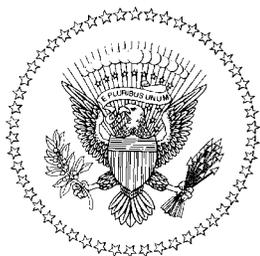


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, October 13, 2000

**Remarks on the Situation in
Yugoslavia and the Legislative
Agenda and an Exchange With
Reporters**

October 6, 2000

The President. Good afternoon. I'd like to say a few words about the historic developments in Serbia.

First and foremost, this is an extraordinary victory for the people of the former Yugoslavia, who endured oppression and deprivation, who saw through the propaganda, who took their country back with nothing but courage, principle, and patriotism. They will now define the shape of their future. They have said they want to live in a normal country, at peace with its neighbors, and a part of the world. The rest of us will welcome them.

This is a victory for newly elected President Kostunica, for his integrity and leadership in bringing this new day. As Yugoslavia's new leaders work to build a truly democratic society, we will move with our European allies to lift sanctions and bring them out of isolation.

This is a victory for all southeast Europe. As long as Mr. Milosevic was in power, the danger of more violence in Bosnia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia remained high. A dark cloud has lifted. And though tensions and challenges clearly remain, prospects for enduring stability in the Balkans have greatly improved.

Finally, this day is also a victory for the steady, persistent position of the international community. Think where we were less than a decade ago. Mr. Milosevic was trying to build a Greater Serbia, through conquest and ethnic cleansing. His forces attacked Slovenia, then Croatia, then Bosnia, unleashing violence that killed hundreds of thousands of innocent people in the heart of Europe, at the dawn of what was supposed

to be a new era of peace. And he was winning.

Had the world allowed him to win then, the people of Yugoslavia could not have won today. But America and our allies, took a stand, rejecting the idea that the Balkan tragedies were too hard to solve and too distant to matter. Together, we ended the war in Bosnia, reversed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, supported forces of democracy and tolerance in Croatia and Montenegro, blocking Milosevic's efforts to prolong his rule by provoking new conflict, until the only remaining outpost of repression was Serbia itself, where it all began.

Now history has come full circle. It is not just the end of dictatorship in Belgrade. In a real sense, it is the end of the war Mr. Milosevic started in the former Yugoslavia 10 years ago. Democracy has reclaimed every piece of ground he took. The greatest remaining obstacle to the long-held dream of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe for the first time in history has now been removed.

So now is not the time for the United States or our allies to retreat from the Balkans in complacency. Now is the time to stay the course and stick with people who have won their freedom, the time to build the economic and civil institutions that will allow democracy to endure, reconciliation and cooperation to develop, and the economy to grow.

Now, before I take your questions, I'd just like to mention a couple of domestic issues. First, this morning, we received the good news that unemployment last month dropped again to 3.9 percent, a 30-year low, with the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded. Our economic strategy is working, and we need to keep it on course.

That leads to the second point. I just signed yet another short-term funding measure to keep the Government running and

meet its responsibilities to the American people. We're now a week into the new fiscal year and Congress still has not acted on pressing budget priorities from education to safer streets to health care. At the same time, I am profoundly troubled by some of the things they have found the time to do.

Yesterday the Republican leadership thwarted the will of a bipartisan majority in both Houses and the overwhelming majority of the American people by stripping away legislation to outlaw deadly hate crimes. It was plain wrong. And on behalf of the families of people like James Byrd and Matthew Shepard, I pledge to keep fighting for hate crimes legislation this year.

I am also deeply disappointed by their decision to water down the prescription drug import legislation. We had an agreement to work in a bipartisan fashion, which they rejected in favor of writing a bill on their own, which is more acceptable to the drug companies, all right, but as a consequence will clearly provide less help to seniors and others who need but can't afford drugs and, indeed, could provide no help at all.

So once again I urge Congress to focus on the Nation's priorities and to work in a genuine spirit of bipartisanship, not to weaken, water down, or walk away from what we need to do but, instead, to finish the job of a fiscally responsible budget that builds on our progress, invests in our people, and produces real results.

Thank you.

Situation in Yugoslavia

Q. Mr. President, does your statement mean that the United States would object if Slobodan Milosevic were to try to remain active in Yugoslavia or if he were to try to go away quietly into asylum in some other nation?

The President. Well, first of all, I don't want to get into all the hypotheticals. The most important thing is to make sure that this moment is consummated; that is the President who has been elected should be authoritatively sworn in. That's the most important thing.

Now, I think it would be a terrible mistake for him to remain active in the political life of the country. That is not what the people

voted for. And I believe that we cannot ignore the action of the War Crimes Tribunal. I think we have to continue to support it. We'll have to deal with all the possible permutations that develop in the days ahead, and we'll work with our allies as closely as we can to see what the right thing to do is.

But let's not, even in the rain, water down the impact of this day. The people there have done an astonishing thing. This is just as big a blow for freedom as we saw when the Berlin Wall was torn down, when Lech Walesa led the shipyard workers in Poland, when the transformations occurred in all these other former communist countries. And it reverses a 10-year effort. It is an extraordinary day.

Q. Mr. President is it your understanding that the Russians are brokering a deal or trying to broker a deal with Milosevic or that they're delivering a blunt message for him just to step aside?

The President. Well, there have been two different reports, and so it's not clear. Let me say that we have always said, all of us, that the Russians could play a constructive role here and that we hope that they would, as soon as they felt they could do so, make it clear that Mr. Milosevic should respect the results of the elections.

Today even the Constitutional Court, which just a few days ago had invalidated the first election, even the Constitutional Court said, "Hey, this guy won, fair and square, and he's the President." So when I heard the report that Mr. Ivanov had delivered a congratulatory letter to President Putin and was clearly looking forward to a new Yugoslavia, I thought that was consistent with the policy that all the Europeans had held and that the United States had held and that we would be working together again, as we have worked together in Bosnia and Kosovo. Then we were later given reports that I think are on the news, that instead maybe what he said was he was congratulating him on a strong showing in the election, but leaving open the prospect of when he should become President.

So I will say again, I don't think there should be a deal brokered here. I think the only issue—should the will of the people of Serbia be honored, should the integrity of an election that has even been recognized

by a court, that just a couple of days ago tried to thwart it, be upheld? If the Russians will take that position as soon as they feel that they can, that can make a big, positive difference.

Effectiveness of Peacekeeping Forces

Q. You said a short time ago, Mr. President, that now is not the time to retreat from the Balkans in complacency. Is that a response to Governor Bush in the debate the other night, when he expressed doubts about the value of using American troops for peacekeeping?

The President. Well, he wasn't the only one. If you go back, there are a lot of people who didn't agree with what we did in Bosnia. There are a lot of people who didn't agree with what we did in Kosovo.

I felt very strongly that we did have profound national interests in stabilizing Europe and permitting it to be united, not divided; all democratic, not partly so; and free of ethnic cleansing and slaughter. I felt very strongly about that. I still believe we were right, and I think that subsequent events have ratified the direction that we've taken from the beginning here.

And I'm very proud of the fact that—it took us about 2 years after I became President to get strong consensus among our European allies, but I'm very proud of what they've done in their own backyard and the leadership they've taken and the stands that they've taken.

But that's not what I meant. I don't mean to get into a discussion of the current political campaign. What I was referring to is that, if you remember, we had a big conference after Kosovo on the need to give the Balkans something positive to look forward to, not just to say, "Stop all these bad things you've been doing, but here's a way to build a united economic bloc; here is a way to work together; here is a way to rebuild all these countries; and that there ought to be a Balkan stability pact."

And I said at the time that the only difficulty with this concept was that Serbia, which has always been a big anchor of the Balkans, could not be a part of it because of Mr. Milosevic's policies and actions. So the reason I said what I said today was to

make it clear that I think Serbia, once democracy has clearly and unambiguously been restored, should definitely be a part of the Balkan stability pact and that the United States should play its role there.

The Europeans are carrying the lion's share of the financial burden, which was the agreement we made when we carried the lion's share of the burden during the conflict in Kosovo. But we have responsibilities there. And I was referring to the imperative of our meeting our responsibilities there, not trying to go back and revisit the history for any political purpose.

I think what I want everybody to do is get beyond the politics and look at the enormous potential now. But the United States and our European allies, having done so much in Bosnia and Kosovo, having supported the institutions of a free election in this last process in Serbia, we owe it to those people now to reward the decision they have made as well as to reward and redeem the sacrifice that has been made in those other countries.

Upcoming Meeting With President Kim Chong-il of North Korea

Q. Mr. President, what are you going to talk about with the North Korean leader next week? Are you looking for a major breakthrough in improving the relations with that country?

The President. Well, first, I'm going to listen, and I'm going to tell them that I am encouraged by the work done by President Kim in South Korea and by Kim Chong-il in North Korea, and I want to encourage that development.

You know, the United States has had—when I became President in 1993, everybody thought the most serious problem we faced in terms of world security was the potentially imminent development of nuclear weapons by North Korea, because they were so good at building missiles which could deliver them, a development which would have been very ominous, not only because of what it might have meant on the Korean Peninsula and to Japan but also what it might have meant should North Korea have sold both missiles and warheads to others.

So we worked very hard, with the support of the South Koreans, to establish a direct

relationship with North Korea to try to stop the nuclear program. And you know about all the consequences there: building a lightwater reactor, getting the financing, giving crude oil—giving oil for the North Koreans to meet their energy needs.

Beyond that, however, we refused with great discipline to go beyond that until there was some movement at reconciliation between South Korea and North Korea. We didn't want to get separated from South Korea. We wanted to stick with them. And now, the President of South Korea, who deserves the lion's share of credit for all that has happened here—although he had to have a response from Kim Chong-il, and he deserves credit for what he has done—has encouraged me to have whatever contact the North Koreans deem appropriate at this time.

So what I want to do is just explore the possibilities. We're very concerned about a reconciliation between our two countries. That would be a good thing. But it also has to be good for South Korea, and I might add, the interests of Japan are quite important here, and the Japanese have interests that are not quite identical to the South Koreans, but they are very legitimate. Our relationship with Japan is profoundly important to us over the long run.

So I'm working through this. I believe the Chinese strongly support this meeting and what we're trying to do, and we've tried to coordinate with them. So, on balance, this is a big plus. I will explore what the possibilities are and consider what actions they're willing to take, what actions we should take, consistent not only with our own interests but with those of South Korea and our other friends in the region.

Situation in Yugoslavia

Q. Returning to Yugoslavia for a minute, do you recognize Kostunica as the President of Serbia, not just the President-elect? And will you still lift sanctions even if Kostunica sticks by his campaign promise not to turn Milosevic over to the Hague?

The President. Well, let me answer the second question first. I think that we have to make an aggressive effort to reward the courage and heroism of the people there in

restoring democracy. We have to do something immediately, because they're under great distress. They're under great economic distress. They've suffered a lot because of these sanctions.

Now, there are a lot of sanctions and a lot of layers of them, almost, and we should make an opening move here, I think—the Europeans and United States, all the countries that have supported this, the U.N.—that makes it clear that we support what has happened and we intend to help them. Then what happens after that will have to be determined based on events within Serbia and also events—and also in consultation with our allies.

Now, the second question that you asked, or the first one you asked is I do consider him the President, but I think, they have a Constitution, and I think he has to be ratified by their Parliament. So I'm hoping—I was hoping it would happen today, and what I've been told is they're literally having trouble physically getting the people who are in the Parliament to come in so enough of them can be there so he can get the two-thirds required.

But I think the people have taken care of the transfer of power, but it needs—so I consider him the duly elected President of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia, in its present form, but I think probably he would say, if he were here answering this question, that he considers himself the President, but that he still needs to be formally ratified.

Legislation To Lift Embargo on Cuba

Q. Mr. President, the Congress of the United States has come to an agreement on wording to ease the embargo on Cuba on food and medicines. Do you agree with the way it's being worked out that puts certain restrictions on travel, on American banks, what they can and cannot do?

The President. Well, let me tell you what I understand it to do, and all I can say is I hope I'm wrong. I will posit this. I have not read what they have finally voted for. But what I have been told is that it looks like it eases the embargo on food and medicine, but it probably doesn't very much, because it doesn't provide any financing credits, which we give to other poor countries,

whereas it definitely restricts the ability of the executive branch to increase people-to-people contacts between Americans and Cubans, thus further punishing and restricting the possibilities of the Cuban people.

So I think this is one of those things where somebody can go home and say, "I made a good deal for the farmers," and it's so close to the election nobody will know whether it's real or not. But it certainly restricts in, I think, a completely unwarranted way the ability of the United States to make travel decisions on policy that I do not believe should be made, written in law in stone by the Congress. I think it's wrong.

So I hope I'm wrong about it. I hope at least that the food and medicine provisions are real. But that's not what I've been told. So I think a lot of people voted for it because they probably couldn't think of a way to say they voted against food and medicine, knowing it wasn't real, so they got a lot of votes for a travel restriction that I can't believe a majority of the Congress really believes in. And I think it was a big mistake, if it's what I think it is. But I don't want to—I want to reserve some room for judgment when we have a chance to review the actual language.

Estate Tax Legislation

Q. Mr. President, some Republicans have advanced a new version of an estate tax relief proposal that is more scaled back than their original one in the last few days. Would that be acceptable to you, if it reaches your desk?

The President. I'm sorry, because of the background music, I didn't hear. I don't hear very well in my dotage. Just ask it again.

Q. In the last few days, some Republicans have advanced a new estate tax relief proposal that is more scaled back than their original one. If that were to reach your desk, would it be acceptable to you?

The President. I'd like to see what it does. I have said repeatedly that I thought that we ought to have some modification of the estate tax law, because it's like everything else. It has to be changed, in my judgment, with the growth and the changes in the economy. And I think that we had a proposal in the Senate that would have taken two-thirds of the estates out from under the estate tax law but would not have repealed it, wouldn't have

cost whatever the huge amount of money it cost, up to—I think it would be up to \$100 billion a year or something, a massive amount—in the next decade—not this one but the next one.

So I would like to look at that, and I would be open to it. Let me just say this. While I agree that some of that is warranted, I would like to see some more comprehensive approach in which we also did something to help average people, either with the marriage penalty or saving for retirement, and we provided the tax credit for long-term care and for college tax deduction, for child care, things that working people need. At some level, we could work it out together.

And we ought to raise the minimum wage. If we're going to give estate tax relief, surely we can raise the minimum wage. There's 10 million people out there depending on that, and they need it. And all it would do is bring us back to the real value of the minimum wage in 1982.

Middle East question?

Middle East Peace Process

Q. The cease-fire doesn't seem to be holding. Can you comment on that and also give us some insights on how you have been balancing these two extreme situations in the Middle East and in Yugoslavia this week?

The President. Well, it's been kind of an emotional and intellectual roller coaster, so much good news in one place and so much trouble in another, where we've done our best to do what was right by the people. Let me say, it's been a difficult day in the Middle East. I had actually feared it could be worse, and I'll tell you why. Chairman Arafat and Prime Minister Barak, when they met in Paris, reached some understandings on the security steps they would take.

And I think they plainly tried to implement them, particularly today. You saw a removal of Israeli forces off the Temple Mount or the Haram, as the Muslims say. And you saw an early attempt, after the prayer service, by the Palestinian forces to restrain activities by some of the Palestinians, some of the rock throwing. What happened was I think because it's a very sensitive day, because some had called for it to be a day of rage. Because

it was the holy day of the week for the Muslims, I'm not sure that they could stop everything that happened today.

So I would say to all of you, I don't believe that we have enough evidence that the two sides aren't trying to keep the agreement they made. And I think we need to give this another day or two, to see if we can calm it down. I was very afraid that this could have been the worse day of all, because of the other circumstances. So even though it was a very tough day, we do believe that both sides tried to take some steps to defuse the violence.

And let me just say again, I know there are all kind of other questions being asked, but by far, the most important thing is to put an end to the violence and to see this as a sober reminder of the imperative of getting on with this peace process.

Situation in Yugoslavia

Q. Is Putin taking your phone calls, Mr. President? Are you trying to reach him? It seems like they're stonewalling. We don't seem to know what they're up to.

The President. What who's up to?

Q. The Russians. Are you talking to Putin?

The President. Well, I've talked to President Putin, and Madeleine Albright has been in virtually constant contact with Foreign Minister Ivanov. I do think that we—but I think what happened is—they might not have done anything inconsistent, but when we first heard they were going to Belgrade—which originally we thought they wouldn't—we had been urging them all along not to try to mediate, because we don't think that's a good idea, but just to take a clear and unambiguous stand for what was an evident result of the election. That's what we've urged them to do, because we know that they could have a positive impact if they do that, not mediate but take a clear stand for the will of the Serbian people.

And so the only thing I was commenting to you today on is there had been two different reports coming out about what, in fact, the message was. So we're, at this moment, trying to determine exactly what their position is and where we go from here. But I will just say again, if the Russians are prepared to deliver a clear and unambiguous

message at the earliest possible time, that will be a plus.

I think trying to split hairs here, after all that's happened in the streets and after what clearly happened in the election, is not a good idea. But again I want to say, we ought to take a little time to appreciate where we are. Ten years ago we could not have even had this conversation about Russia. Now they've had the first peaceful transfer of power in a legitimate election in their own country in a thousand years. So now, we look to the President of Russia to do what we looked to the Prime Minister of France or the Prime Minister of Great Britain or the German Chancellor to do, or the American President, for that matter.

I know this is a—believe me, this is a difficult waiting period for me because of the belief that I have always had that we should stand against ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and stand up for freedom and because—let me just say one other thing. The estrangement of the United States and Serbia has been painful because we have so many Americans of Serbian origin, something I meant to say in my opening statement. Everywhere from Ohio to Texas, this country is full of Serbian-Americans who have made terrific contributions to our country.

So I hope we can get this worked out. But to go back to your question, we've been in very close contact with the Russians. They've been up front with us. They haven't misled us about where they are, and we certainly have not misled them about where we are. And we're trying to get to a common position, just like we had to work to get to a common position in Bosnia, in Kosovo, on all these other issues involving the Balkans. I think they'll get there, but sooner is better than later.

Q. Mr. President, how much credit do you think your administration deserves for what is happening in Yugoslavia?

The President. Well, I think I'll just let my statement stand for itself. You can't apportion percentages when something like this happens. The lion's share of the credit belongs to the people. Finally, after enduring so much, they, first, showed up to vote, with 75 percent turnout. And when the government tried to take their vote away, they came

and got it back. And it's an awesome thing to see.

And second, you've got to give a lot of credit to Mr. Kostunica. I'm learning to pronounce his name; it's the second syllable, Kostunica. And I think that he never hesitates to disagree with Europe and the United States when he disagrees with us. He's clearly a Serbian nationalist. He's a patriot. But he appears to be profoundly devoted to the rule of law and to constitutional procedures.

That's all we ever asked for. We don't ask people to go around and agree with us on everything. All we want to do is deal with a country where they believe in the rule of law and they don't believe in killing their opponents and killing people who are of different religious or ethnic backgrounds and where they want to argue their positions out in an appropriate way. So I think you have to give them a lot of credit.

I think the people who stood for freedom and against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo and Croatia and Montenegro, they deserve a lot of credit for this. But I think it is unlikely that this day would have happened if we hadn't—not we, the United States; we, all of our allies, all of us together—had not prevented Mr. Milosevic from having his way in Bosnia and Kosovo and encouraged the forces of tolerance and freedom in Croatia and Montenegro, tried to help little Macedonia make its way into the future.

So I think you've got a mix here. I don't think it's possible to apportion percentage, and I don't think any of us should worry about that. This is not a day for credit. It's a day for celebration. But as always when freedom triumphs, the number one responsible element are the people, just like in this country.

Thank you.

Vice Presidential Debate

Q. Did you watch any of the Vice Presidential debate, any part of it?

The President. Just a little bit. Unfortunately I was in transit and couldn't watch it. I liked what I saw.

Q. Did you read something about it?

The President. No, I haven't read anything yet about it. I've been working on this today.

Q. Was this your version of the debate?

The President. No. [Laughter] No.

Remember what I said about that, what I said about that, about not withdrawal. We've got to stick with the stability pact. That's my message. This is not about politics. This is about sticking with the stability pact.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Vojislav Kostunica, who was sworn in on October 7, and former President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov and President Vladimir Putin of Russia; President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea; Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on Signing the Intercountry Adoption Act of 2000

October 6, 2000

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2909, the "Intercountry Adoption Act of 2000." This Act will implement the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption. I am pleased that the Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Convention on September 20, 2000.

The United States and 65 other countries came together to negotiate the Convention in response to abuses in the intercountry adoption process, including illegal child trafficking. By setting uniform standards, the Convention better protects the rights and interests of children, birth parents, and adoptive parents involved in intercountry adoption.

In its preamble, the Convention recognizes that children should grow up in a family environment and that properly safeguarded intercountry adoption offers the advantage of a permanent family to children who cannot readily be placed with a suitable family in

their country of origin. The United States actively participated in the preparation and negotiation of this Convention, with the guidance and participation of representatives of U.S. adoption and family law interests. Since the United States signed the Convention in 1994, several ratifying countries have expressed the view that they would prefer that their children emigrate only to countries that have agreed to comply with the Hague Convention's safeguards and procedures. As a result, the U.S. adoption community has supported U.S. implementing legislation. This bill will ensure the full and uniform implementation of the Convention throughout the United States.

Adoption is an emotional event. With the complexities of international law and procedures, these cases are often overwhelming for the families involved. The Hague Convention and the implementing legislation will provide protections for children and parents engaged in intercountry adoption and will help ensure a standard of service that all families deserve.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 6, 2000.

NOTE: H.R. 2909, approved October 6, was assigned Public Law No. 106-279. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on Signing the Second Continuing Resolution for Fiscal Year 2001

October 6, 2000

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 110, the second short-term continuing resolution for FY 2001.

The Act provides 2001 appropriations for continuing projects and activities of the Federal Government through October 14, 2000, except those funded by the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2001, and the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 2001, which I have signed into law.

In February, I sent a budget to the Congress that funded critical investments in our

future. I urge the Congress to fund these important national initiatives, including investing in education so that we can stay on a path to hiring 100,000 teachers and reduce class size, modernize and repair our schools, and expand our efforts to strengthen the quality of teachers, the performance of schools, and the accomplishments of our students.

It is also essential that we strengthen our efforts to protect and preserve the environment. Our national security must be provided for, both at home and abroad. Putting more police on the street, and fighting gun violence, helps make this Nation safer for its citizens. Similarly, supporting global leadership and the Nation's diplomacy helps make the world safer and more secure for all Americans.

It is important that we fund scientific research and technology, upon which advancements in our economy and sustained prosperity depend. Our Nation's priorities must include the expansion of this current wave of prosperity to all Americans. I urge the Congress to support my efforts to expand this prosperity, including closing the digital divide and funding efforts to bring economic development to underserved areas. I also urge the Congress to support the Equal Pay initiative and civil rights enforcement.

The health of our Nation must not be neglected, and I urge the Congress to act accordingly, including by supporting efforts to help family planning for low-income women.

I urge the Congress to continue to work with my Administration to come to mutually acceptable agreements on the remaining 2001 spending bills and to do so as quickly as possible.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 6, 2000.

NOTE: H.J. Res. 110, approved October 6, was assigned Public Law No. 106-282. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the Death of Representative Sidney R. Yates

October 6, 2000

Hillary and I are deeply saddened to learn of the death of Congressman Sidney Yates.

From his 2 years in the Navy during World War II to his more than four decades representing the people of Chicago and the North Shore in Congress, Sid Yates was always a fighter—for his district, for the environment, and most notably, for the arts. He once said, “I’ve always wanted Washington to be the artistic capital of the country as well as the political capital.” To that end he succeeded in getting Congress time and time again to finance the National Endowment for the Arts. In appreciation, Congressman Yates was honored in 1998 by the National Symphony Orchestra at a performance at the Kennedy Center. No public official battled harder or more successfully to support our Nation’s cultural and artistic life than Sid Yates. In recognition of that effort, I had the pleasure of presenting him in 1993 with the Presidential Citizens Medal. After retiring from the House, he continued serving the public as a member of the council of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Everyone who knew Sid will miss his warmth, urbanity, and dedication to his country.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to his wife, Addie, and to his family and friends.

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

Statement on House of Representatives Action on the “Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000”

October 6, 2000

I applaud the House of Representatives for passing vital legislation today to combat trafficking in humans and strengthen and reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). The “Trafficking Victims Protection Act” will provide important new tools in the campaign to combat trafficking, a modern form of slavery and an insidious human rights abuse. VAWA, which expired on Sep-

tember 30, has significantly improved the lives of thousands of women who are victims of domestic violence and has assisted State, local, and tribal law enforcement to combat domestic violence and sexual assault. It is imperative that this law be reauthorized this year, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation without delay.

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

Statement on Congressional Action on a National Blood Alcohol Content Standard To Combat Drunk Driving

October 6, 2000

I congratulate the Congress for passing landmark legislation today that will help save lives by keeping drunk drivers off the road. Earlier today the Congress overwhelmingly approved a bill that will help establish the first-ever national drunk driving standard at .08 blood alcohol content (BAC). This groundbreaking measure, which I have long advocated, will save hundreds of lives a year and represents a major victory for public safety and American families all across the country.

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

Statement on Assistance to Small Business Exporters and Dislocated Workers

October 6, 2000

I am pleased to sign an Executive order today creating a small business exports task force to help small businesses, especially those in underserved communities, participate fully in the benefits of the new trading arrangements Congress approved this year with China, Africa, and the Caribbean Basin. This order will also expand the Federal Government’s outreach to workers and communities eligible for dislocated-worker assistance, helping them to learn about and take advantage of these benefits more rapidly. I thank Representative Sheila Jackson Lee for working so closely with my administration in

developing this Executive order and for championing efforts to translate our expanding trade and dynamic, new economy into opportunities for small businesses and workers all across America.

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

Executive Order 13169—Assistance to Small Business Exporters and Dislocated Workers

October 6, 2000

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Small Business Act, 15 U.S.C. 631 *et seq.*, the Workforce Investment Act, 29 U.S.C. 2801 *et seq.*, and the Trade Act of 1974, 19 U.S.C. 2271 *et seq.*, and in order to assist small businesses, including businesses headed by underserved populations, in participating in the export of products, and to expedite the delivery of adjustment assistance to dislocated workers, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. By its accession to the World Trade Organization, the People's Republic of China will be required to open its markets to a wide range of products and services provided by Americans. In addition, the United States has recently enacted a new law to facilitate trade with the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean Basin. Federal agencies should take steps to assist small businesses, including businesses headed by underserved populations, in capitalizing on these new opportunities. The agencies should also take steps to assist workers who lose their jobs as a result of competition from imports in their efforts to secure adjustment assistance benefits for which they are eligible.

Sec. 2. Interagency Task Force on Small Business Exports. (a) The Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the United States Trade Representative, and the Chairman of the Export-Import Bank shall, within 60 days from the date of this order, establish an interagency task force through the Trade Promotion Coordinating Com-

mittee (TPCC). The task force shall facilitate exports by United States small businesses, including businesses headed by underserved populations, particularly with respect to the People's Republic of China and the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean Basin. The TPCC shall submit an annual report to the President on the functions carried out by this task force during the preceding year. As part of its work, the task force shall assess the extent to which the establishment of permanent normal trade relations with the People's Republic of China, and the United States enactment of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, 19 U.S.C.A. 3701 *et seq.*, and the United States-Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act, 19 U.S.C.A. 2701 note, may contribute to the creation of export opportunities for small businesses including businesses headed by underserved populations.

(b) For the purposes of this order, "businesses headed by underserved populations" means businesses headed by women or minorities, and/or located in rural communities.

Sec. 3. Expedited Response to Worker Dislocation. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall expedite the Federal response to worker dislocation through the Workforce Investment Act and the Trade Adjustment Assistance program by proactively seeking information, from a variety of sources, on actual or prospective layoffs, including the media and community and labor union members, and by sharing such information with appropriate state workforce officials. In addition, the Department of Labor (Labor) shall undertake a number of proactive steps to support public outreach activities aimed at workers, employers, the media, local officials, the community, and labor organizations and their members to improve awareness of the adjustment assistance available through Labor programs, including, but not limited to:

- (1) developing a set of methods to inform employers of the services available through Labor workforce programs, which will explain the requirements of the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act, 29 U.S.C. 2101 *et seq.*, and provide information

on worker adjustment programs, including the Trade Adjustment Assistance and the basic dislocated worker programs, emphasizing the importance of early intervention to minimize the affects of work layoffs;

- (2) improving websites and other modes of communication to provide basic information on dislocated worker and Trade Adjustment Assistance program contacts at the State and local level;
- (3) developing a National Toll-Free Help Line to provide universal, accurate, and easy access to information about public workforce services to workers and employers;
- (4) providing on-site technical assistance, in partnership with other Federal agencies, when there are layoffs or closures with multi-State impact, or when there are dislocations with significant community impact (such as areas that have been affected by numerous layoffs of apparel and textile workers);
- (5) informing States directly when a secondary worker impact has been affirmed by Labor; and
- (6) to the extent permitted by law, and subject to the availability of appropriations, providing funding or an outreach campaign for secondary workers (i.e., individuals indirectly affected by increased imports from other countries).

(b) The Secretary of Labor, in consultation with the Secretary of Commerce and the United States Trade Representative, shall report annually on the employment effects of the establishment of permanent normal trade relations with the People's Republic of China.

Sec. 4. Judicial Review. This order does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its officers, its employees, or any other person.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 6, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 11, 2000]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 12. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on Increasing Opportunities and Access for Disadvantaged Businesses

October 6, 2000

I am pleased today to sign an Executive order strengthening our efforts to increase contracting opportunities between the Federal Government and disadvantaged businesses—in particular, small disadvantaged businesses, 8(a) businesses, and minority business enterprises. These businesses play a vital role in our Nation's economy but historically have been underutilized and at times shut out of Federal procurement opportunities. Accordingly, this Executive order directs Federal departments and agencies with procurement authority to take aggressive and specific affirmative actions to ensure inclusion of disadvantaged businesses in Federal contracting.

I want to thank Representatives Kilpatrick, Menendez, Velazquez, and Wynn, and the many others who have worked with us to ensure that the private sector recognizes the importance and utility of contracting with disadvantaged businesses. I particularly commend those members of the advertising community who are working to increase the representation of minorities within advertising—both on the creative end and in transmission to the public. It is critical that the private sector help lead this effort and take advantage of the diverse and creative views that underrepresented groups will bring to the advertising process. I want to commend the American Advertising Federation (AAF) for responding to the Vice President's challenge and working with interested parties to develop the principles for effective advertising in the American multicultural marketplace, a strategic plan for boosting minority representation in the advertising industry.

Certainly, the Federal Government must play a leading role as well. Advertising and

the broader information technology industries play an increasingly expansive role in our society. Therefore, in this Executive order, I am directing each Federal department and agency to ensure that all creation, placement, and transmission of Federal advertising is fully reflective of the Nation's diversity. Further, this Executive order directs each Federal department and agency to take clearly defined and aggressive steps to ensure small and disadvantaged business participation in procurement of information technology and telecommunications contracts.

This Executive order will ensure that Federal departments and agencies are held accountable on these issues. It does so by clearly listing the responsibilities and obligations of each agency to expand opportunities for disadvantaged businesses and requires the agencies to report to me within 90 days of the issuance of this order the steps they plan to take to increase contracting with disadvantaged businesses. Subsequently, the agencies will be required to submit annual reports on their ongoing efforts in this area to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to ensure at the highest levels the executive branch will sustain on unflagging and aggressive efforts to achieve this important goal.

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

Executive Order 13170—Increasing Opportunities and Access for Disadvantaged Businesses

October 6, 2000

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 631 *et seq.*), section 7102 of the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act of 1994 (Public Law 103–355, 15 U.S.C. 644 note), the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Act (41 U.S.C. 403 *et seq.*), Executive Order 11625, and to provide for increased access for disadvantaged businesses to Federal contracting opportunities, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. It is the policy of the executive branch to ensure nondiscrimination in Federal procurement opportunities

for businesses in the Small Disadvantaged Business Program (SDBs), businesses in the section 8(a) Business Development program of the Small Business Administration (8(a)s), and Minority Business Enterprises (MBEs) as defined in section 6 of Executive Order 11625, of October 13, 1971, and to take affirmative action to ensure inclusion of these businesses in Federal contracting. These businesses are of vital importance to job growth and the economic strength of the United States but have faced historic exclusion and underutilization in Federal procurement. All agencies within the executive branch with procurement authority are required to take all necessary steps, as permitted by law, to increase contracting between the Federal Government and SDBs, 8(a)s, and MBEs.

Sec. 2. Responsibilities of Executive Departments and Agencies with Procurement Authority. The head of each executive department and agency shall carry out the terms of this order and shall designate, where appropriate, his or her Deputy Secretary or equivalent to implement the terms of this order.

(a) Each department and agency with procurement authority shall:

- (i) aggressively seek to ensure that 8(a)s, SDBs, and MBEs are aware of future prime contracting opportunities through wide dissemination of contract announcements, including sources likely to reach 8(a)s, SDBs, other small businesses, and MBEs. Each department and agency shall use all available forms of communication to implement this provision, including the Internet, speciality press, and trade press;
- (ii) work with the Small Business Administration (SBA) to ensure that information regarding sole source contracts awarded through the section 8(a) program receives the widest dissemination possible to 8(a)s;
- (iii) ensure that the price evaluation preference programs authorized by the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act

- of 1994 are used to the maximum extent permitted by law in areas of economic activity in which SDBs have historically been underused;
- (iv) aggressively use the firms in the section 8(a) program, particularly in the developmental stage of the program, so that these firms have an opportunity to overcome artificial barriers to Federal contracting and gain access to the Federal procurement arena;
 - (v) ensure that department and agency heads take all reasonable steps so that prime contractors meet or exceed Federal subcontracting goals, and enforce subcontracting commitments as required by the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 637(d)) and other related laws. In particular, they shall ensure that prime contractors actively solicit bids for subcontracting opportunities from 8(a)s and SDBs, and fulfill their SDB and section 8(d) subcontracting obligations. Enforcement of SDB subcontracting plan commitments shall include assessments of liquidated damages, where appropriate, pursuant to applicable contract clauses;
 - (vi) encourage the establishment of business-to-business mentoring and teaming relationships, including the implementation of Mentor-Protege programs, to foster the development of the technical and managerial capabilities of 8(a)s and SDBs and to facilitate long-term business relationships;
 - (vii) offer information, training, and technical assistance programs for 8(a)s and SDBs including, where appropriate, Government acquisition forecasts in order to assist 8(a)s and SDBs in developing their products, skills, business planning practices, and marketing techniques;
 - (viii) train program and procurement officials regarding the policy of including 8(a)s and SDBs in Federal procurement. This includes prescribing procedures to ensure that acquisition planners, to the maximum extent practicable, structure acquisitions to facilitate competition by SDBs and 8(a)s, including their participation in the competition of multiple award requirements;
 - (ix) provide the information required by the Department of Commerce when it requests data to develop the benchmarks used in the price evaluation preference programs authorized by the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act of 1994;
 - (x) ensure that Directors of Offices of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization carry out their responsibilities to maximize the participation of 8(a)s and SDBs in Federal procurement and, in particular, ensure that the Directors report directly to the head of each department or agency as required by law; and
 - (xi) as required by law, establish with the Small Business Administration small business goals to ensure that the government-wide goal for participation of small business concerns is not less than 23 percent of Federal prime contracts. Where feasible and consistent with the effective and efficient performance of its mission, each agency shall establish a goal of achieving a participation rate for SDBs of not less than 5 percent of the total value of prime contract awards for each fiscal year and of not less than 5 percent of the total value of subcontract awards for each year. Each agency shall also establish a goal for awards made to 8(a) firms pursuant to section 8(a) of the Small Business Act. These goals shall be considered the minimum goals and every effort shall be taken to exceed these goals wherever feasible.
- (b) Each department and agency with procurement authority shall:
- (i) develop a long-term comprehensive plan to implement the requirements of section 2(a) of this order and submit this plan to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) within 90 days of the date of this order. The Director of OMB shall review each plan and report to the

President on the sufficiency of each plan to carry out the terms of this order; and

- (ii) annually, by April 30 each year, assess its efforts and the results of those efforts to increase utilization of 8(a)s, SDBs, and MBEs as both prime contractors and subcontractors and report on those efforts to the President through the Director of OMB, who shall review the evaluations made of the agency assessments by the Small Business Administration.

