limited to, biological and chemical weapons, the spread of disease, because people are so much more interconnected with each other, and the sweeping implications of cross-border environmental problems, the most significant of which is climate change. We have got to find a way to convince our neighbors around the world that you can grow the economy and improve the environment.

I just got back from Texas, where they are acutely aware of the interconnection of nations with the environment, because all those wild fires that are raging in Mexico are now coming across the Texas border, with the smoke, undermining the quality of the air. We're working very hard on that. Whether we like it or not, this wild fire problem is not a Mexican problem; we had the same thing this year in South America; we had the same thing several months ago in Southeast Asia; we had two boats shift on the ocean, crash into each other because they were blinded by smoke from wild fires from the rain forest in Southeast Asia—all a function of the changing climate of the world.

These are security issues. We should see them as such, and we should be totally unwilling to say that we all have to go back to the stone age economics to preserve the environment when that is clearly not true. But we do have to be aware of it.

Well, there are lots of other things I could say. I would like to say one thing just very briefly, and I don't want to—the Secretary of State is working on this, as you know, at this moment. But I'd like to say one thing about the problems on the Indian subcontinent because I think they're important for you to think about in a 21st century context.

First of all, they show you that there's still a combustible mix if you have old ethnic, religious, and national tensions combined with access to modern technology. Secondly, it shows you—and this may be the more important point—that as much as we're trying, there's still a lot of people who believe that being a great nation in the 21st century should be defined by the same terms that defined it in the 20th century.

An enormous part of my time as your President has been spent trying to develop policies and then make arguments to people like the President of Russia and the President of China that the definition of greatness should be different tomorrow than it was yesterday, that we should want to be measured by our ideas and our achievements and our ability to raise our children and our ability to relate to each other, and that national strength and greatness should be measured in different terms.

The present tensions between India and Pakistan and the tests are a sober reminder in a larger scale, because of the nuclear tests, of the challenges we still face in the Middle East, the challenges we still face in the Balkans, with our unfinished business in Bosnia, in Kosovo, the challenges we still face in Africa, in trying to get over what happened in Rwanda, throughout the world.

One of the important things about what you're doing is that other people in other parts of the world are now interested in taking this kind of approach. And they're trying to figure out whether they can find a politics that is both human and sensible that works. And so I would urge you to devote even more of your thoughts in the months and years ahead in this forum to how we can convince the American people, first of all, that we need to lead the world and we need to invest the money it takes to lead the world—and we get a lot out of it, not just on trade, but in other areas; and secondly, how we can best make alliances with people in other nations.

There must be people who think like you in India and people who think like you in Pakistan, just like there were in the new Labor Party in Great Britain or in the Government in the Netherlands or the Government in Italy or the Government in Brazil. And we need to engage people in trying to define national greatness in a way that is inclusive and constructive, not divisive and destructive. It is very important.

The last point I want to make—we are celebrating this week—celebrating is the wrong word—we are observing this week the 30th anniversary of the death of Robert Kennedy. I remember it like it was yesterday because it happened just a couple of days before I graduated from college. And I remember staying up with one of my roommates who worked in Senator Kennedy's office in Washington to watch the results of the California primary, and I turned the television off 5 minutes before Robert Kennedy was shot.

In so many ways what he was trying to do then for the Democratic Party and for our country has great parallels to what we have been about in the last few years, trying to get people to give up the old dogmas, trying to bring people together, trying to go be-

yond the sort of stale liberal-conservative name calling and figure out a policy that was both humane and effective. A lot of what he said and did prefigured what we have tried to do in our time.

But in that springtime in 1968, when both Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were killed and when our country was so profoundly troubled and divided over issues at home and abroad, it was after those events not possible for a very long time to try to put the pieces of an American progressive movement back together because America's mind and heart was too easily divided and distracted and was too uncertain.

And I'd like you to think about it as you read things about Senator Kennedy; over the next couple of days there will be a lot in the press. He never had a time like this in which to serve. And a lot of what Martin Luther King wanted to do in civil rights was complicated because of all the other problems that came into American society over the Vietnam war, and we became divided in other ways.

This is a time—I read all those statistics off to you—28, 29, 30 years, and you were all clapping. It's really exhilarating, isn't it? But what you have to think about is, this doesn't happen all that often, and we have space now and confidence and a sense of possibility. And we cannot squander it.

Robert Kennedy used to quote Tennyson, saying it is not too late to seek a newer world. Well, it isn't too late. But I don't care how good things are—believe me, I've now lived long enough to see things change—it's not too late, but we don't have a moment to waste. And we've only just begun.

So I want you to celebrate what you've done. I want to thank you for what you've done, but I want you to think about the next 50 years and realize what a precious gift as citizens we have been given to mobilize together, to think about the large matters of our children and grandchildren's future, and to actually to do something about them. And keep in mind we're where we are, because we had ideas and we had action.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Antonio Riley, Wisconsin State Representative; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado, general chair, Democratic National Committee; Al From, president, Democratic Leadership Council; Will Marshall, president, Progressive Policy Institute; Gov. Thomas R. Carper of Delaware; Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend of Maryland; and Jill Docking, cochair, Kansas Justice Commission. A tape was not available for verification of the content to these remarks.

Remarks at a Reception for the SAVER Summit

June 4, 1998

Thank you very much, and welcome to the White House. I want to say again a special word of thanks to Senator Breaux and the other Members of Congress who have pushed this summit. I believe that Congressman Neal, Payne and Clay are here, and there were others, of course, with us earlier in the day. I thank Secretary Herman for her outstanding leadership.

I think it is truly remarkable that Louisiana State has gone so far in the baseball finals. [Laughter] And I say that as a neighbor. I've actually known about John Breaux—John Breaux and I first ran for office in 1974, and we had the same ad person. So I knew about John Breaux sort of from a distance. And my guy, who was his guy, kept saying, "You're so earnest. You just don't have the kind of moves that Breaux does." [Laughter]

And Louisiana—I grew up in Arkansas so he's my neighbor. And it's just different down there. [Laughter] Really. Baseball—it's the only State in the country where, in all probability, everybody on the baseball team has to slow down to play that sport, instead of speed up. [Laughter] It's just an amazing place.

I quoted Benjamin Franklin today and told you all the story about his leaving the £2,000 to Boston and Philadelphia. Franklin also once said, it's better to go to bed without supper than to wake up in debt. And we're almost out of debt, so we're giving you drinks and not supper here tonight. [Laughter] But at least we're making progress. And if we're

quick enough, at least you'll be able to have supper. [Laughter]

There was a good feeling in that room today when all of us were there. I think you all felt good about it; I felt good about it. The reason we felt good about it is because you like to see your leaders working together and listening to you. And that's the way it ought to work around here all the time.

I keep telling people I have to travel out in the country and see people and just sit and listen on a regular basis to remind myself that I'm supposed to be working for you instead of against them, and vice versa—that that's really what we're all here for. And I think the fact that we have this level of common commitment is some evidence that we understand this is a big deal, and you don't have the luxury of engaging in petty politics.

Here you are in this remarkable East Room, with this wonderful picture of Theodore Roosevelt, the only American President ever to win the Nobel Prize for Peace, for helping to settle the war between Russia and Japan in 1905. And there's this very famous picture of George Washington that was painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1797. We bought it for \$500. It's worth slightly more than that today. [Laughter] It's appreciated even more than Benjamin Franklin's £2,000. [Laughter]

And I think about it because that picture was hanging in this room, and there was food all over the room, and there was a banquet being prepared, when James Madison was President. And he was the last President ever to actually be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He actually rode into battle with our forces in the War of 1812. And in 1814 when the British came up the river and burned the White House, Madison was in Maryland, near here, with the troops, thinking that he would be able to cut them off. But they came up the river instead.

And so they sent word to Mrs. Madison and to the others to get out of here and abandon the banquet. So when the British got here, they found all this food. They sat down and ate our food, and then they burned the house—[laughter]—which was a sort of an efficient thing for them to do, I guess. [Laughter] But the point is, James Madison said, "Leave and don't take anything but that picture." Because that picture symbolized

our roots. It is a truly priceless American treasure now, which would not have been there but for the fact that Dolley Madison had the presence of mind, with the British breathing down her throat, to cut it out of its frame, roll it up, preserve it, and get to safety.

We have a remarkable way of coming together as a democracy when our existence is threatened. When we have a chance to do something really big, we have a remarkable way of coming together, as, I think, we had enormous support across party lines for the constructive role the United States played in the peace process in Ireland, for example. And now I believe there's a great deal of support for what we have done in Bosnia, because it's working. It is harder to get a democracy together when you're dealing with a very large problem, but it's not right on your doorstep; it's 10, or 20, or 30 years down the road.

And one of the most impressive things to me about the young people—the young people who work here, for example, at the White House, the young people I meet at the colleges and universities or in workplaces around the country—is that I find they really do spend a fair amount of time thinking about what America will be like in 20, or 30, or 40 years. And it's a tribute to their parents; it's a tribute to their educators; and more than anything else, it's a tribute to them.