Sec. 3. Responsibilities of the Small Business Administration. The Administrator of the SBA shall:

(a) evaluate on a semi-annual basis, using the Federal Procurement Data System (FPDS), the achievement of government-wide prime and subcontract goals and the actual prime and subcontract awards to 8(a)s and SDBs for each department and agency. The OMB shall review SBA's evaluation;

(b) ensure that Procurement Center Representatives receive adequate training regarding the section 8(a) and SDB programs and that they consistently and aggressively seek opportunities for maximizing the use of 8(a)s and SDBs in department and agency procurements; and

(c) ensure that each department and agency's small and disadvantaged business procurement goals as well as the amount of procurement of each department and agency with 8(a)s, SDBs, and MBEs is publicly available in an easily accessible and understandable format such as through publication on the Internet.

Sec. 4. Federal Advertising. Each department or agency that contracts with businesses to develop advertising for the department or agency or to broadcast Federal advertising shall take an aggressive role in ensuring substantial minority-owned entities' participation, including 8(a), SDB, and MBE, in Federal advertising-related procurements. Each department and agency shall ensure that all creation, placement, and transmission of Federal advertising is fully reflective of the Nation's diversity. To achieve this diversity, special attention shall be given to ensure placement in publications and television and radio stations that reach

specific ethnic and racial audiences. Each department and agency shall ensure that payment for Federal advertising is commensurate with fair market rates in the relevant market. Each department and agency shall structure advertising contracts as commercial acquisitions consistent with part 12 of the Federal Acquisition Regulation processes and paperwork to enhance participation by 8(a)s, SDBs, and MBEs.

Sec. 5. Information Technology. Each department and agency shall aggressively seek to ensure substantial 8(a), SDB, and MBE participation in procurements for and related to information technology, including procurements in the telecommunications industry. In so doing, the Chief Information Officer in each department and agency shall coordinate with procurement officials to implement this section.

Sec. 6. General Services Administration Schedules. The SBA and the General Services Administration (GSA) shall act promptly to expand inclusion of 8(a)s and SDBs on GSA Schedules, and provide greater opportunities for 8(a) and SDB participation in orders under such schedules. The GSA should ensure that procurement and program officials at all levels that use GSA Schedules aggressively seek to utilize the Schedule contracts of 8(a)s and SDBs. The GSA shall allow agencies ordering from designated 8(a) firms under the Multiple Award Schedule to count those orders toward their 8(a) procurement goals.

Sec. 7. Bundling Contracts. To the extent permitted by law, departments and agencies must submit to the SBA for review any contracts that are proposed to be bundled. The determination of the SBA with regard to the appropriateness of bundling in each instance must be carefully reviewed by the department or agency head, or his or her designee, and must be given due consideration. If there is an unresolvable conflict, then the SBA or the department or agency can seek assistance from the OMB.

Sec. 8. Awards Program. The Secretary of Commerce and the Administrator of the SBA shall jointly undertake a feasibility study to determine the appropriateness of an awards program for executive departments and agencies who best exemplify the letter

and intent of this order in increasing opportunities for 8(a)s, SDBs, and MBEs in Federal procurement. Such study shall be presented to the President within 90 days of the date of this order.

Sec. 9. Applicability. Independent agencies are requested to comply with the provisions of this order.

Sec. 10. Administration, Enforcement, and Judicial Review.

(a) This order shall be carried out to the extent permitted by law and consistent with the Administration's priorities and appropriations.

(b) This order is not intended and should not be construed to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or its employees.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 6, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 11, 2000]

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Proclamation 7358—Leif Erikson Day, 2000

October 6, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

This year, as we mark the beginning of a new millennium, we also celebrate the 1000th anniversary of Europe's first contact with North America. At the turn of the last millennium, the legendary explorer Leif Erikson—son of Iceland, grandson of Norway—sailed across the cold waters of the Atlantic from his home in Greenland to the eastern coast of North America, completing the first documented voyage of Europeans to the New World.

In the ensuing centuries, millions of other men and women followed the lead of these brave Vikings—some seeking riches, some

seeking adventure, all in search of a new and better life. Families from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Norway would make their new homes in communities like New Sweden, Delaware; Oslo, Minnesota; and Denmark, Iowa, bringing with them a reverence for freedom and a deep love of democracy that stemmed from their own egalitarian traditions. More than 10 million Americans today can trace their roots to the Nordic countries, and their family ties, traditions, and values have strengthened the warm friendship our Nation has always enjoyed with the people of Scandinavia.

In celebration of this friendship and our shared pride in Leif Erikson's exploits, Americans have joined with the Nordic countries to commemorate this special anniversary. The Smithsonian Institution sponsored a traveling exhibit earlier this year to highlight the Viking explorations of North America; the Library of Congress hosted an international symposium on the ancient texts of the Icelandic Sagas, many of which were displayed in the United States for the first time; and we joined Iceland in creating our first jointly issued coin to commemorate Leif Erikson's historic voyage.

These cultural initiatives reflect the strong ties and long history between the United States and the Nordic countries, and we continue to cooperate on many mutual goals. The Nordic countries are our full partners in the Northern Europe Initiative (NEI), which we launched in 1997 to build on the dramatic progress toward a free Europe that occurred following the break-up of the Soviet Union. Through the NEI, we are working together to promote democracy, stability, and prosperity in the Baltic nations and northwest Russia, to facilitate their fuller integration into Western institutions, and to cooperate on such cross-border issues as energy, health, law enforcement, and the environment. In addition, many of the best and brightest entrepreneurs in America and the Nordic countries are collaborating to encourage trade and the spread of innovative ideas and technologies around the world. Americans and Nordics alike value courage, independence, energy, and resourcefulness; working together in this new millennium, we are charting a new course for our people just

as exciting and full of promise as the one Leif Erikson traveled a thousand years ago.

In honor of Leif Erikson and of our Nordic American heritage, the Congress, by joint resolution (Public Law 88-566) approved on September 2, 1964, has authorized and requested the President to proclaim October 9 of each year as "Leif Erikson Day."

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, October 9, 2000, as Leif Erikson Day. I call upon all Americans to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs to honor our rich Nordic American heritage.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 11, 2000]

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Remarks at an AFL-CIO Reception

October 6, 2000

Thank you. Well, first of all, madam, I want to thank you for letting all these fairly scruffy characters come in your home. [*Laughter*] Many of us are well-accompanied, though. [*Laughter*]

You know, I was thinking. We had Morty and Linda and John and I up here talking. This is an introduction that looks like America. We span these vast ethnic gaps. We had an Irish-Catholic and Irish-Protestant at the end. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Morty, and thank you for having us here, and thank you for being such good friends to me.

You know, I really believe in this issue. John and I worked very hard together to beat that initiative in California a couple of years ago. And we raised money, and you all spent it very well—[*laughter*]—and intelligently. I mean that, intelligently. And you won, and I think you'll win again.

But I just wanted to say a couple of things about the environment in which this debate will take place. One is I will never be able to thank you enough for the support that you've given to me and the Vice President, Hillary, our whole crowd these last 8 years. It's been a joy.

One of my objectives when I became President was to take away the ability of our friends in the other party to demonize us just for being what we are, for being the progressive party. And I was determined I would take away the budget issue; I would take away the crime issue; I would take away the welfare issue; I would take away the foreign policy issue; and I would do it in a responsible, progressive way, but that we would not be vulnerable on these things anymore.

And I was determined that, if we could turn this economy around, the Republicans would never be able to make a lot of hay with their sort of knee-jerk, anti-union propaganda. And I think it's pretty well happened. There are no votes in America for running against people because they organize themselves into labor groups to protect the interests of their members and their families and working people at large. There is just not any votes in that anymore. Anybody that responds to that kind of stuff anymore, they weren't ever going to be for us anyway.

I hope that I have helped you not only on the specific things we fought for and the specific things we stopped from happening but in changing the climate in America so that America's labor leaders and rank-and-file men and women in the unions can not only feel proud of the organizations they're a part of but feel that they're not going to be looked at in some prejudiced and unfair way by their fellow citizens. And I think we're just about there.

I also have to say I think your own leadership deserves a lot of credit for that. I think you deserve a lot of credit for that, John. I think all of you have been so smart in the way you've taken the issues that you care about to the American people.

I think that if you look at how the parallel initiative was defeated in California 2 years ago, basically what you made sure of was that everybody knew what it really did, not what they said it did, and understood what the

consequences of its passage were. And I think that's the same way you've got to be to win in Oregon. But I think it is also a metaphor for what this whole election ought to be about.

The reason that I felt good about the Presidential debate is that I thought the Vice President not only acquitted himself well but had an opportunity to clearly state his position and what the differences were on several issues. The reason we had a good convention is that we had a chance to clearly state not only where we were 8 years ago and where we are now but exactly what we would try to do if the American people ratified the progress of the last 8 years by electing Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and all of our candidates to the Senate and House that we hope will win.

So that's the only other thing I would say. I think that we now know that the American people feel secure enough that, even if they're not sure we're right on certain things, they will give us a hearing. And we know that we want clarity on the issues and the choices and the consequences far greater than our opponents. They want to kind of fuzz the issues and the differences. What does that tell you about where the American people would be if they understand not only this issue but the issues in the Presidential race and the congressional races?

So I would just like to urge you all to be of good cheer. You know, for the first 6 months of this year, I was a little lonely. I was kind of like the little happy camper—*[laughter]*—going around the country telling everybody not to worry; it was all going to be all right. Everything is going to be fine. The underlying circumstances were good. Our candidates were good. It was going to be all right. Now, it looks like it's going to be all right. *[Laughter]*

But we've got to be clear here. We've got to be very disciplined. We're often arrayed against greater money, but we've all learned. They outspent us \$100 million 2 years ago, and we won anyway, because we had clarity. People understood what the choice was, what the consequences were. They had a fair grasp of what was at issue.

If the people in Oregon have a fair grasp of what is at issue in this, you'll win here

just like you did in California. And if they have a fair grasp of what is at issue in the Presidential races and the pivotal congressional races, we'll do just fine there, too.

The only other thing I'd like to say on a purely personal note is that a lot of you have gone out of your way to help Hillary in New York, and it means more to me than I will ever be able to say, and you will be very, very proud of her when she gets elected.

Thank you, and bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to Morton Bahr, president, Communications Workers of America, and his wife, Florence; and John J. Sweeny, president, and Linda Chavez-Thompson, vice president, AFL-CIO. The President also referred to California Proposition 34 and Oregon Ballot Measure 92, measures to prohibit using payroll deductions for political purposes without written employee consent. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at a Reception for Representative Tom Udall

October 6, 2000

Thank you very much, Mark. Thank you, Jill. I'd like to thank some other Members of Congress who have joined us tonight. Representative Nancy Pelosi from California, thank you for being here. I don't know if they're still here, but I saw Representative Nick Rahall from West Virginia and Representative Brad Sherman from California. Thank you, Brad. And I know Brian Baird from Washington was here and has left. But I want to thank all of them.

You know what I was thinking about when I was getting ready to come up here? Look at all the young people. People say they're worried about American politics. Folks, it's 10 o'clock on Friday night, and we've got all these young people at a political rally. I mean, this country is in good shape. I'm not worried about anything. You're doing great.

Let me say very briefly, it's late. I want to tell you, first of all, why I'm late here. Starting about 2 o'clock today, my schedule was knocked an hour off, and I haven't caught up since for a very good reason. After several days, the deep, profound grassroots

demand of the people of Serbia for democracy resulted in Mr. Milosevic tonight publicly acknowledging that his opponent, Mr. Kostunica, has won the election for President.

I say that to say the great lion's share of the credit belongs to the people of Serbia who, first of all, showed up with a 75 percent turnout, after we had been told for years and years that they were listless and divided and wouldn't show up; 75 percent of them showed up and in an environment that is somewhat less than congenial.

And then they had a leader, a leader who has often publicly disagreed with me and our policy, who is a patriotic nationalist of his country, but who believes in the rule of law and the primacy of the democratic process. And Mr. Kostunica has prevailed in a quiet and dignified and persistent way. It's a great tribute to the people who stood up for freedom in Montenegro and Croatia and all of the other countries of the Balkans and southeastern Europe. And I do believe that it's very important that the United States and our friends have stood for 8 years now against ethnic cleansing and the killing of innocents and the end of freedom there.

What we stopped in Bosnia and what has gotten started, what we reversed in Kosovo and what has gotten started, I think, were pivotal to this. And so for freedom-loving people everywhere, this is a night to celebrate, a night of joy, a night of gratitude.

So even though it's late, and we've been working on this and the troubling situation in the Middle East—which I hope and pray will get better over the weekend—I'm, therefore, a little tired and perhaps only marginally articulate. *[Laughter]* I hope you will indulge me for a moment.

I'm also honored to be here because I like the Udall caucus. *[Laughter]* When I was a boy, a young man in college—the age of many of you—and later when I was a young person starting out in public life and a teacher profoundly interested in the environmental movement, which really took hold in America in the early 1970's, the Udall caucus in America then was Stuart Udall, who was President Kennedy's Secretary of the Interior, and Mark's father, Mo Udall, one of the best, ablest, and certainly one of the funniest

people ever to serve in the United States House of Representatives.

We were talking about when I had the great honor of giving Mo the Medal of Freedom. I thought to myself: I can't put this in the citation, but one of the reasons I want him to have it is, if we laughed more in Washington, we'd get twice as much done; we'd have fewer headaches, fewer ulcers; and we might actually understand how fortunate we are to be an American and that we have the chance to serve in public life. Mo Udall always made us laugh.

And when I got here, my staff would tell me repeatedly all the jokes I couldn't tell because they weren't Presidential. *[Laughter]* So I learned to make people laugh by allusion, like I just did. *[Laughter]* Now you're all imagining every funny joke you ever heard that you can't tell in public. *[Laughter]* So that's another great thing we owe to the Udalls.

And it is true that Mark and the whole crowd, they jumped on me about the Grand Staircase Escalante, what some people call Red Rock, in southern Utah. And as Jill said, it's true that Tom and I went to Shiprock, to the Navajo reservation. And if you have never been there, let me just say, to be able to land on a clear, beautiful day in a helicopter, to fly just above the rock and then land and see the breathtaking beauty of the ancestral home of the Navajo is one of the most extraordinary experiences I have ever had.

I'm also here tonight because I think Tom and Mark are committed to seeing that our country makes a sustained, long-term effort to have the proper relationships with the Native American tribes of this country. Among the people who came with me tonight is Lynn Cutler, who has been my liaison to Native America since I've been President, and she's done it in my second term. She has done a brilliant job. We have become obsessed with this issue. I know I'm preaching to the saved, by and large, here. We've made a lot of progress, but we've got a long way to go. We've got a lot of good things in the Interior bill this time for the Native American tribes, and I want to thank the Democrats who are here and Tom, in absentia, and

Mark, especially, for the work that has been done to do that.

You know, I was introduced by a perfectly beautiful 13-year old girl at Shiprock, in front of thousands of people. And this young woman had just won a big prize in her school, this big academic contest, and the prize was an up-to-date, modern laptop computer. That's the good news. The bad news is she couldn't log onto the Internet because she lived in a home without a phonenumber, like over half the other people who live on the reservation at Shiprock.

So I am grateful for the commitment that Mark has, that Tom has to closing the digital divide as well as to protecting the environment and the other issues he mentioned: prescription drugs for seniors, improving education.

I normally—I'm going to relieve you of this because the hour is late, but normally when I speak to groups like this, I try to emphasize how important it is for those of you who are here to go out and talk every day to those who are not here, between now and the election, about what is at issue; what the differences are between the two candidates for President and those for Vice President, the candidates for Senate and Congress; and what the consequences of the election are to real people.

And I normally go through the economy and education and health care and really try to explain it so people like you can go out—you know, every one of you has a lot of friends who will vote in the election who never come to an event like this. Therefore, because they don't do that, and they're good citizens but less political, they are more likely to be undecided voters. And this election could literally be decided based on what somebody says to somebody else about why they ought to make the decision that you hope they'll make.

Now, I'm not going to go through all that tonight because it's late; and because I'm so tired, I'm afraid I'll make a mistake. [*Laughter*] What I do want to do, however, is use one example, because there are so many young people here. I want to talk about the environment.

Now, when I became President in 1992, I went all over the country saying, "Look,

we need a unifying theory of our national politics. If you want to get rid of the deficit and turn the economy around and clean up the environment and improve health care and have the country come together, you can't be pitting these good things against one another. So you have to be able to reduce the deficit and increase investment in education. You have to be able to be pro-business and pro-labor. You have to be able to be pro-economic growth and pro-environmental protection. You have to be able to say people should be proud of their ethnic and their racial heritage, their religious differences, and believe that their common humanity is the most important thing."

I remember a lot of people here—not all but a lot of people here—who were used to talking about politics saying I was either being naive or disingenuous because politics was about having big cleavages in the electorate. And I said, "Not where I come from; and if we'd just run our politics the way we try to run our lives, we'd do better."

So we set about trying to improve the environment. Now, 8 years later, the air is cleaner; we have the toughest air regulations ever to try to get bad particles out of the air; the water is safer, both the water generally and drinking water in particular; the food supply is safer. And we have set aside more land in perpetuity, including Red Rock, Grand Staircase Escalante, than any administration except that of Theodore Roosevelt. And it wasn't bad for the economy, was it?

So there's a choice. So Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and Hillary in New York—[*laughter*—and Mark and Tom, they say, "Look, we want to keep growing this economy, but we've got to keep improving the environment, and furthermore, we have to make a much more aggressive effort to deal with the problems of global warming." We just had another test 2 weeks ago in a big icecap, which documented conclusively that the 1990's were the warmest decade in a thousand years. And even all the—virtually all; not all but virtually all—the oil companies now acknowledge that global warming is real. We have to deal with it. So we want to do that.

Now, here is a choice. Every single year I have been President that our friends in the

Republican Party have been in the majority, every year we fight these brutal battles over antienvironmental riders. We win just about all of them, but it's hard because the Republicans, sometimes they want the antienvironmental riders so much, they offer the Democrats a bunch of money hoping they'll vote for the bill, and continuing to assert, "This is terrible for the economy, all this environmental protection the Clinton administration does."

One of the things I kind of like about the Republicans is that evidence has no impact on them. [*Laughter*] No, I'm serious. I mean, we were laughing, but you've got to respect somebody whose political convictions are so strong that even when it is demonstrable beyond any shadow of doubt they're wrong, they stick with it. You kind of have to like that. [*Laughter*] "Don't bother me with the facts, man. I know what I think, and I'm going to—" [*laughter*].

Now, this is a huge deal. A huge deal. Why? I'll just give you a few examples. This is a big deal. And every Congress seat and whether we win the House back and every Senate seat and this Presidential race is important. And I'll just deal with the environment. Why? Because their candidate for President—go back and read all the stuff that was said in the primary. They think I've gone way overboard on this clean air deal: it's just terrible for the economy; it's going to be unduly burdensome.

Let me tell you something. You talk to the kids that are here. I'll bet you they can tell you this. Do you know what the number one cause of children missing school in America today is, millions of school days a year? Asthma and breathing problems, all over America.

But this is a choice you've got. And if you agree with them, if you think that we just can't achieve a sustainable, an acceptable level of economic growth, if you think we'll never bring economic opportunity to Indian country unless we weaken our commitment to air quality, you can be for them. But if you would like to believe that we can live in harmony with nature—and the last 8 years are good evidence of it—you ought to stick with us.

I'll give you another example. The Audubon Society says that the Executive order I issued setting aside 43 million roadless acres in our national forests was the most significant conservation move in 40 years. Their nominee for President says that he will reverse it if elected. So it's not like you don't have a choice here, and you can get on either side, but don't pretend there's no difference. There is a clear choice.

I'll give you another example. You heard Mark talking about Grand Staircase Escalante. I've made ample use of the power of the President, enshrined when Theodore Roosevelt was President almost a hundred years ago, to protect important lands through national monuments. We set aside a million acres around the Grand Canyon the other day just to protect the watershed. [*Laughter*]

Their nominee says, if elected, he will review all my designations and may undo some of them. I actually don't know if he's got the legal authority to do it, but you get the drift. There's a significant difference here. [*Laughter*] There is a difference here.

I don't know if you heard the Presidential debate the other night. I thought the Vice President did a really nice job, a good job. But there was one issue on which I thought they both did a good job in stating their positions with great clarity. And that was on whether, because of the current energy situation and the higher prices, that it's time to get off the dime and go drill the arctic national wildlife refuge and get the oil out of there.

Now, Governor Bush pointed out that there is a lot of oil up there, and he thought it could be drilled without environmental incident. Now, let's look at the facts. Look at all the oil spills you've seen, everything else. He might be right. They would spend a lot of money. They would try not to do it. Nobody would intentionally mess up the environment. He might be right. But he might be wrong, because in any human endeavor none of us are free of error. No endeavor is free of accident if you do it long enough. So he might be right. But he might be wrong.

Vice President Gore pointed out that there were other ways to increase domestic energy production, number one. Number two, there was a world of oil out there that was going

to be drilled anyway and natural gas around the world, not subject to the OPEC pricing system, that was going to be brought online. And number three, we had not even scratched the surface of our ability to use presently available energy conservation technology—not even scratched the surface—that, beyond that, we were going to develop fuel cells, fuel-injection engines, mixed and blended engines. And if we ever crack the chemical mystery of how to really convert any kind of biomass into fuel, which, as those of you know right now, it takes about 7 gallons of gasoline to make 8 gallons of ethanol—but the chemists that are working on this through research funded by your Federal Government tell us that, if they can do the equivalent of what was done when crude oil was cracked and the refining process was made possible, they can do that with biomass fuels, you'll be able to make 8 gallons of biomass fuel with 1 gallon of gasoline. Then we will be getting the equivalent of 500 miles to the gallon. All this is out there.

So Al Gore said, look, why take a chance on an irreplaceable national treasure when, if we drilled it, it's just—if we got all our oil out of there, it would last, what, 6 months, a few months anyway—when we can get more energy out of sensible conservation available now. The higher mileage engines are about to come online, and pretty soon we'll have different kinds of fuels, anyway. And that's what we ought to do.

They both forcefully, clearly, articulately made their case, and there is a difference. Now, I think we're right, and I think they're not. But the main thing is you can't let anybody you know show up to vote without understanding that there are going to be huge consequences to the way you live. Same thing is true in education. Same thing is true in health care, and it's not just seniors and medicine; it's a lot of other things, as well. The same thing is true in the right to privacy. The same thing is true in how we're going to build one America. Everybody is now for one America. You never see people using divisive rhetoric in national politics anymore, and I am proud of that. And I give the Republicans credit for not using words that wound anymore. We shouldn't demean—

words matter. And I'm glad they've come closer to our position.

But underneath the words, we're for the hate crimes legislation, and their leadership is against it. And they're going to kill it, unless I can figure out how to save it. And if you can figure out how to save it and you'll help us, the Democrats, believe me, we'll be trying until the last day we're here to put it on—to pass it. We've got a bipartisan majority now. There are enough Republicans, including another cousin of Mark's who is in the United States Senate, who every now and then kind of drifts off to the Udall side of his family and votes with us. [Laughter] I won't call his name because I'm afraid it will hurt him. I don't want him to be run out of the Republican caucus. [Laughter] But they're not for that.

They're not for the employment non-discrimination legislation that says that gays shouldn't be discriminated against in the work force. They're not for our legislation to strengthen the enforcement of equal pay laws for women, still a huge challenge in our country. We had the lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years, but we still have a big pay gap for doing the same kind of work, and it's wrong. You have all these young women here. You're looking forward to getting out of high school, going to college, getting out of college, going to work. Why should you be paid less than a man if you do the same work with the same responsibility? It's been illegal for 35 years, but we don't enforce it.

Anyway, you get the drift here. This is not a personality contest. I think we should posit that our opponents are good people who love their families, love their country, and will do their dead-level best to do what they think is right when they get in. They have told us what they think is right. We sometimes have trouble unpacking it. But if you look with great clarity on this environmental issue, you can be under no illusion that there will be dramatic differences depending on how this election comes out.

And everybody you know between now and election who will never come to something like this but would never consider missing the vote, you better talk to, because we need Mark Udall; we need Tom Udall; we

need to have a Senate that has a lot more people who think like us; and we need to win this Presidential race. And we will do it. The good news is the American people get it in general. They want this election to be about the issues. They have a sense that this is an extraordinary opportunity. And that's the last thing I'll say.

Al Gore sometimes says, "You ain't seen nothing yet." And I guess, when somebody running says that, it sounds like a campaign statement. I'm not running for anything, and I believe it. I have done my best for 8 years to turn this country around. I've done my best to turn the country around, pull the country together, and move the country forward. But it takes time to turn a country around, to get all the indicators going in the right direction.

Maybe once in 50 years does a great democracy find itself with prosperity, social progress, national self-confidence, the absence of domestic crisis or external threat. This just doesn't happen where all this stuff happens at once. We've got a chance for you young people to actually build the future of your dreams. But we have to decide. We have to choose. We cannot pretend that this is not important.

And I'm glad you came here. And I guess in any election year, Mark and Tom and their families could pull out this kind of crowd at 10 o'clock on a Friday night. [*Laughter*] But this election year, you mark my words, this is a big deal.

I was 18 once, the last time we had low unemployment, high growth, low inflation. We had a civil rights challenge, but we thought there would never be riots in the streets, and it would all be resolved in Congress and the courts. And we sort of kind of drifted off and got our attention divided and found ourselves kind of embroiled in Vietnam. And then before you know it, it had divided the country. We had riots in the streets. Dr. King was killed. Senator Kennedy was killed. President Johnson, who had done so much for civil rights and to alleviate poverty and so much to help education, had a country so divided, he said he wouldn't and probably couldn't run for reelection. And before you knew it, the last time we had an

economy like this and a sense of possibility, it was gone like that.

Now we have to concentrate, and we have to argue. We don't have to be mean. We don't have to be negative. All we've got to do is be clear, honest, and energetic. The best is still out there. You need to go get it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:58 p.m. at the Washington Court Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Jill Cooper Udall, wife of Representative Tom Udall; former President Slobodan Milosevic and President Vojislav Kostunica of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), who was sworn in on October 7; and Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush. Representative Tom Udall is a candidate for reelection in New Mexico's Third Congressional District. Representative Mark Udall is a candidate for reelection in Colorado's Second Congressional District. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7353—Afterschool Week, 2000

October 6, 2000

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Each weekday afternoon in America, the ringing of school bells signals not just the end of the school day, but also the beginning of a period when 8 to 15 million of our children are home alone. These so-called "latchkey" children can be found in every American community, whether urban, suburban, or rural; they are the children of working parents who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to arrange or afford a better alternative. Not surprisingly, most juvenile crimes are committed and most children are likely to become victims of crime during the 5 or 6 hours immediately after the school day ends.

Providing appropriate supervision for children after school is one of the more difficult challenges that working parents face. Recognizing this, my Administration has worked hard to provide parents with alternative afternoon activities for their children. Through our 21st Century Community

Learning Centers program, under the leadership of Education Secretary Richard Riley, we are providing schools and community organizations with funding to create and expand learning opportunities for children in a drug-free, supervised environment. This program enables schools to stay open longer so that students have places to do their homework, receive counseling about the dangers of substance abuse, and participate with mentors in a wide array of academic and recreational activities that challenge their imagination and broaden their horizons.

In the 4 years since we created the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program, hundreds of thousands of children across our country have enrolled in safe and smart afterschool programs. My proposed budget for fiscal 2001 will more than double the Federal commitment to this program, enabling us to reach as many as 2.5 million students next year. These community learning centers provide America's parents with the comforting assurance that, while they are out earning a living, their children are participating in engaging and constructive afterschool activities.

To highlight the growing need for afterschool programs, the Afterschool Alliance—a partnership of public, private, and nonprofit organizations dedicated to raising awareness and expanding resources for afterschool programs—has announced a nationwide project called “Lights On Afterschool!” On October 12 of this year, schools, community centers, museums, libraries, and parks across the country will host activities to inform families about the places currently open to children after school and the need to provide additional centers where children can participate in engaging, stimulating activities until their parents return from work.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of October 8 to October 14, 2000, as Afterschool Week. I encourage parents, students, educators, community and business leaders, and concerned citizens to participate in “Lights On Afterschool!” activities on Thursday, October 12. I also urge all Americans to recog-

nize the importance of providing afterschool programs in their communities to promote the safety and well-being of our Nation's children.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 11, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 7, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 12.

Proclamation 7354—Fire Prevention Week, 2000

October 6, 2000

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Each year, fire takes a heavy toll on the lives and property of thousands of Americans. Approximately 100 firefighters and 4,000 civilians die in fires annually; some 25,000 civilians sustain injuries and an average of \$8 billion in property is destroyed. Last year alone, America's fire departments responded to almost 2 million fires. Most of these fires occurred in homes, as did 80 percent of last year's fire fatalities. It is clear from these tragic statistics that if we can better educate Americans about fire safety and prevention, we can save thousands of lives every year.

The most important lesson we can teach about fire is how rapidly it can spread. From the time a smoke alarm sounds in a typical home, a family may have as little as 2 minutes to escape safely. Knowing how to use those minutes wisely is the key to survival. I urge every American to develop and practice regularly a home fire escape plan that identifies two ways out of each room and establishes a meeting place where household members can reunite outside the home. In addition, it is crucial that smoke alarms be installed

and properly maintained on every level of the home.

To raise public awareness of the importance of home fire escape plans, the National Fire Protection Association, in partnership with the Federal Emergency Management Agency through its United States Fire Administration and America's fire departments, launched a 3-year program in 1998 called "Fire Drills: The Great Escape!" To date, this program is credited with saving at least 58 lives. In support of this program, on Wednesday, October 11, at 7:00 p.m. local time, fire departments in communities across America will sound the alarm signaling the start of "The Great Escape" fire drill to test the effectiveness of families' fire escape plans. I encourage all Americans to participate in this important and potentially life-saving event.

As we observe this week, let us also express our pride in and gratitude for the devoted service of our Nation's firefighters and emergency response personnel. They uphold our country's finest values—commitment and community, teamwork and trust, courage and sacrifice. Day in and day out, these extraordinary men and women put their lives on the line to protect our families and our property from the devastating effects of fire, and many of them pay the ultimate price for their devotion. We will honor their memory on Sunday, October 8, 2000, at the National Fallen Firefighters Memorial Service in Emmitsburg, Maryland.

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 October 8 through October 14, 2000, as Fire Prevention Week. I encourage the people of the United States to take an active role in fire prevention not only during this week, but also throughout the year. I call upon every citizen to pay tribute to our firefighters and emergency response personnel who have lost their lives or been injured in the line of duty and to those brave men and women who carry on their noble tradition of service.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the

Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

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Proclamation 7355—National School Lunch Week, 2000

October 6, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

One of the best ways we can move forward as a society is to meet our obligations to our children. President Harry Truman recognized this profound responsibility when he signed the National School Lunch Act into law in 1946. The significance of this legislation went beyond the daily meal that children would receive; the National School Lunch Program firmly established the Federal Government's commitment to work in partnership with States, schools, and the agricultural community to administer a major program designed to improve children's diets and, in turn, their overall health and well-being.

Today, more than 96,000 schools serve lunches to over 27 million children every day—more than half of them for free or at a reduced price, so that no schoolchild in America, regardless of family income, need go hungry at lunchtime. We have also built on the program's success by establishing a number of child nutrition initiatives administered by the Department of Agriculture—from the School Breakfast Program, which helps ensure eligible children are ready to learn; to the Summer Food Service Program, which serves healthy meals and snacks to low-income children during long school vacations; to the Child and Adult Care Food Program, which provides nutritious meals and snacks to infants and young children in day care and to adults with physical or mental disabilities who are enrolled in adult day

care. Most recently, we authorized funding through the Child Nutrition Reauthorization Act of 1998 to make snacks available to children and teenagers enrolled in after-school programs.

We can be proud that these school meal programs promote the well-being of some of our Nation's most vulnerable children by providing them with the nourishment they need to develop healthy bodies and sound minds. Nutritious meals help students reach their full potential by keeping them alert and attentive in the classroom. As both common sense and extensive scientific research confirm, a hungry child cannot focus on schoolwork as well as one who has been fed a nutritious meal.

The National School Lunch Program also offers us a valuable tool for identifying children who are eligible for health insurance under Medicaid or the State Children's Health Insurance Program. Since 60 percent of children who lack adequate health coverage participate in the school lunch program, sharing eligibility information can improve our outreach efforts and bring us closer to our goal of universal health care for all of America's children. My proposed budget for fiscal 2001 sets aside \$345 million over 10 years to help schools share information with Medicaid and the State Children's Health Insurance Program so that we can enhance our efforts to reach eligible children and their families. In addition, this summer I announced an initiative to expand the school lunch program to the developing world. This initiative will make school lunches and breakfasts available in the poorest countries for the poorest children, helping students whose deficiencies in nutrition affect their cognitive development and attracting children who otherwise might never attend school.

As we observe National School Lunch Week this year, let us pay tribute to the thousands of State and local school food service professionals across America whose hard work and dedication make these programs a reality for our children; and let us acknowledge the important role school lunches play in the healthy development of so many students.

In recognition of the contributions of the National School Lunch Program to the health, education, and well-being of our Nation's children, the Congress, by joint resolution of October 9, 1962 (Public Law 87-780), has designated the week beginning the second Sunday in October of each year as "National School Lunch Week" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 8 through October 14, 2000, as National School Lunch Week. I call upon all Americans to recognize those individuals whose efforts contribute so much to the success of our national child nutrition programs, whether at the Federal, State, or local level.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

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Proclamation 7356—National Children's Day, 2000

October 6, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Children hold a special place in our lives, and raising healthy, happy children is the greatest success any parent can hope to achieve; it should also be an important goal of every member of society, because children are profoundly influenced by the people and environment around them. The strongest influence, of course, is often child's family; but good schools and nurturing communities also play a vital role in helping children reach their full potential.

Over the past 7-1/2 years, my Administration has worked with families and communities across the country to meet the needs of America's children, and we can be proud of what we have accomplished together. We have made education one of our highest priorities, to ensure that every child is empowered with the knowledge and skills necessary to achieve personal fulfillment and success. By expanding Head Start and Early Head Start for preschoolers; promoting high academic standards, smaller class sizes, teacher quality, and charter schools for primary and secondary school students; and providing loans, scholarships, and tax credits so that millions of young Americans can attend college, we are building a world-class education system that will serve our children well.

We have achieved other important legislative victories for children and families, including a \$500 child tax credit, a \$1 per hour increase in the minimum wage, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, passing the Family and Medical Leave Act, enacting the largest expansion of health insurance for children ever, and creating incentives to move more children from foster care to safe, loving, and permanent homes. As a result of these victories, the child poverty rate in our country has dropped by 22 percent since 1993; millions of working parents have taken time off to care for a new child or sick relative; child immunization rates are at an all-time high, with 90 percent of toddlers receiving crucial vaccinations; and adoptions increased nearly 65 percent between 1996 and 1999.

We have shown our commitment to ensuring that every child grows up in a safe and nurturing environment through additional measures such as teen pregnancy prevention efforts, welfare reform that moves families from economic dependency to self-sufficiency, expanded access to affordable housing and homeownership, and responsible fatherhood initiatives to ensure that fathers provide both the financial and emotional support their children need. And, to help working families provide for their children, we are continuing our efforts to improve access to high-quality, safe, and affordable child care. We know that from infancy through adolescence, in child-care settings and after-school

programs, children can learn and thrive with the right care, attention, and education. We owe them no less.

As we observe National Children's Day this year, let us recommit ourselves to using every resource in this time of unprecedented prosperity to build a bright future for all our children. Let us show our love for them not only through our words, but also by making the tough decisions and important investments necessary to give them the opportunity to achieve their dreams.

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 October 8, 2000, as National Children's Day. I urge all Americans to express their love and appreciation for children on this day and every day throughout the year, and to work within their communities to nurture, love, and teach all our children. I invite Federal officials, State and local governments, and particularly all American families to join together in observing this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities to honor our Nation's children.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

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Proclamation 7357—Columbus Day, 2000

October 6, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During this first year of the new century, the American people have devoted time and

thought to the people and events of our Nation's past so that we might better prepare for the challenges of the future. While Christopher Columbus' epic voyage took place almost three centuries before the founding of our democracy, his journey helped shape our national experience and offers important lessons as we chart our own course for the 21st century.

One of the most valuable of those lessons is the importance of sustaining our spirit of adventure, our willingness to explore new concepts and new horizons. Columbus, after careful study and planning, rejected the conventional thinking of his time, sailed for the open seas, and succeeded in opening up a New World for the people of Europe. Like Columbus, our founders rejected the familiar paths of the past and ventured boldly to create a new form of government that has profoundly shaped world history. Explorers, pioneers, inventors, artists, entrepreneurs—all have found a refuge in America and a chance to achieve their dreams.