But those of us who are, like Senator Breaux and Secretary Herman and I, sort of on the cutting edge of the baby boom burden, we've had a pretty good run in this country. This country has been very good to us. We've had an amazing life. But we also have not had many opportunities, because of the divisions of the last 30 years, to really coalesce our country and to take on these big, long-term challenges.

Now, in trying to deal with the challenges of Social Security and the other savings issues—of Medicare, preserving the environment for the long time while we grow the economy, and all the other big challenges of the country—those of us who are in our middle years or later, who are in a position to really make decisions here, this is the opportunity of a lifetime for us. And for reasons, as I said earlier today—for reasons, I think,

largely due to the success our country is enjoying now, our democracy will permit us to do it. And our children are demanding that we do it.

And so I think you should be mindful of that, and you should be happy about it, because not every citizen gets to do what you're being asked to do, not every generation has a chance to do—to preserve the country and keep it strong and united and growing for a whole generation as you're being given the chance to do.

So I hope you will not only take this seriously, as I know you will, but enjoy it. And then when you leave here, do what you can to convey this sense of both possibility and urgency to the people with whom you come in contact with across the country, because we have to maintain this sense in the country that this is something their democracy ought to produce, that this is not something that just leaders can do alone but is something we can do together. And with your leadership and energy, I believe we will.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Remarks at the South Dakota Victory Fund Dinner

June 4, 1998

Thank you so much, Senator Daschle. I wish I had taped that. [*Laughter*] And every time I'd get kind of discouraged or down I could just flip on the tape and listen to Tom's voice.

Thank you all. I thank the other Members of the Senate for being here. And, Mayor Barger, thank you for coming. And some of you have come from even further away than South Dakota, and I thank all of you for being here, for a truly magnificent leader of the Senate and of our party and for our country.

I had a very interesting few days and sort of thinking about the past, the present, and the future. I had my 30th college reunion over the weekend. And I thought, I don't know where all those years went. I had occasion to go to Texas and do a little work for our party and for the Members of the House

of Representatives but also to go into an Hispanic neighborhood that no President had visited since Franklin Roosevelt to talk about the relationship of the census to the service of the community in building it up. Then I came back for a meeting on the situation in India and Pakistan and sent Secretary Albright off to meet with the Foreign Ministers of China and Russia and Great Britain and France. And they issued a very fine statement today, and we're working hard on that.

Then I went to Cleveland where I had the chance to go to the annual convention of something called City Year. It's one of our AmeriCorps national service projects that began in Boston. And I visited with them in 1991, when I started out, and there were just 100 people. And now there are all these young people from all over America, part of nearly 90,000 people who have been in our AmeriCorps program serving our country, earning credits for college.

And then today I had a chance to appear at the SAVER Summit where delegates from both parties and all walks of life in America talked about how we can save Social Security for the 21st century and increase pension savings and private savings, something that really matters to the long-run health of the country. And I got to appear at, in effect, a homecoming for me: I went to the Democratic Leadership Conference for a meeting of elected local officials around the country.

And it's just been great, because it's been—for me, it's been a week where I've gotten to reflect on the last 30 years and think about the next 30 to 50 years. And also, to be humbled a little along the way. I was in this great school yesterday in Cleveland, seeing what my AmeriCorps volunteers are doing, and I was shaking hands with all the kids. And I came up to this young man; he was about so tall. He couldn't have been over seven; he was probably six. And he looked up to me and he said, "Are you really the President?" [Laughter] I said, "Yes, I am." He said, "You aren't dead yet?" [Laughter] At first, I thought, what's a 6 year-old kid doing reading the Washington press every day? [Laughter] And then I realized that, in fact, the President was George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—he thought part of the job qualification was being dead. [Laugh-

ter] It was a wonderful thing. I say this just to kind of make a setting for the very brief points I want to make.

When I ran for President in 1992, I thought the country needed a different direction. And I came with a certain set of ideas and ideals and some very specific proposals to implement. And I couldn't have done it if it hadn't been for Tom Daschle.

Then when we went into the minority in the Senate, and Tom was elected leader, and we had to work so closely together, or we never would have gotten a balanced budget that also opened the doors of college to all Americans who are willing to work for it, through tax credits, and scholarships, and grants, and work-study positions—we just wouldn't have been able to do it.

We never would have been able to get a balanced budget that also added 5 million children to the ranks of those with health insurance in our country. We never would have been able to get a balanced budget that would continue to grow the economy, but still invest in the environment and in medical research and all the things that will build our future. And I never cease to marvel about how much he knows and has to deal with and how he has to deal with all these substantive issues which I deal with, but unlike me, he also has to figure out how to wind his way through the Senate rules and the personalities and this stuff. I just never—people ask me these questions—I said, "I'll call Tom. He'll know what to do." [Laughter] I don't have to worry about that.