Today we have other worlds to explore—from the deepest oceans to the outermost reaches of space to the genetic code of human life. The same adventurous spirit that propelled Columbus' explorations will enable us to challenge old assumptions, acquire new knowledge, and broaden the horizons of humankind.

Columbus' story illustrates the importance of diversity. Columbus was born and raised in Italy; he learned much of his seafaring knowledge and experience from Portuguese sailors and navigators; and he put those skills in service to the King and Queen of Spain, who funded his explorations. By establishing a safe, reliable route between Europe and the New World, Columbus opened the door for subsequent explorers from Spain, France, and England and for the millions of immigrants who would be welcomed by America in later centuries. But the encounters between Columbus and other European explorers and the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere also underscore what can happen when cultures clash and when we are unable to understand and respect people who are different from us.

While more than 500 years have passed since Christopher Columbus first sailed to

these shores, the lessons of his voyage are still with us. Brave, determined, open to new ideas and new experiences, in many ways he foreshadowed the character of the American people who honor him today.

In tribute to Columbus' many achievements, the Congress, by joint resolution of April 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 657), and an Act of June 28, 1968 (82 Stat. 250), has requested the President to proclaim the second Monday in October of each year as "Columbus Day."

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 9, 2000, as Columbus Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities. I also direct that the flag of the United States be displayed on all public buildings on the appointed day in honor of Christopher Columbus.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 11, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 7, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 12.

The President's Radio Address

October 7, 2000

Good morning. Every year more than 56,000 Americans die from colorectal cancer, and another 130,000 are diagnosed with the disease. These are people we know and love, our families, friends, and neighbors. Today I want to talk about our common fight against this quiet killer and what we can do as a Nation to save more lives.

Many people are uncomfortable talking about cancer, especially colorectal cancer. And while all of us may be able to appreciate this reluctance, our silence protects no one, least of all those we love most. That's why so many Americans, tens of thousands of

them, led by Katie Couric, have come to Washington this weekend to speak out and rally against colorectal cancer.

For 8 years now, the Vice President and I have made the fight against cancer one of our top priorities, nearly doubling funding for cancer research and treatment. We've also accelerated the approval of cancer drugs while maintaining the highest standards of safety. We've strengthened Medicare to make prevention, screening, and clinical trials more available and more affordable. During Breast Cancer Awareness Month, the Senate voted to fund our proposal to provide health coverage to uninsured women with breast and cervical cancer.

These efforts are paying off. Earlier this year we learned for the first time that cancer deaths in the United States are no longer rising. We need to build on that progress by encouraging more early detection and treatment. Colorectal cancer is the second-leading cancer killer in America. The good news is that caught soon enough, more than 90 percent of the cases can be cured. That's why in 1998 Hillary helped to launch the first national campaign against colorectal cancer, much as we've been working for years to defeat breast cancer.

Our family, like so many American families, knows all too well the terrible toll cancer can take, and we want to do everything we can to help others avoid that loss. Today I'm announcing several new actions in the war against cancer. First, the National Cancer Institute will invest \$30 million over the next 5 years to help doctors expand and improve screening procedures for colorectal cancer. We need to address the chronic underuse of these lifesaving tools, and this new investment will encourage physicians to make regular use of the most effective procedures.

Second, we're launching a new initiative to educate Medicare beneficiaries about the importance of regular checkups and cancer screenings. Beginning next year, every senior and every American with a disability using Medicare will get a screening reminder, starting with one on colorectal cancer, every time they go to their doctor or use Medicare's toll-free hotline.

Third, I'm urging Congress to pass bipartisan legislation that expands Medicare to in-

clude more sophisticated colorectal cancer screening tests for people over the age of 50. Congress should not adjourn before sending me this legislation. They should also pass my proposal to eliminate all cost-sharing requirements for colorectal screening and other preventive procedures under Medicare. If we take these steps, we'll remove major barriers to older Americans getting the preventive care they need.

And finally, once again I ask Congress to pass a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights, one that ensures that cancer patients, along with all patients, have access to the specialty care they need. It's time to put progress before partisanship and get people the medical care they need and deserve.

While the war against cancer is not yet won, we all have reason for new hope. Even as I speak, scientists are fast unlocking the secrets of the human genome, and revolutionary treatments are sure to follow. As they do, Americans should know that we'll do everything necessary to safeguard their privacy and to outlaw genetic discrimination in both employment and health insurance.

In the meantime, we must all stand watch against cancer, even if that means confronting at times our worst fears. None of us will ever die of embarrassment, so go to the doctor and get that screening done. Remember, with early detection, quality care, love from our families, and the grace of God, we can all lead longer, healthier, and better lives.

Thank you.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 2:13 p.m. on October 6 in the East Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 7. In his remarks, the President referred to Katie Couric, cohost of NBC's "Today Show" and cofounder of WebMD Rock 'n Race to Fight Colon Cancer. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 6 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

Telephone Remarks to a Rally for Representative Julia Carson

October 7, 2000

Let me say, first of all, I'm just sick I can't be there. But I think you know that for the

last 2 days I've been up day and night, literally. I was up all night last night because of the continuing violence in the Middle East and the responsibility the United States has to do everything we can to get things calmed down and get back to the peace process. Nothing else would keep me away.

I want to say to all my friends in Indiana, you ought to be very proud of Joe Andrew. He has done a great job with the DNC. And I think I can speak for every Democrat outside Indiana; we are proud of Bart Peterson and thrilled that he is the mayor of Indianapolis.

I want to thank Governor Frank O'Bannon for working so closely with me, and Lieutenant Governor Kernan and your attorney general. And I want to tell you that I've known Evan Bayh since he replaced me as the youngest Governor in America, and he and Susan do you great credit in Washington every single day. I have no doubt that the future is unlimited for him.

Most of all, I want to tell you that there is nobody in Congress I like any better than Julia Carson. She is one of a kind. And when she kind of sidles into a room and takes a stand for education or children or moving people from welfare or poverty into work, everybody listens to her. And she's acquired an unusual amount of influence in Congress in a very short time because she deals with people so effectively and she has such credibility and she's so compelling when she makes a point. I've just sort of learned to do what she asks me to do without her having to argue it now. *[Laughter]*

I'd like to just make a simple argument tonight in Indiana, because you've got a lot of Republicans there, but the Democrats are doing better. Why are the Democrats doing better? Because you deliver.

And I just want to say to you that, you know, this is the first time in 26 years I haven't been on a ballot at election time. So I'm telling you this as a person who, within a matter of 4 months, will be like most of you out there, just another American citizen. This country is in good shape. We are moving in the right direction. We are better off than we were 8 years ago, and we need to keep changing in the right direction. That is the strongest argument for why every election

this year is important, every Senate seat, every House seat, every governorship, and of course, most important of all, the election for President and Vice President.

Now, in Indiana, you've done well because people have seen you produce results. And I want you to go out there, between now and election day, and ask everybody you know in Indiana and in the States bordering Indiana, all of which are critical to our success, to remember what it was like 8 years ago. Look at what it's like now. That's because we changed the direction of the country. We've got a better economic policy, a better education policy, a better health care policy, a better environmental policy, a better foreign policy. And we need to keep changing in that direction.

And people need to understand that once in a lifetime, maybe once in 50 or 60 years, a country gets a chance to do what we've got to do now, with all this prosperity and progress and confidence, with no crisis at home and no threat to our security abroad. We've got a chance and a responsibility to build the future of our dreams for our kids, and we need to put in office people who are committed to that. Every voter needs to understand there are real differences between our party and theirs and our candidates and theirs, starting at the top and going all the way through.

We've got a different economic policy. We want to keep paying down the debt, give people a tax cut we can afford to send their kids to college, to save for retirement, for child care when they're working, for long-term care when they've got their folks or disabled children living at home with them. But we've got to have enough money to invest in education and pay down the debt.

They offer everybody a bigger tax cut, but that and their privatization of Social Security plan and their promise to spend will put us right back in deficits. The Democratic Party is the fiscally responsible party in America today. That will keep interest rates lower, and every American will have lower home mortgages, car payments, credit card payments, college loan payments. Businesses will borrow money for less, and they'll create more jobs and higher incomes.

If you want to keep this prosperity going, vote for the Democrats. That's the message that you've got to get out there all over America.

But if you look at all the other areas where we're different—we're for a real Patients' Bill of Rights, and they're not. We're for a Medicare prescription drug program that every senior who needs it can buy into on a voluntary basis, and they only want to help half the people who need the medicine. Their plan won't work. It has already been tried in one State, and they keep on doing it. It's wrong. We are the party that wants to help provide the medicine that our seniors need and deserve, and every American needs to understand that. Every American needs to understand that we are the party for smaller class sizes and modern schools and after-school and summer school and preschool programs for the kids who need it and a tax deduction to pay for the cost of college tuition so that everybody's child can have 4 years of college. That's the Democratic Party, and people need to know that, and I want you to help them know that.

And for all of you there, the most important thing I want you to do is make sure Julia Carson wins an overwhelming reelection. She's a wonderful woman and a great Representative in Congress.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. from the Residence at the White House to the rally at the Indianapolis Colts Complex in Indianapolis, IN. In his remarks, he referred to Joseph J. Andrew, national chair, Democratic National Committee; Gov. Frank O'Bannon, Lt. Gov. Joseph E. Kernan, and State Attorney General Karen Freeman-Wilson of Indiana; and Senator Bayh's wife, Susan. Representative Carson is a candidate for reelection in Indiana's 10th Congressional District.

Statement on Returning Without Approval the "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2001"

October 7, 2000

Today I vetoed a deeply flawed energy/water appropriations bill that threatens major environmental harm by blocking our efforts

to modernize operations on the Missouri River. This antienvironmental rider would not only jeopardize the survival of three threatened and endangered species but would also establish a dangerous precedent aimed at barring a Federal agency from obeying one of our Nation's landmark environmental statutes.

Additionally, this bill funded scores of special projects for special interests. It failed to provide sufficient funding for priorities in the national interest—including environmental restoration of the Florida Everglades and the California-Bay Delta, and our strategy to restore endangered salmon in the Pacific Northwest. It also failed to fund efforts to research and develop nonpolluting sources of energy through solar and renewable technologies that are vital to America's energy security.

I urge Congress to quickly produce an energy/water bill I can sign.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2001"

October 7, 2000

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval, H.R. 4733, the "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2001." The bill contains an unacceptable rider regarding the Army Corps of Engineers' master operating manual for the Missouri River. In addition, it fails to provide funding for the California-Bay Delta initiative and includes nearly \$700 million for over 300 unrequested projects.

Section 103 would prevent the Army Corps of Engineers from revising the operating manual for the Missouri River that is 40 years old and needs to be updated based on the most recent scientific information. In its current form, the manual simply does not provide an appropriate balance among the competing interests, both commercial and recreational, of the many people who seek to use this great American river. The bill would also undermine implementation of the

Endangered Species Act by preventing the Corps of Engineers from funding reasonable and much-needed changes to the operating manual for the Missouri River. The Corps and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service are entering a critical phase in their Section 7 consultation on the effects of reservoir project operations. This provision could prevent the Corps from carrying out a necessary element of any reasonable and prudent alternative to avoid jeopardizing the continued existence of the endangered least tern and pallid sturgeon, and the threatened piping plover.

In addition to the objectionable restriction placed upon the Corps of Engineers, the bill fails to provide funding for the California-Bay Delta initiative. This decision could significantly hamper ongoing Federal and State efforts to restore this ecosystem, protect the drinking water of 22 million Californians, and enhance water supply and reliability for over 7 million acres of highly productive farmland and growing urban areas across California. The \$60 million budget request, all of which would be used to support activities that can be carried out using existing authorities, is the minimum necessary to ensure adequate Federal participation in these initiatives, which are essential to reducing existing conflicts among water users in California. This funding should be provided without legislative restrictions undermining key environmental statutes or disrupting the balanced approach to meeting the needs of water users and the environment that has been carefully developed through almost 6 years of work with the State of California and interested stakeholders.

The bill also fails to provide sufficient funding necessary to restore endangered salmon in the Pacific Northwest, which would interfere with the Corps of Engineers' ability to comply with the Endangered Species Act, and provides no funds to start the new construction project requested for the Florida Everglades. The bill also fails to fund the Challenge 21 program for environmentally friendly flood damage reduction projects, the program to modernize Corps recreation facilities, and construction of an emergency outlet at Devil's Lake. In addition, it does not fully support efforts to re-

search and develop nonpolluting, domestic sources of energy through solar and renewable technologies that are vital to America's energy security.

Finally, the bill provides nearly \$700 million for over 300 unrequested projects, including: nearly 80 unrequested projects totaling more than \$330 million for the Department of Energy; nearly 240 unrequested projects totaling over \$300 million for the Corps of Engineers; and, more than 10 unrequested projects totaling in excess of \$10 million for the Bureau of Reclamation. For example, more than 80 unrequested Corps of Engineers construction projects included in the bill would have a long-term cost of nearly \$2.7 billion. These unrequested projects and earmarks come at the expense of other initiatives important to taxpaying Americans.

The American people deserve Government spending based upon a balanced approach that maintains fiscal discipline, eliminates the national debt, extends the solvency of Social Security and Medicare, provides for an appropriately sized tax cut, establishes a new voluntary Medicare prescription drug benefit in the context of broader reforms, expands health care coverage to more families, and funds critical investments for our future. I urge the Congress to work expeditiously to develop a bill that addresses the needs of the Nation.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 7, 2000.

**Telephone Remarks to a Reception
for Representative Julia Carson**

October 7, 2000

Well, first of all, I want to thank Jeff for hosting this event tonight and for the many years of friendship I've enjoyed with him. I've been told that Evan and Susan Bayh are there and Frank and Judy O'Bannon and your other State officials. I heard you talking about Mayor Peterson. And Joe Andrew—I want to say again what I said this afternoon—he's really done Indiana proud here at the DNC. I'm really proud of him.

If you've been following the news today, you know why I couldn't come. I've been up for virtually 2 days now trying to stop the violence in the Middle East and get the peace process back on track. It's a difficult situation. We're down to all the hard issues now, and it's just something I couldn't leave. I can't get away from the phone because of what's going on there and in the U.N. and in other countries. I have to be available here 100 percent of the time.

I'm really, really sorry to miss this because I had looked forward to coming back to Indiana, and I wanted to do anything I could to help Julia Carson. She's one of my favorite people in American politics. She's a real treasure for you. She's done a great job, and she is so effective.

You know, she's got a style that reminds me of all these big, white country judges I used to deal with in Arkansas. *[Laughter]* She kind of eases up to you and talks to you, and then, before you know it, your billfold is gone. *[Laughter]* We have learned in the White House just to go on and give her what she wants the first time she asks, because we know we're going to give in sooner or later. *[Laughter]*

Seriously, she's acquired an unusual amount of influence here in a short time because she is so good at what she does and because everybody likes and respects her, and I'm at the head of that list. So I'm very grateful to you for helping her.

The only other thing I'd like to say tonight is that perhaps more than anyone in America, after these last 8 years, I know how important every Senate seat, every House seat is, and I know how important this election is. The resurgence of the Democratic Party in Indiana is perhaps the best example anywhere in America of what can happen if you take good Democratic values and common sense and get things done and produce results. And that's what we've tried to do. I just hope that all of you will take every opportunity you can between now and the election to remind people of where we were 8 years ago and where we are now and why we ought to keep changing in the same direction and not turn around and go back.

The consequences of this election are very profound, and sometimes I get a little con-

cerned that people may not believe that because times are so good. But it's often more difficult to make a good decision in good times than it is in hard times. We have a clear difference here between the two parties, between the candidates for Congress and for the Senate and certainly for the White House.

We've worked hard nationally to do what Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon have done in Indiana, to prove that you can be fiscally responsible, balance your budgets, and still take care of people. And that is, in some ways, maybe the biggest difference between the Democratic and Republican approaches today. If Al Gore's plan is adopted, tax cuts will be smaller, and some of you will get less money, but we'll pay the debt off, and interest rates will be lower. And over the next 10 years, the estimates are that, under his plan, interest rates will be a percent lower, and that's \$390 billion in home mortgages, \$30 billion in lower car loans, \$15 billion in lower student loans, lower credit card payments, lower business loans, more jobs, higher incomes, and a better stock market. It's not very complicated.

You simply cannot get this country back into deficit, which is what would happen if the Republican plans for the huge tax cut, the privatization of Social Security, and their spending promises go into effect. We'll be right back where we were, and we can't afford to do it. It's a big difference.

And I just want to ask all of you to make sure that people understand that the choice is real and the consequences will be real, too. And I think the choice is clear. We have a different economic policy, a different health care policy, a different education policy, a different environmental policy, and a different foreign policy. And I think the results speak for themselves.

You can cite Indiana as an example, and you can cite the record of our administration in the last 8 years. Nothing I have done, however, would have been possible without people in Congress like Senator Bayh and Representative Carson. I am just profoundly grateful.

And I want to say a special word of thanks because it's still hard for a Democrat running for national office in Indiana. And for those

of you who stood up for me, you deserve some sort of Purple Heart, and I want to thank you for that, as well. [*Laughter*]

But now you have something you didn't have so much of—you didn't have any of in '92 and not so much of in '96. You have evidence. Some of our Republican friends, I've got to hand it to them. When it comes to the budget or how we ought to pay for prescription drugs, evidence doesn't faze them. They don't care about the evidence. They just know what they think.

But most people, I think, in Indiana and the States bordering Indiana—a lot of you have friends there, in States that could go either way—really care about whether what we're doing is consistent with our values and will actually work. That's one of the reasons that I wanted so badly to be there for Julia today, because she works and she gets things done. Again, I just can't thank you enough for helping her.

And thank you, Jeff, for indirectly having me in your home. I hope I can have a raincheck. I've been trying to visit you for a lot longer than I've been President. So maybe some day we'll get it done.

Thank you all very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. from the Residence at the White House to the reception at a private residence in Indianapolis, IN. In his remarks, he referred to reception host Jeffrey Smulyan; Gov. Frank O'Bannon of Indiana and his wife, Judy; Senator Bayh's wife, Susan; Mayor Bart Peterson of Indianapolis, IN; and Joseph J. Andrew, national chair, Democratic National Committee. Representative Carson is a candidate for reelection in Indiana's 10th Congressional District.

Telephone Remarks to a Reception for Hillary Clinton

October 7, 2000

The President. Well, I'm just sorry I'm not there. I've looked forward to coming to visit you in Indiana for a long time. I want to begin just by thanking you and Mel for being such good friends to Hillary and me. I've been with you in Colorado and Florida, and I really wanted to come up there and see you.

And I want to thank Cindy and Paul for hosting this tonight. And I want to thank all the people who are there to help Hillary. I really—as I said, I looked forward to being there. But as I told Bren a few hours ago, I've been up almost without sleep for 2 days trying to deal with the situation in the Middle East. It's quite violent, and it presents a real threat to the peace process that everybody there has worked for, for 7½ years now. I just couldn't leave the telephone and my responsibilities here. I hope you'll forgive me for not being there with you.

Bren Simon. Well, we certainly understand. We do want you to know that Senator Evan Bayh and Susan are with us tonight, and they send their best regards to you.

The President. I'm just trying to get another vote for Evan up there in the Senate. [*Laughter*] He doesn't need a lot of help, but he could use all the help he can get. I want to say to all of you there, Evan and Susan have been friends of Hillary's and mine for a long time, since Evan knocked me out as being the youngest Governor in America. We like them. We respect them. We care for them, and I'm just thrilled that they've done as well as they have for Indiana and for the United States in Washington. Evan has really, really had an impact on the Senate, and you should be very proud of him.

The only other thing I want to say is that I know how difficult it is to raise funds for a candidate from another State a long way away, even somebody who is the First Lady. But this is really a worthy cause. The other side has raised, I think, between the two candidates that have run against Hillary, a total of \$50 million. So we've had to work real hard and get support from our friends around the country.

She has done so well. She's got a big debate tomorrow morning, and keep your fingers crossed for her. I must say, I'm absolutely convinced, based on over 30 years of working in politics and seeing people in public life, that she will be one of the great United States Senators of the last several years, if we can just get through these next 4 or 5 months. And I think all of you will be very proud that you came there and helped her win. I just can't tell you how grateful I am.

Mrs. Simon. Well, we agree with you, as far as Hillary's campaign is concerned, and we're all here to support her. And I wanted you to know also that George Hamilton flew in from L.A. especially to be with us tonight, so he's a little disappointed, too.

The President. I'm sorry I didn't get to see George. [Laughter] I kind of resent it. You know, when I came here, I was like George. I looked younger than I am, and now I look like I'm about half-dead. [Laughter] I still feel pretty good for a guy with a lot of miles on him. [Laughter] Thank you for coming, George.

Mrs. Simon. Mr. President, is it possible for Ian, our grandson, to say hello to you?

The President. Absolutely.

Mrs. Simon. Ian, say hello.

Ian Skjodt. Hello, Mr. President.

The President. Hello, Ian, how are you?

Ian. Good.

The President. How old are you?

Ian. Six.

The President. I think you're on your way to being a good public speaker. [Laughter]

Mrs. Simon. Would you like to say hello, Samantha? Come up here, Eric and Samantha. They're very, very disappointed you couldn't be here, but they're excited to say hello to you.

Samantha Skjodt. Hello?

The President. Hello, Samantha.

Samantha. Hello, Mr. President.

The President. How are you?

Samantha. Fine.

The President. And how old are you?

Samantha. Eleven.

The President. That's great. Well, I'm sorry I didn't get to meet you.

Mrs. Simon. Eric and Samantha are twins, so Eric is going to say hello to you now.

Eric Skjodt. Hello.

The President. Hi, Eric.

Eric. Hi. Hello, Mr. President.

The President. Good job. I think you ought to bring them to see me in the White House before I go.

Mrs. Simon. You know, we were excited to find out that we'll probably come in and see a movie or something in the near future with the children, if that's okay.

The President. Absolutely. We'll set it up.

Mrs. Simon. Okay, great.

The President. I'm so grateful to all of you who are there. And let me say just one little serious word. I'm also very grateful for the chance I've had to serve, and I'm glad our country is in such good shape. But this is a really important election, because the decisions we make will determine whether we stick with an economic policy that's working, build on a health care policy, stick with an education policy that's working, and continue to change in the right direction or do something entirely different that I think won't work nearly as well.

This is an election that's going to have real consequences for the American people, and sometimes I'm concerned that because times are good, people think it doesn't much matter. It matters a lot. I guess you know that, or you wouldn't be there tonight, even for Mel and Bren and Cindy and Paul. But I'm very grateful to you, and I thank you very, very much.

Mrs. Simon. Thank you very much. Thank you for calling.

The President. Thank you all, and good night.

Mrs. Simon. Good luck with everything.

The President. Thanks. Keep your fingers crossed. Thanks, Evan.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. from the Residence at the White House to the reception at a private residence in Indianapolis, IN. In his remarks, he referred to reception hosts Bren and Melvin Simon; their daughter, Cindy Simon Skjodt, their son-in-law, Paul Skjodt, and their grandchildren Ian, Samantha, and Eric Skjodt; Senator Bayh's wife, Susan; and actor George Hamilton.

Interview With Joe Klein of the New Yorker in New York City

July 5, 2000

President's Historical Perspective

Mr. Klein. Do you essentially agree with my sense that you had—that the big issue has been moving from the industrial age to the information age, and that—I mean, the toughest thing—

The President. Yes. The short answer to that is yes.

Mr. Klein. —to explain to people is, you take something like—how can being in favor of affirmative action and being in favor of welfare reform be part of the same vision? How can being in favor of free trade and being in favor of universal health insurance be part of the same vision? There are people on the right or the left who would say, “You can’t do that.” And yet, I think that they are part of the same vision. But my first question is, how would you describe that vision?

The President. I think my view—I saw my Presidency as a transformational period, and basically, America has gone through two before. Maybe it could start if we did it in historical times. There were basically—I look at American history in the following—we had the creation—how we got started and sort of filling out the elements of the National Government and defining what it meant. And that basically went from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution, Washington’s Presidency, and the appointment of John Marshall as Chief Justice—which is a very important thing—and then, ironically, through Jefferson’s Presidency, with the purchase of Louisiana and the Lewis and Clark expedition, and then the next big challenge was, how would we adapt that to our growing industrialization? And how did we get rid of slavery, which was inconsistent with our principles? So obviously, that’s what Lincoln and the Civil War and the constitutional amendments and everything that happened on civil rights after that was about slavery. But there was no single President that managed the process, if you will, or laid out a framework from the agricultural society to an industrial society. But that’s part of what the railroads, the canals was all about, and it’s part of what—and Lincoln was a part of that with the Morrill Land Grant Act, with the colleges.

Mr. Klein. This happened too slowly for—

The President. But it happened over a long period of time. Then, there was the transformation from the—you know, it happened over a long period of time as we slowly became a balanced society. But then, when we burst onto the world scene as a major national industrial power, that process was basically defined by Theodore Roosevelt and

Woodrow Wilson. And I sort of saw this period in parallel with that.

The rest of the 20th century was mostly about dealing with the rise of—first, the Great Depression; then the war and the need to defeat totalitarian systems, which was part of the war and the cold war; and dealing with the specific challenges at home, principally civil rights, the women’s movement, and the growth of environmental movement in America.

So here, we are moving into, basically, from an industrial society—an industrial economy to an information economy, and at the same time moving into an ever more globalized economy, which also is more and more of a global society in that we share common challenges and common interests that go beyond economics. And the globalization of the media has accelerated that.

So I saw my challenges trying to, first of all, maximize America’s presence in the information economy; second, to try to maximize our influence in the welfare of our country and like-minded people around the world in a globalized society. And then, the other—and I’ll get to your questions—and then the third big thing for me was trying to make people have a broader and deeper vision of the American community and how to handle diversity and how we would finally get a chance to see, in ways we never had before, what it meant to make one out of many, what our national motto meant.

And I think the—and you ask me, well, how can you reconcile those things? It seems to me that the two operational strategies we had to pursue those three great goals were, one, the Third Way political and social philosophy. If you believe in opportunity and responsibility and community, then it’s perfectly clear why you would be for affirmative action and a global trading system, you know, why you would be for health care for everybody and whatever else you said—what was the other thing?

Mr. Klein. Free trade. No, I said that.

The President. Welfare reform.

Mr. Klein. Welfare reform.

The President. Welfare reform, because first of all, work is the best social program. Secondly, it is imperative to have a basic

work ethic if you believe in individual responsibility and you believe it gives meaning and direction to life, and I do. But if you do, you also recognize that there is no society—no society has succeeded in providing access to health care to everybody without some governmental action.

Mr. Klein. But there have been people all along, as you know—I mean, you and I had this same conversation in 1991. People all along said, “This is just an electoral strategy. It isn’t a Government strategy.”

The President. It was never just an electoral strategy to me.

Mr. Klein. Well, me, neither, as you know. And the question—I guess my question is, do you feel that you were ever able to really communicate the depth and breadth of this to the public?

The President. Yes, but only—probably only at the State of the Union Addresses, because it’s probably the only time I ever got to say it unfiltered. If I made an error in those, even though they always received very high public approval ratings, they said it always took me so much time to explain my specific ideas in education or whatever, I’m not sure I ever took full advantage of the opportunity to lay the coherent philosophy out—because I do think at those points, that people got it.

But what I was going to tell you, if I could go back—I think we had the transformation from the industrial economy to the information economy, from the idea of a national society to an idea of a more global society in which nation-states matter. I think the nation-state will matter more in some ways in the 21st century. We can talk about that some.

And thirdly, the whole idea of defining America where our diversity was something to be cherished and celebrated because—because our common humanity and common values were more important.

And then, operationally, I think, the two things I think that mattered, I made some—the whole Third Way political and social philosophy, one; and second is sort of a relentless focus on the future, making people always—trying to force people to always think about not only what we’re doing, how does it affect today, but what’s it going to be like

5 years from now, 10 years from now, 20 years from now? And I think that is often—that hasn’t often been the business of the Government.

But if you go back to Roosevelt’s focus on conservation or Wilson’s struggle of—failed attempt at the League of Nations, I think what made them both great Presidents for the transformational period America was in is that they were not only successful in the moment, by and large, but they had this focus on the future; they kept trying to spark the public imagination with the future. And that’s—I hope very much that the announcement of this genome project, although I think it fills people with foreboding as well as hope, will tend to spark future orientation on the part of the voters, so the issues that are plainly before us, but won’t be felt for a few years will have more effect on the debate and also on people’s voting rights.

Trade

Mr. Klein. But it’s a difficult thing. Charlene Barshefsky said to me that there are times that you’ve really been concerned, that the expression you used was that you hadn’t found your voice on trade, which is the equivalent of—

The President. Well, one of the things—she, of course, has to deal with it. But the two things in trade that have frustrated me most, although I think we’ve got a great record—and you can go from NAFTA to the WTO, to the Africa/CBI, to launching the free trade of the Americas to—China.

Mr. Klein. The reason I raised it was because what you just said about the genome reminded me—I just read your remarks about NAFTA in October ’93, and it was very similar, too.

The President. Yes. And then, of course, China, and then in between we had 270-odd agreements, and we had the Mexican financial crisis and the Asian financial crisis. But the thing that bothered me about trade—the two things that have bothered me about trade, I think, are: One, I have so far not created a consensus within my own party, at least among the elected officials, for the view of trade which I hold. And two—and I think it’s genuine; that is, I don’t think this is just politics. I think it’s how people view the

world—the second thing, and closely related to that, is that—I went to Geneva twice, and I went to Davos once, and then I went out to Seattle to try to make the case that you can't have a global trading system apart from a global social conscience, anyway, where there is a legitimate place for the voices of those who care about the rights of workers, the condition of children in the workplace, the impact of economic development on the environment, both nationally and globally. I haven't yet, at least, been able to convince people that there is a synthesizing vision here that has to drive not only a global trading system but these other initiatives as well. And I suppose I shouldn't be surprised, because it's a fairly new debate.

And one of the great things that always struck me is, if you look at the people who were demonstrating in Seattle, while I think they were all sincere—that is, they believed in what they were demonstrating against—their sense of solidarity was truly ironic, because they had completely conflicting positions.

Mr. Klein. What?

The President. I mean, for example, a lot of the labor union people that demonstrated believe that even though—for example, they think that even though this China deal is a short-term benefit to American industry because China drops their barriers, that they're so big that there will be so much investment there that they will develop a great deal of industrial capacity and that wage levels will be so low that it will cost the developed world, and particularly America because our markets are more open than the Europeans, a lot of our industrial base within a fairly short term. And that's what they really believe. I don't believe that, but that's what they believe.

And then you have the people that are demonstrating on behalf of the Third World, and they believe our concern for labor and the environment is a protectionist ruse to protect American high-wage jobs.

But they're all out there in the streets in Seattle demonstrating together, because they're genuinely frustrated about the way the world is going and they kind of don't like this whole globalization thing. They think it's going to lead to further loss of control by

ordinary people over the basic circumstances of their lives, and that bothers them.

Mr. Klein. I think that this is—to kind of put a cap on the first question—I mean, that's so much at the heart of what you've been trying to overcome. I was talked to Zoe Baird, who said that she always remembers the statistics that you used, I think in around '95, that more jobs had been created by companies owned by women than had been lost by Fortune 500 companies. You always tried to make the future less frightened for folks. And yet, I'm not sure you're convinced that you made the case.

The President. Well, I think I made the case to the people that were open to it, but I believe that—I think that it's hard. Everybody's for change in general, but normally against it in particular. You know, what's that Dick Riley used to say? "Let's all change. You go first." [Laughter] That's his sort of formulation of it. It shouldn't be surprising. But I still believe, first of all, I think that what I said to the American people is true and right. Secondly, I don't think there is any alternative to change. So I think the real question is, how do you bring your, basically, values that don't change—how do you translate them into specific approaches and policies that have the greatest chance of enhancing those values in the world you're going to live in? That's the way I look at this.

And I think that for the United States to have essentially turned away from this world, I think, would have been a terrible mistake. And in fact, I think the only mistake we've made in this whole thing is not accelerating the integration of the free trade area of the Americas more—more rapid.

Deficit Reduction

Mr. Klein. Let me ask you some specific questions. Let's take a walk; start in '93. The First Lady said to me the other day that she believed that deficit reduction was a predicate for doing all the rest of the stuff.

The President. Absolutely.

Mr. Klein. She compared it to education in Arkansas when you were reelected.

The President. The '93 economic plan made all the rest of this possible.

Mr. Klein. There were a fair number of people on your staff that were saying, you

know, it would throw the economy into recession. And you were dealing—it was a theory at that point that if you lowered the deficit, interest rates would come down, and you would achieve the kind of growth that you have achieved. I mean, what made you think that—

The President. First of all, let me back up a little bit. The people on the staff who favored somewhat—there was nobody on my staff that was against vigorous deficit reduction. There were some who were afraid that to make the decisions we would have to make to get the \$500 billion, which is what Lloyd Bentsen and Bob Rubin felt was sort of the magic psychological threshold we had to cross to get the bond markets and the stock market to respond in an appropriate way, they were afraid that if we did that, we would have to shelve too much of our progressive commitments in the campaign.

Now, what finally happened was, we came up with a plan that raised income taxes only on the top 1.2 percent of the people, which I had, after all, promised to do in the '92 campaign. It wasn't like I didn't tell upper income people who supported me I wouldn't try to raise their taxes. But we had to raise them at the very end. Bentsen came in with a plan that essentially lifted the income cap off the Medicare taxes, which closed the gap. And we stuck with the gas tax, which Charlie Stenholm and some of our conservatives who were big deficit hawks were worried about, because they were afraid it would make our guys vulnerable, and I think it did. It was the only thing that average people had to pay, except that there were, I think, 13 percent of the Social Security recipients paid more because we began to tax Social Security income more like regular pension income.

But it was the Republicans who believed that tax increases by definition were recessionary and that—so they unanimously opposed the plan.

You asked me what convinced me. What convinced me finally was that I believe fundamentally, unless we got interest rates down and investment flowing, that we would never be able to see a decline in unemployment and growth in new businesses, particularly in this high-tech sector which depended on vast flows of venture capital, confidence cap-

ital, if you will, that it seemed to me was just out there bursting, waiting to happen.

I think—and maybe it was my experience as a Governor that informed all this—but I really did believe there was this huge, vast, pent-up potential in the American economy that had been artificially repressed ever since the deficit spending recovery at the end of President Reagan's first term. Basically, what happened at the end of the first Reagan term is, interest rates weren't too high because we had such a terrible recession and so much inflation and such high interest rates at the end of President Carter's term, so when the interest rates came down, then inflation—naturally inflation around the world came down. Those huge deficits brought us back a little bit. But the long-term potential of the American economy, I was convinced, could never be unleashed until we got rid of the deficit.

So finally, I just decided that if I didn't get the economy going, nothing else would matter in the end, and I believed that the pent-up potential of the American economy was so great, that if we did get the interest rates down and we did get investment up, everything else would fall into place. And I thought that I ought to listen to Bentsen and Rubin because they knew a lot more about it than I did.

Earned-Income Tax Credit

Mr. Klein. But you didn't listen to Bentsen on the EITC. That was one place where you absolutely didn't bend at all.

The President. No, but we had promised that, and I believed in it. I thought—and again, I'm confident that not only what I saw in the campaign but my experience as Governor of a State that was always in the bottom two or three in per capita income had an impact on this. But I just believe that we had to use the tax system to dignify the work of low-wage workers and to make it possible for them to raise their children more successfully. I didn't think I could go out there and argue for a tough welfare reform bill and a tough deficit reduction package, and say I was going to have to slow down my increases in education spending and some other—social spending, housing, and all these other things that I would otherwise like to do—

if we weren't prepared to give lower income working people more income.

I also thought it was good economics, because they were going to spend it. They needed to spend it.

Congress and Taxes

Mr. Klein. Did you ever think that—was there any way that you could have gotten Republicans to go along with this?

The President. I don't know, and I'll tell you why. In retrospect, maybe there were some things I could have done.

Mr. Klein. What if you had invited Dole and Michel to that dinner in Little Rock?

The President. Yes, or invited them down even on their own it might have worked. The real problem I see with it—in retrospect, the reason I say I don't know—first of all I wish I had done that, because later on I started bending over backwards. I had Gingrich in and Arney in, and I met with them exhaustively, and I tried. Often it didn't work, but we did get some things done from time to time.

I think they had made a decision to oppose all tax increases because of the Gingrich position vis-a-vis President Bush. And he was pretty well in the ideological saddle, the political saddle in the House then. And I think because Senator Dole obviously hoped to run for President in '96, I think the Republicans in the Senate were going to be reluctant to break ranks once it was obvious that the House Republicans were going to oppose any kind of deficit reduction package that had any tax increases in it.