And I don't think you can possibly imagine how much it means to a President to know that there is a leader in the Senate with that kind of brain power, that kind of integrity, that kind of energy, and that kind of deep compassion for our country. And it's a great national resource. He's good in a fight and good when we're making a principled compromise. And he's always trying to do what's right for the country. And along the way, he sometimes gets me to do a thing or two for South Dakota. [Laughter]

Now, I say that to make this point: We are all very lucky here, each in our own way. We wouldn't be able to be here if we hadn't enjoyed some good fortune in life. And maybe in our less reflective moments we

think we earned everything we got, but most of us were not born in a log cabin we built ourself. And most of us have had a break or two along the way. And I think—the point I'd like to make tonight is I think we're very fortunate to be living in this time.

I'm proud of the fact that we have the lowest crime rates in 25 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 27 years, the lowest unemployment in 28 years. We're going to have the first balanced budget and a surplus in 29 years. We've got the lowest inflation in 32 years, the smallest government in 35 years, and the highest homeownership in history. That makes me feel proud of our country.

But the point I want to make—and I guess it's just because I've been thinking about it as much as I have this week, although I've felt this way always—is that the country is now working as it ought to work, and therefore, we now have both the freedom, the emotional space, the financial means, and the sense of confidence to look at the larger challenges facing us, the long-term problems.

That's why I liked that SAVER Summit today. When all the baby boomers like me get into the retirement, if present trends continue, there will only be about two people working for every one person drawing. We have got to reform the Social Security system or we won't be able to have a decent retirement without unfairly burdening our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. That's a big long-term issue.

Same thing is true about Medicare. We got a person or two here today, I think, from Texas—people in Texas have had a real good, fresh impression of what climate change is doing because of all the wildfires raging in Mexico that are bringing the smoke over into Texas and affecting the quality of air and the health care, the health of the people there. We don't have to give up economic growth to preserve the planet, but we have to change the strategy by which we pursue it. And we're smart enough to do that. That's a big long-term problem that we need to face.

We have a great economy, but we don't have the world's best public schools—even though we have the world's best colleges. We can't stop until every child in this country has the chance to get an excellent education.

We have this great economy with a low unemployment rate, but there's still pockets in America, from inner cities to Native American tribes in South Dakota, where there has been virtually no impact of the free enterprise revolution. And we now have a chance to bring it there.

Now, if we were up to our ears in alligators and we were worried about going broke with the debt and we were worried about all the problems that were bearing down on this country when I became President, we wouldn't have the space or the confidence or the sense of possibility to think about these things. But now we do, and now we must, because this window will not stay open forever. In the nature of human events, things change. And we are so fortunate.

It was this week 30 years ago that Robert Kennedy was killed, culminating a pretty awful spring for America, just a couple of months after Martin Luther King was killed and Washington, DC, burned. I remember it very well. I was a student here working for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and I put a red cross on my car, and I drove down into Washington and delivered supplies to people who were living in church basements because they'd been burned out.

In so many ways, for me, at least, as a young man, what Robert Kennedy represented—an attempt to break out of the old orthodoxies, to bring people together across the lines that divided us, to kind of go beyond politics as usual to actually get something done that would touch people's lives and move this country forward together—represents what I have tried to do as President.

For 30 years, because of all kinds of problems we had, divisions too often triumphed over unity, and we were too often preoccupied with things that were right in front of our nose. Now we have a chance to deal with the long-term challenges of the country. Now we have a chance to prove that we can be an even more diverse, multiethnic, multi-religious, multiracial democracy and be more unified. And in a world where other people are having trouble dealing with that in almost every continent, that's more important than ever before. And for me, I think we have a chance to restore not only our country but

also our party to the direction that was basically interrupted 30 years ago when the country divided over war and race, and two of our greatest leaders were killed within a few weeks of each other.

None of that is happening now. And I'm telling you, we have an opportunity, but it is also a profound obligation, to give our children and grandchildren the America they deserve and the America of our dreams, the America most of us growing up thought we could create and missed terribly when it wasn't possible. If we do that, it will be in no small measure because of the unusual service, in a very difficult position of the person we are here to honor tonight.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at the Sheraton Luxury Collection Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Brenda Barger of Watertown, SD.

**Commencement Address at the
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology in Cambridge,
Massachusetts**

June 5, 1998

Thank you, Dr. Vest. I think you're the real thing. [Laughter] Chairman d'Arbeloff, Dr. Gray, members of the Corporation, the faculty, especially to the members of the Class of 1998 and your families, the Classes of 1948 and 1973, Mayor Duehay, members of the City Council. I thank the Brass Ensemble for the wonderful music before. Let me say I am profoundly honored to be here on the same platform with Dr. David Ho, and grateful for the work he has done for humanity.