And I didn't believe—if we hadn't gone for some upper income tax increases, then number one, we would have had to adopt cuts that the Democratic majority in the House would not have supported, even under me. And number two, we could not have kept our commitments on the earned income tax credits on education, where we did have a substantial increase, or on the empowerment zones or a lot of the other things I did that I believed in.

Washington Politics

Mr. Klein. Did the atmosphere surprise you, the vitriol, the difficulty?

The President. Yes, it did, I think, basically, but I now know things I didn't know then.

Mr. Klein. What do you know now?

The President. Well, they really believed—first, I know now something I didn't know, which is that some of the people on the Republican side—actually, I did know this, but I didn't believe it when I got a call from the White House early—before I decided to run in the summer of 1990—from a guy I knew who worked there who was saying, "You know, you shouldn't run." Bush was at like 80 percent then or something. I couldn't believe—so I had this serious talk with him about how President Bush had used his popularity to try to deal with the economy.

And after about 5 minutes, the guy said, "Now, let's just cut the crap. We've looked at this crowd, and we can beat them all. All the guys in Congress have votes. We can beat them all. And we think Governor Cuomo's too liberal, but you're different. You might beat us, and so if you run, we're going to take you out early." Then I realized that they somehow thought it was serious.

Then, after I got up here and started dealing with them, what I realized is that they had been in for 12 years, but they basically had been in since President Nixon won, except for the Carter interregnum, which they thought was purely a function of Watergate, and therefore they saw it as an historical accident that they had quickly corrected, and that's the way they saw it. I actually think Jimmy Carter and, before him, Bobby Kennedy were the precursors of the sort of New Democrat, Third Way stuff I've tried to do here. And I think, therefore, it's not fair, but that—exactly to diminish—but that's the way they viewed it, anyway.

So I think they believed that there would never be another Democratic President. I really think a lot of them thought they could hold the White House forever, until a third party came along to basically offer a competing vision. And so, they just never saw me as a legitimate person. They just thought I was, in President Bush's words, "the Governor of a small Southern State." And as I often crack on the trail, I was so naive that

I actually thought that was a compliment. [Laughter] And I still do.

So anyway, it did surprise me. I mean, I knew it was there, and I'd seen the Democrats do things—in my view, I guess I've got a warped view, but I never thought it was nearly as bad as what they did to me. But from time to time, the Democrats did things I didn't approve of. I didn't like the nature of their arguments against John Tower or the fact that somebody checked out the movies that Bob Bork—and I knew there was some of this up here.

But I never thought I would see it in the kind of systematic way that I saw it unfold. But when I got to know Newt Gingrich and actually had a lot of candid conversations with him, I realized that that's just the way they thought politics worked.

Mr. Klein. War without blood.

The President. Yes, that's what they thought.

Mr. Klein. That's what Newt called it.

The President. I had a fascinating conversation with one Republican Senator in the middle of the D'Amato hearings when they were impugning Hillary. And I asked this guy who was pretty candid, I said, "Do you really think that my wife or I did anything wrong in this Whitewater thing? Not illegal, even wrong?" And he just started laughing. He said, "Oh, you've got to be kidding." He said, "Any fool who has read the record would know you didn't do anything wrong." He said, "How could you do anything wrong? You didn't borrow any money from the S&L which failed. It was a very small S&L failure. And you lost \$40,000 or whatever you lost on the real estate deal." He said, "Of course, you didn't do anything wrong." He said, "That's not the point of this. The point of this is to make people think you did something wrong."

But so, it was funny. Yes, I was surprised by their vitriol, and yes, I was surprised, and I must say I was surprised that they believed—and they had an electoral—and they turned out to be right, but I made a mistake or two that helped them. They believed that they could win the Congress if they could just say no to everything, and they did. And I think it rested on basically three things. One is, we did the economy, the budget plan,

which we had to do. And we had to expect some loss of midterm seats. And some of those seats we had for a long, long time were naturally Republican seats, anyway. So that was the first thing.

The second thing is—but the people hadn't felt the benefits of it. Then the second thing we did that cost us some seats, but I am absolutely convinced is the right thing to do, was the Brady bill and the crime bill, which had the assault weapons ban. But there again, we got that done in 1994. Had it happened in '93, I think it would not have hurt us so bad. But in '94 there wasn't enough time, between the time that bill passed and the time people voted to convince the world—people that voted, against our Congressmen on the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban that there wasn't anything going to happen to them and their hunting and sport shooting and all that.

By '96, the issue was working for us, because I could go to places like New Hampshire and say, "I want everybody that missed a day in the deer woods to vote against me. But if you didn't, they didn't tell you the truth, and you ought to get even." That's what I said. And our winning margin in New Hampshire went from one point to 13 points or something. But in '94 my party's Members bore the brunt of that.

Then the third problem we had, and this is where I think you were right, is I was trying so hard to keep all of my campaign commitments and the way I made them—I should have done welfare reform before health care. You were right about that.

Mr. Klein. I don't know that I took that position. In fact—

The President. I thought you were saying that.

Mr. Klein. Well, I might have said it, but—

The President. And it was right.

Welfare Reform

Mr. Klein. I'll tell you where I was wrong, is that when it came to doing welfare reform, I chickened out, and I wrote a column the week you signed it telling you not to sign it. I talked to Elwood last week, and he's turned around on it as well. We were both wrong.

The President. But the reason is, I think, if you go back, there's one thing that nobody in the press has picked up—and we ought to talk about this later—is why I vetoed the first two bills and signed the third one. We'll come back to that.

But if I hadn't done welfare reform first, that would have given the Democrats a chance to appeal to more conservative and moderate voters. And the system—one thing I've learned is, since I've been there, is actually the system is capable of great change, but it can only digest so much at once. So in '93, they did a big economic plan and NAFTA, and in '94 they did this big crime bill. And they might have been able to do welfare reform, but there's no way the system could digest the health care thing. Either that, or if we were going to do health care first, then the mistake I made was saying I would veto anything short of 100 percent coverage, because—

Mr. Klein. Why did you say that?

The President. —it was one of those decisions we made practicing for the State of the Union, and I just shouldn't have done it. It was a mistake. I was trying to bring clarity to the debate, and I was afraid that they would try to run something bogus by.

Health Care Reform

Mr. Klein. You're saying that you think there is no way you could have gotten a health insurance deal in '94?

The President. No.

Mr. Klein. You don't think so?

The President. No.

Mr. Klein. What about—

The President. Let me tell you what happened.

Mr. Klein. What if you had gone and just dumped your bill and gone over to Chafee's press conference and said, "I'm with him"?

The President. Well, maybe, but—

Mr. Klein. He had universality. He had a tax increase to pay for it, and he had Bob Dole.

The President. Well, he sort of did, but let me tell you what happened. What happened was, I offered and Hillary offered not to submit a bill. We offered to do two different things. We offered to submit sort of a generic bill and let Congress fill in the

blanks, and Rostenkowski asked us—this is a little more detail, but—then we offered not to submit our own bill at all but instead to submit a joint bill with Dole, which I thought was good politics for him, because then he couldn't lose anything—

Mr. Klein. What was the timeframe for this? When did you make that—

The President. Well, before we introduced a bill. I can't remember exactly when.

Mr. Klein. So this is while the task force was—

The President. Yes, before we introduced the bill. And Dole said to me—I'll never forget this, because we were at a leadership meeting in the Cabinet Room, and he said, "No." He said, "That's not the way we should do it." He said, "You introduce a bill. We'll introduce a bill. Then we'll get together. We'll put them together. We'll compromise and pass them."

Then after that, Dole got the memo from Bill Kristol, I think, which said—which basically took the Gingrich line. "The way you guys are going to win in the Congress and weaken them is to have nothing happen. If anything happens, the Democrats will get credit for it, so you guys have to make sure nothing happens." After that, I don't think we really had a chance, because Mitchell killed himself to try to figure out a way to get to Chafee, do something and—maybe if I had gone to Chafee's press conference, maybe that would have worked.

Mr. Klein. Or if the First Lady had.

The President. You know, I hadn't thought of that, but all I can tell you is that I really believed, because Dole—with that single exception, all my other dealings with Dole, whatever he said was the way we did it. In other words, not the way we did it, but I mean, if I made a deal with him, it always was honest.

Mr. Klein. He was as good as his word.

The President. Exactly. And in this case, I just think, you know, he saw a chance to win the majority, saw a chance to get elected President. Bill Kristol told them don't do it; they didn't do it. And that's what I think happened.

Mr. Klein. But this is the thing that people on the left point to, that would have been your big achievement, the big, New Deal

kind of achievement. And when you look back on it, do you regret the substance of what you did? Do you think that going with an employer mandate was the wrong thing? And also, do you regret the detail in which you did it, the fact that you did the 1,300 pages and—

The President. I think politically it was bad politics. On the substance, I think basically it was a privately financed plan that relied on managed care but had a Patients' Bill of Rights in it. And I think the two things that made it unpalatable to Republicans were the employer mandate and the Patients' Bill of Rights. I think the thing that made it unpalatable to Democrats, a few of them, was the employer mandate. But if you're not going to have an employer mandate, then you have to have a subsidy where people buy into either Medicare or Medicaid. And probably, that would have been simpler.

Mr. Klein. That's what you're going to have eventually.

The President. That's what you're going to have eventually. And if I could do it now, that's what I would offer. But the problem is, I couldn't do it in '94, with the deficits the way they were, without a tax increase. And I didn't feel that I could ask the Congress to vote for another tax increase, even if it was a dedicated thing, after we had just had that big one in '93.

Mr. Klein. Plus the reporting was way out of whack at that point, because you weren't getting credit for the savings, the managed care—

The President. We were getting killed by the scoring. The scoring was all wrong, and we knew it was wrong, but I was stuck with the scoring. So if you look at it, the position I was in is, I was stuck with the scoring. I didn't want to ask for another tax increase; I didn't think that was right. So I had to try stay with the private insurance system.

And I would have thought that the insurers would actually have liked that, because they were going to get a lot more customers. But basically, they didn't like it because we couldn't just let them have all those mandated customers and have no Patients' Bill of Rights and no restrictions on managed care, so they then developed this whole argument that it's a Rube Goldberg machine, it's

a Government takeover of health care, and all this stuff. And that sort of stuck because they had all that money to put behind it.

But the truth is, in defense of what we offered, if you go back and look at all the early soundings from all the experts when we first laid it out there, everybody said, "This is a moderate plan. This is not too far left. They've tried to keep their private insurance system. They've certainly left the private health care delivery system intact." Because nobody said it was some big Government takeover until all the people spent whatever they spent, \$100 million, \$200 million, whatever they spent in there later, to try to perform reverse plastic surgery on it.

But I think that in the context you ask the questions, to go back, I think that the combined impact of the economic plan, with people not fully feeling the benefits in '94; the gun deal, where people had their fears fully allayed; and the health care thing, where the people that wanted it didn't get it and the people that didn't like it knew what they didn't like about it. That tended to depress the Democratic voters. And the three things together produced—plus the fact that the Republicans had this contract on America, and people didn't really know what it was; they just knew they had a plan—gave them the big win they got.

Mr. Klein. Just to stay with health insurance for a minute, do you regret structurally the way you went about doing it? If you had to do it all over again, would you give it to the First Lady? Was that a mistake?

The President. I don't think it was a mistake to give it to her. I think the mistake I made was, I either should have insisted on having her say, "Okay, here's all of our work. Look at it. Here are the basic principles we want. You guys draft the bill," or I would have insisted that we had a joint bill. If we were going to draft the bill, I would have made the Republicans draft it with me. That was the mistake I made.

Neither one of those things was her doing. She gets a total bum rap on this. The plan she came up with, which was—she was told, "We ain't going to have a tax increase, right, and therefore it's not going to be a total Government program, but you have to try to get 100 percent coverage," so there was no other

way to do it except with an employer mandate. And she was also told that “managed care is going to happen, and we favor it,” which she did favor it, “but we’ve got to have some protections in there for people.”

I don’t know how many doctors I’ve had come up to me since then, tell me that we were right and that basically it was a good plan. So in a way, I think she really got a bum rap on that deal, because she was operating within constraints that were, we now know, impossible.

What I should have done is to let her do all the work, publish all the findings, say, “Here are our principles. You guys write the bill.” Or I should have said, “If you want me to do a bill, I will only do it if we have a bipartisan agreement on the bill.” That would have produced something less than 100 percent of coverage, but at least it would have produced something that would have passed and gotten us up to 90 or maybe above 90 percent. That was the mistake I made.

But it was my mistake, not hers. She, I think, has gotten a totally bum rap on this deal. All she did was what she was asked to do.

Mr. Klein. I asked Ira about it, and he pointed to his E-commerce protocols, and he said, “What I did was, I decided to do everything the exact opposite of what we did with health insurance, and it worked.”

The President. But the interesting thing there was, it worked because number one, we didn’t have to pass a big bill because of the Telecommunications Act, which was a great success—which we ought to talk about later—was a big part of the economic program, was operating on a parallel track. And all we had to do there was to basically invite them to help us make Government policy that would maximize economic growth. It was a much simpler problem.

There was absolutely no way to get to 100 percent of coverage, to have universal health coverage, unless you had an employer mandate or the Government filled in the difference. If we were doing it today, we could do it. And the next administration could do it, because now we have the money to do it. But then, we didn’t.

Mr. Klein. You’re going to come down closer to get what you want in reconciliation if you move the CHIPS program to cover the parents, and only—

The President. The CHIPS program, the parents, and you let people between 55 and 65 buy into Medicare. Then the only people that won’t be able to get health insurance are young, single people who think they’ll live forever and just don’t want to do it, or very wealthy people who just would rather go ahead and just pay their doctor.

Mr. Klein. The reason why I was always for universal was because I thought those people had a moral responsibility to pay in to help the risk pools.

The President. I don’t know if I can get this CHIPS thing, but if I can, it will make a huge difference.

White House Operations/Gays in the Military

Mr. Klein. I don’t want to stick on the bad stuff in the first term too long, but—things—in retrospect, things seemed pretty much a mess in the White House for the first couple of years. And there were times—several people have said to me that you came to them at various times and said, “Look, I’m in the wrong position. I’m to the left of where I should be,” or “Things just don’t feel right,” or “Things are out of control.” And I guess two or three questions you could answer in a bunch: How did that happen? I mean, how do you come out of the box doing gays in the military, for example, which I assume—well, you believe in the policy—it probably wasn’t the best thing to come out of the box with. Why did you surround yourself with—why were there so few—

[At this point, a portion of the interview was missing from the transcript by the Office of the Press Secretary.]

Mr. Klein. At what point did you get a White House that you were really happy with the way it was working?

The President. Well, first of all, I think that in retrospect, I think if you compare the functioning of our White House, for example, with the Reagan White House in the first term, I think ours looks pretty good. And I

think that the problems we had were fundamentally—most of the mistakes we made were political, not substantive.

I mean, Bruce Reed was there; Sperling was there; McLarty was there; and Rubin was there. So I don't think—I don't think it's fair to say—and Laura Tyson agreed with us. I don't think we had a bad—I think we did have people who were, philosophically and substantively and on policy terms, consistent with our New Democrat philosophy. And I think that budget, from the empowerment zones to the charter schools we got in the beginning, to the Goals 2000 program, to what we did on the student loan program—which was terrific; it saved \$8 billion in student loan costs for kids—to the overall economic plan, I think it was consistent.

I think the economic plan was consistent—I mean, the crime bill was completely New Democrat. I think family leave and the Brady bill were. A lot of the most important things that were done that made possible all the stuff we've done in the last 4 years—

Mr. Klein. You left out NAFTA and reinventing Government.

The President. Yes, we had NAFTA, and we did RIGOB, and we did the WTO—all that in the first 2 years.

Mr. Klein. But even given all that—

The President. But what was wrong was that the political image was different from the reality. The substantive reality, I think, was quite good. I've heard Bob Rubin defend the White House repeatedly and talk about how the things that worked well later, especially the sense of camaraderie and teamwork and joint decisionmaking, were all put in place in that first year and a half.

But let's just go through the problems, and you'll see. Part of it was, I think, none of us were sensitive to the way—sufficiently sensitive to the way Washington works and to the way little things would look big to other people.

Now, let's just start with the gays in the military. How did that happen? It is not true that we brought it up first.

Mr. Klein. Andrea Mitchell brought it up in a press conference on November 11th.

The President. Yes, but why? What happened? Dole introduced legislation—Dole deserves credit for this. The Republicans

should give Dole credit for this. They always say he was too moderate and all that. They should give Dole credit for this. And I give him credit for it. I've thought a lot of times about how I could have outmaneuvered him on it. But I had two things going—and the Joint Chiefs obviously agreed with him, which helped.

But what put this on the front burner early? Not me; it wasn't my decision. Dole introduced a bill in Congress which was going to fly through there, because Nunn agreed with him, to keep the present policy. That was like the first thing he did. And then the Joint Chiefs demanded a meeting with me. The President can't refuse to meet with the Joint Chiefs. So it was those two things that put this thing front and center. I did not want this—

Mr. Klein. The bill came in after you said—after Andrea Mitchell asked the question and you responded the way you did. I always thought that was because she needed a vacation and hadn't taken it.

The President. No, no, it was because—but he was going to put that in anyway. We knew what he was doing. So what happened was, between the Joint Chiefs and the Dole bill, we were forced to put it up. I was going—what I intended to do was to get all the stuff, my basic stuff organized, lead with that, and figure out how to handle the gays in the military. And they basically forced me to deal with it from the beginning.

And then the thing that—then I got a lot of heat, obviously, from the gay community for what I did. But everybody ignores what precipitated “don't ask, don't tell,” which was a vote in the Senate, essentially on the Dole position, that passed 68–32, i.e. by a veto-proof margin. There was no vote in the House.

In retrospect, given the way Washington works, what I probably should have done is issued a clean Executive order, let them overturn it, and basically let them live with the consequences of it. And I might have actually gotten a better result in the end, more like the one I wanted.

But when General Powell came to see me about the “don't ask, don't tell” policy, the commitments that were made were very different from the way that it worked out in

practice later on. And so there was no question in my mind, given the way they laid out what their policy was going to be, that gay service people would be better off under the new policy than they were under the old one. It didn't work out that way, but the commitments that I got and the descriptions that I gave when I announced it at the War College, there's no question that if that had been followed through, the gays in the military would have been better off than they were under the old policy.

And the thing that I didn't understand about the way things play out in public, because I really was inexperienced in the way Washington worked when I got there, is that sometimes you just need clarity. And even if you lose, it's better to lose with clarity than ambiguity.

And what had not sunk in on, I think, even the press writing about this was that once the Senate voted 68–32, the jig was up. It was over, because everybody knew there were more than 300 votes in the House against the policy. So we had a veto-proof majority in both Houses in favor of legislating the present policy, unless I could find some way to go forward. So that's what I tried to do. But the reason it came up first was essentially because the Joint Chiefs and Dole were determined—

Mr. Klein. So it wasn't the Andrea Mitchell question on November 11th?

The President. No.

Mr. Klein. It was up—

The President. Because I had lots of options there. I mean, Harry Truman basically, if you go back and look at what he did with integration of the military, he basically signed an order that said: Integrate; come back within 3 years and tell me how you did it.

Mr. Klein. You could have signed an Executive order.

The President. I could have done that. And like I said, in retrospect, we would have had greater clarity. And since there had been so many problems with implementing the policy, I'm not sure that for the past 6 years it would have been better. Now I think Secretary Cohen has really taken hold of this thing, and there have been some changes in the last 6 months that I think really will make

the future better than the previous policy was.

Mr. Klein. But to go back to the original question, I have a strong sense that during that first year, year and a half, you weren't satisfied with the way the White House was working.

The President. No, because I thought we were often—first of all, we had to do some stuff that was tough, that was going to get us out of position. Our foreign policy team, I think, was working very well, and—except for it took us too long to build an international consensus in Bosnia. But we eventually did it and did the right thing there. We were doing well in the Middle East. We took a big, bold step away from the traditional American position to get involved in the Irish peace process. And on balance, I was pleased with that.

And actually, a lot of people have forgotten this, but when I came back from Jordan, from the signing of the peace agreement in the Wadi Araba in Jordan in late '94, right before the election, we were still in reasonably good shape, because my numbers went back up and that helped the Democrats.

But I still believe that the underlying problems were the reasons for the election results. But the political problems of gays in the military hurt. I think that we had a lot of—I was more frustrated by operational things, like leaks on Supreme Court appointments that weren't even accurate, and I thought that the White House was not operating politically in a way that I thought was effective.

I thought, policywise, we weren't out of position on anything except the retrospective on health care. And I've already said what I thought the political mistake was there, about how I should have handled it, given the fact—

Mr. Klein. If you had to do it over again, you would have done welfare reform in '94 and the crime bill?

The President. If I had to do it over again, I would have tried to do the welfare reform and the crime bill in '94, together, and started a bipartisan process on health care. I would have had Hillary up and meeting, issue the report with basic principles—that whole 600-page—however long it was, the stuff we

did, I would have given it all to the Congress and said, "Either you write a bill, or we write a bill together."

Independent Counsel's Investigation

Mr. Klein. Let me give you another, I think a tough "if you had to do it all over again." When I look back on this period, you were rolling at the end of '93. You did NAFTA. You gave the speech in Memphis. I mean, even I was writing positive stuff about you at that point. And then came the wave of stupid scandal stories, the Troopergate story, the Whitewater stuff. That December, the Washington Post asked for all the documents. And there was a meeting that you had, maybe the only time in recorded history that George and David Gergen agreed and said you should turn over all the date, everything. And you didn't do it. Do you regret that? Do you think that that changed things?

The President. I don't believe, given the subsequent coverage of the Whitewater thing, it would have made any difference. What I regret is asking for the special counsel, because under the law that existed before and the law that existed after, under neither law could a special counsel be called. They had one—

Mr. Klein. Why did you do it? I was there the night you did it. You were in Ukraine, Kiev.

The President. Yes. I did it because I was exhausted, because I just buried my mother, and I had poor judgment. And I had people in the White House who couldn't stand the heat of the bad stories, and they suggested that I do it and that I'd have to do it. And I knew that there was nothing there. I knew it was just one guy lying. And I had Bernie Nussbaum and Bruce and a few other people screaming at me not to do it. They said, "You don't understand."

I knew that Janet Reno would appoint a Republican, even though all other Presidents had been investigated by people who had basically supported them. Lawrence Walsh supported Reagan; Sirica—no, what's his name?

Mr. Klein. Sirica.

The President. No, Sirica was the judge. Jaworski supported Nixon. I knew Reno wouldn't do that. I knew Reno would appoint

a Republican, but I knew that there was nothing there. I knew she'd appoint an honest, professional prosecutor. So I just did it, but it was wrong, because the decision to appoint a special counsel is a decision to bankrupt anybody who's not rich. I mean, by definition, there's a penalty associated with it. But if Fiske had been allowed to do his job, this whole thing would have been over in '95 or '96. And of course, that's why he was replaced, because he was going to do his job.

Mr. Klein. Just staying on this for a minute—

The President. But do I think so? No, because I think—I mean, I don't want to get into this. I shouldn't talk about this much until I'm out of office. But I believe that the desire, the almost hysterical desire to have something to investigate was so great that it wouldn't have made any difference, because, look, what did this thing hang on? There was nothing in those private papers that we—we gave it all to the Justice Department. There was nothing in there that did anything other than support what the report said, which was that we lost money on a real estate investment. And if you noticed, when Starr got ahold of this, he immediately abandoned that and just went on to other stuff. There was never anything to it.

And I do not believe—I have no reason to believe, given the coverage of the events of Whitewater, that it would have made any difference. I think they would have found some way to say, "Oh, there are questions here; let's have a special counsel." But do I wish I had done it? I mean, I don't know.

Criticism of the President

Mr. Klein. Last week you talked about the clanging tea kettle, and you know I've written this continuum—I've wrote that this era is going to be remembered more for the severity—for the ferocity of its prosecutions than for the severity of the crimes. And there's never been anything proven. And yet, the hatred and the vitriol has been relentless. What do you think it is about you? Do you think it's you? Do you think it's us, our generation?

And what about the Steve Skowronek theory, the Yale professor who talked about Third Way Presidents like you, like Wilson, substantively like Nixon, people who take the

best of the opposition's agenda, sand off the rough edges, implement it, and are therefore distrusted by their own party and hated by the opposition?

The President. Well, I think that that—I read his book, and it's a very good book. But I think in this case that's not accurate, for the following reasons. Number one, if you go back to '93 and '94, the Democrats in Congress supported me more strongly than they had supported—a higher percentage of Democrats voted for my programs than voted for Kennedy, Johnson, or Carter. It was that the Republican opposition was more unanimous.

Number two, the Republicans never owned crime and welfare. They owned them rhetorically, but they didn't do much about it. And at least in the tradition that I came out of as a Governor, we thought we were supposed to act on crime and welfare. Nobody—when you check into the morgue, they don't ask for your party registration. And I never knew that anybody had a vested interest in poor people being out of work.

And so I just never accepted that, and I found that there were a lot of Democrats in the Congress that were eager to deal with those issues. And if you look at it, we had—I don't know—more than two-thirds of the Democrats in the House and more than 75 percent of the Democrats in the Senate voted for welfare reform. And we had a higher percentage of Democrats than Republicans in the Senate voting for it and slightly higher percentage of Republicans than Democrats voting for it in the House but not huge.

So I think that maybe transformational figures generally inspire that, because most times people like to deal with folks they can put in a box. Maybe it's just—maybe it's something about me that made them mad. You know my favorite joke about the guy that's walking along the edge of Grand Canyon and falls off—so this guy is hurtling down hundreds of feet to certain death. And he looks out, and he grabs this twig, and it breaks his fall. He heaves a sigh of relief. Then all of a sudden he sees the roots coming loose. He looks up in the sky and says, "God, why me? I'm a good person. I've taken care of my family. I've paid my taxes. I've worked

all my life. Why me?" And this thunderous voice says, "Son, there's just something about you I don't like." [Laughter]

I don't know. I don't think—

Mr. Klein. The folks like you. They never cared about this stuff.

The President. But I believe the Republicans thought—I told you, I think that they thought—

Mr. Klein. It wasn't just them. It was us, too.

The President. Yes. The press, I think—I wasn't part of the Washington establishment, and I think that the press didn't know what to make of me. I think this travel office deal, it was largely a press deal. I mean, I didn't know that they thought they owned the travel office. It was a weird deal. And of course, all I ever heard was one guy in the press who happened to be the head of the White House Correspondents at the time said, "I wish you'd have somebody look into this because the costs are going up and it's not working well." I didn't realize that everybody else didn't care what happened. It was a strange thing.

But I think that—all I can tell you is that the same guy that told me—the same Senator that told me that it was about making people think I'd done something wrong in Whitewater also said that the Republicans had learned a lot from my Presidency. He said, before, that they thought there was a liberal press. And he said, "Now we have a different view. We think that they are liberal and that they vote like you, but they think like us, and that's more important." And I said, "What do you mean?" And he said, "Well, we just don't believe in Government very much, but we love power." And he says, "You know, the press wants to be powerful, and we both get it the same way, by hurting you." There could be something to that.

But I'm sure—maybe there were times when I didn't handle it all that well in the early going. But all I can tell you is, if you look back over it, the Whitewater thing was a total fraud. Now, I've got a friend named Brandy Ayres, who is the editor of a little newspaper in Addison, Alabama. Do you know who he is?

Mr. Klein. I've met him, yes.

The President. He wrote an editorial that said, “This is what always happens when Republicans get in the majority. They did it when they got in the majority after World War II. They tried to convince us Harry Truman and Dean Acheson were Communists. And then the second time, they gave us McCarthy. And now, they gave us this.”

I don’t know. I think part of it is how you view power. But for whatever reason, there is something about me that they didn’t like very much. But it all worked out all right. Like I said, I’m sure that my not being familiar with Washington mores may have had something to do with the way I didn’t handle the press right. Maybe I didn’t—

Mr. Klein. Yes, you know—I mean, I’ve said this in print, so I can say it to your face. You’re the most talented politician I’ve ever come across, and you’re not a slow study. That’s the other thing we know about you.

The President. But I think in the beginning, for the first 2 years, I thought I was pushing a lot of rocks up the hill. I was obsessed.

Thomas Patterson, who has written books about the Presidency and the media and all that, he said in ’95 that I’d already kept a higher percentage of my campaign promises than the previous five Presidents, which I felt really good about. We had just lost the Congress. I needed something to feel good about.

But I do believe in ’95 I was—and ’93 and ’94, I was just fixated on trying to get as much done as quickly as I could, and also on trying to learn the job, get the White House functioning, all that kind of stuff. And I think that I did not spend enough time probably at least working with the media, letting them ask me questions, at least trying to get the whole—letting them get something in perspective. And I think maybe I was just the last gasp of 25 years of scandal mania. We may be swinging the other way on the pendulum now.

Oklahoma City

Mr. Klein. I think, after ’98, maybe we’ve learned. I think we’re doing a little bit better this year. You might see that in a different way.

Let’s talk about ’95 for a second. To my mind, the period of this Presidency that is

most touching to me, I think, are the weeks after—well, the 2 days, April 18, 1995—

The President. Oklahoma City?

Mr. Klein. No, the press conference the night before Oklahoma City when you said the President is still relevant here. I thought, “Oh, my God, that must be the rock bottom for him.”

The President. Well, actually, it wasn’t. I didn’t have the same reaction to it than maybe—you know, we often don’t perceive ourselves as others see us. But that question, I learned something from that, which is, if someone asks you a question that you want to answer directly, but there’s a word in it that’s dynamite, you should answer it without using the word, because actually, what I was doing in April of ’95 in my own mind was prefiguring the fight which occurred at the end of ’95 and the end of ’96. That is, I honestly didn’t feel pathetic or irrelevant or anything. I knew that in the end, if a veto-proof minority of my party would stay with me, after the terrible licking they’d taken in ’94, if they would stay with me, I believed in the end we’d have our chance to make our case to the American people. In other words, I believed it would turn out the way it did turn out at the end of ’95 and the beginning of ’96.

So actually, to me, it wasn’t the worst point of the Presidency. When they asked me that question, a light went on in my head. I actually felt good about it. But because I used the word, it came out—people perceived it differently than I did. I didn’t feel that about it.

Mr. Klein. But then, a week later, you said—at Michigan State, you said, “You can’t love your country and despise its Government.” And that’s when a light went off in my mind: He’s figured out how he’s going to go up against these folks.

The President. Yes, that’s what I believed. I think the Oklahoma City thing was awful. It was awful. But I think it began a kind of reassessment, a kind of breaking of the ice. And I don’t mean that—God knows—

Mr. Klein. Someone told me that you said, you told them that you wouldn’t use the word “bureaucrat” again in a speech after that.

The President. Yes, I did. It affected even me. I realized that I had played on the

resentments people feel about Government. And I thought that when Government did something stupid or indefensible, they ought to be taken on. But I realized that even when you do that, you have to be careful what word you use. And I did say that. I said, “How many times have I used the word bureaucrat, and there are people there.” And I didn’t mean to say that I or even Newt Gingrich was responsible for Timothy McVeigh. I don’t want to get—that’s what he did. Are the liberals responsible for Susan Smith, the one throwing her kid out the window? I didn’t want to get into that. But Oklahoma City had a profound impact on me, too.

I went down there, and I was sitting there with the relatives, and one of the people that was killed had been in my Inaugural, and I was talking to his kinfolk. And I said, you know—I just made up my mind I would try never again to discuss the Government, even people’s frustrations with it, in a way that could be directed against categories of people. It really had a big impact on me, and I think it did on the country.

Mr. Klein. Would it be fair to say that by the time you gave that speech at Michigan State, you were ready for battle?

Balancing the Budget

The President. Yes. Yes.

Mr. Klein. Now, this is a really interesting part of your Presidency to me. You had at that point a brilliant strategy in place to screw them. It was, smoke them out. You could have just sat there and said, “Well, what’s your plan?” You could have done to them what they did to you in ’94. And yet, you insisted, ultimately—against, from what I can gather, your entire staff, including people like Bob Rubin—you insisted on coming out with your own budget, your own balanced budget, that June. Why did you do that? I mean you didn’t have to politically, right?

The President. No, probably not. In other words, I could have done to them what they did to me. And that was the argument, that we’d just say no to them like they just said no to us. But governing is important to me. And I thought that in the end we would all be judged by how we had performed and by whether we had performed. And this may

sound naive, but I believed that in the end, we could change the politics of Washington.

See, one of the reasons I ran for President is, I didn’t just want to prove that I could play the game they’d all been playing with each other: “I got an idea. You got an idea. Let’s fight, and maybe we can both get our 15 seconds on the evening news.” That’s basically the operative mode. I didn’t want to do that. I came here to do things. I wanted to be President to do things, to change the country, to be relevant. And I thought that the Democrats—I didn’t think the Republicans would take us up on it initially, because Gingrich had basically made it clear that he wanted to basically be prime minister of the country and turn me into a ceremonial and foreign policy President. We’d have the French system, in effect.

Mr. Klein. Not only that, he told me on the phone one night he was personally going to lead a Wesleyan revolution that year.

The President. So that’s basically what he wanted to do. But I just felt that the Democrats could not sacrifice—what I was trying to do was to build the Democrats as a party of fiscal responsibility. I wanted to prove that you could be socially progressive and fiscally responsible. And for us—and I went out there saying, “Look, our credo is opportunity, responsibility, community.” I just didn’t see that I could stand there and say, “What do you expect of me? I’m just the President. They’re in the majority.” That’s just not my way. I believe that you have to do things if you can. And my own view of politics is that there’s always plenty that the parties are honestly divided about at election time, no matter how much you get done.

Furthermore, I really did believe that the Democrat Party, in the end, would be successful by developing what is now known as the Third Way, but which I really saw as basically an information age version of what we’d always been for.

Second Term Agenda

Mr. Klein. What was your fantasy for a second term? If you’d had everything you wanted the day after you were reelected, what would it have been?

The President. Well, the validation of the economic strategy has been a part of it. I

would have finished the job in health care and enacted my entire education budget. And the rest of it is still sort of pending. The Irish peace process worked out the way I'd hoped. I'm still hoping that we'll get more done in the Middle East. It's very difficult, but I'm hoping we will. And then, on the foreign policy front, it's going to pretty much work out the way I'd hoped it would, I think.

Mr. Klein. When I look back at your speeches, if there were a couple of paragraphs where you best describe your political philosophy, the Third Way, they were in the 1998 State of the Union Address, and nobody paid any attention. And you know why?

The President. Because I was standing—what I got credit for there was just getting up, standing up. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Klein. What was the opportunity cost of that scandal? What did it cost you?

The President. I don't know yet, because actually we did—in '98 we won seats in the House of Representatives, the first time a President's party has done that since—

Mr. Klein. I mean, substantively.

The President. Well, I don't know, because I don't know whether the Congress, the Republicans would have been more willing to work with me or not.

Social Security/Medicare Reform

Mr. Klein. What about things like Social Security reform—could you have made a—

The President. Maybe. What I wanted to do with Social Security—I am disappointed there. We still may get some Medicare restructuring reform out of this. And in any case, Medicare is going to be okay for 30 years, which is the longest it's been okay for in forever and ever. And I think —

Mr. Klein. Yes, but that's a problem, for God sakes. I mean, the generational transfer issue, I think, is something that you're really concerned about.

The President. I am concerned about it. But—

Mr. Klein. You can't keep a fee-for-service—

The President. But, but, but both Medicare taxes and Social Security taxes, in fairness, since 1983 have been paying for every-

thing else. So we've had a little of that in reverse.

Mr. Klein. That's very good.

The President. Everybody has forgotten that. We've been dumping all these Social Security and Medicare taxes into the general economy all this time. I personally believe, though, that—I regret we didn't get to do Social Security because I would have—what happened was, I think maybe we could have gotten it if we hadn't had that whole impeachment thing. But there was more resistance in both parties to do anything than I had imagined there was.

They'll have to come to terms with this. It will have to be done. And I think you've either got to raise taxes, cut benefits, or increase the rate of return. What I proposed in '98 on Social Security, I think, was a very good beginning, and I really thought we'd get something. Was that '98 or '99?

Mr. Klein. That was '98. And there was also the Breaux-Thomas, later Breaux-Frisk commission on Medicare. You could have, with your abilities, you could have gotten some kind of deal if you'd been able to at that point.

The President. Maybe. But they—

Mr. Klein. Breaux was your guy, right?

The President. Well, I don't agree with what he wanted to do there, and he knows that. I mean, I thought—I agree with some of what they proposed, but some of what they proposed I think would not be good for Medicare. On policy grounds, he and I have had long discussions about it. I think there are a couple of things in that report that I just simply didn't agree with.