When we met a few moments ago, in President Vest's office, with a number of the students and other officials of the university, I said you had a good representation of speakers today, the scientists and the scientifically challenged. [Laughter]

But my administration has been able to carry on in no small measure because of contributions from MIT. Sixteen MIT alumni and faculty members have served in important positions in this administration, including at least two who are here today, the former Secretary of the Air Force, Sheila

Widnall, and the Deputy Secretary of Energy Ernie Moniz. Four of your faculty members and your President have done important work for us. I thank them all.

And I come here today with good news and bad news for the graduates. The good news is that this morning we had our latest economic report: unemployment is 4.3 percent; there have been 16 million new jobs in the last 5 years; there are numerous job openings that pay well. The bad news is that you now have no excuse to your parents if you don't go to work. [Laughter]

MIT is admired around the world as a crucible of creative thought, a force for progress, a place where dreams of generations become reality. The remarkable discoveries and inventions of the MIT community have transformed America. Early in your history, MIT was known for advances in geology and mining. By mid-century, MIT pioneered X rays and radar. Today, it's atomic lasers, artificial intelligence, biotechnology. MIT has done much to make this the American Century. And MIT will do more to make America and the world a better place in the 21st century, as we continue our astonishing journey through the information revolution, a revolution that began not as our own did here in Massachusetts, with a single shot heard around the world but instead was sparked by many catalysts, in labs and libraries, start-ups and blue chips, homes and even dorm rooms across America and around the world.

I come today not to talk about the new marvels of science and engineering. You know far more about them than I do. Instead I come to MIT, an epicenter of the seismic shifts in our economy and society, to talk about how we can and must apply enduring American values to this revolutionary time, about the responsibilities we all have as citizens to include every American in the promise of this new age.

From the start, our Nation's greatest mission has been the fulfillment of our Founders' vision: opportunity for all, best secured by free people, working together toward better tomorrows and what they called "a more perfect Union."

Americans believe the spark of possibility burns deep within every child, that ordinary people can do extraordinary things. Our history can be understood as a constant striving

on foreign fields and factory floors, in town halls and the corridors of Congress, to widen that circle of opportunity, to deepen the meaning of our freedom, to perfect our Union, to make real the promise of America. Every previous generation has been called upon to meet this challenge. And as we approach a new century and a new millennium, your generation must answer the call.

You enter the world of your tomorrows at a remarkable moment for America. Our country has the lowest crime rates in 25 years, the smallest welfare rolls in 27 years, the lowest unemployment in 28 years, the lowest inflation in 32 years, the smallest National Government in 35 years, and the highest rate of homeownership in our history. Such a remarkable time, a period of renewal, comes along all too rarely in life, as you will see. It gives us both the opportunity and the profound responsibility to address the larger, longer-term challenges to your future.

This spring I am speaking to graduates around the country about three of those challenges. Last month I went to the Naval Academy to talk about the new security challenges of the 21 century, terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, global climate change, the spread of weapons of mass destruction. New week at Portland State in Oregon I will discuss how our Nation's third great wave of immigration can either strengthen and unite America or weaken and divide it. And I thank Dr. Ho for what he said about immigration and our immigrants.

Today, I ask you to focus on the challenges of the information age. The dimensions of the information revolution and its limitless possibilities are widely accepted and generally understood, even by lay people. But to make the most of it we must also acknowledge that there are challenges, and we must make important choices. We can extend opportunity to all Americans or leave many behind. We can erase lines of inequity or etch them indelibly. We can accelerate the most powerful engine of growth and prosperity the world has ever known, or allow the engine to stall.

History has taught us that choices cannot be deferred; they are made by action or inaction. There is no such thing as virtual opportunity. We cannot point and click our way

to a better future. If we are to fulfill the complete promise of this new age, we must do more.

Already the information age is transforming the way we work. The high-tech industry employs more people today than the auto industry did at its height in the 1950's. Auto and steel industries in turn have been revived by new technologies. Among those making the most use of technology R&D are traditional American enterprises such as construction, transportation, and retail stores.

It's transforming the way we live. The typical American home now has much more—as much computing power as all of MIT did in the year most of the seniors here were born. It is transforming the way we communicate. On any business day, more than 30 times as many messages are delivered by e-mail as by the Postal Service. And today, this ceremony is being carried live on the Internet so that people all over the world can join in.

It is transforming the way we learn. With the DVD technology available today, we can store more reference material in a 3-inch stack of disks than in all the stacks of Hayden Library. It is transforming the way our society works, giving millions of Americans the opportunity to join in the enterprise of building our nation as they fulfill their dreams.