Safety Net

Mr. Klein. In general, when you talk about an information age safety net, what would it be, and what would be the guiding principles? I don't think that you can have the kind of centralized, top-down sort of programs that Social Security and Medicare—

The President. I think if you had—yes, but there's a great article—let me just say this. There's a great article in the New York Times Sunday Magazine the day before yesterday—

Mr. Klein. The Sara Mosle article?

The President. —about voluntarism. And I don't believe—I think you have to have some sort of—if you believe there should be a safety net, there has to be some sort of safety net. Now, there's all kinds of options to get it done, and I think there should be more—you can have some more room for private initiative. But if you had a safety net that worked, you'd have something for the poor and the disabled, the people who through no fault of their own were in trouble. You would have genuinely world-class education for everybody who needed it, which is everybody. You would have access to health care at an affordable rate and decent housing, and you'd have to have a lifetime learning system.

And then I think you'd have to have some more generous version of the new markets initiative I proposed, because there will always be unevenness in the growth of the market economy. That's part of its genius, because you have to have opportunity for new things to branch out. But in my view, this new markets thing has been underappreciated.

Mr. Klein. I was out there a year ago watching Al From and Jesse Jackson cavort along beside you.

The President. And it may be one of the great opportunities for bipartisan achievement in this session. It may be one of the great opportunities because Hastert is completely committed to it. He's been as good as his word on everything. And I think Lott knows it's the right thing to do. I've talked to them both a lot. We do have a good working relationship now, even though we have our differences. I think the Senate has been far too grudging on the judges, particularly since I appointed basically mainstream judges. But they want more ideologues, and they hope they can get them next year. And I hope they can't, and we'll see what happens.

But anyway, I think a part of the safety net ought to be viewed as a willingness of the Government to make continuing extraordinary efforts, including big tax incentives, to keep the people in places that are left behind in the emerging global economy—keep giving them a chance to catch up.

And I think this whole digital divide is a—I prefer to think of it as a digital bridge. I think if you think about what this means, basically, this information economy can collapse distances in a way that telephones and railroads and electrical—I mean, I think about it in terms of Arkansas. When they brought us REA and the Interstate Highway System and I put all these little airports up in remote towns and all that, it all helped to bring, like, small-scale manufacturing to places that had been left behind. But there was always the factor of distance.

And then I got to a place like the Shiprock Navajo Reservation, where they make really beautiful jewelry, for example, where the unemployment rate is 58 percent and only 30 percent of the people have telephones. And you realize that if they really were part of an information age economy, there are ways in which they could do—I remember when I became President there were a lot of banks in New York shipping their data processing to Northern Ireland every day—every day—and then bringing it back. There are all kinds of opportunities that we never had before. And I think people ought to start thinking about that as a part of the safety net.

Information Technology

Mr. Klein. You know, this raises an interesting point about you, personally. Shalala said to me that she thought that just as you were obsessed and voracious about social policy when you were Governor in the eighties—that's one of the things I first noticed about you, is that you knew everything. I mean, you knew about the schools up here in East Harlem, more than Cuomo did, in fact. But as you were to social policy in the eighties, you've been hungry in the same way for knowledge about science and technology in the nineties. And I talked to Harold Varmus about it, and other people have said the same thing. Is that true? And in that regard, talk to me a little bit about the policy that you pursued in high-tech and information age things that I don't understand that well, like telecommunications and—

The President. Well, let's talk about that. The one thing in our mantra about our economic policy which we always repeat—fiscal responsibility, expanded trade, and investing

in people—those three things really were the sort of three stools of our economic policy. But one thing I think that tends to understate is the role that technology, particularly information technology, has played in this remarkable growth and the productivity growth and the long economic expansion.

And I think our major contribution to that, apart from getting interest rates down so capital can flow to that sector, was in the Telecommunications Act of '96. And there were—our major contributions to that act—I might say, Al Gore deserves a lot of credit for because he was our front guy on it—were two. One is we insisted that the Telecom Act would be very much pro-competition, which required us to get into a very difficult political fight principally with the RBOC's, operating companies, many of whom I've had very good relationships with because they do great stuff. They've helped us on all of our digital divide stuff, a lot of the new market stuff.

But I just thought that we had to bend over backwards to maximize the opportunity for people with ideas to start new companies and get in and compete. And we fought that through, and it delayed the passage of the Telecom Act, but eventually we got what we wanted. And as I remember, while there were more Democrats than Republicans for our position, there were actually people on both sides of both parties. But we very much wanted to have a pro-competition bias.

The other night, interestingly enough, I was at dinner in New York with a friend of mine who was in the telecom business and then got in the venture capital business with telecom. He had a dinner for me, and I had dinner with like 40 people, all of whom headed companies that didn't exist in 1996. I went out to UUP, which is an Internet connection company, which had 40 or 80 employees, something like that, in 1993, when I became President, and they have 8,000 now. I mean, it's amazing.

So that was good. And the second thing we did was to fight for the E-rate, which democratized the Internet and democratized the telecommunications revolution. We've got 95 percent of our schools have at least one Internet connection, and 90 percent of the poorest schools have an Internet connection.

So I think that those are the two things that happened. And then I also continued to push relentlessly these last 8 years for greater investment in science and technology. It was interesting; I've had an interesting relationship with the Congress since the Republicans won the majority, because they look around for things that they can spend more money on than me.

Mr. Klein. NIH.

The President. Yes. And it's been very interesting. They knew they would always be—whatever defense number I proposed, they'd always be for more. And they liked to—I'm always for a balance between mass transit and highways, and they're always a little more on the highways side. But the big area was NIH. And Harold Varmus did a brilliant job; when the Republicans won the Congress, he brought all these freshmen Congressmen out, showed them the NIH, showed them what they were doing, explained the genome project to them. And I think John Porter was the head of the subcommittee in the House that had this. He's a good man. He's smart and he wanted to do the right thing. And so, anyway, I figured out after the first go-round that whatever I proposed, they'd propose more, which suited me fine because I basically don't think you can spend too much on those things.

But the problem I had early on and the problem I still have is, notwithstanding how much money we have, the Republicans do not, in my view, spend enough money on non-NIH research. For example, they just took out all the money that I proposed for nanotechnology, this highly microscopic technology which could increase the power of computer generation by unfathomable amounts.

Now, why is that a mistake? Because as—one night Hillary had—we had all these millennial evenings at the White House. And then we had one the other day on outer space and the deep oceans; we did it in the afternoon. But we had one on the human genome project, and we had Eric Lander from Harvard, who is a biological scientist, and we had Vint Cerf, who was one of the developers of the Internet. He actually sent the first E-mail ever sent, 18 years ago—or 19 years ago now—to his then profoundly deaf wife, who

now can hear because she's got a microdigital chip that's been planted deep in her ear. She heard, at 50—she said she's sure she's the only person who's ever heard James Taylor sing "Fire And Rain" at the age of 50 for the first time. She came and sort of stood up and was exhibit A.

But the point they were making is that the biomedical advances that would flow out of the human genome project, which the Republican majority will support lavishly, depended upon the development of the computer technology, and that without the development of the computer technology, you could never parse something as small as the human genome and get into all these genes and understand all the permutations.

For example, there was a fascinating article the other day about one of the implications of the human genome, saying that—talking about these two women who had a form of cancer, and that basically, if you look at the historical studies of all women in this category with this kind of cancer, diagnosed at this point in their illness, that you would say they had a 45-percent chance of survival. But now they can do genetic testing showing that they actually have very different conditions, and that one of them had a 20-percent chance of survival, the other had an 80-percent chance of survival.

Now, the reason they can do that is because not only of the biological advances but the nonbiological advances that make it possible to measure the biological differences. And I could give you lots of other examples.

And again, I owe a lot of this to Al Gore. He convinced me in 1993 that climate change was real. And he wrote that book in '88, and they're still making fun of his book. And I remember as late as last year we had a House subcommittee that treated climate change like a conspiracy to destroy the economy of the United States. But now, you've got all the major oil companies admitting that it's real, that the climate really is warming at an unsustainable rate. And that's why we pushed the Kyoto Protocol and why I want to spend a lot more money, and also have tax incentives, for people to keep making advances in energy technologies and environmental conservation technologies.

So my frustration about where we are now is that I'm really grateful that the Republican majority has embraced NIH, because it's been good and it's enabled me to present budgets under the old budget caps that I knew they would break, so I could get adequate funding for education, for example, and still know we're going to do a really good job on NIH. But I think we need a much broader commitment in the Congress to research in other areas of science and technology, going beyond the biological sciences.

[At this point, a portion of the interview was missing from the transcript.]

Events of 1998

Mr. Klein. —when it became clear to you—I mean, I know this is prompting you to sound braggart, but so be it. There must have come a time when you realized, "Hey, our economic policy worked. This whole thing is taking off, and my larger sense of us moving from the industrial age to the information age is really true, and all of a sudden we have these surpluses." Was there a moment when the bolt of lightning hit and knocked you off the donkey on the way to the West Wing? Was there a day when you realized that—

The President. I spent a lot of '98 trying to dodge bolts of lightning. [Laughter]

Mr. Klein. Well, that's the irony of this, I think, is that that was probably going to be the moment that the press was going to realize that there had been a coherence to this whole project all along, and we managed to work our way out of that.

The President. In '98, I spent a lot of '98—

Mr. Klein. Is it fair to say '98 was the time that this—

The President. Yes, yes. And I spent a lot of '98 sort of wrestling with three overwhelming feelings. One is, obviously there was a lot of pain involved because I had made a terrible personal mistake, which I did try to correct, which then a year later got outed on—or almost a year later—and had to live with. And it caused an enormous amount of pain to my family and my administration and to the country at large, and I felt awful about it. And I had to deal with the aftermath of it.

And then, I had to deal with what the Republicans were trying to do with it. But I had a totally different take on it than most people. I really believed then and I believe now I was defending the Constitution. And while I was responsible for what I did, I was not responsible for what they did with what I did—that was their decision—and that I had to defend the Constitution.

And so I felt that—I still believe historically two of the great achievements of my administration were facing down the Government shutdown in '95 and '96, and then facing this back, and that those two things together essentially ended the most overt and extreme manifestations of the Gingrich revolution.

And then the third thing I felt was this “Gosh, it is all working, and it’s coming together, and all these things will be possible.” And I still believe if we can get one or two things straight for the future, that a lot of the good stuff is still ahead.

Mr. Klein. I’m not going to let you off that so easily. Were there days, were there moments that you remember where you saw, hey, this is happening?

The President. Yes, I was really happy. I just was happy because I thought—to be fair, I don’t think any of us thought in '93—if you asked me in '93, “What level of confidence do you have this economic plan is going to work,” I would say very, very high. And if you asked me, “What do you mean by ‘working,’” when I started in '93, I would say we’d probably have between 16 million and 18 million new jobs. I never would have guessed 22.5 million and maybe more.

I would have said—I was fairly sure that we’d get rid of the deficit by the time I left office. I didn’t know in '93 that we’d be paying off nearly \$400 billion of the national debt when I left office and we’d be looking at taking America out of debt, which is a goal I hope will be ratified by this election. And I hope the American people will embrace that, because I think that’s quite important.

So in '98 I began to imagine just how far we could go, you know, and to think about that.

Race Relations

Mr. Klein. There’s another aspect to this that we haven’t talked about that I think has really been central. In '93 would you have predicted that the state of race relations would have gotten to the point that it’s gotten to now? I mean, I don’t know whether you can sense—I sensed it out on the trail this year. Bob Dole went to Bob Jones in '96 and didn’t pay any price at all, did he? This year you couldn’t do it. And everywhere you go in this country, people of different races are having lunch together and holding hands.

The President. I confess, you know, I like Senator Dole very much, but I would have made him pay a price if I had known he went to Bob Jones University. I just didn’t know.

Mr. Klein. You didn’t know about the dating policy?

The President. No, I didn’t know he went to Bob Jones University. I didn’t know about the dating policy, but I knew about Bob Jones because I’m a white Southerner. And I think the Bob Jones thing—I think Governor Bush going there mattered more maybe to white Southerners my age who supported civil rights than maybe to even other Americans, because it has a whole—because of the history there. It was a big deal to me. I just didn’t know.

But I do believe we have come a long way. And I think—I hope I made some contribution to that, because I think it’s really important. I’ve tried to get Americans to understand that how we handle this—I still believe how we handle this is, in a way, the most important thing, because we’re a great country and we’re full of smart people and we nearly always get it right, unless we get in our own way. And it’s just like me—nations are like people, individuals, in the sense that very often all their greatest wounds are self-inflicted. And this whole state of racism, it’s a self-inflicted wound.

Mr. Klein. This was where I was wrong on affirmative action, I think, in the end, when I kicked you around on that.

The President. I never wanted it to last forever, and I think that we had to clean up some of the contracting policies and some of the other things. But we—

Mr. Klein. Have those been done?

The President. Well, we made some changes, and I hear a lot of complaining about it from people that have been affected by them. But I still believe that—and to be fair to my critics or skeptics, it's a lot easier to sell an affirmative action in good economic times than in tough economic times.

I believe what launched the assault on affirmative action in the beginning was that, number one, it did seem to be that nobody was ever reexamining it, its premises. But secondly, the big start was in California because California was suffering so much from a recession in the late eighties and early nineties. And people felt that they were being disenfranchised, and they felt that the circumstances were squeezing in on them anyway, and they didn't want any other burdens that they lost just because they happened to be in the majority. So I think maybe the acid test of whether I was right or not won't come until there's another period of economic difficulty.

Welfare Reform

Mr. Klein. People argue the same on welfare reform, as well, although—

The President. But I think there's enough evidence in on that. I think if there are adversities coming out of welfare reform in the next economic downturn, or as far as there are now, it may be because—it's largely because of decisions States have made about how to spend or not to spend properly the big extra money they got because we grandfathered them in at the amount of money they were getting when welfare rolls were at their height in February of '94. I think that's when we did that. Maybe it was '96, but I think it was '94. I think we grandfathered them—anyway, whatever month it was, we grandfathered their cash flow in when welfare rolls were high, on the theory that we wanted them to spend this money on education, on transportation, on housing assistance, on training people to not just take jobs but to be able to keep jobs, or find new jobs if they lost them. And there are some stories coming in which are troubling, but which have more to do with decisions that were made at the State level.

The thing that some of the people who criticized me on the left for welfare reform

never understood, I don't think—they said, "Oh, gosh, he's ending this national benefit." But that was a joke, because for more than 20 years, by 1996, States had been able to set their own rate. So you had the family support—monthly support for a family of three on welfare varied anywhere from a low of \$187 a month to a high of \$665 a month on the day I signed the welfare reform bill.

So to pretend that there was somehow some national income safety net was a joke. Nobody was going to go below \$187 a month. And if there was a political consensus for a higher level, they weren't going to go out and gut people. And the idea of spending this money to empower people to go into the workplace and then require people who could do so to try to get their personal act together and access the benefits and go in there, and then letting them keep their medical coverage for a while, is very, very important.

The only thing I didn't like about the welfare reform bill was not that; it was the immigrant thing. But the two I vetoed—everybody acted at the time—the only thing that really disturbed me, and I realized I had not succeeded in getting people into the intricacies of welfare policy, was that I had people, both liberals and conservatives, who said, "Well, he vetoed two of them, but he signed the third one because it's getting close to the election, and he wants credit for that." That's not true.

The thing we were fighting about was whether or not, if you required people on welfare to go to work and they refused to meet the requirement—that is, they acted in a way that violated the responsibility portions of the law—how do you minimize the impact on their kids? And what I was unwilling to do, because there was a uniform national benefit there, was to scrap the food stamps or the Medicaid coverage for the children, where we did have a uniform national standard and nowhere near the variations that already existed in the monthly cash payment.

So I thought that finally when they agreed to put those back in, I believed, given the way the budget fights were unfolding—and by then I was in my second one, in '96—that within a couple of years I would be able

to restore most of the immigrant cuts. And sure enough, we did.

So I still think that some of them are not right and that we haven't restored, but I think, on balance, the welfare reform bill was a big net advance in American social policy and the right thing to do.

Budget Negotiations

Mr. Klein. That's an interesting phrase, "given the way the budget fights were unfolding." There seems to have been a pattern since '95, and I think that that may be part of the reason why people might not see the whole of what has gone on here—is that a lot of the stuff you've gotten since '95 has come in budget reconciliations at the end of the year—

The President. Huge. And I've got to give a lot of credit to Panetta and Bowles, who was brilliant at it, and John Podesta and Ricchetti and all these people that worked the Congress, because they—and the congressional leadership in our party. Keep in mind, any time that our support among the Democratic minority drops below a third plus one, I have no power in the budget process. So I think that—but we have gotten enormous amounts done for poor people, for the cause of education—we've gone from a million dollars a year in 3 years to \$445 million a year, something like that, in programs for after-school. And my budget this year, if we get that, we'll really be able to put an after-school program in every failing school in America—if we get what I asked for this year. Amazing stuff.

I think that's one of the reasons that a lot of what we did in education has not been fully appreciated.

Education

Mr. Klein. Ten million people taking advantage of HOPE scholarships and lifelong learning credits this year, according to Gene.

The President. That's right.

Mr. Klein. I mean, are you frustrated that this kind of stuff isn't more known?

The President. Oh, a little bit. But the main thing for me now is that it's happening. And the other thing that I think is really important I'd just like to mention, that I think almost no one knows, that I think is, over

the long run, particularly if we can get—it's interesting, the Republicans say they're for accountability, but they won't adopt my "Education Accountability Act," which would require more explicit standards, more explicit "turn around failing schools or shut them down," and voluntary national tests, which they're against, but we're working on it still.

But just what we did in '94—in '94, in a little-known provision of our reenactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we required States to identify—getting Title I money—to identify failing schools and to develop strategies to turn them around. States like Kentucky that have taken it seriously have had a breathtaking result. I was down at that little school in Kentucky, in eastern Kentucky, the other day. And it was a failing school, one of the worst in Kentucky, over half the kids on school lunches—now ranked in the top 20 elementary schools in Kentucky, in 3 years.

Mr. Klein. What did they do?

The President. Well, let me tell you the results they got. In 3 years, here's what happened. They went from 12 percent of the kids reading at or above grade level to 57 percent. They went from 5 percent of the kids doing math at or above grade level to 70 percent. They went from zero percent of the kids doing at or above grade level in science to 63 percent—in 3 years. And they ranked 18th in the performance of elementary schools in Kentucky.

Well, smaller classes, good school leadership, heavy involvement by the parents, and basically measuring their performance. It's stunning; I mean, it's just amazing.

I was in a school the other day in Spanish Harlem that in 2 years went from 80 percent of the kids doing reading and math at or below grade level to 74 percent of the kids doing reading and math at or above grade level—below grade level, 80 percent below, to 74 percent at or above grade level—in 2 years. And I know what they did there because I spent a lot of time there. They got a new principal, and they basically—they went to a school uniform policy, one of my little ideas that was falsely maligned, had a huge impact. And they basically went to—they established goals and results, and you

either met them, or you didn't. It's amazing. And these children, the pride these children felt was breathtaking.

So one of the things—I mean, I think one of the most important accomplishments of the administration was basically opening the doors of college to everybody with the HOPE scholarships and the direct loans. And if we could just get this tuition tax deductibility, then we haven't made it possible for every person making \$40,000 to send all their kids to Yale, but we made it possible for everybody to send all their kids somewhere.

Mr. Klein. That's not refundable, is it?

The President. Not refundable, but it is deductible at the 28-percent level for people that are in the 15-percent income tax bracket.

Mr. Klein. Oh, I see. So it's a kind of semi-deduction.

The President. Yes, well, in our proposal you get to deduct up to \$10,000 at the 28-percent level even if you're in the 15-percent income tax bracket. So it's not refundable, but for the people that need refundability, they have access to the Pell grants and to loans they can pay back now as a percentage of their income under the direct loan program.

Mr. Klein. You're getting restless. Let me ask you one last—well, I'm not going to guarantee this is one last. I might want to ask you—if I have a few more over time, is there some way I can get in touch with you?

The President. Sure. You've interviewed 50 people. You've taken this seriously, so I want to try to—

Foreign Policy

Mr. Klein. Well, it's the last 8 years of my life, too, you know. [*Laughter*] And I haven't even asked you about foreign policy, for God sakes. We'll do two things. Let me ask you about foreign policy. It seems to me that if you look at what you did, there are two big things you did in foreign policy. One was raise economic issues to the same level as strategic issues, which was crucial, and the other was to demonstrate over time that America was going to be involved and use force when necessary in the rest of the world. The second one is, obviously, more messy and dicey than the first. The third thing you did was essentially not do anything wrong

and do really right things when it came to the big things like Middle East, Russia, China.

The messy part of it is the dustups in places like Bosnia, Kosovo. People have told me that you really feel awful that you didn't do more in Rwanda. Is that true?

The President. Yes. I don't know that I could have. Let me back up and say, I had a—when I came here, came to the White House, I sat down, basically, and made my own list of what I wanted to accomplish in foreign policy. I wanted to maximize the chance that Russia would take the right course. I wanted to maximize the chance that China would take the right course.

I wanted to do what I could to minimize these ethnic slaughters, which basically the end of the cold war ripped the lid off. It's not that they didn't occur before, but now they became the main problem with the world.

I wanted to try to create a unified Europe, which included an expanded NATO, supporting European unification, and dealing with all the countries around. I wanted to try to get Turkey into Europe as a bulwark against fundamentalist terrorism. That required some progress between Greece and Turkey, and we made some, not enough to suit me.

I wanted to try to minimize the turbulence—the possibility of war and nuclear war between India and Pakistan, which is something that was not right for my involvement until rather late in my term. But one of the things that—and I wanted to try to—and I'll leave this until last—I wanted to try to broaden the notion in America of what foreign policy and national security was, to include health issues, to include—like we made AIDS a national security threat—to include climate change, to include the globalized society, all these issues we started talking about.

So the one thing I would say to you is that I think this has all occurred kind of under the radar screen—I'll come back to Rwanda—but one of the things I think should be mentioned is, we have spent an enormous amount of money and time and effort focusing America on how to minimize the threats of biological warfare, of chemical warfare.

What are we going to do? Will the miniaturization of the information revolution lead to small-scale chemical, biological, even—God forbid—nuclear weapons? How are we going to deal with that? So we've done a lot of work on that.

And to come back to Rwanda, one of the things I've tried to do with Africa is to—and Sierra Leone is giving us a good test case here—is to increase the capacity of the African nations to deal with their own problems, to support the regional operations like ECOWAS or OAU. And I developed something called the African Crisis Response Initiative, where we would go in and train African militaries. When I was in Senegal, for example, I went out to the community—to the training site there, on our trip to Africa, and saw the American soldiers training with the Senegalese to dramatically increase their capacity.

What happened basically with Rwanda is we were obsessed with Bosnia and all the other stuff, and it was over in 90 days. I mean, they basically killed hundreds of thousands of people in 90 days. And I just don't think we were—any of us focused on it and whether we could have done something. But I made up my mind that we would certainly try to increase the capacity of Africans to deal with it and we would move in as quickly as we could. And like I said, what happens in Sierra Leone is going to be a little test of that.

Mr. Klein. Do you think you were prepared for being a foreign policy leader when you came in? What are the things that you've learned in terms of—

The President. I would say yes and no. I think—

Mr. Klein. You had it in principle.

The President. I think I had a very—because I'd been interested in it since I was a student in college, and I'd always been fascinated by world affairs. So the fact that I had not been a Senator or served in a previous administration I don't think was a particular disadvantage.

I think all the economic stuff I think I had right and the fact that there was a lot more in economics involved, and it was about democracy. It was about minimizing war. It was about lifting people's sights so they had

something better to do than killing their neighbors, be they were of a different religion or ethnic group. I think we had that right.

I think we basically had the nuclear issues right, and the big power issues right with Russia, with China, what we tried to do in the Korean Peninsula.

Where I felt—I think where I felt some frustration is maybe where even a President with a lot of experience would have felt frustration, a lot of experience in this, which is building the post-cold-war alliances, which proved to be very frustrating. I mean, we had a lot of frustrations—and we got panned a lot, and maybe we deserved some of it, and maybe we didn't—in '93 and '94, trying to put together some kind of coalition of our European allies to move in Bosnia.

In Kosovo, having had the Bosnia experience, even though there were differences in the alliance, I have nothing but compliments for my allies. They were basically—we had our arguments. We should have. Nobody has got a monopoly on truth. But basically, we got together; we moved quickly; we did the right things.

And I think that the idea of how we might even go about mechanically, operationally, dealing with something like Rwanda just wasn't there. The French and others that had been more active in that part of Africa, I think they may have had a better sense of it, although they went in late.

Mr. Klein. But you were acting with more confidence, too. You weren't asking, you were telling.

The President. Yes, well, it happens once you've been around and you know people, you know what it was. But it was—I think that some of that, when you've got to have some support from other countries and you can have an uncertain result but you think you have to try, it just takes a while until you get your sea legs and you get everything worked out, particularly when there aren't sort of institutional structures and policies and rules of the road there. And so I think we did get it right.

If you take another sort of sad moment of the administration, when we lost our soldiers in Somalia—

Mr. Klein. Almost at the same time as the ship turned around in the harbor in Port-au-Prince.

The President. When we lost our soldiers in Somalia, it was a very sad thing. But that happened, I think—and I hope the Congress will never decline to put people in peacekeeping missions because of it, because basically our guys did a terrific job there. But there was an operational, I think, decision made there, which, if I had to do it again, I might do what we did then, but I would do it in a different way.

I remember General Powell coming to me and saying, “Aideed has killed all these Pakistanis, and they’re our allies. Somebody needs to try to arrest him, and we’re the only people with the capacity to do it.” And he said, “We’ve got a 50-percent chance of getting him, and a 25-percent chance of getting him alive.” And so, he said, “I think you ought to do it.” And I said, “Okay.” But today, with that number of people there—and then he retired. He left, like, the next week. I’m not blaming him; I’m just saying that he was gone.

So what happened was, we had this huge battle in broad daylight where hundreds and hundreds of Somalis were killed, and we lost 18 soldiers, in what was a U.N. action that basically, if I were going to do it again, I would treat it just like—if we were going to do that, I’d say, “Okay, I need to know what’s involved here, and let’s do this the way we planned out the military action we took against Saddam Hussein, for example, or the military action I took to try to get Usama bin Ladin’s training camps, or anything else.”

It doesn’t mean America shouldn’t be involved in peacekeeping, but it means if you go beyond the normal parameters that you decide on the front end, then the United States has to operate in a very different way.

Mr. Klein. There doesn’t seem to be a uniform set of ground rules yet in place.

The President. I don’t think there is, but we’re getting there.

Mr. Klein. Should there be? Could there be?

The President. I think it’s pretty hard, but I think you—anyway, I will always regret that. I don’t know if I could have saved those lives or not, because I think what we were

trying to do was the right thing to do, and the people who were there on the ground did the best they could. But I would have handled it in a different way if I had more experience, I think. I know I would have.

The only other thing I was going to say about this is that—we talked about earlier how I hope in the future that the Congress will give more support to science and technology, beyond NIH. I hope in the future the Congress will give more support to our national security budget beyond the defense budget. As well-off as we are, one real big problem, we should be spending much more than we’re spending, in my judgment, to fight global disease, to promote global development, to facilitate global peacemaking and peacekeeping.

I think that we need to succeed in getting the bipartisan majority in Congress with a much broader view, because people look at us, and they know how much money we’ve got, and they know what our surplus is. And all these other countries are struggling, and we shouldn’t be so begrudging—I fight with the Congress all the time—in our contributions to peacekeeping and to creating the conditions in which democracy and peace will flourish.

I’m encouraged by how Congress voted in this Colombia package because it’s a balanced package, and it has a lot of nonmilitary, nonpolice stuff in it. And I’m hopeful that we’ll have a more—I saw Ben Gilman had a very good article—somebody else—he and a Democrat, I can’t remember who it was, wrote an article in the L.A. Times yesterday talking about the importance of the United States taking the lead in the international fight against global disease. That’s one thing that I hope, after I’m gone, I hope that the next President will be more successful at than I was.

Post-Presidency Plans

Mr. Klein. Let me ask you—this is it—after you’re gone, you’re going to be the youngest ex-President since Teddy Roosevelt. If there was one thing that Teddy Roosevelt did absolutely awful, it was be an ex-President. I mean, he was really terrible at it because he was so engaged, so involved, and he couldn’t quit kibitzing.

The President. Well, he felt, to be fair to him, that the Republicans had abandoned his philosophy. He felt Taft had kind of let him down.

Mr. Klein. You also have a restraining amendment in the Constitution that he didn't. But do you worry about that?

The President. No. Well, I do, because—[laughter]—but not in the way you think. I don't think that the next President, whoever it is, will have problems with me acting like I wish I were still President. I mean, I think I know how to behave, and I've been here, and I want my country to succeed. And for my country to succeed, the Presidency has to function. And I don't want to complicate that.

So the challenge I have is to figure out how to have a meaningful life, how to use all this phenomenal experience I've got and what I know and the ideas I have in a way that helps my country and helps the things I believe in around the world and doesn't get in the way of the next President. And that's what I have to do. I've got to figure out how to do it.

Mr. Klein. Any thoughts?

The President. I've thought about it, but I'm not ready to talk about it yet. But the one thing that I—[laughter]—

Mr. Klein. You've talked about everything else today. [Laughter]

Philosophy of the Presidency

The President. Yes, but the one thing that I—the reason I wanted to spend so much time with this interview—if you want to talk to me anymore, just call, and we'll talk more on the phone—is that you always knew—and even when you got mad at me, it was because you thought I'd stopped it—that I would take this job seriously. I mean, the basic thing that I can tell you about this is, I will leave Washington, believe it or not, after all I've been through, more idealistic than I showed up here as, because I believe that if you have a serious Presidency, if you have ideas and you're willing to work and you're not so pig-headed that you think you've got the total truth and you work with other people and you just keep working at it and you're willing to win in inches as well as feet, that a phe-

nominal amount of positive things can happen.

And you always thought that I was trying to have a serious Presidency. That's all I ever wanted.

Mr. Klein. I got pretty pissed off at times.

The President. Yes, that was all right. But at least—but when you were mad, it was because you thought I was abandoning something I said I would do, that I was trying to do. I never had any—my frustration was with the people in your line of work that I thought didn't take all this seriously, that thought it didn't matter one way or the other, that thought it was some game, or who was up or who was down, or where was the power equation, or something.

Because it really does matter. There are consequences to the ideas people have. One of the worries I have about this election is all these people writing as if there is no differences and there are no consequences. The American people should make a judgment knowing that there are differences and there are consequences and it matters what you do.

The thing that I think the last several years has shown is that a lot of these problems yield to effort. And if you're willing to just put in a few years of effort, you can push a lot of rocks up a lot of hills. People should feel really good about that.

One of the things that I hope when I leave office that people will say is, I hope that there will be a greater sense of self-confidence about what America can achieve. But it requires you—everybody has got to play politics, and I understand all that. I don't want to get sanctimonious about that just because I'm not running for office for the first time in 26 years. That's part of the political system. And everybody will take their shots and do this. But in the end, the Presidency should be informed by a set not just of core principles and core values but ideas—that there ought to be an agenda here. People ought to always be trying to get something done. And you shouldn't be deterred by people saying it's not big enough, or it's too big, or all that. There ought to be a broad-based view of where the world should go and what the role of the Presidency is in taking America where it should go. And as long as there is,

I think our country is going to do pretty well. In that sense, I will leave office phenomenally optimistic.

And everything I ever believed about the American people has been confirmed by my experience here. If they have enough time and enough information, no matter how it's thrown at them, in how many pieces and how slanted it is or whether it's inflammatory or whether it's designed to produce sedation, no matter what happens, they nearly always get it right. That's the only reason we're around here after—the Founding Fathers were right. Democracy, if given a chance to work, really does. If there's enough time and enough information, the American people nearly always get it right.

So, in that sense, I just—I'm grateful I've had the chance to serve. I've had the time of my life. I've loved it. Probably good we've got a 22d amendment. If we didn't, I'd probably try to do it for 4 more years. [Laughter]

Mr. Klein. Well, I'll tell you something—turning this off—two things. One is, every last campaign I've covered since '92, I found myself judging against that one, in just big ways and little ways. And the other thing I promised my son I'd tell you—he's just finishing up his first tour as a foreign service officer in Turkmenistan, and he said his proudest possession is his commission document with your signature on it.

The President. Wow. Well, if you go back to that '92 campaign, it just shows you, though—the only other thing I would say is, I think I was so advantaged by having been a Governor for 10 years when I started running, or however long I'd been serving, and having had the opportunity to develop these ideas over time and then to measure them against the experience I've had.

I still think ideas and organized, concentrated effort mattered. No President with an ambitious agenda will fail to make errors. Things happen in other people's lives. Maybe something will happen to the next President. God knows they won't go through what I did, but maybe their kids will get sick. Things happen in people's lives, and mistakes get made. And sometimes you just make a wrong call. But if you've got—if you're serious and you've got a good agenda and you have good

people and you work at it in a steady way, you get results.

It really is a job like other jobs. That's another thing—I think it's important—you said something in your letter to me, which I think is true, that maybe we had removed all the mystery around the President—

Mr. Klein. I didn't even get a chance to ask that question.

The President. —and maybe that's not good. And maybe that's not good, but I do believe that we need to demystify the job. It is a job. And if you love your country and you've got something you want to do and you've thought it through and you've put together a good team and you're willing to be relentless and to exhaust yourself in the effort, results will come.

That's what I would like the American people to know. They should be very optimistic about this.

Diversity

Mr. Klein. You know, they are. They're in such great shape right now. I noticed it traveling around this year. It's not just everybody is getting along, but they appreciate the thing that you always said way back when, which is that diversity is a strength.

Sandy was telling me about your first G-7 conference, which I don't expect you to talk about on the record, but he was telling me about how the Japanese were lecturing you about how to run an economy. And when you took office, most people believed that we were going to get taken to the cleaners by the Japanese and the Germans, because they were homogenous and we were mongrels. And now most people—you know, most of those Archie Bunkers out in Queens have a niece or a nephew who is dating a Puerto Rican at this point. And most people—

The President. Or an Indian or a Pakistani. I went to a school in Queens the other day, and I mean, I thought I was—there was one guy there, I could swear the kid was from Mongolia. There were a lot of East Asians. There were a lot of South Asians. There were all the Puerto Ricans. There were all the other Latins, you know.

But the test that—that's not over, but I think people are beginning to feel good about it.

Mr. Klein. Well, I mean, kids my kids' age, your kid's age, think it's a positive value.

The President. It is a positive value. It makes life more interesting. I keep telling everybody, the trick is to figure out how to respect all these people's—other people's traditions, religions, the whole thing, cherish your own, and then—but the only way to make it work, which is why I keep citing this human genome finding that we're 99.9 percent the same, is to realize that the differences make life interesting, but the similarities are fundamental.

If you can get people to think that—what we have in common is fundamental, but the differences make life more interesting—then I think we'll be okay. And I still think that's still the most important thing of all. It's even more important than the right economic policy, because eventually we'll get all that stuff. We'll make mistakes; we'll correct it. But if your whole heart and mind and spirit is wrongly turned, then you can do everything else right, and you still come a cropper. You'll have problems.

So I really—I think this advance in race relations is profoundly important. I'll give you one—exhibit A was old Gordon Smith's speech for the hate crimes bill. Did you see that?

NOTE: The interview began at 5 p.m. in the Presidential Suite at the Sheraton New York Hotel and Towers. The transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 10. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Interview With Joe Klein of the New Yorker

August 15, 2000

2000 Democratic Convention

Mr. Klein. I'll tell you what. I was nostalgic enough, and then you had to stop at McDonald's on top of it?

The President. It was nice. We didn't get much sleep last night. It was a nice setting, though, today, and it was nice last night. That convention was nice. The stage seemed more

in the audience than the previous ones we've had, didn't it?

Mr. Klein. Yeah. And they were up for it, that crowd last night.

The President. They were ready, weren't they?

Mr. Klein. Yeah. If I remember correctly, in '92 there was still some skepticism in that audience, when you gave your acceptance speech. But you know, the difference between then and now is pretty—

The President. A lot of these people have been with me for 8 years now, you know. They have—a lot of those delegates—I've run into several people that tell me they were at the previous conventions, one or the other of them, going in—

Mr. Klein. How are you feeling right now?

The President. I feel fine. I'm a little tired. You know, we just—all I did in L.A. was run around and try to prepare for the speech. Except I did get to play golf one day, which was quite nice.

Mr. Klein. You did? Where?

The President. I played a public course there. What's it called? El Rancho? It's a public course right near Hillcrest that used to be the site of the L.A. Open. They were very proud of it. They mayor wanted to play on it. The bad thing about it was lots of folks out there. It took a good while to get around, but it was really nice.

AmeriCorps

Mr. Klein. Steve said, when he called me, that you wanted to talk a little bit more about foreign policy and—

The President. There were some things we didn't talk—and I made a few notes. I don't think we said anything last time about foreign policy. I just thought you might have some questions you wanted to ask. I also thought we didn't talk much about environmental policy. And I couldn't remember whether we talked about AmeriCorps.

Mr. Klein. About AmeriCorps? Did we talk about AmeriCorps? No, we didn't. We don't have to.

The President. You know how important that is to me.

Mr. Klein. Yeah, I know how important that is.

The President. Did you see what Bush said 2 days ago?

Mr. Klein. What did he say?

The President. He said he was going to get rid of the 100,000 cops program, and he was going to take another look at AmeriCorps.

Mr. Klein. Really? But so many Republicans have turned around on that. I mean, I thought that the adjustment that you announced in Philadelphia at the volunteerism summit was just the icing on the cake for that program. That really—

The President. I think the only reason he would get rid of it is just for personal—

Mr. Klein. Did you ever hear the story about John Kasich going to Jeff Canada's program in Harlem?

The President. Yeah.

Mr. Klein. And Kasich saying, "God, you know, this is the kind of thing that AmeriCorps should be." And Jeff said to him, "Every one of those kids in there are AmeriCorps kids."

The President. And Kasich has turned around.

Foreign Policy

Mr. Klein. Yeah, Kasich has turned around. Santorum has turned around. Let me ask about—let's go to foreign policy for a minute. In going through this thing, I've now written a mere 31,000 words. Every time you have to make a decision about global economic security during the last 8 years, you make it like that. Mexico, Asia, time and time again, you seem to have a really good sense of what global economic security is about. But international security decisions seem to be tougher.

The President. Well, if you look at it, for one thing, if it's a decision that involves the use of force, almost without exception—Haiti being the exception, I guess—we have—particularly in the Balkans, we thought we had to have first a consensus within NATO and then, if possible, some sanction from the United Nations. It took us a long time to put together that consensus in Bosnia. It took a couple of years.

Mr. Klein. You were saying last time that first, especially Somalia, you hadn't—that

you didn't have the procedures in place that you later would.

The President. I think Somalia was a special case. I don't feel that way about Bosnia. Bosnia was literally—Christopher went to Europe early on. We tried to build a consensus. We failed. We didn't think we should go in there unilaterally. We finally got the country to, I think, eventually—we're proud of what NATO did in Bosnia and proud of the peace process.

And ironically, we didn't have the kind of delay in Kosovo that I was afraid we'd have. You know, it actually worked out pretty well.

So I think you're going to see this from time to time where, if there's a question on the use of force, whenever possible, the American people will want the United States to act with others. And whenever possible, it would be a good thing if we do and if it's sanctioned by the U.N. or at least if there's a darn good argument that it's covered by a U.N. resolution.

But Somalia was a special case. And I hope that Somalia will never be used as an excuse for the United States not to be involved in United Nations missions. We're training those soldiers in West Africa now that are going to go into Sierra Leone, which I think is a very good thing. And we have been working, ironically, for several years on the Africa crisis response initiative, trying to generally train soldiers in Africa to be ready to deal with the problems.

But what happened in Somalia, as I say, was a special case because you had—the Americans were there under U.N. command. And I think we learned a lot from Somalia, but I think that we shouldn't overlearn it. That is we shouldn't refuse to go into another situation with soldiers from other countries. It's just that I think, if it happened again, we would have a much clearer notion of the rules of combat. And before we would have an engagement that could literally have led to several hundred casualties on their side and 18 deaths on our side, we would have much greater involvement in the details of it.

Mr. Klein. I talked to McCain about your foreign policy and other things. He was actually very supportive in a lot of other areas, especially high-tech areas. But the argument

that he made on foreign policy is one that you hear from the foreign policy priesthood all the time about your foreign policy. They use words like “ad hoc” and “untidy” and that you move from issue to issue and there isn’t the kind of sustained interest in it.

He uses an example—they use the example of you calling China our strategic partner, and he says Japan’s our strategic partner. What do you say to the critics who say that you haven’t had a sustained and coherent foreign policy?

The President. Well, I know they say it, but I disagree. A lot of those people didn’t want us to be involved in the Balkans. They didn’t think it was worth it. A lot of those people didn’t think we should have gone into Haiti. They didn’t think it was worth it.

I think we have had a consistent policy toward China. We’ve had to do different things in response to developments there. I think we’ve had a consistent policy toward Russia and I think that we’ve had—basically, if you go back to some of the foreign policy speeches we gave, I think it’s obvious that we’ve tried to meet the new security threats of the 21st century. We have tried very hard to support a united Europe. We’ve tried very hard to support the development of democracy in Russia and the reduction of the nuclear threat and removal of nuclear weapons from the other states of the former Soviet Union.

We have tried to engage with China. We have tried to contain or reverse the North Korean nuclear threat, and we have supported a dialog between the North and the South. And I think the things that we did and the things that we refused to do in North Korea have some bearing on the ultimate decision of Kim Chong-il to engage Kim Dae-jung.

We had an unusual and systematic outreach to our neighbors south of our border. And I regret that one of the few defeats of my administration—legislative defeats that I really regret was the fast-track defeat which sort of slowed up our initiative in building a free-trade area in the Americas, because I think it’s important. And the United States has actually paid a price for that as a lot of the South American nations have actually started doing much more business with Europe rather than the United States.

But I just frankly don’t agree with him. I think that—what I think—that if they’re looking for some simple explanation of the world, a lot of them didn’t agree with my outreach to Africa. A lot of them didn’t agree with our designation of the global AIDS crisis as a national security threat.

But I think that—I don’t know if you were—I gave a few remarks kind of ad hoc to the NDI luncheon yesterday. I think that we should see our foreign policy and national security in terms of the traditional alliances and challenges that we have that haven’t changed, even though the cold war is over, in terms of the new possibilities opened up either by the end of the cold war or the emergence of this sort of global information society and then the new security threats. And I think a lot of the security threats of the 21st century will come not from other nation-states but from the enemies of the nation-states.

I think that you will see a convergence of terrorists, narcotraffickers, weapons merchants, and kind of religious and racial nationalists. I think you will see a lot of that. And then I think you will see a convergence of information technology in weaponry which will lead to the miniaturization of seriously dangerous weapons, both conventional and biological and chemical weapons. And I think the likelihood is that sometime in the next 10 years, people will come to think that there will be kind of cross-national threats which will threaten our security as much as one particular other nation.

I understand why they’re all saying that. But the truth is, a lot of them didn’t think I was right in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Mr. Klein. They never disagree on the big picture stuff. I talked to Tony Lake, and I read the book that he has coming out in October. And one of the things he posits as a kind of a central principle of your years that was something different was the fact that we were more threatened by the weaknesses of other countries than their strengths. Is that something you agree with?

The President. Absolutely. I think the United States can be threatened more by another nation’s weakness than by its strength. And I used to tell—I don’t know how many times I’ve said to our crowd over the last

8 years, when we're dealing with a country that has interests that are in conflict with ours, I would rather have a strong leader of that country than a weak leader, because a strong leader can make an agreement and keep it and is capable of kind of distancing himself from the more destructive elements in the relationship and within their societies. So I believe that.

I also believe—let me be more specific. We want to preserve democracy in South America. But you still need to be strong to keep Colombia from collapsing, for example. There needs to be—you have to have to have a certain amount of discipline and strength to do what Museveni did in Uganda and reverse the AIDS rate—the infection rate of AIDS. There has to be a certain amount of strength in the state to rebuild the public health systems which are breaking down all over the world.

Laurie Garrett, who wrote “The Coming Plague”—do you remember that book? She's got a new book coming out—I've just seen it in galleys—about the breakdown of public health systems all over the world, in the states of the former Soviet Union, in developing countries, and speculating what it might mean for us. You've got to have a strong state with some fair measure of strength to deal with the challenges of climate change, for example, a lot of these big questions. So I absolutely agree with that.

I think that, to take a more traditional national security problem: the continuing agony between India and Pakistan and the centrality of Kashmir to that conflict and that relationship, it would take a pretty strong Government in both countries to really come to grips with the compromises that would be required to make an agreement that would have any shot at all of putting an end to that problem and also putting an end to it as a potential trigger of nuclear exchanges.

Mr. Klein. So, is the story of Camp David II the fact that one country was stronger than the other, and they weren't able to make compromise? You don't have to answer it if it's undiplomatic.

The President. Well, I think we're using—no, because—I understand what you mean, but I don't mean it in the same sense you do.

There, Israel has land and army coherence; the Palestinian state has existed in the minds of its adherents and implicit in these U.N. resolutions. So in that sense, that's a different kind of strong and weak. That is, if you don't have land, an army, and everything, maybe you have to adhere to words and ideas more, and compromise is more difficult.

I don't mean it like that. I meant actually—but both Arafat and Barak are strong, even though Barak didn't have a big margin in the Knesset.

Mr. Klein. No, I was meaning it in the way that you were meaning it. I was wondering whether Arafat's coalition—I mean, I've been over there, and I've seen all the various—I know how good a politician he's had to be to, you know, to survive.

The President. My gut is that if the other—three or four of those other people who will take whatever—if we can affect a compromise on Jerusalem that other Arab leaders will take, he can make whatever other arrangements he wants to make.

But that's different from whether the Colombians can physically recover 30 percent of their land now in the hands of narcotraffickers and terrorists or whether the Russians can actually rebuild their health care system.

Mr. Klein. Whether the Chinese can collect taxes from Guangdong Province?

The President. Yes, that's right. Your fellow journalist Friedman, Tom Friedman has written a lot of very interesting essays on this whole subject of the weakness of government as opposed to the strength of government threatening freedom and progress. You know. You've written a lot of very interesting pieces on it. I just come in contact with it over and over and over again. So it's something that I'm concerned about.

Public Figures and the Public

Mr. Klein. One thing my boss was really interested in. He's spent a lot of time in Russia—David Remnick. But this had nothing to do with that.

It was something that you said in the very end when we were talking last time, when we started talking about the loss of mystery and the fact that the distance between the

leader and the public has evaporated during your time as President. And you were saying that you thought that was a good thing. And I understand the point that you made. Do you remember that? Do you remember? You said——

The President. Yeah, but let me say this: I would like to make two points. Number one, I think that it's a good thing if the American people, through television or through journalistic writings, have a better, deeper sense of what a person—the Presidency, for example—not only what we're doing but why we're doing it and how it fits into the larger scheme of things and how it fits into the pattern of our lives.

And you can get enough—I think what you get out of the greater exposure and a more consistent pattern of exposure is worth as what you give up in majesty.

Mr. Klein. What you give up in majesty?

The President. Mystery or majesty. So I approve of that.

I do not believe that the kind of invasion into public figures' private lives for the stated purpose of exploring their character but for the real purpose of destroying them for some political end is a very good thing. But I think it is unlikely to occur to the extent to which you've seen it in the last 8 years again for a long time.

Mr. Klein. You don't think the Presidency has just changed forever because of that?

The President. No. For one thing, the Democrats don't have anything like the infrastructure or the stomach or the desire to do that, that the Republicans do. So there will have to be an actual abuse of power in office in some way that affects the public interest.

We don't—the guys that make money—we've got a lot of rich people to support us. They wouldn't do what Sciafe did. They wouldn't waste \$7 million going on 15 wild goose chases to try to run somebody down. We're just not that kind of people. We're actually interested in government, and we care more about what we do with power than power.

So I think that's part of it. And I think shutting the Independent Counsel law down was part of it. Finally, when it finally was hijacked as basically the private property of the party not in the executive branch, I think

its legitimacy was destroyed. So I think, if there ever comes a time again when we really need one, we'll get it, the same way we got it back in the seventies. The press and the public will say the only appropriate response is for the Attorney General to name someone or to ask the court to name someone that's clearly independent.

Mr. Klein. Even short of those kind of spectacular, disgraceful, disgusting, awful kind of investigations, the Presidency after you—the Presidency exists in people's kitchens. You've been living in our kitchens for the last 8 years.

The President. Part of that's television and part of that's my predisposition to work hard in an open fashion. So I don't—as I said, I believe the ability to share with the public at large what you're trying to do and why and to take everybody along on the journey is worth the extra exposure in terms of the price you give up. Whatever the value of the mystery is, I think it's worth it. And I think most future Presidents will attempt to establish a more—I don't know; “intimate” may be the wrong word, but you know what I'm trying to say—a more sort of closer bond with the American people not just on an emotional level but actually in terms of having them understand what you're trying to do and why.

And if you do lots of interviews, if you're real successful, if you work crowds, if you do townhall meetings, all these things that I did, you run the risk of making mistakes and paying some price and also sort of being demystified. But I think the benefit you get from it, in terms of keeping the energy flowing through a democratic system, is quite great.

If you think about it, after the Republicans won the Congress, a lot of people thought we'd never get anything done again. But we got a big bipartisan balanced budget. We got a big bipartisan welfare reform. We got a lot of bipartisan education reforms. We've even gotten some environmental work done. We got the Safe Drinking Water Act, we got——

Conservation and Environment

Mr. Klein. An awful lot of public land. I mean, I've been through these budgets line by line over the last 3 or 4 months.

The President. I worked with—Pete Domenici and I worked together to do this Baca Ranch deal in New Mexico. It's a huge thing. And we may actually get this whole CARA legislation through where we're really trying to make the right kind of compromises with the Republicans that would, in effect, take the royalties we get from offshore drilling and put it only into environmental preservation, buying land—a small part of it for the Federal Government but a lot of it for States—and then restoration of coastlines and all that kind of stuff. If this thing passes, it's huge.

What do you think the odds are we can pass this CARA legislation? It's a really big thing.

Chief of Staff John Podesta. It's up against some tough rightwing filibusters.

Mr. Klein. Is this last round of negotiations going to happen during the next 2 or 3 weeks?

The President. On the environmental stuff?

Mr. Klein. No, I mean the budget. Is that in the budget?

The President. No, it's a separate—it's a stand-alone bill, because it takes a funding stream that's already there and directs it only to basically long-term land preservation and conservation work at the State and local level, primarily, and the Federal level.

But the fact that some of these Republicans, including Don Young from Alaska, they're willing to work with us to institutionalize this sort of thing on a permanent basis is, I think, really encouraging.

I still believe there's a lot to be said for showing up every day, and you just keep trying to push the rock up the hill.

Reaction to Scandal

Mr. Klein. Can I say something that might piss you off? And you can even turn that off if you want.

Deputy Press Secretary Jake Siewert. We're landing. You just don't have to answer it.

Mr. Klein. When Lewinski happened, I was more pissed off at my colleagues and at the Republicans than I was at you. I'm sitting there, writing this piece, and I go through this whole section of the trench warfare, line-

by-line battles that you've won against the Republicans during those 3 or 4 years. And all of a sudden, I get to Lewinski, and I got to say, I got pissed off at you. It doesn't change the bottom line of the piece—

The President. I was pissed off at me.

Mr. Klein. I was surprised. I was surprised by my own reaction to that moment because the stuff you had done you didn't get any credit for, you weren't going to get any credit for. Unless a lot of people read this piece and it changes other people's minds, you wouldn't get credit for it. But it was the stuff that you did for working people. You're probably the best President for the working people in the history of the country. And then—

The President. Robert Pear actually wrote a good story the other day about what we had done for the working poor that nobody noticed over 8 years. That's why we were able to get it done.

But I think—well, you know, for us to talk about that would require a longer conversation than we have. But I think the interesting thing was I viewed the way they overreacted to it as sort of like the last—as the second step of the kind of purging our national life of the hard-core, rightwing aspects of the Gingrich revolution, which was the Government shutdown.

We rolled that back, and then we rolled this back, and then we had this unbelievable congressional election. And I think you see in the tone and tenor of the Republican campaign this year. Although I told you before I'm not sure their policies have changed very much, but at least in the tone and tenor of it, I think you can see basically a decision within their camp that, "Okay," that, you know, "we don't have to get beat a third time over this. We want to stay in."

Mr. Klein. I think we've changed, too. A little bit late for your benefit.

The President. Yes, I think so.

Mr. Klein. But I think that Bush is getting a little bit of the benefit of the fact—

The President. Huge.

Mr. Klein. —that we've realized—that my colleagues realize that we went way overboard in '98. I mean, our poll ratings—yours—

The President. But I think it was even before that. I don't think—well, sometime we'll have more time to talk about it. But I hope that nobody will ever have to undergo what I did from 1991 through 1998 again, or at least, I hope that if it happens, the media will know that it's happened, instead of being so willing to be basically suborned by it and kind of enlisted and all these other things that happened.

In fact, if that is one result of it and it changes our politics and makes it a little less hostile and personally destructive, even if the changes last for 10 or 15 years, that would be a very good thing. I can't say that I think it would have been worth it, but it certainly would be a very good thing.

President's Best Memories

Mr. Klein. Let's end on an up. I don't want to end on that note. What's your favorite moment when you look back? What was your biggest high?

The President. Well, it's very difficult to say because we did so many things, and one of the things that—that I'm sitting here with you now. We just left the handoff deal, and I'm thinking what—I mean, it seems like I just got inaugurated the first time. I can't believe that 8 years are gone. But I knew, when we won the economic plan, that it would turn the country around economically. I felt that, when we passed AmeriCorps, we had a chance to create a new citizen ethic in the country, which I thought was important.

I loved going to Ireland when we made the peace there. I loved—a lot of the things we did in the Middle East meant a lot to me. You know, when we—just a lot of things.

I feel very strongly that we did the right thing with welfare reform. I think I told you, when I was at the trial lawyers' meeting the other day and I was just shaking hands, I met two women. One had a master's degree, and one had a law degree. They told me they were on welfare when I became President.

I went home—I say I went home—I went back to my political home in New Hampshire earlier this year on the eighth anniversary of my victory in the New Hampshire primary. And I met a woman in the crowd who was a nurse who had gotten some appointment

from our administration and was on welfare when I got elected President.

I suppose, in a funny way, those personal encounters are the biggest highs I get. There was a guy—I don't know if you were out there when I spoke today and introduced Al and I started talking about the HOPE scholarship? There was a guy over to my left that said, "Yeah, I got one of those here." He screamed out in the audience. Because I said it would pay for the community college there. He said, "Yeah, I know. I'm there. I got one."

You know, I run into people all the time that have taken the family leave law. I met a woman the other day who told me that her sister had taken the family leave law to take care of their mother, and then she had gotten cancer and taken it and now had a clean bill of health.

And I think that in some ways, even bigger than all the 100,000 people in the street in Dublin and all of the huge emotional crowd events, when you actually look at somebody who says, here is something you did, and my life is better because of it, that's probably the most rewarding thing of all.

Mr. Klein. Well, it was 9 years ago just about now that it was just you and me and a State trooper in Maine. And it does feel like——

The President. Maine?

Mr. Klein. The State trooper was a source for the American——

The President. We also got beat in Maine. Jerry Brown won in Maine. Remember that?

Mr. Klein. I was thinking about that out there today. I was just thinking about the first time I went out with you in Maine. And I remember we were stuck on the tarmac in Boston. You had to catch a plane to Chicago. And I looked at you, and I said, "Do you realize a year from today you could be giving your acceptance speech, and you'll have a fleet of cars and Secret Service and planes to take you anywhere you want to go?" And you looked at me as if to say, you're out of your mind, boy.

The President. And now it's all over—or just beginning. A new chapter is beginning. I've got to figure out—after you write this, you ought to talk to me about what you think I ought to do next.

Post-Presidential Plans

Mr. Klein. I have a couple of ideas. I know a guy, the guy who runs the Ford Foundation in Asia is really interested in funding ways to move new technology and biotechnology to Third World areas. He would give you a bunch of money for your collaborating on that.

The President. Well, I'm going to spend a lot of time working on that.

Mr. Klein. My guess is that, just from hearing you talk, that's the kind of stuff that floats your boat these days.

The President. Oh, yeah. Yeah, I want to do stuff that keeps my juices running.

Mr. Klein. I don't think you're going to have any problem with that.

The President. No. I'm going to have a good time. But I've got to—if my wife wins the Senate seat and my daughter stays in school, I have to make a sizeable income. [Laughter]

Mr. Klein. One or two speeches a month. But we've still got to play golf next year.

The President. You've got a deal. We can also play this year, if you want to come.

Mr. Klein. By the way, I broke 90 for the first time between last interview and this.

The President. That's great.

Mr. Klein. Two birdies.

The President. Two?

Mr. Klein. That meant I screwed up some other holes.

The President. That's great. If you want to come to Washington and play, I'd like that.

NOTE: The interview began at 5:55 p.m. aboard Air Force One en route from Monroe, MI, to Andrews Air Force Base, MD, and was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 10. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks on Signing Legislation on Permanent Normal Trade Relations With China

October 10, 2000

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much, Secretary Albright; Mr. Speaker; Senator Roth; Senator Moynihan; Chairman Archer; Representative Rangel. I

thank you all so much for your steadfast leadership in this important cause.

I also want to thank Senator Lott and Senator Daschle in their absence and, indeed, all the Members who are here. And if you would just indulge me in one personal remark, this is probably the largest gathering of Members of Congress anywhere in Washington today, except in the Chambers of the House and Senate.

And I would like to take a moment to pay my respects to the memory of our friend, Congressman Bruce Vento, who passed away earlier today, a great teacher, a great Representative, a wonderful human being.

I also want to join the previous speakers in thanking all those who worked so hard on it, Charlene Barshefsky and Gene Sperling, who accompanied her to China, and they worked on this deal until the 11th hour. We knew it would take until the 11th hour. We only hoped by then they wouldn't be too tired to tell time, so we would be able to finish.

I thank Secretaries Glickman, Summers, and Mineta; and Secretary Slater, Secretary Shalala who are here, John Podesta and Sandy Berger. I can't thank Bill Daley and Steve Ricchetti enough for the extraordinary job they did to lead our efforts to secure passage of this initiative, along with Chuck Brain and Mary Beth Cahill.

I want to thank all the State and local officials, the retired officials and business leaders who helped us, and I would like to acknowledge two great champions of trade who I just saw in the audience, just because I'm glad to see them, former Congressman Sam Gibbons and former Congressman and Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy. Thank you both for being here.

This is a great day for the United States and a hopeful day for the 21st century world. This signing ceremony marks the culmination of efforts begun almost 30 years ago by President Nixon, built on by President Carter who normalized our relations with China, pursued firmly by Presidents of both parties, to normalize ties with China in ways that preserve our interests and advance our values.

During that time, China has grown more prosperous and more open. As the world economy becomes vastly more complex and

interconnected, China's participation in it, according to the rules of international trade, has only become more important for America, for Asia, and the world. Today we take a major step toward China's entry into the World Trade Organization and a major step toward answering some of the central challenges of this new century. For trade with China will not only extend our Nation's unprecedented economic growth, it offers us a chance to help to shape the future of the world's most populous nation and to reaffirm our own global leadership for peace and prosperity.

I guess I ought to point out that our work's not over when I sign the bill. For China must still complete its WTO accession negotiations and live up to the agreements it has negotiated with us and our partners before it can join. But when it happens, China will open its markets to American products from wheat to cars to consulting services, and our companies will be far more able to sell goods without moving factories or investments there.

Beyond the economy, however, America has a profound stake in what happens in China, how it chooses to relate to the rest of the world, and whether it is open to the world, respectful of human rights, upholding the rule of law at home and its dealings with other nations.

Of course, opening trade with China will not, in and of itself, lead China to make all the choices we believe it should. But clearly, the more China opens its markets, the more it unleashes the power of economic freedom, the more likely it will be to more fully liberate the human potential of its people. As tariffs fall, competition will rise, speeding the demise of huge state enterprises. Private firms will take their place and reduce the role of government in people's daily lives. Open markets will accelerate the information revolution in China, giving more people more access to more sources of knowledge. That will strengthen those in China who fight for decent labor standards, a cleaner environment, human rights, and the rule of law.

We also will continue to press China to meet its commitments on stopping the transfer of dangerous technology and deadly weapons. We will continue to be a force for security in Asia, maintaining our military

presence and our strong alliances. We will continue to support, from the outside, those who struggle within China for human rights and religious freedom.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Congressmen Levin and Bereuter. Because of them, we will have both normal trade relations and a good new policy tool to monitor our human rights concern. They made this a better bill, and all Americans are in their debt. Thank you.

There are so many Members here today, I can't introduce them all, but some who had no institutional mandate to do so also joined us in fighting hard for this bill. Among them, Senator Baucus, Congressman Matsui, Congressman Dooley, Congressman Dreier, Congressman Kolbe, and Congressman Crane. I, in particular, thank those of you who worked so closely with me in this regard, and all the rest of you who fought hard for this.

Let me say, in case you've all forgotten, this thing was hard to pass. [Laughter] This was a lot of trouble. And I would just like to close in reiterating something that I often said in these endless meetings we had in that room right up there on the third floor where, ironically, President Franklin Roosevelt had his office during World War II.

I do think this is a good economic deal for America. I think it will increase our exports and, over the long run, will strengthen our economic position in the world. But I think, by far, the most important reason to ratify this agreement is the potential it gives us to build a safer, more integrated world.

You heard Senator Moynihan talking about the day he joined the Navy. In the last 60 years of the 20th century we fought three major wars in Asia. We can build a whole different future there now. We concluded a trade agreement with Vietnam. Today a very high official from North Korea came into the Oval Office to bring a message from the leader of North Korea. But nothing—nothing—can enhance the prospects of peace and the prospects of a very different 21st century like having China take the right path into the future.

Like all people in the United States, the Chinese people ultimately will have to pick their own path. And they will make their own

decisions. We can't control what they do, but we can control what we do.

We overcame fears, misgivings, honest disagreements, to come together in a stunning bipartisan coalition. One Republican House Member shook hands with me today, and the first thing he said is, "Well," he said, "I'm glad to see you, Mr. President. This is the first time I've ever come here since you've been here." [Laughter] And I thought, "Well, if there had to be just one time, this is the time," because we did something together here that gives our children and our grandchildren the chance the live in a world that is coming together, not coming apart. It gives all of us the chance to meet the common threats of the future together as free and interdependent people.

Our children will live in a world in which the information technology revolution, the biotechnology revolution, and the increasing globalization of the economy will force them to find ways to meet our common challenges and seize our common opportunities together. It's hard to imagine how that future will work if China is not a part of it.

So to every one of you, from every part of America, those in Congress and those who lobbied the Congress, I hope for a long time to come you will remember this day and be proud of what you did to bring it about. And I hope and believe that our children and grandchildren will be the beneficiaries of your labors.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:52 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. H.R. 4444, approved October 10, was assigned Public Law No. 106-286. In his remarks, the President referred to former Secretary of Commerce William M. Daley; and National Defense Commission First Vice Chairman Cho Myong-nok and President Kim Chong-il of North Korea. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Speaker of the House J. Dennis Hastert, Senator William Roth, Representative Bill Archer, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Representative Charles Rangel.

Statement on Signing the Beaches Environmental Assessment and Coastal Health Act

October 10, 2000

Today I am pleased to sign the Beaches Environmental Assessment and Coastal Health Act, which significantly strengthens efforts to make America's beaches clean, safe, and healthy. America's coasts are not only a natural treasure—they are also the number one destination for vacationing families, making their health vital to our Nation's tourism industry. Yet each year, pollution forces thousands of beach closures or health advisories. The Beach Act will ensure that in the future fewer families arrive at the beach only to discover that it is too polluted for fishing or swimming. It requires States to adopt enforceable standards for water quality, regularly test coastal waters for health-threatening pollution, and notify the public of unsafe conditions. In addition, it provides assistance to States to carry out these efforts.

This act builds on my administration's strong efforts to ensure healthier beaches and cleaner coastal waters, greater protection for endangered and threatened marine species, sound fisheries management, and support for marine protected areas. I urge Congress to fully fund ocean and coastal conservation programs for the coming fiscal year so that communities around the country may enjoy healthy beaches and clean waters for years to come.

NOTE: H.R. 999, approved October 10, was assigned Public Law No. 106-284.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Health Care Legislation

October 10, 2000

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Leader:)

I am writing to express my serious concerns that the Congressional Republican Leadership is preparing to pass unjustifiably

large Medicare health maintenance organization (HMO) payment increases while preventing passage of a strong Patients' Bill of Rights. Managed care reform in the 106th Congress should focus on patient protections, not on excessive payments to managed care plans. Moreover, these reimbursement increases are effectively diverting resources from critically important health care priorities.

This past weekend marked the 1-year anniversary of the overwhelmingly bipartisan passage of the Norwood-Dingell Patients' Bill of Rights. Despite the bipartisan majority supporting this bill in the Senate, parliamentary and political tactics have blocked an up-or-down vote on this long-overdue legislation.

At least as disconcerting is that Congress is proposing to dedicate \$25 to \$53 billion in increased payments to managed care—without a sound policy basis. The Congress is currently contemplating dedicating 40 to 55 percent of their total investment in provider payments and beneficiary services to increase managed care payments—over twice the amount they plan to spend on hospitals and over five times the amount that they plan to spend on beneficiaries. The Congress is proposing this investment despite studies showing that Medicare managed care plans are overpaid by nearly \$1,000 per enrollee and that their payment rates have grown faster under the Balanced Budget Act than the payment rates for traditional Medicare.

It is important to note that increased payments provide no guarantee that Medicare HMOs will stop dropping benefits or abandoning seniors' communities altogether. It is clear that increasing payments to managed care plans did not work this year—we invested an additional \$1.4 billion in Medicare+Choice, yet watched nearly 1 million seniors and people with disabilities lose access to plans. Without explicit accountability provisions, it will not work next year either.

The unwarranted managed care payment increases would deprive funding for initiatives that would have real effects on peoples' lives, such as: restoring State options to insure vulnerable legal immigrants; fully fund-

ing the Ricky Ray Relief Fund; providing health insurance to children with disabilities; funding grants to integrate people with disabilities into the community; improving nursing home quality; eliminating Medicare preventive services cost sharing; targeting dollars to vulnerable hospitals; assuring adequate payments to teaching hospitals and home health agencies; and funding other critical health priorities. These high-priority initiatives are outlined in additional detail in the attached document.

These initiatives represent our highest health priorities. In contrast, Congress is increasing reimbursement to managed care plans at a time when Medicare managed care plans are about to receive billions of dollars in increased Medicare payments, which are linked to increases in fee-for-service payments to hospitals, nursing homes, and other providers.

It is long past time that we work together in a bipartisan fashion to respond to the Nation's highest health care priorities. It is irresponsible to provide excessively high reimbursement rates for HMOs without ensuring that they are accountable through the Patients' Bill of Rights and through commitments to provide stable and reliable services to Medicare beneficiaries. I urge you to produce more balanced legislation that puts Medicare beneficiaries and the Nation's taxpayers first.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Trent Lott, Senate majority leader. An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Remarks at a Reception for Representative Robert E. Wise, Jr.

October 10, 2000

Thank you. Well, let me say, I'm delighted to be here for a number of reasons. One is I'm kind of tied down, you know, working and trying to get the Congress out of town, and I don't have much time to travel. And I meant to go see Versailles this month, so "Chez Rockefeller" is almost as good.

[*Laughter*] And I always love coming back here.

Secondly, Jay and Sharon have been great friends to Hillary and me for many, many years. We served as Governors together. We sat together. We cogitated together. We voted together. We did a lot of good things together. And our States were remarkably similar in the years when we served as Governors. And maybe the similarity in part explains the fact that the people of West Virginia had been so very good to me in 1992 and 1996, something for which I am profoundly grateful. And so I wanted to be here for all those reasons.

I also wanted to be here because Bob Wise has also been good to me in the Congress. He has been an excellent Congressman for West Virginia and for the United States. He's been a great ally of the good things that we have done. He has also been a ferocious advocate for West Virginia.

And finally, I wanted to be here because I believe, as Jay said, that it really matters who's the Governor. I was Governor for a dozen years. I don't think I ever would have gotten tired of doing it. And if I had thought that the country was being aggressively moved in 1991, I think I'd probably still be doing it.

But what I'd like to say tonight is to try to tie together the decision the people of West Virginia have to make in national politics with the decision you have to make in State politics and explain why they are so important.

When I was a Governor in Arkansas, we didn't have an unemployment rate below the national average in the last 10 years I served as Governor, except one. The year I ran for President, we were first or second—I never saw the final figures—in job growth, and we finally got going. But it took 10 years to turn—to take our State through the kind of economic transition that a lot of the rural States with agricultural-based economies and industries that were fading away needed to go through. And they've done very well in the last 8 years, and I'm grateful for that.

But the first thing I want to say is it's hard for Governors to see if the Nation has a bad economic problem. Therefore, the country has a big decision to make about whether

you want to continue to change in the direction that we're in, which means that people like Jay, as he said, have to take a tax cut that's much less than the one you'll get from the other side, but we'll have a tax cut that will deal with the things people need most in terms of education and child care and long-term care and retirement savings, and we'll have enough money left to invest in education and to keep paying this debt down.

If you have their tax cut plus the Social Security privatization plus all their spending promises, we're back in deficits, which means higher interest rates, slower job growth, and you all know that States like West Virginia and Arkansas get hurt the worst when the economy turns down, job growth slows down, interest rates are higher. It costs more to borrow money to start new businesses and expand them. It means fewer jobs, less wage increases, and a lower stock market. So I think our deal works pretty well for everybody up and down the income scale, and I think we should continue it.

Now, having said that, I can tell you that, if you have a good economic policy, how well a State does depends, in no small measure, on how aggressive and creative and consistent the Governor is. And Bob Wise is aggressive, creative, and consistent. I would put those adjectives in different order, depending on what day it is. But he is always there. This guy will work. He'll show up every morning; he'll be there at night; and he'll be thinking about something new he can do. And he'll push, and that's important.

The second thing I would like to say is there's a great interest in this country today on education, and the voters have to decide. Both the candidates for President favor accountability. I personally think that the Vice President's accountability system is better than Governor Bush's, but I don't want to get into that, because it takes—that's an hour discussion. But we favor accountability-plus. That is we believe we should help have smaller classes, more well-trained teachers in the early grades, modernize schools. I did an event on all this at a West Virginia school—[*inaudible*]*—*Senator Byrd, you may remember—preschool, after-school, and summer school programs for all the kids who need

it, and tax deductions to send your kids to college. That's what we believe.

The Federal Government only provides 7 percent of the total education budget of the Nation. It was 9 percent under President Johnson. It slipped with—it was heading to 5 when I took office, and we've reversed it. But I think it's a mistake to do this voucher proposal, in part because we only have 7 percent of the money, and it costs a lot of money to do a little good. Even if you assume it's a good thing, it costs a lot of money to do a little good.

And we now know something that we did not have the research on when Jay Rockefeller and I served as Governor. We now know, from research, how to turn around failing schools. We have the research. There is no excuse, therefore, for us not to be doing it. But I can tell you, if you make the right decision in the Presidential race and we get a good result in the congressional races, it still won't amount to a hill of beans if the Governor has no consuming, passionate, consistent interest in education.

Now, I'll just give you one other example. In 1992—in '91 and '92, when I ran for President, I used to talk to Jay Rockefeller all the time about health care, because I knew how much he cared about it. I knew he knew more about it than I did, and he had a big influence on me on this issue. When Governor Bush tells you that we had 8 years and didn't do anything, that's just not true.

When we took office, Medicare was supposed to go broke last year. It's now alive until 2026. We put 27 years on the life of Medicare. That's the longest life it's had since it was created in 1965. And you can now keep your health insurance if you change jobs or in a period of sickness. We have a lot more preventive care for—under Medicare—for breast cancer screenings, for prostate screenings; we've dramatically improved diabetes care; we've insured 2½ million kids under the Children's Health Insurance Program; and the number of uninsured people in American went down last year for the first time since 1987.

So we've done a lot, but there's still a lot to do. And we're in a big debate. Jay and I were just talking about the debate we're having with the Republicans now. We actu-

ally cut too much money out of the Medicare program in the Balanced Budget Act. We have to put some back in. We believe that we ought to help the hospitals, the nursing homes, and the community and home providers, and make sure that we can maintain the fabric of health care. Fifty-five percent of the money in the Republicans' budget goes to the HMO's. This is a huge issue that will affect the ability of the next Governor of West Virginia to protect the health care of the country.

So there's big partisan issues here: whether you're for the Patients' Bill of Rights; whether you believe everybody, all the old people in the country, the retired people—I hope to be one of them one of these days—should have access to affordable medicine. Sixty-five is not old anymore. If you live to be 65 in America today, your life expectancy is 82. And the human genome project will mean young women within a decade—I'll predict it; you wait and see if I'm right. I believe within a decade young women will come home from the hospital with babies that will have a life expectancy of 90 years. That's what I believe will happen because of the human genome project.