The tools we develop today are bringing down barriers of race and gender, of income and age. The disabled are opening long closed doors of school, work, and human possibility. Small businesses are competing in worldwide markets once reserved only for powerful corporations. Before too long, our children will be able to stretch a hand across a keyboard and reach every book ever written, every painting every painted, every symphony ever controlled.

For the very first time in our history, it is now possible for a child in the most isolated inner-city neighborhood or rural community to have access to the same world of knowledge at the same instant as the child in the most affluent suburb. Imagine the revolutionary democratizing potential this can bring. Imagine the enormous benefits to our economy, our society, if not just a fraction, but all young people can master this set of 21st century skills.

Just a few miles of here is the working class community of East Somerville. It has sometimes struggled to meet the needs of population that is growing more diverse by the day. But at East Somerville Community School, well-trained technology teachers with equipment and support from Time-Warner Cable have begun to give first to eighth-graders an early and enormous boost in life. First graders are producing small books on computers. Sixth graders are producing documentaries. The technology has so motivated them that almost all the sixth graders showed up at school to work on their computer projects over winter break.

That small miracle can be replicated in every school, rich and poor, across America. Yet, today, affluent schools are almost 3 times as likely to have Internet access in the classroom; white students more than twice as likely as black students to have computers in their homes.

We know from hard experience that unequal education hardens into unequal prospects. We know the information age will accelerate this trend. The three fastest growing careers in America are all in computer related fields, offering far more than average pay. Happily, the digital divide has begun to narrow, but it will not disappear of its own accord. History teaches us that even as new technologies create growth and new opportunity, they can heighten economic inequalities and sharpen social divisions. That is, after all, exactly what happened with the mechanization of agriculture and in the industrial revolution.

As we move into the information age we have it within our power to avoid these developments. We can reap the growth that comes from revolutionary technologies and use them to eliminate, not to widen, the disparities that exist. But until every child has a computer in the classroom and a teacher well-trained to help, until every student has the skills to tap the enormous resources of the Internet, until every high-tech company can find skilled workers to fill its high-wage jobs, America will miss the full promise of the information age.

We cannot allow this age of opportunity to be remembered also for the opportunities that were missed. Every day, we wake up

and know that we have a challenge; now we must decide how to meet it. Let me suggest three things.

First, we must help you to ensure that America continues to lead the revolution in science and technology. Growth is a prerequisite for opportunity, and scientific research is a basic prerequisite for growth. Just yesterday in Japan, physicists announced a discovery that tiny neutrinos have mass. Now, that may not mean much to most Americans, but it may change our most fundamental theories—from the nature of the smallest subatomic particles to how the universe itself works, and indeed how it expands.

This discovery was made, in Japan, yes, but it had the support of the investment of the U.S. Department of Energy. This discovery calls into question the decision made in Washington a couple of years ago to disband the super-conducting supercollider, and it reaffirms the importance of the work now being done at the Fermi National Acceleration Facility in Illinois.

The larger issue is that these kinds of findings have implications that are not limited to the laboratory. They affect the whole of society, not only our economy but our very view of life our understanding of our relations with others, and our place in time.

In just the past 4 years, information technology has been responsible for more than a third of our economic expansion. Without Government-funded research, computers, the Internet, communications satellites wouldn't have gotten started. When I became President, the Internet was the province of physicists, funded by a Government research project. There were only 50 sites in the world. Now, as all of you know, we are adding pages to the World Wide Web at the rate of over 100,000 an hour, and 100 million new users will come on this year. It all started with research, and we must do more.

In the budget I submit to Congress for the year 2000, I will call for significant increases in computing and communications research. I have directed Dr. Neal Lane, my new Adviser for Science and Technology, to work with our Nation's research community to prepare a detailed plan for my review.

Over the past 50 years our commitment to science has strengthened this country in countless ways. Scientific research has created vast new industries, millions of jobs, allowed America to produce the world's most bountiful food supplies and remarkable tools for fighting disease. Think of what today's investments will yield. Dr. Ho will unravel the agonizing riddles of AIDS. There will be a cure for cancer; a flourishing economy that will produce much less pollution and move back from the brink of potentially devastating global warming. High-speed wireless networks that bring distance learning, tele-medicine and economic opportunity to every rural community in America.

That is why, even as we balanced our budget for the first time in 29 years, we have increased our investments in science. This year I asked Congress for the largest increase in research funding in history, not just for a year but sustained over 5 years. It is a core commitment that must be part of how every American, regardless of political party or personal endeavor, thinks about our Nation and its mission. *[Applause]* Thank you—those are the people who received the research grants over there. *[Laughter]*

I want you to know that we are also working to address the threat to our prosperity posed by the year 2000 bug. I tried and tried to find out what the class hack project was for the Class of '98, and I failed. But I did learn that in the year 2000, the graduating class is proposing to roll all of our computers back by 100 years. And I am determined to thwart you. I will do my best. *[Laughter]*

The second thing we have to do is to make sure that the opportunities of the information age belong to all our children. Every young American must have access to these technologies. Two years ago in my State of the Union Address, I challenged our Nation to connect every classroom to the Internet by the year 2000. Thanks to unprecedented cooperation at national, State, and local levels, an outpouring of support from active citizens, and the decreasing costs of computers, we're on track to meet this goal.

Four years ago when you came to MIT, barely 3 percent of America's classrooms were connected. By this time next year, we will have connected well over half our class-

rooms including 100 percent of the classrooms in the Nation's 50 largest urban school districts.

But it is not enough to connect the classrooms. The services have to be accessed. You may have heard recently about something called the e-rate. It's the most crucial initiative we've launched to help connect our schools, our libraries, and our rural health centers to the Internet. Now some businesses have called on Congress to repeal the initiative. They say our Nation cannot afford to provide discounts to these institutions of learning and health by raising a billion dollars or so a year from service charges on telecommunications companies, something that was agreed to in the Telecommunications Act of 1996 that passed with overwhelming bipartisan majorities in both Houses.

I say we cannot afford not to have an e-rate. Thousands of poor schools and libraries and rural health centers are in desperate need of discounts. If we really believe that we all belong in the information age, then, at this sunlit moment of prosperity, we can't leave anyone behind in the dark.

Every one of you who understands this I urge to support the e-rate. Every one of you here who came from a poor inner-city neighborhood, who came from a small rural school district, who came perhaps from another country where this was just a distant dream, you know that there are poor children now who may never have a chance to go to MIT unless someone reaches out and gives them this kind of opportunity. Every child in America deserves the chance to participate in the information revolution.

The third thing we have to do is to make sure that all the computers and the connections in the world don't go to waste because our children actually have 21st century skills. For 5 years now I've done my best to make education our number one domestic priority, creating HOPE scholarships, expanding Pell grants, to make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as the first 12 are today. We've passed tax credits, reformed the student loan program, expanded work-study, created AmeriCorps to open the doors of college to every young person who is willing to work for it.

We're working to make our public schools the best in the world, with smaller classes, better facilities, more master teachers and charter schools, higher standards, an end to social promotion. But the new economy also demands that our Nation commit to technology literacy for every child. We shouldn't let a child graduate from middle school anymore without knowing how to use new technologies to learn.

Already, 10 States with an eye to the future have made technology literacy a requirement of graduation from high school. I believe we should meet this goal in the middle school years. I believe every child in every State should leave middle school able to use the most current tools for learning, research, communication, and collaboration. And we will help every State to meet this goal.

If a State commits to adopt a technology literacy requirement then we will help to provide the training that the teachers need. I propose to create a team of trained technology experts for every American middle school in every one of these States and to create competitions over the next 3 years to encourage the development of high-quality educational software and educational web sites by students and professors and commercial software companies.

All students should feel as comfortable with a keyboard as a chalkboard, as comfortable with a laptop as a textbook. It is critical to ensuring that they all have opportunity in the world of the 21st century.

Today I pledge the resources and unrelenting efforts of our Nation to renew our enduring values in the information age. But the challenges that we face cannot be met by Government alone. We can only fulfill the promise of this revolution if we work together in the same way it was launched together, with creativity, resolve, a restless spirit of innovation.

While this mission requires the efforts of every citizen, those who fuel and enjoy the unparalleled prosperity of this moment have special responsibilities. The thriving new companies that line Route 128 in Silicon Valley—I challenge them to use their power to empower others, to invest in a school, embrace a community in need, endow an eager young mind with opportunity, not to rest

until every one of our children is technology literate. Many of you are doing such work already and many of them are; but America needs all such companies to participate.

And finally, to the graduates of the class of 1998, I, too, offer my congratulations and, as your President, my gratitude for your commitment, for challenges conquered, for projects completed, for goals reached and even surpassed. You, your parents, and your friends should be very proud today, and very hopeful, for all the possibilities of this new age are open to you. You are at the peak of your powers and the world will rightly reward you for the work you do.