But I think this is all-important, and this is a matter of national policy. Now, having said that, let me tell you that when we made the agreement with the Republicans in 1997, on the balanced budget, we agreed to give the money to all the States to design a Children's Health Insurance Program. And you've got States that are just doing fabulously with it.

In States, you can never predict. Alaska, with a lot of desperately poor people living all strewn out from here to yonder, has an enormously high enrollment. Why? Because the Governor wanted the kids enrolled. Arizona has a very low enrollment. Why? Because the legislature asked to be passed a bill prohibiting the children from being enrolled in the schools where they are, because the legislative majority there—I need to say, of the other party—saw this as some great scheme to socialize medicine. All they're doing is paying for medicine, for medical coverage for kids in low-income working families. And everybody else is somewhere in between.

But you get the point. If you want children in West Virginia to have good health care, it doesn't matter what we do in Washington, even if we have good policy, unless the Governor cares enough to make sure that maximum efforts are made in an intelligent way to take care of the families. And West Virginia is just like Arkansas. You've got a whole lot of people who work like crazy, work 40 or 50 hours a week for low incomes, who cannot afford health insurance. This is a big deal to you.

So what I want to say is, obviously, I'm interested in the races for Congress, especially one Senate race, and I'm passionately committed to the campaign of the Vice President and Senator Lieberman. But I'm telling you, I spent a dozen years as a Governor, and I worked with some of the ablest people I ever met in that period, and I think I know something about West Virginia. It really matters. You need somebody that is creative, aggressive, and consistent, somebody that understands the economy, education, and health care. He does. He should win, and I hope you won't quit helping him tonight.

I know this is a close race. Listen, it's hard to beat any incumbent Governor when the economy is doing well. I used to tell everybody, "If the economy was better, I could have a lobotomy and get reelected"—[laughter]—when I was running. It's hard. But he is doing very well, and he's doing very well because people sense these things about him. So we still—we've got more than a month left in this campaign, folks. And if you can give him any more money, you ought to. And if you can't give him any more money, you ought to go home and start talking to people about why this matters.

But I'm just—we have got a chance here to see States that have been left out and left behind for a long time if we could just keep this economy going, really balloon, and do well. But it will matter profoundly who the Governor is. And I think, again, you need somebody that understands how Washington works and how it affects West Virginia, somebody that's committed to jobs, schools, and health care, and somebody that's intelligent, creative, aggressive, and consistent. He is.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:05 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to reception hosts Senator John D. Rockefeller IV and his wife, Sharon; Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush; Gov. Tony Knowles of Alaska; and Gov. Cecil H. Underwood of West Virginia. Representative Wise is a gubernatorial candidate in West Virginia.

Remarks at a Reception for Representative Joseph Crowley

October 10, 2000

Thank you. Let me say, first of all, I am delighted to be here for many reasons. First of all because I love Rosa, because—and Rosa does that sort of "born in a log cabin" routine better than anybody I know—[laughter]—what she neglected to tell you was that her mother, the seamstress, is the best politician I have ever met in my life to this day—[laughter]—and because her husband, the man who shares this house, Stan, had so much to do with my becoming President in 1992 and is now, tonight in Florida working with the Vice President as he prepares for this important debate, and has also helped my friends Tony Blair and Prime Minister Barak and other good people around the world, and because Rosa's been there for 8 years now with me working on many of the things that have helped turn our country around.

I'm here because I really like Joe Crowley, because he's been real good to Hillary, which means a lot to me—[laughter]—and because—I'll tell you another Queens story, because I love Queens. And in early '92, you know, we were pretty desperate to get press in early '92. I mean, here I was from Arkansas; nobody in New York knew who I was.

Harold Ickes says, "We're going to meet with the Queens Democratic Committee, and Tom Manton is for you, and I think they will endorse you." I said, "They're going to endorse me?" I was like fifth in name recognition in New Hampshire at the time. And he said, "Yes. Yes, it's going to happen. But we're going to take a subway out there," which I thought was great. I like to ride the subway.

So we took a subway there, and there was this typically passive New York press person

with us with a camera, in my face, lights everywhere, and all these people who had been sort of uprooted on the subway watching the filming of this thing, thinking, "Why are they taking that guy's picture? Who is this strange person they've got this camera on?"

So then we walked down this beautiful tree-lined street, and we walked up some stairs. I remember—whoever—the Queens Democratic meeting was on the second floor of some building, and all of a sudden they introduced me, and I was terrified, right.

So I'm walking down the aisle, and I passed this African-American guy, and he reaches out and puts his arm around me and says, "Son, don't worry about it. I was born in Hope, Arkansas, too, and we're going to be for you." [*Laughter*] True story.

So the rest is history, as they say. So I'm deeply indebted. I am grateful to all these Members of the House of Representatives who are here. Whatever success I've had as President would have been literally impossible without them, both in the majority and maybe especially in the minority, because virtually every good thing that's happened in Congress in the last 6 years would not have happened if they hadn't known for sure that my veto would be upheld. That was the only incentive to work with us to make constructive progress. So if it hadn't been for them, it wouldn't have happened.

Now, I just would like to say a couple of things. First of all, I do feel an enormous amount of gratitude for what's happened in the last 8 years. This last week has been an emotional roller coaster for me because we had that stunning election in Serbia, validating the stand the United States took, year-in and year-out, when it was very unpopular, sometimes in our country, for the freedom of the people of Bosnia, the freedom of the people of Kosovo, the principle of democracy in Serbia, the idea that Europe ought to be united and democratic and whole. And I was so happy.

And we had about 30 minutes to celebrate before all hell broke loose in the Middle East, where I have worked as hard as I could to find a just and lasting peace. And Joe, we talked a lot about Ireland tonight. Let me just say briefly on Ireland first, I'm very pleased about how far we have come. We

are not out of the woods yet. We have still got to get this police issue right. It's got to be done right, but I hope that people on both sides and particularly some of the people on the other side—for most of you—who have been talking about, well, maybe they would bag the Good Friday agreement, I hope they have been watching what is going on in the Middle East, and I hope they understand how easy it is to let these things get away from you.

Keep in mind, these people are represented by teams that sat at Camp David, and they've been working together for 7 years. They know each other's children. They know how many grandchildren they have. And still, think about how quickly it slipped.

So I say to all of you interested in peace in Ireland, I'll keep working on it, and you keep working on it, and just remind them that it's a fragile thing. And sometimes you're most vulnerable in life when you think you're least vulnerable. We cannot take our good fortune for granted.

Now, on the Middle East, I don't want to say too much except we had a pretty good day today. And we, our whole American team, we've been working like crazy for the last several days trying to help do our part. I just have to believe they're not going to let this thing spin out of control.

But there are lots of things going on there, including things that are not apparent, developments in other countries that are having an impact on this. So we're working as hard as we know how to end the violence and get the folks back to the negotiating table, and I hope you will all say a prayer for that.

Let me just say a word about this election. No one in America understands as clearly as I do how important this election is, not just for President and Vice President but every Senate seat, every House seat—nobody.

And since we're in the business of being humble here, because you realize how quickly things can change, it's important to recognize that—I'm absolutely convinced the only danger we have in this election is if people will think the consequences of their vote are not particularly significant, and our crowd may not go, and some may not understand what the consequences are. But I'm telling you, we have never had a better chance to

literally imagine the future we want to build for our kids and just go do it. But if we're careless with it, it could get away from us.

So you've got these huge economic differences. Rosa mentioned that. You know, I just got back from Jay Rockefeller's house. At least one of you was there with me tonight. And Jay Rockefeller, you know, he pays those taxes George Bush wants to cut. *[Laughter]* I told old Jay tonight, I said, "You know," I said, "I just came over here because I'm busy in Washington, and I felt the need to go on vacation. And I really wanted to see Versailles, and I couldn't, so I thought I would come to your house instead—next best thing." *[Laughter]*

But I want you to think about it. I mean they want a tax cut that's way bigger than the one our side wants. We want to have as much as we think we can afford to pay for college education, long-term care if somebody in your family is sick, child care, retirement savings. But we want to save something to invest in education and health care, and we want to keep paying down the debt.

Now, this is an interesting juxtaposition. The Democratic Party is now the fiscally conservative party in America and has been for some time. Why? I must say, the first person I ever heard argue this case was former Congressman Joe Kennedy from Boston. But it's true. If you pay down the debt and you keep interest rates lower, that does more to help lower income working people and middle-class people than anything else, because it grows the economy quicker; it gets labor markets tighter; it raises wages at the low end, creates more jobs there; and it spreads the benefits broadly.

Now, if they get their way, you cannot cut taxes as much as they say they're going to, partially privatize Social Security, which costs another \$1 trillion—something they never talk about. Although I was proud to see the Governor acknowledge that in the last debate—said—"Well, where are you going to get the money?" He said, "Out of the surplus."

So if you have a \$1.6 trillion to \$9 trillion tax cut and a \$1 trillion Social Security privatization program and then you've got all these other spending programs they promise, you're back in deficit again.

I believe that the Gore-Lieberman economic plan, which the Democrats broadly support, would keep interest rates about a percent lower over a decade, and I believe that's about \$390 billion in lower home mortgages, \$30 billion in lower car payments, \$15 billion in lower college loan payments, not to mention lower credit card payments, lower business loan costs, and higher growth. So we've got a big choice here.

You know, there are still neighborhoods in New York, in New York City and in upstate New York, in Buffalo, in Rochester, in other places that have not fully participated in this economic recovery yet. One of the good bipartisan things we're trying to do is to pass this new markets initiative that all the New York delegations have been so helpful on, that Speaker Hastert and I have worked on. But in order for it to work, the overall economy has to be working. In order for it to be attractive for us to give extra incentives to people with money to invest in the areas that aren't growing, the overall economy's got to be working.

This is a huge deal. It may be the biggest difference. And you've got to make sure people know that between now and the election. David Bonior, he's actually—he's got a race out there in Michigan. He lives in a competitive district. There's no way in the world he wouldn't win with the biggest percentage of the vote he has ever had if the people of his district clearly understood the difference in what their economic plan would do and what ours would do for their long-term welfare.

I could go through the education issue, the health care issue. You know, we're for the Patients' Bill of Rights, and they aren't. And if you want to know why, look at the Medicare budget they voted out today.

We're trying to put some money back in the Medicare program. We actually cut it too much in the Balanced Budget Act of '97. We want to see it fairly distributed. We want to take care of the hospitals, the urban hospitals, the rural hospitals, the teaching hospitals. We want to take care of the nursing homes and the community providers.

Fifty-five percent in their budget goes to the HMO's, the same people they killed the Patients' Bill of Rights for—big difference

here. The American people need to know that.

The prescription drug plan—Joe's been active in this, and Rosa talked about it. I'm so glad about this. This business of being able to go to Canada and buy the drugs, they tried to water that down. They have fooled with it a little bit—considerably.

But do you ever wonder what this prescription drug deal is all about? Do you really know why we're fighting with them? Here's the deal. Here's the real deal on prescriptions. The drug companies aren't for a Medicare prescription drug program that all seniors can voluntarily buy into.

Now, that doesn't make any sense, does it? Did you ever see anybody that's in business that didn't want more customers? Did you ever meet a politician that didn't want more votes? Right? Did you ever meet a car salesman that didn't want to sell more cars? Did you ever see anybody running a media empire that didn't want their audience share to go up?

Here's why. Here's the deal. You need to know. Why are drugs cheaper in Canada than they are in America, even though they're made in America? Why are they cheaper in Europe, even though they're made in America? Because it costs a lot of money to develop these drugs, then they spend a lot of money advertising them, but America is the only country in the world that doesn't have price controls.

So if they develop some great new drug, they've got to get us to pay, all of us, all the money they put in, in development and advertising. Once they do that, it doesn't cost anything to make another pill. Once you get your embedded cost back, another pill is cheap. Then they can afford to sell them under price controls throughout Europe, Canada, and elsewhere.

So when—I'm saying this so you don't have to demonize the drug companies, so you'll understand. So they've got a real problem. What is their problem? They think, if Medicare can buy drugs for millions and millions of seniors who need them, Medicare will acquire so much market power—they know this is not price fixing; this ain't close to price fixing—but we'll have a big buyer. And they know Medicare will acquire so

much market power that maybe they will be able to get American seniors drugs made in America almost as cheap as they can get them in Canada. And they're afraid that their profit margins will go down so much that then they won't have the money they would like to have either for profits or research or advertising.

Now, that is a real problem for them. But can the answer to their problem be to keep seniors who need it from getting the medicine they need? That's my problem. The Republican plan only covers half of the seniors who need the coverage. And this idea that you can have a private health insurance policy that people can afford to buy that's worth a flip is just not true. The insurance companies—I just jumped on the health insurance companies. Let me brag on them. They have been perfectly honest. They say there is not an insurance market out there for prescription drugs that people can afford. That's what they said.

So I'm just telling you this because this is the kind of thing—I get frustrated because I don't think most people really understand what the nature of the fight is. You don't have to demonize the drug companies. Lord knows, I'm glad they're here. They do wonderful work. They employ tens of thousands of people. I'm proud they're American, and I would help them solve their problem.

But the answer to their problem cannot be to keep seniors away from the medicine they need. Now, that's what this is about. And he's out there, trying to do the right thing. *[Laughter]* Oh, come on, you're time and a half my size; don't whine. *[Laughter]*

Now, wait a minute. This is a big deal. You all have got friends all over America. You've got people living in these battleground States. I'm telling you, if people know what the differences are, Senator Lieberman and Vice President Gore win. We win the House. We pick up at least four, maybe six, Senate seats if they know.

We are for hate crimes legislation; they're not. They gave us a vote in the Senate. It turned out it wasn't real. Some of their guys got well on the vote. It's 57–42 for the hate crimes legislation. But when it comes time to leave it in the bill, poof! It vanishes. Now, we've got to find some bill to put it on, and

their leadership doesn't want it on any bill. People need to know that.

You know, there are lots of differences here in terms of our ideas of one America, in terms of our ideas of health care policy, in terms of our education policy. I'm just telling you the differences are clear. Those are just three.

You mentioned gun safety. Did you see that ABC—did anybody see that ABC special Peter Jennings did on the NRA? Did you see it? Did you see all those people there, good Americans, going to these NRA conventions? They're good citizens. And Peter Jennings going around interviewing them, saying, "Do you really believe that Al Gore will take your gun away?" "Absolutely; I do. Bill Clinton and Al Gore, they're a threat to our second amendment rights."

There's not one living, breathing American that missed a day in the deer woods because of me. But 500,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. So, the program says that when Mr. LaPierre said that I wanted those people to die in some of those horrible shootings so then I would have some political basis to take people's guns away, their membership went up 200,000 according to the ABC—[*inaudible*].

Now, let me tell you something: The American people are smart and solid, and they nearly always get it right if they've got enough information and enough time. But you know, that's just not true. And it's not true that Al Gore proposed to take their guns away. What he said was, "If you're going to buy a handgun, you ought to have a license like you have to drive a car, that proves that you don't have a criminal background; you've got enough sense to use a gun safely." That's the radical idea he proposed.

Will any one of those NRA people lose their guns? Not unless they're crooks and shouldn't have it and present a danger to society. So I'm just imploring you. You came here tonight. Every one of you are politically active; you all show up. Every one of you know scores of people that will never come to a deal like this, not a time in their lives. But they will vote. They want to believe they are good citizens. They are good citizens. They're patriotic. They love their country.

They'll vote. But if they don't hear from you, they might just be getting this stuff over the air waves.

So I would just say to you, this is a profoundly important election. Just remember the Middle East: One day we're about to make peace; the next day we're trying to keep people from killing each other. You cannot predict the future. Life is a funny thing.

We may not have a time like this again in our lifetime. And as a nation, we will not forgive ourselves if we squander this opportunity. The public needs to clearly understand the differences, the choices, the consequences. I am completely comfortable with whatever decision they make if they do.

So that's the only thing I would like to ask you to do. Think of everybody you know, anywhere in this great country, between now and the election, and every single day, for the next however many weeks we've got—5 weeks and some odd days—take some time to make sure that they understand the differences, the choices, the consequences. And we'll have some more people like Joe Crowley in the Congress and a great celebration in the Presidential race on election eve.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to reception hosts Representative Rosa DeLauro and her husband, Stanley Greenburg; her mother, Luisa DeLauro, member, New Haven, CT, Board of Aldermen; Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel; former Deputy White House Chief of Staff Harold Ickes; Queens County Democratic Organization Chair Thomas J. Manton; Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush; ABC News reporter Peter Jennings; and National Rifle Association Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre. Representative Joseph Crowley is a candidate for Congress in New York's Seventh Congressional District.

Statement on Suspending the Immigration of Persons Impeding the Peace Process in Sierra Leone *October 11, 2000*

I have signed a proclamation suspending the entry into the United States, as immigrants and nonimmigrants, of all persons—

and the spouses, children, and parents of all persons—who plan, engage in, or benefit from activities that support the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) or that otherwise impede the peace process in Sierra Leone. These visa restrictions will immediately apply to President Charles Taylor, senior members of the Government of Liberia, their closest supporters, and their family members.

I call upon the Liberian Government to end immediately Liberia's trafficking in weapons and illicit diamonds, which fuels the war in Sierra Leone, and instead to use its influence with the RUF to restore peace and stability to Sierra Leone. Members of my administration have repeatedly made this request of President Taylor. The absence of any positive response from his government leaves us little choice but to impose these restrictions. Only when the Government of Liberia ends its participation in activities that support the RUF will the United States review this policy.

Proclamation 7359—Suspension of Entry as Immigrants and Nonimmigrants of Persons Impeding the Peace Process in Sierra Leone

October 10, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In light of the longstanding political and humanitarian crisis in Sierra Leone, I have determined that it is in the interests of the United States to restrict the entry into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of certain foreign nationals who plan, engage in, or benefit from activities that support the Revolutionary United Front or that otherwise impede the peace process in Sierra Leone, and the spouses, children of any age, and parents of such persons.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, by the power vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1182(f)), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code,

hereby find that the unrestricted immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of persons described in section 1 of this proclamation would, except as provided for in section 2 or 3 of this proclamation, be detrimental to the interests of the United States. I therefore hereby proclaim that:

Section 1. The entry into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of persons who plan, engage in, or benefit from activities that support the Revolutionary United Front or that otherwise impede the peace process in Sierra Leone, and the spouses, children of any age, and parents of such persons, is hereby suspended.

Sec. 2. Section 1 shall not apply with respect to any person otherwise covered by section 1 where the entry of such person would not be contrary to the interests of the United States.

Sec. 3. Persons covered by sections 1 and 2 shall be identified pursuant to such procedures as the Secretary may establish under section 5 of this proclamation.

Sec. 4. Nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to derogate from United States obligations under applicable international agreements.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of State shall have responsibility to implement this proclamation pursuant to such procedures as the Secretary may establish.

Sec. 6. This proclamation is effective immediately and shall remain in effect, in whole or in part, until such time as the Secretary of State determines that it is no longer necessary and should be terminated, in whole or in part. The Secretary of State's determination shall be effective upon publication of such determination in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 12, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 11, and

it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 13.

Proclamation 7360—Eleanor Roosevelt Day, 2000

October 10, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the most influential figures of the 20th century, and her life spanned some of the most dramatic and challenging events in modern history. Steadfast in her commitment to America, democracy, and a world that honored human rights, she told Americans across the Nation, “We are on trial to show what democracy means.” Through the Great Depression, two world wars, the Holocaust, the creation of the United Nations, the Cold War, and the civil rights movement, her singular integrity and clear moral vision helped forge a better life for people around the world.

Eleanor Roosevelt was our longest-serving First Lady, and her dedicated efforts as a political leader, humanitarian, social activist, and journalist have made her an icon to millions. During the 12 years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Administration, she traveled tirelessly around the country, listening to the American people’s problems, concerns, joys, and fears. She saw firsthand the ravages that poverty, greed, ignorance, and bigotry wreaked on the lives of ordinary Americans. She advocated strongly for our Nation’s disadvantaged—urging an end to child labor, pushing for the establishment of a minimum wage, speaking out for workers’ rights, confronting racial discrimination in New Deal programs, and encouraging greater power and independence for women in the workplace.

But perhaps her greatest achievement would come in the years after her husband’s death. A delegate to the General Assembly of the newly created United Nations from 1945 to 1951, Eleanor Roosevelt was elected Chairperson of the U.N.’s Human Rights Commission in 1946. She played a pivotal

role in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and its final language vividly reflects her humanitarian ideals and uncompromising commitment to the inherent worth of every human being. The first article of the Declaration, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights,” set the standard by which all future human rights charters would be judged.

Whether working for the United Nations, the NAACP, the Girl Scouts, the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, or the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Eleanor Roosevelt devoted her boundless energy to creating a world defined by respect for and dedication to democratic values. She was a woman ahead of her time, and her achievements transcend her generation. As we seek to chart a steady course for America, democracy, and human rights in this new century, we need only look to her values, character, and accomplishments to provide us with an unfailing moral compass.

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 October 11, 2000, the anniversary of her birthday, as Eleanor Roosevelt Day. I call upon government officials, educators, labor leaders, employers, diplomats, human rights activists, and citizens of the United States to observe this day with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 12, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 11, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 13.

Proclamation 7361—General Pulaski Memorial Day, 2000

October 10, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each year on October 11, we solemnly pause to honor the life and achievements of Casimir Pulaski, a true hero whose devotion to liberty has inspired the gratitude of the American people for more than 200 years.

Born to wealth and privilege in Poland, Pulaski sacrificed both by joining his father and brothers in the fight against tyranny and foreign oppression in his beloved homeland. His battlefield exploits earned him a leading position among Polish patriotic forces as well as renown and admiration throughout Europe. After years of braving insurmountable odds, however, Pulaski and his fellow freedom fighters were overwhelmed by enemy forces. Undaunted, he continued to battle for Poland's freedom while in exile in Turkey and France.

Impressed by Pulaski's military record and reverence for freedom, Benjamin Franklin wrote from his post in Paris to George Washington and succeeded in helping Pulaski secure a commission in the Continental Army. As a result of Pulaski's brave and able conduct at the battle of Brandywine Creek in 1777, the Continental Congress granted him a Brigadier General commission and the command of all Continental Army cavalry forces. For the next 2 years, General Pulaski contributed much to the American cause in the Revolutionary War through his battlefield expertise, mastery of cavalry tactics, and extraordinary courage. On October 9, 1779, Pulaski was gravely wounded at the siege of Savannah while leading patriot forces against fire from enemy batteries. He died 2 days later, far from his beloved homeland and mourned by the brave Americans whose cause he had made his own.

Today, as both the United States and Poland enjoy freedom and growing prosperity and look forward to a bright future as friends and NATO allies, we remember with profound appreciation Casimir Pulaski's resolve and sacrifice and the generations of Poles

and Americans like him who valiantly fought to secure the peace and liberty 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 Wednesday, October 11, 2000, as General Pulaski Memorial Day. I encourage all Americans to commemorate this occasion with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 12, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 11, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on October 13.

Remarks on Signing the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001, and an Exchange With Reporters

October 11, 2000

The President. Good morning. I want to thank Representative Norm Dicks and Representative Ralph Regula for their extraordinary bipartisan leadership. I thank Secretary Babbitt, NEA Chairman Bill Ivy, National Endowment of the Humanities Chairman Bill Ferris, the Institute of Museum and Library Services Director Beverly Sheppard, OMB Director Lew, Millennium Council Director Ellen Lovell, and all the other many people who are here who have worked so hard with chairman Regula and Congressman Dicks and members of both parties in both Houses to protect the environment and strengthen our Nation's artistic and cultural life.

I have just signed this year's Department of Interior Appropriations Act. It is a remarkable piece of legislation that provides a lasting legacy for our grandchildren by establishing for the first time a dedicated and protected fund that States, communities, and Federal agencies can use to buy and protect precious Federal land, from neighborhood parks to Civil War battlefields to parcels of pristine wilderness. It doubles our investment in land conservation next year and ensures even greater funding in the years to come.

While we had hoped to gain even more and will continue to work for these priorities in our budget negotiations, this new lands trust unquestionably represents a major leap forward in the quest to preserve our environment, a quest begun by President Teddy Roosevelt a century ago.

This bill will also do much more. It will provide much-needed additional funding for health, education, and law enforcement in our Native American communities, something that has been of particular interest to me. It will provide better funding to take better care of our national parks and deal with a lot of long pent-up maintenance needs.

It will increase support for firefighters in preventing forest fires, something America has seen all too much in the last few months. It increases our efforts to combat climate change and to provide more energy security by increasing funds for research and to energy-saving technologies, including more energy-efficient buildings and automobiles. It supports the partnership for the next generation vehicles, which the Vice President has led, and strengthens our energy security through providing funding for the Northeast heating oil reserve.

The bill also increases support for arts and humanities, including the first funding increase for the National Endowment for the Arts since Congress proposed to eliminate it in 1995. The birds like it. [Laughter] It will help to expand our efforts to bring the experience of art to children and to citizens no matter where they live, from inner cities to remote rural areas. We're also pleased that the bill includes a third year of funding for the Save America's Treasures program, the larg-

est historic preservation effort in our Nation's history, which the First Lady has led.

Just as important is the fact that the bill does not include contentious riders which would have damaged our environment. This legislation is proof positive that when we sit down together and work in a bipartisan spirit, we can do things for the American people. And again, I want to thank Mr. Regula and Mr. Dicks and all of the others who have worked with them to do that.

We still have a lot of work to do. We've got 10 appropriations bills to pass, an education budget that invests in accountability and what works, including the continuation of our 100,000 teacher program, funds to modernize and repair schools, an expanded after-school and college opportunity program, qualified teachers in every classroom; a criminal justice budget that gives us safer streets and stronger communities; a budget that enforces civil rights and ensures stronger efforts for equal pay for women, creates opportunities for all Americans to share in our prosperity through the new markets initiative.

I would also like to ask one more time for Congress to pass the Patients' Bill of Rights, which passed the House of Representatives with a large vote exactly a year ago this week.

Unfortunately, it appears that instead of passing patient protections, legislation intended to restore reductions in the Medicare program is unduly tilted toward the HMO's who killed the Patients' Bill of Rights or have so far.

Last night I sent a letter to the leaders rejecting that allocation of funds. There are rural—urban teaching hospitals, community service providers, nursing homes, any number of other recipients of these funds that would be substantially disadvantaged if the present allocation goes through.

So I hope that we can put the needs of the patients ahead of the HMO's and do the right thing on health care. But let me say again: I think it is very important that the American people understand this is a truly historic achievement, achieved in a genuine, bipartisan spirit to create a permanent basis for preserving our natural heritage and advancing our common artistic and cultural values. I am profoundly grateful.

Thank you very much.

Situation in the Middle East

Q. Mr. President, did your peace plan for the Middle East ever contemplate sovereignty for the Palestinians in East Jerusalem?

The President. Well, the last thing I think we need to be doing now is talking about—I think you know what we talked about at Camp David, and what we've talked about since has been fairly well publicized.

Q. No, it hasn't. I don't know what your plan is.

The President. But I do not believe that any of us should be saying or doing anything now except focusing on putting an end to the violence, keeping people alive, calming things down, and getting back to the negotiating table.

And I do believe, by the way, that a plan to get back to the negotiating table is an important part of ending the violence in a substantial way. And so for me, that's what we're doing. That's what I've been working on for several days now, almost a week.

Q. Do you think you will be traveling to the Mideast or elsewhere to meet with the leaders from—Palestinians and the Israelis?

The President. First of all, as always, I'm prepared to do whatever I can to help. But I think the most important thing is that we all keep working to calm things down, keep them calm, and then find a way to get the peace process going again.

I think Secretary Albright or I might go; maybe in time we'll both go. I had a long talk this morning with Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and we've been working together in an attempt to make sure we've got a substantial calm there.

I can do a lot here on the phone. I've been spending a lot of days and nights on the phone, and I hope that the United States is having a positive impact. But the first thing we've got to do is to get this situation calmed down and figure out where to go from here. But I do believe where to go from here must include a resumption of the peace talks because that's one of the reasons that we've had things so calm for so long, that we've basically had these talks going along, moving in the right direction.

We have to reach an agreement on this factfinding effort to determine what happened and how to keep it from happening again, and I think we can do that. So we've just got to keep working on it.

Q. Can I followup on that for one second? A followup on that for one second? This is sort of a pointed question about the Middle East. At this point, if you're frustrated about possibly setting up a summit over there, do not the Israelis and the Palestinians at least owe you the courtesy of participating in such a summit, considering what you have tried to do to bring peace to the region?

The President. Oh, yes. I'm not worried about that. I think—that's not what's at issue there. I think we can do that. But the main thing we have to do is, we don't need just another meeting. We need to know what we're going to do and how we're going to do it.

I wouldn't over-read the fact that there won't be a big meeting imminently in Egypt. I don't think you should over-read that as a reflection that either the Israelis or the Palestinians do not want to continue the peace process. I think everybody is shocked at how quickly and how deeply it got out of hand. And I think the most important thing now is to restore calm.

We've had a couple of pretty good days. People are really trying, and we're trying to put together a way forward, which will increase the chances that things will stay calm and more peaceful. So that's what we're working on. And I just have to tell you, it's very important to us to keep all of our options open. It's important that you know that I'm willing to do whatever I can to help, but these things have to take place in a certain way in order for them to make sense, and I'm doing the very best I can with it.

Q. Some critics of the administration's policy blame some of the—

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—spoke of factfinding as an agreement to return to negotiations. Do you need to see those before you agree to go to the Mideast or send a representative?*

The President. Well, no. First of all, I don't need to see anything before I send representatives. We've been involved with them too long, and we have been already—keep

in mind, we've had people already in the region, and then Secretary Albright met with them in Paris, and now lots of others are coming in.

I have been talking to them all for extended period of times, really since the beginning of the difficulties. So that's not it. The point is everything that the United States does should be designed toward, number one, trying to preserve the calm and, number two, trying to restore the peace process. And so I will do whatever I think is likely to advance those objectives. So that's the only thing I was saying. We're in this for the long haul. We have been from the beginning, and we'll stay.

Q. Are you disappointed at Mr. Arafat, Mr. President? Are you disappointed in Arafat's attitude?

Q. Some of the administration's critics blame some of the violence on the failed Camp David talks and charge that summit was called too soon. Do you think that's unfair? What's your response to that?

The President. I think if there had been no talks at Camp David, it would be worse now, because the pressure on the Palestinians to unilaterally declare a state would have been far worse, because their level of misunderstanding would have been even greater, because they had never—in all of these 7 years, they had never talked about these big, deep, underlying issues, not in a serious, formal way.

So I think, certainly, the Israelis, I think, were disappointed that they were as forthcoming as they were, and they thought more progress should have been made, but I think that everybody had a sense—I announced that at the time. But then after that, they continued to talk and everybody had the sense that they were moving forward. So I don't think that the evidence will support that conclusion.

Keep in mind, we were running out of time and the Palestinians, Chairman Arafat delayed the date that he had previously set for unilateral declaration. So the facts on the ground and the behavior of the parties do not support that conclusion.

The truth is, we got down to the tough issues where there were no easy answers. And I think that what this tells everybody

is that, after all these years of working together, there are still underlying different perceptions that have to be worked on. And we slid off into a sense where both sides felt as if they had been victimized and abused.

There is no alternative here but to get back together and to go back to work.

Q. How would you like to live under military occupation for 50 years?

Q. What exactly are you recommending on how to calm things down?

The President. Well, they're working on that. They have worked together on that. They have common security understandings and a very detailed set of things that both sides have been doing, and they're talking about it some more. So I think first, you have to do that, and then they have to figure out, beyond the security operations, how they're going to get back together.

Q. You are reportedly disappointed by Arafat and puzzled by his attitude. Are those reports true?

The President. I don't think that anything I say that stirs this up is very helpful. I think that, look, there's a lot of people dying over there. We need to stop people dying. And there's been enough people saying enough things that have contributed to that.

My goal is to stop people dying and then get them back together. We can all have our judgments—you have yours; they're somehow implicit in some of the questions you're asking—but what I have noticed in these circumstances is, if they do good things, there is enough credit to go around, and if the wheel runs off and people start to die, then there's enough blame to go around.

This is not the time to be assessing that. This is a time to make a primary first commitment to end violence, to keep calm, to start the peace process again, and then they can establish some mechanism to evaluate what happened and why and how to keep it from ever happening again.

Both of them have agreed to that. They haven't exactly agreed on the modalities, but they both agreed to that. So we can't lose sight of the fact that the most important thing right now is to stop people from getting shot and wounded and killed and to get the peace process back on track and to give a sense

of safety and security back to all the people there.

When you get—when things are most explosive in the Middle East, when both sides feel victimized—and we were slipping toward that at a rapid pace over the last several days—now both sides are feeling—are taking responsibility here for moving out of this, and I think the statement that Prime Minister Barak made in the middle of his night-long cabinet meeting a couple of nights ago was very helpful in that regard and a wise thing to do. And then he and Chairman Arafat have been doing some specific things here on this security front, and we need to support that and not—look, there will be plenty of time in a calmer atmosphere for people to say whatever it is they've got to say in a political nature.

But we can't bring any of those kids back to life. We can't bring any of those young people back to life. We can't bring—Lord knows how long it will take to reestablish some of the relationships that have been severed there, and none of us need to do anything to make this worse. We need to calm this down.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan; Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel. H.R. 4578, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 106–291.

Statement on Signing the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001

October 11, 2000

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4578, the “Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001.” I want to commend the Congress for agreeing on an acceptable version of this bill that provides critical funding for many priority needs—our national parks, national forests, wildlife refuges, and other public lands; State and local grants for land conservation and preservation; Native American programs; cleaner

water; energy security; and the Arts. I am pleased that, unlike earlier versions of the bill, the final bill excludes a large number of highly objectionable provisions that would change our environmental protection and natural resource conservation laws without adequate public and congressional scrutiny.

In particular, I am very pleased that this Congress has agreed to establish a new budget category to provide dedicated and protected funding for the conservation and preservation programs in my Lands Legacy Initiative and other related activities. This agreement will nearly double our investment next year in these programs and move us toward providing communities with the resources they need to protect their most precious lands. By establishing this new budget category and fencing off more than \$10 billion over the next 5 years, we are fulfilling our commitment to make the single largest annual investment in protecting our green and open spaces since Theodore Roosevelt set our Nation on the path of conservation nearly a century ago.

The bill provides a significant increase in funding for key components of my Native American Initiative program, including most of the requested investments in Indian school construction and law enforcement. It also provides the largest funding increase for the Indian Health Service in its history. The bill also helps to protect the environment by increasing funds for the Clean Water Action Plan and promotes the Arts by providing the first funding increase for the National Endowment for the Arts in 9 years. In addition, the increase provided for the National Endowment for the Humanities will enable the NEH to continue to implement its Rediscovering America through the Humanities initiative.

The bill provides strong support for a number of other national priorities. It expands funding for weatherization of low-income homes, which will help low-income households prepare for the coming winter season. It includes funding for research into energy efficiency to reduce our dependence on oil and address climate change, through initiatives like the Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles, which will aid in the development of a new generation of ultra-efficient

cars. In addition, the bill provides funding for a Regional Home Heating Reserve for the Northeast. I note that there is also a provision in Title VIII of the bill that violates *INS v. Chadha* because it purports to condition the availability of certain appropriated funds on the provision by congressional committees of a list of specific acquisitions to be undertaken with such funds. As a result, I will treat that provision as being advisory only, and not as legally binding.

In addition, all of the funds in Title V of the bill have been designated by the Congress as emergency requirements. I hereby designate those amounts in Title V, totaling \$87,515,000, as emergency requirements pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended. The Congress has provided other important emergency funds in the bill to assist States that have been ravaged by wildfires in the West. My Administration is reviewing the current situation, and these firefighting funds will be released as needs dictate.

In conclusion, by dedicating future funds for conservation and related programs, investing in Indian schools, assisting energy conservation, and supporting the Arts, this bill represents a major step forward. The American people both expect and deserve nothing less.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: H.R. 4578, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 106-291. An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

**Remarks at a Rally for
Representative Ron Klink in
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania**

October 11, 2000

Thank you very much. I always learn something when I come to Pittsburgh. [Laughter] Today I learned, never ask for another pat of butter. [Laughter] And never rent a mule. [Laughter] Let me say, I am delighted to be back in western Pennsylvania, and I'm delighted to be in this State again with Ron Klink and his wife, Linda, and their two fine

children and all the people associated with their campaign. And Senator, thank you for your speech, your leadership of the party. Mayor Murphy, thank you for being such a good friend to me in these years we've worked together to help Pittsburgh reach its full potential.