But to make the very most of your life and the opportunities you have been given, you, too, must rise to your responsibility to give something back to America of what you have been given. As the years pass your generation will be judged, and you will begin to judge yourselves not only on what you do for yourself and your family but on the contributions you make to others, to your country, your communities, your generation of children. When you turn your good fortune into a chance for others, you then will not only be leaders in science and industry, you will become the leaders of America. Twenty-first century America belongs to you. Take good care of it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. at the Killian Court on the campus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In his remarks, he referred to Charles M. Vest, president, MIT; Alexander d'Arbeloff, chairman, and Paul Gray, former chairman, the Corporation of MIT; Mayor Francis H. Duehay of Cambridge; Dr. David D. Ho, scientific director, Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center; and Ernest Moniz, Under Secretary of Energy.

Statement on House of Representatives Support for Tobacco Legislation

June 5, 1998

I am pleased to see that momentum for tobacco legislation is now building in the House of Representatives. The bipartisan

comprehensive legislation proposed by Representatives Hansen, Meehan, and Waxman now has over 90 cosponsors committed to reducing youth smoking. This is a good, tough bill. It reaffirms the FDA's full authority over tobacco and includes strong restrictions on advertising and marketing of tobacco products to young people. It contains important protections against exposure to environmental tobacco smoke and tough company-specific surcharges to encourage companies to reduce youth smoking. I look forward to working with Representatives Hansen, Meehan, Waxman and all of their House colleagues to improve this bill in order to protect farmers and farming communities. With this change, I would be pleased to sign this bill. I call upon the House of Representatives to take it up and get down to the serious business of reducing youth smoking in this country.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

May 30

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a brunch with a small group of Georgetown University alumni at Blair House. In the evening, they hosted a gala for the 30th anniversary Georgetown University class of 1968 on the South Lawn.

June 1

The President announced his intention to nominate Edward L. Romero to be Ambassador to Andorra.

The President announced his intention to appoint Jamie Rappaport Clark to serve as a Commissioner, U.S. Government Representative, of the Great Lakes Fisheries Commission.

The President declared a major disaster in South Dakota and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts

in the area struck by floods, severe storms, and tornadoes.

June 2

In the morning, the President traveled to Houston, TX. While en route aboard Air Force One, he had separate telephone conversations with the following individuals: Marissa Rene Marino, a cancer patient who was to be at the arrival in Houston but had to receive chemotherapy in California; Susan Goldwater, widow of the late Barry M. Goldwater, to inform her that Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt would attend Mr. Goldwater's funeral on June 3; and Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet concerning nuclear proliferation in South Asia.

In the afternoon, the President briefly visited former Senator and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen. Later, he traveled to Dallas, TX. In the evening, he returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

June 3

In the morning, the President traveled to Cleveland, OH, and in the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC.

The White House announced that the President will travel to China June 25–July 3.

June 5

In the morning, the President traveled to Cambridge, MA, and in the afternoon, he traveled to Lincoln, MA. In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael H. Trujillo to be Director of the Indian Health Service.

The President announced his intention to appoint Ertharin Cousin Moore as a member of the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

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

Submitted June 4

Yvette Kane,
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for
the Middle District of Pennsylvania, vice
Edwin M. Kosik, retired.

James M. Munley,
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for
the Middle District of Pennsylvania, vice
William W. Caldwell, retired.

Edward L. Romero,
of New Mexico, to serve concurrently and
without additional compensation as Ambas-
sador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
the United States of America to Andorra.

Thomas J. Whelan,
of California, to be U.S. District Judge for
the Southern District of California, vice John
S. Rhoades, Sr., retired.

Submitted June 5

Robert S. Raymar,
of New Jersey, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for
the Third Circuit, vice H. Lee Sarokin, re-
tired.

**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 May 30

Transcript of a press briefing by Education
Secretary Richard Riley on private religious
expression in public schools¹

¹ This transcript was made available by the Of-
fice of the Press Secretary on May 29 but was
embargoed for release until 10:06 a.m., May 30.

Released June 1

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Sec-
retary Mike McCurry

Released June 2

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Sec-
retary of Commerce Robert L. Mallett and
Deputy Press Secretary Joe Lockhart on the
2000 census

Statement by the Press Secretary: President
Clinton Authorizes \$37 Million for Humanitar-
ian Emergencies in Africa and Southeast
Asia

Released June 3

Statement by the Press Secretary: The Presi-
dent's Trip to China

Released June 4

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Sec-
retary Mike McCurry

Announcement of the nominations for U.S.
District Judges for the Middle District of
Pennsylvania and the Southern District of
California

Released June 5

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy
Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of remarks by the First Lady and
musician Don Henley in a teleconference
with students at the Thoreau Center in Lin-
coln, MA

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

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved June 1

H.R. 2472 / Public Law 105-177
To extend certain programs under the En-
ergy Policy and Conservation Act