I thank all the candidates who are out here. I think Catherine Baker Knoll is here, and I thank her for being here. Thank you, Catherine. And I want to mention your former mayor, Sophie Masloff, who was a good friend of mine, and State Senator Christine Tartaglione. And thank you, Franco Harris, for being here and for being my friend and supporter all these years.

Now, let me say, I want to thank you for giving some money to Ron Klink. [Laughter] And I'll tell you one thing I'm absolutely sure of. If more people had done what you did today, he would be ahead, not behind, in the polls. Why is that? Because when the American people have enough information and enough time to digest it, they nearly always get it right. Now, do you have any doubt at all that if every voter in Pennsylvania knew what the real records and the real differences between these two candidates are, that Ron Klink would win? Do you have any doubt at all?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. All right. If you have no doubt at all, then he can still win if you get out there and cover the gap between now and election day. That's what I want to tell you. I believe that. And I came out here—I have been calling people all over the country saying, "You ought to send Ron Klink some money. We can win in Pennsylvania."

The people of this State have been very good to me, and I am profoundly grateful. We won a big victory here in '92. In '96 I didn't get to campaign as much as I wish I had in Pennsylvania because we were trying to win some places we hadn't won in a long time, including Florida, where we did win. But the people of Pennsylvania stayed with me.

I think this is a pretty simple election here. But what I want to tell you is, every one of these races is important. No one in America

understands more clearly than I do how important every single House race is, every single Senate race is, and of course, the race for the White House.

You need to go ask people whether we're better off than we were 8 years ago. That's what they used to say the test was. My favorite point in the last Presidential debate—we're going to have another one tonight. We all have our little moments, but my favorite moment was when their nominee said, "Well, I think that Clinton-Gore got a lot more out of the economy than the economy got out of Clinton-Gore. The American people did this with their hard work." Now, when they were in, they took credit when the Sun came up in the morning. You remember that? [Laughter] "It's morning in America. Vote for us." It's morning, right? [Laughter]

So they said that. And then the Vice President said, "Yes, the American people and their hard work do deserve credit. But they were working just as hard back in 1992 and getting different results." [Laughter] And I thought, goodbye. That was a good answer.

Now, look, here is the deal. There are differences. They're real, and they have consequences in people's lives. And if every voter in Pennsylvania understands that and what the differences are and what the consequences are, Klink wins. To the extent that there are voters who don't understand it, it's harder for him to win. To the extent there are voters who think there are two perfectly nice moderate guys running and maybe we ought to stick with the moderate guy who's in, it's bad for him.

And this is what they're doing all over the country. They want to blur these differences, you know. I mean, butter wouldn't melt in their mouth today. It's hard to remember the rhetoric they used just a couple of years ago, isn't it? "Oh, we're so moderate. We're so nice. We feel so bad about all these problems America has. We really want to do something about it." [Laughter] "We're glad the Democrats got rid of the deficit and put us into surplus and gave us the longest expansion in history. We're glad they put 100,000 police on the street, even though we fought them. We're glad they cut the welfare rolls in half without taking food and medicine away from the kids, like we tried to. We're glad it all

worked out. Now, please let us stay in." [Laughter]

That's their pitch. I'm laughing because I don't want to cry here. [Laughter] And then you ought to ask yourself, well, why is it then, if we did the right things, why do they have more money? What does that tell you? Because we decided a long time ago, a long time before I ever came along, that we thought that the best politics and the best economics and the best social policy was what allowed us all to go forward together, not just what took care of the people who had the ability to give you a financial advantage in a campaign.

Now, look, we're better off than we were 8 years ago. Ron Klink supported the economic policies of this administration. His opponent didn't. Ron Klink, you heard him say, supported putting 100,000 police on the street. They tried to take it away. Even when the crime rate was coming down, they tried to undo what was working. And by the way, they promise to undo it if they win the White House and the Congress next time.

We're going up to 150,000 police on the street. We've got crime down 7 years in a row, down to a 27-year low. And their major commitment on law enforcement is to promise to undo the Federal Government's commitment to put 150,000 police on the street because they don't think we have any business doing it. Never mind the fact that we're all safer. Now, how many voters in Pennsylvania know that? Not enough. If they did, would it make a difference? I think it would. I believe it would.

You look at this economics issue. This may be the thing that will have the biggest impact on you. We've got a chance now to spread this recovery to people and places left behind, to inner-city neighborhoods and rural communities and places that lost industries and Native American communities—people that still aren't fully part of this. But we've got to keep the economy going. We've got to keep the labor markets tight. We've got to keep the general progress going if our initiatives to spread the economic recovery are going to work and benefit everybody.

Now, our policy is, we want to give you a tax cut, but we've got to be able to afford it, which means we've got to save some

money to invest in education, in health care, in the environment and national defense, in science and technology. And we've got to keep paying down the debt, because when we pay down the debt, we keep interest rates lower and the economy stronger. That's our position.

Their position is, "Vote for us. We'll give a much bigger tax break." Most middle class people are actually better off under ours, but some of you who can afford to buy a ticket today would be better off under theirs. So why are you here? You've got to be able to answer this. Listen, this is important.

Their tax cut—the Vice President's is about \$500 billion. Theirs is about a trillion six, I'd say—maybe a little more. They say a little less, but it's clearly about that. Now, here is the problem with their tax cut. Number one, it's a trillion six. That's lots of money.

Number two, they have also promised, as Ron said, to partially privatize Social Security. He told you about one problem, which is, if you take your 2 percent payroll and you lose money, then you lose income. But there is another problem with that. Forget about that. Let's suppose everybody here under 45 took the 2 percent and made money. There is another problem. They're going to guarantee the benefits for everybody over 55, which by the time they get it passed will be me. [Laughter]

Now, here is the problem. If Social Security is supposed to go broke in 35 years, and you start pulling money out of it like no tomorrow because all the young people think they can do more in the stock market, but you guarantee everybody's benefits who is 55 or over—and keep in mind, if you live to be 65 in America, your life expectancy is 82 now and going up—what happens? Well, the money starts running out just as your guarantee goes up. So what do you have to do? You have to put more money in it.

And I want to compliment the nominee of the Republican Party. In the last debate he acknowledged that he would take a trillion dollars from our surplus and put it into Social Security to make the commitments to the people over 55—55 and over—in order to let everybody else take money out. Now, if you've got a \$1.6 trillion tax cut and a \$1 trillion Social Security hold, you've already

spent \$400 billion more than the most wildly optimistic estimate of the surplus, which, you can take it from me, is probably \$400 billion to \$500 billion overstated because of built-in costs of the Federal Government. And they haven't spent any of the money they promised, plus all the Star Wars things they promised and all that. I'm telling you, they're going to put us back in debt. That's why the economic analysis that I've seen indicates that the Democratic plan, the Gore-Lieberman plan, will keep interest rates a point lower a year for a decade.

Now, do you know what a percent a year a decade—you need to go out and talk to people here in western Pennsylvania about that. It affects this Senate race. Do you know what it means to you if you keep interest rates one percent lower a year for a decade? That is the equivalent of \$390 billion in lower home mortgages, \$30 billion in lower car payments, \$15 billion in lower college loan payments, not to mention lower credit card payments, lower business loans, which means more businesses, more jobs, higher incomes, and a stronger stock market.

Now, so you've got a \$435 billion tax cut to ordinary Americans by getting this country out of debt for the first time since 1835. One party will do it. The other won't. And people that vote for President and people that vote for Senator ought to know that, because it will have a huge impact on whether we can keep western Pennsylvania coming back in the next 10 years. I want you to make certain people know that.

Now, let me just give you another example, health care. When I became President, they told me Medicare was going to be broke in 1999, last year. We added 27 years to the life of Medicare and did more to cover preventive coverage for breast cancer, for prostate cancer. We dramatically improved diabetes care. You can keep your health insurance now when you change jobs or somebody in your family gets sick. We've insured 2½ million under the Children's Health Insurance Program that Ron Klink supported, that has given us a reduction in the number of people without health insurance for the first time in a dozen years.

We have big challenges. You heard him talking about the Patients' Bill of Rights. It

failed by one vote. If he'd been in the Senate, instead of his opponent, I would have signed into law the Patients' Bill of Rights already. Now, this is a huge deal. This is a huge deal. Do you have a right to see a specialist if your doctor says? Do you have a right to keep your doctor if you change health care providers in the middle of a pregnancy or a cancer treatment? That's what the Patients' Bill of Rights says. Do you have a right, if you get hurt, to go to the nearest emergency room, or can they drag you past three or four to get to one covered by your plan? And if you get hurt, do you have a right to sue because you've been hurt? And if you don't, it's just a patients' bill of suggestions, not rights. And most important, does it cover everybody, or does it leave a bunch of folks out?

Now, the HMO's say they don't want this, because they say by the time they get sued and everybody gets covered, your health care premiums will go up. That bothers me. But guess what? I already put it in for everybody covered by the Federal Government. Now, people need to know this. In western Pennsylvania, you need to know this. I put the protections of the Patients' Bill of Rights in for everybody on Medicare, Medicaid, veterans' health, Federal employees' health insurance, Federal retirees being covered by health care. Do you know what it did to the premiums? They went up a buck a month—a buck a month—to give you those kind of protections.

Even the Republicans' own Congressional Budget Office says that for the population at large, it would go up less than \$2 a month. Now, I would pay a \$1.80 a month on my health insurance to make sure that—God forbid—if you get hit by a car walking out of this rally, you could go to the nearest emergency room. And I think most of you would, too. There's a big difference here. The people in western Pennsylvania need to know where he is and where his opponent is.

Now, let me just give you one more, the prescription drugs for seniors fight. First, we were for it, and they weren't for anything. And then they realized they were in deep trouble. You remember that phrase the former President Bush used to use for that—that deep whatever it was he used to say. [Laughter] They knew they were in a world

of hurt. So they came up with a plan, and they said, "Well, you know, this thing might be too expensive, giving Medicare-financed drug coverage to all seniors who need it." Our plan does that. It says, under Medicare you have a voluntary option to buy in. If you're poor, we'll pay your premiums. If you're not, you've got to pay a little. If you have catastrophic bills, we'll help you with those. That's our plan.

So they said, "Well, we can't be caught out here with no plan." So they went to the drug companies, and they said, "I'm sorry, guys. We can't carry your water unless you give us something to be for." This is the way Washington works, folks. I'm just telling you. They went to the drug companies, and they said, "Look, we can't carry your water anymore. They're going to blow us away here."

So they did all these surveys and everything and did this research. And they came up with this plan that says, "The Democrats want the Government to take over your drug business, and they want to fix prices. And what we want to do is help the poor people get their coverage and let everybody else buy insurance and put it all in the private sector, which is so much better." They tested all this. They got the phrases where they sounded right and all that.

So that's what the fight is between Congressman Klink and Senator Santorum, and all over the country. Now, you must be sitting out here asking yourself, why wouldn't the drug companies want to sell more drugs? Did you ever meet a politician that didn't want more votes? Did you ever meet a car salesman that didn't want to sell more cars? Did you ever meet an insurance salesman that didn't want to sell more insurance? What is this? Why don't the drug companies who want everybody who needs the drugs to buy them? It doesn't make any sense, does it?

Here is what is going on. You need to understand this. This is a big issue. First of all, the Republicans' plan won't work. They pay for people up to 150, 175 percent of the poverty line; 175 percent is \$18,700, more or less, for a couple. The problem is, half the people that need the medicine, because they've got big drug bills, make more than that. And there is no private insurance for

these people. Nevada adopted the Republican plan. Do you know how many insurance companies offered drugs under it? Zero. Not one—not one. That’s one thing I admire about our Republican friends: Evidence never fazes them. I admire that. [Laughter] You’ve got to admire it, you know? “Don’t bother me with the facts. Yes, their economic approach worked. Let’s reverse it anyway and give our friends a big tax cut that we can’t afford.”

So I’m just telling you, this is a big issue. Now, here is the problem. You need to make sure people understand this in western Pennsylvania, because I’m sure there will be all these ads about how they’re both for drugs, Klink wants the Government to take it over. Medicare is a private health care delivery system, right? You all go to a private doctor, private hospitals, financed through Government. It has an administrative cost of about 1.5 percent. There is no price fixing here.

You want to know what the real problem is? Why can you go to Canada and get drugs cheaper, made in America, than you can here? Because the drug companies have spent a lot of money developing these drugs, and they spent a lot of money advertising them, and they can’t recover those costs anywhere but America, because everywhere else fixes prices. Then once you pay enough for those drugs to get their advertising and development costs back, it’s then cheap for them to make another little pill, and they can sell it in Canada, Europe, or anywhere.

And the reason they don’t want this bill to pass is, if we get enough market power with enough seniors in the same plan, they’re afraid, not through price fixing but through bargaining, we’ll be able to get prices that are almost but not quite as cheap as you could buy American drugs in Canada. And they think that will cut their profit margins down and limit their ability to do research and advertise. That is what is going on. That’s what this whole deal is about. You never read that in the paper, did you?

Now, I say that so you don’t have to demonize the drug companies. It’s good that we’ve got them in America. It’s good they’re developing these medicines that keep people alive and improve the quality of their lives. But it is wrong to say we’re going to solve

their problem by keeping American seniors from getting the drugs they need to stay alive and have good lives. Let’s solve the problem of the senior citizens. And then, those people have plenty of money and power; let them come down to Washington, and we’ll help them solve their problem. That’s what we ought to do.

I’ve taken the time to talk about these issues today, unconventional at this kind of event, because I know I won’t be back in western Pennsylvania, in all probability, between now and the election. And I want you to go out and talk to everybody you can find between now and the election. Look, these elections are close. Ron Klink can win if people understand what the differences are and what the consequences are to them, their families, your community, and your country.

So I ask you, please go out there. Talk to people about where we were 8 years ago, where we are today, what Congressman Klink’s role has been in it, and talk to people about the economic issues, the health care issues, the education issues out there. Remember, clarity is our friend. We may never have another chance in our lifetime, have a country that is this prosperous, making this much progress, and pulling together.

You look at the children in this audience. We’ve got to do it right for them. We may not have another chance in our lifetime to have an election like this.

Again, let me tell you I am profoundly grateful for everything the State of Pennsylvania, and especially this part of Pennsylvania, has done for me and Al Gore and our administration. The only thing I can tell you is, I’ve worked as hard as I could to turn this country around, pull this country together, and move us forward. Now it’s up to you. Don’t miss a person. Every one of you knows hundreds of people who will vote on election day but who will never, ever come to an event like this, never, never have the chance that you’ve had to engage in this kind of thinking.

So go out there and tell them what the economic differences, the health care differences, the education differences are. And tell them the future depends upon making a good decision for Al Gore, Joe Lieberman, Ron Klink, and the rest of our crowd.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. in Room S-2 at the David L. Lawrence Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Representative Klink's children, Juliana and Matthew; State Senator Leonard J. Bodack; Mayor Tom Murphy of Pittsburgh; Catherine Baker Knoll, candidate for State treasurer; Sophie Masloff, former mayor of Pittsburgh; former Pittsburgh Steelers running back Franco Harris; and Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush. Representative Klink is a candidate for the U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania.

Remarks to AmeriCorps Volunteers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

October 11, 2000

Let's give Ardelia another hand. [*Applause*] She was great, wasn't she? I thought she was great. Good job.

I also want to say to all of you how grateful I am to be here and how grateful I am to Pennsylvania's own Harris Wofford for doing such a great job in heading our Corporation for National Service. He's worked in the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps. He's worked for Presidents from Kennedy to Clinton. He worked with Martin Luther King, and he's still helping people walk their road to freedom. Thank you, Senator Harris Wofford, for everything you have done.

Eight years ago about this time, I was crossing the country with Vice President Gore, talking about all the ideas I had to try to change our Nation, if the people would vote for me for President. Eight years later, one of the ideas that always got an applause line on the stump, national service, giving young people a chance to serve their countries in their communities and giving them some funds so they could further their education, it is reality. You are that reality, and you have changed America for the better. I am very, very grateful to all of you for that.

Today, people who wonder what national service is can hear it in the swing of a hundred hammers helping families to build homes, see it in the sight of a thousand saplings taking root on a charred mountainside, burned in a fire, and hear the sound of a million children learning to read. You get things done, and I thank you for that.

It is quite appropriate for us to meet in Philadelphia to reaffirm our commitment to national service, not only because of the extraordinary effort made by the State of Pennsylvania and this great city to have a disproportionate number of young people involved in community service through AmeriCorps programs but also because it was here that our Founders declared our independence and, in so doing, expressed a commitment not only to the individual liberty and independence of all of us alone but said that we could only fulfill our own desires and our own personal dreams if we committed ourselves to forming "a more perfect Union."

Every day you work, every person you help, you help America become that more perfect Union of our Founders' dreams.

All across the country, AmeriCorps volunteers are serving as a catalyst for community action. Studies show that every one of you generates on average a dozen more volunteers, and that adds up. Over the past 6 years, not only have over 150,000 young Americans served in their communities in AmeriCorps—and, I might add, we had more AmeriCorps volunteers in 5 years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20—you are really moving to change America. But even more than that—listen to this—AmeriCorps members have recruited, trained, or supervised more than 2.5 million volunteers in community projects.

In Pennsylvania, older volunteers for the National Senior Service Corps serve as foster grandparents to 9,000 children. Thousands of RSVP volunteers are passing on their wisdom to a younger generation. In Philadelphia, nearly a thousand AmeriCorps members have been working with local organizations, running after-school programs, restoring parts, helping Habitat for Humanity to build homes, bridging the digital divide in poor communities and poor schools, engaging other young people in community service.

We know now from experience that when young people volunteer in their communities, they're less likely to get in trouble and much more likely to succeed in school. That's why the work of AmeriCorps volunteers with our young people, helping them to succeed, is perhaps our most important mission.

In 1996 I issued the America Reads challenge. I asked AmeriCorps and college students across our country to join in a crusade for childhood literacy, to make sure that every 8-year-old in our country could read—read well before being promoted. Thanks to AmeriCorps members like Ardelia, hundreds of thousands of children have now been tutored, mentored, or enrolled in after-school programs, and 1,000 colleges have given us their students to help go into our elementary schools to help teach our kids to read. Thank you very, very, very much.

In a profoundly inspiring effort, members of the National School and Community Corps, CityYear, VISTA, and AmeriCorps have helped Philadelphia schools expand their pioneering program for student service. As part of this initiative, 11th and 12th graders are trained to tutor second graders one-on-one in after-school reading programs. The students that do the tutoring say they learn just as much as the youngsters they teach.

What I'd like to see is to have this done in every school system in America. I think if all the juniors and seniors in America were committed to making sure all the second graders in America could read by the time they got out of the second grade, it would revolutionize education in America. That is the symbol that Philadelphia represents to our future.

Today I'm releasing an independent study that shows that these efforts are working. Over the past school year, AmeriCorps members served in programs tutoring more than 100,000 students in grades one through three. Sample tests given at the beginning and the end of the school year showed that children's reading skills in the programs where the AmeriCorps volunteers tutored improved significantly and exceeded significantly expectations.

In one case, an AmeriCorps member in Atlanta set out to recruit eight college students to tutor struggling kids 4 hours a week. Today, that program has 250 volunteers in 30 schools. Seventy percent of the second and third graders participating in the program have increased their test scores—listen to this—by at least two reading levels, two grade levels.

So we actually have some objective evidence that the enthusiasm that you all displayed when Harris called each of your projects and you stood up and cheered actually is making a difference, a positive difference in the lives of individual Americans and, in so doing I might add, bringing us together across lines that divide us.

One of the most important things about AmeriCorps I think is that it gives the volunteers, who come from all different backgrounds, all different races, all different religious backgrounds, a chance to meet and work with and get to know people who are different from them, to tear down barriers of distrust and misunderstanding and old-fashioned ignorance, and build a genuine American community.

You know, I think it's a great thing that America is so diverse and growing more diverse. It makes it more interesting. But it's also important to recognize that, as we celebrate our differences, we have to reaffirm our common humanity. You look anywhere in the world today where they're having trouble, and chances are they can celebrate their differences, but they're having trouble affirming their common humanity, and misunderstanding occurs.

If America wants to be a force for good and peace and freedom in all these places we see today—from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to the Balkans to Africa where they're having tribal conflicts—we have to first be good at home. You are helping us to be good at home and do the right thing.

So it turns out this idea that was just sort of an applause line in my '92 campaign speech, it was a pretty good idea after all. [Laughter] You proved it. We know it works. We have made it completely nonpartisan. We've tried to take it completely out of the normal day-to-day arguments of American politics, because it seems to be, as Harris said, the quintessential American idea.

That's why it is so important that the Congress this year rise above politics and reauthorize the Corporation for National Service with the necessary funding for a robust AmeriCorps.

We've succeeded out in the country, as you heard Senator Wofford say. We have a letter

from 49 of the Nation's 50 Governors. That's 98 percent. You don't get 98 percent of people agreeing on anything. So we've got 98 percent of the Governors saying, "Please reauthorize AmeriCorps." Governor Ridge says it's a vital resource because you get things done in Pennsylvania.

I have talked with the congressional leaders about this. I hope they will follow the Governors' lead and act in a bipartisan spirit. I came to Philadelphia today because sometimes, every now and then, no matter how bipartisan an issue is out in the country, something happens when you cross the border into the District of Columbia, and somehow it becomes a partisan issue, even though no one in America thinks it is.

So I came out here to you because I want people to see—in Washington, DC, I want them to see your faces tonight, I want them to hear your cheers tonight. I want them to know about your good deeds tonight. I want them to see in your lives that AmeriCorps does get things done, and I want them to get something done to reauthorize this bill.

A generation ago, Senator Robert Kennedy, who inspired so many young people when I was your age, spoke of the power of the single person to affect change. And he said that each person and each act of bravery or kindness or service sent out a ripple of hope, but that together those ripples could become a tidal wave that could tear down the worst wall of oppression and break down the biggest and sternest barriers to change. You are the living embodiment of those ripples of hope, and you are changing America in profound ways. You do it in the work that you do. You do it in the way that you do it. You do it in the way your lives are changed when you leave AmeriCorps and you go on about the rest of your lives.

We are all in your debt. And so I hope, for goodness sakes, that the Congress will give us the funding and the reauthorization we need so that hundreds of thousands of more young people can have this experience over the next 5 years, and millions and millions more of our fellow Americans of all ages, beginning with our youngest children, will be the better for it.

Thank you very, very much. *[Applause]* Now, wait. Wait, wait. I've got a job to do.

I have to swear in the newest AmeriCorps class in the United States. So I want them to stand up, all the new class. Stand up, please, all the new class, people who have not been sworn in. Anybody that has not been sworn in, stand up. All right. Raise your right hand, and repeat the pledge after me.

[At this point, the new members repeated the oath after the President.]

I will get things done for America, to make our people safer, smarter, and healthier. I will bring Americans together to strengthen our communities. Faced with apathy, I will take action. Faced with conflicts, I will seek common ground. Faced with adversity, I will persevere. I will carry this commitment with me this year and beyond. I am an AmeriCorps member, and I will get things done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:13 p.m. at Memorial Hall. In his remarks, he referred to AmeriCorps volunteer Ardelia Norwood-Ross, who introduced the President; Harris Wofford, chief executive officer, Corporation for National Service; and Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania.

Remarks at a Reception for the Pennsylvania Democratic Coordinated Campaign in Philadelphia

October 11, 2000

Thank you. Well, thank you for the welcome. Thank you, Mayor Street. I was honored to help you win because I wanted Philadelphia to win, and I'm glad you won, and you're doing great.

Thank you, Senator Tartaglione, for being the chair of our party and for doing such a good job. Thank you, Bill George. I got here in time to hear Bill George's speech. *[Laughter]* You know, Bill is so restrained and laid back. *[Laughter]* I loved it. He said everything that needed to be said and said it well. And he's been a great friend to me for more than 8 years now, and I thank him for that.

And I can't tell you how grateful I am to Ed Rendell for being willing to take over the leadership of our party, and you should be so proud of him. He's done a great, great job.

I came here to campaign for the Democrats, and this is a pretty nostalgic trip for me. As John said, it may be the last time I come to Philadelphia to give a speech as President; maybe not, though. If I get a chance, I'll come back. I love it here.

One of the young men who has been with me for more than 8 years now, Kirk Hanlin, is out there smiling. He said, "Do you remember how many times we've been to this hotel since 1992?" [Laughter] What a wonderful time, and then we talked about every hotel we've been in, in Philadelphia. And we started talking about, you know, going all the way back to early 1992 and our wonderful trips here.

I feel a deep sense of gratitude to the State of Pennsylvania. You've been good to me and to my family and my administration family. You've given us your electoral votes twice. And both times the great magnet was this breathtaking vote out of Philadelphia, which reverberated into the region here and all over this part of eastern Pennsylvania. We did better than Democrats normally do, and I just cannot thank you enough. So coming here to be for the Democratic ticket, for my long-time friend, Catherine Baker Knoll and Jim Eisenhower and Bob Casey, Jr., but especially for Ron Klink, it's not only easy, it's an honor.

I just want to say a couple of things very candidly. John said them before. I know Ron Klink pretty well. We have worked together for a long time now. He represents a district in western Pennsylvania where the biggest city has 27,000 people. And so as you might imagine, they have a lot of concerns that are somewhat different than the ones Lucien used to represent here in Philadelphia. You know, it's different.

And it's hard for a Member of the House of Representatives from an essentially rural and small-town district way across this vast State to be well enough known on the eastern side of the State for people to know who he is, what he stands for, what the differences are between him and his opponent.

I want to tell you something, folks. I think I know Pennsylvania by now. You know, my wife's family is from here, from Scranton. My father-in-law's family is there. He's buried up there. I've spent lots and lots of time here

over many years. I have absolutely no doubt that if a hundred percent of the registered voters who will vote on election day knew Ron Klink's record, knew his opponent's record, and knew what the differences between them on the issues facing the United States Senate and the United States of America over the next 6 years are, Ron Klink would win and win handily.

Number two, he's working as hard as he can. He's working hard. Therefore, if he doesn't win, it's our fault, all the rest of us that are for him. Now, I don't know how else to say it. It's hard to beat an incumbent, particularly the incumbent of the other party, because everybody with lots of money—they spend overtime trying to make sure they stay happy. And they work at it, steadily, and then when they run, they are able to run.

But we don't have to have as much money as they do. All we have to have is enough. And enough means enough for everybody to know who you are, what you stand for, what the differences are. And if they give you a little incoming fire, you can give a little answer. That's all you need. And you need a lot of word of mouth.

And I'm just telling you, if people really understood the true story of the last 6 years, Ron Klink would get as good a vote out of Philadelphia as I did in 1996. And I want you to understand this: 18 million people every year in this country, 18 million, have care delayed or denied because we don't have a Patients' Bill of Rights. We lost it by one vote in the United States Senate. If he had been your Senator, I would have signed the Patients' Bill of Rights into law already.

We passed hate crimes legislation in the House and the Senate, and then the Republican leadership turned around and took it out of the bill. If he were in the Senate, it would be one more vote to stop that kind of nonsense from happening. If you voted for something, you would send it to the President so he could sign it and make it the law of the land.

You heard what Ed Rendell said to you about school construction. The average school building in this city is 65 years old. I've been to schools that have 12 trailers out behind it. I've been to other schools where you couldn't wire all the classrooms for the

Internet or the circuits would go out. I've been to schools where whole floors had to be closed down because they couldn't be properly insulated or rendered safe because they couldn't afford to fix the roof.

We've got the biggest group of school kids in history. We say they're the most important things in the world to us. We now know how to turn failing schools around, something we didn't know a few years ago. And I could give you lots of examples. All we propose to do is to share the cost of financing school bonds with local school districts. So if you want to undertake a school building program, we'll cut the cost to the taxpayers some to make it easier for you to do it.

Now, while we've got more school kids than ever before, a smaller percentage of the property owners have children in the schools than they did 50 years ago when this happened before. So we need to do this. There's a limit to how much the property tax will bear. We can afford to do it. It's not even that expensive. But we cannot pass it through the leadership of the other party. If Ron Klink were in the Senate, he'd be out there fighting for, not dragging against, school construction legislation that will help our children have the school buildings they need.

Now, those are just three things. Now, let me back up and put it in some larger context. I'll say much more briefly what I tried to say in Los Angeles. And you heard a little of it today. When you gave—when Pennsylvania voted for Bill Clinton and Al Gore, you gave us a chance to try out some new ideas. And people ask me all the time, now that we've got the best, longest expansion in history and the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years and 22 million new jobs, they say, what great new idea did you bring to Washington. And I say, "Arithmetic." [Laughter] We brought arithmetic to Washington. And that's what caused the Republicans—they always talked about balancing the budget. Remember that? They always told you how they wanted a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. They wanted everything to help keep them from having to make a decision to balance the budget. Why? Because if you're spending more than you're taking in, there is no way to balance the budget ex-

cept to spend less, take in more, or do a little of both. It's arithmetic.

And for 12 years they quadrupled our national debt, and they ran the interest rates up and ran the economy into a ditch. And so I brought arithmetic back. And frankly, we lost the House of Representatives and the Senate in part because we had Members with enough guts to stand up to the kind of attacks that were rained down on people like Ron Klink in 1993 and 1994, for saying, "Hey, you want to balance the budget, get growth back, get interest rates down? Arithmetic."

And oh, they said it was going to be the end of the world. We'd have a recession, the whole thing. It would be terrible. People would quit working because we asked the top one percent to pay a little more in taxes. They would quit working, and nobody would do anything. The whole thing would go haywire. [Laughter] Well, time has not been kind to their predictions. [Laughter]

Now, look, we're all laughing. I want you to have a good time, but I am dead serious. Look, we changed the economic policy. We changed the crime policy. We changed the education policy. We changed the health care policy. We changed the environmental policy. We changed the foreign policy of the country. And we certainly changed our policy on building one America and bridging all the divides that exist in our very complicated society, trying to pull people together instead of drive a wedge between us. Now, we changed all that. And it's a better country. We've come together. We're moving forward. We're doing it together.

You have to decide by your votes whether you're going to ratify that direction and keep changing in that direction or say, "Well, who knows. We're doing so well, it probably doesn't make any difference. Let's take a U-turn and try it the other way." Now, make no mistake about it, that's what's going on. The differences in this election between the two candidates for President, their counterparts for Vice President, the two candidates for Senate in the State of Pennsylvania, on the economy, on education, on health care—just to take three—are huge.

Now, you can have a tax cut so you can send your kids to college, pay for long-term care, pay for child care, pay for retirement,

and still be small enough to invest in education and health care, the environment, and keep getting us out of debt so interest rates will stay down. Or you can take their tax cut, which is 3 times bigger, and then partially privatize Social Security, which costs another trillion dollars, and then take their spending promises, and you're right back in the ditch. You're back in deficits. You're back in high interest rates.

Now, let me just tell you this. Tell this to your friends. Our plan will keep interest rates—what Klink will vote for—will keep interest rates one percent lower a year for a decade. Do you know what that's worth? Three hundred ninety billion dollars in lower home mortgages, \$30 billion in lower car payments, \$15 billion in lower student loan payments. And those alone are a \$435 billion effective tax cut for working-class Americans and everybody else with those expenses. That's the right thing to do.

Now, the same thing—we're for a Patients' Bill of Rights, and they're not. We're for a Medicare drug benefit that every senior who needs it can buy into. They're for a Medicare drug benefit that leaves out half the seniors who need it. They tell them to buy insurance, with the insurance companies screaming there's no such thing as an insurance policy for medicine that people can afford to buy that's worth having.

Do you ever wonder why they did that? Did you ever hear of anybody in any business that didn't want more customers? [*Laughter*] Don't you think it's funny? Don't you think it's weird, this drug debate?

Where the Democrats and Vice President Gore and Congressman Klink—they want a Medicare drug benefit that all seniors who need it can buy into on a voluntary basis. And Governor Bush and the Republicans and the drug companies say that we're trying to have the Government take over—give me a break—the Government take over the drug business and set prices. And they don't want that many customers. They only want half the people that need it.

Well, originally, they didn't want us to do it all. And then the Republicans went to the drug companies, and they said, "Look, guys, we can't carry your water anymore. They're going to beat our brains out here. You can't

be against everybody having medicine who needs it."

And so the drug companies said, "Okay, take this bill and give it to half the people who need it." Does that make any sense? Did you ever meet a politician that didn't want more votes? [*Laughter*] Did you ever meet a car salesman that didn't want to sell cars? Now, this is serious. I want you to understand it. You need to know what's going on. It's a big deal.

If you live to be 65 in America, your life expectancy is 82. The young women in this audience that will still have babies, because of the human genome project they'll be having babies in a few years with a life expectancy of 90. It matters whether seniors can get the medicine they need to lengthen their lives and improve the quality of their lives.

The reason they don't want to do that is, if Medicare represents the seniors, they can use market power to squeeze down the price of drugs in America so they're almost as cheap when they're made in America, bought in America, as they are when they're bought in Canada. That's what is going on, because the drug companies have to recover all their research and all their advertising costs from us.

Now, I say that not to demonize them. I'm glad they're here. They give us great jobs, and they save our lives. They've got a problem. All these other countries have price controls.

So this is a big example, though, in the difference in the two parties. Their party says, "Let's solve their problem, even though we'll leave a lot of old people without the medicine they need." Our party says, "Let's give the seniors the medicine they need, then we'll figure out how to solve their problem." We're not going to hurt them, but we're not going to let them use their problem as an excuse to keep hurting other Americans. That's the differences in the two parties.

So I ask you, why am I doing this? I know I'm preaching to the saved. [*Laughter*] Because every single one of you will come in contact with a lot of people between now and election, day who have never come to an event like this and never will, but they'll vote. And all they may know, unless you talk to them, is what they see in a paid ad.

So I want to ask you to do two things. Number one, if you haven't given him a contribution, give him one, even if it's just \$10. Give him more money. If people know the difference between him and his opponent, he wins. And believe me, he can still win. The other guy is nowhere near over 50 percent. And it's all about eastern Pennsylvania, name recognition, and clarity of understanding of their position.

Number two, I want you to promise yourself when you leave here today, every day between now and the election, you're going to talk to them about Al Gore, Joe Lieberman, Ron Klink, the Democrats, where we were 8 years ago, where we are now, what we want to do, what the differences are, how we'll affect people's lives.

Look, this is real stuff. I am grateful you gave me the chance to serve. I hope I've made some contribution to the well-being of Philadelphia, as the mayor said, and the State of Pennsylvania.

But listen to me. All of our public life is always about the future. And the future now, for me, is getting back to New York in time to celebrate my 25th anniversary. And the future for you is Al Gore, Joe Lieberman, Ron Klink, and the New Democrats that brought America back. You go tell people that.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:20 p.m. at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor John F. Street of Philadelphia; Christine M. Tartaglione, chair, Democratic Party of Pennsylvania; William M. George, president, Pennsylvania AFL-CIO; Edward G. Rendell, general chair, Democratic National Committee; Catherine Baker Knoll, candidate for State treasurer; Jim Eisenhower III, candidate for State attorney general; Bob Casey, Jr., gubernatorial candidate; Representative Ron Klink, candidate for U.S. Senate; and former Representative Lucien E. Blackwell.

Statement on Congressional Action on the "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000"

October 11, 2000

I congratulate the Congress on its bipartisan work to pass the Victims of Trafficking

and Violence Protection Act of 2000, which contains legislation to combat trafficking in persons, especially women and children, as well as legislation to strengthen and reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). These initiatives have been important priorities of my administration, and I look forward to signing this bill into law.

My administration strongly supports this comprehensive anti-trafficking legislation as part of our vigorous campaign to combat trafficking in persons, a modern day form of slavery, and to punish the international criminal organizations that engage in it. Trafficking is one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises in the world, ensnaring up to 2 million additional victims around the world each year, including 50,000 annually here in the United States. On March 11, 1998, I issued an executive memorandum directing my administration to combat this insidious human rights abuse through a three-part strategy of prosecuting traffickers, providing protection and assistance for trafficking victims, and preventing future trafficking. This strategy has established the framework for our work in this country and abroad. The legislation approved by Congress today will strengthen this approach, providing new tools to protect trafficking victims and punish traffickers. It will institutionalize our Government's response, laying the groundwork for future administrations to carry this important work forward, and will ensure that trafficking of persons assumes the prominent place on the world's agenda that it deserves until we put an end to this horrible practice.

I signed VAWA into law as part of my crime bill in 1994, and during the last 6 years, VAWA has made a crucial difference in the lives of hundreds of thousands of women and children. The Violence Against Women Act has enabled communities to expand prevention efforts, enhance the safety of more victims, and hold perpetrators of violence against women accountable for their acts. But more needs to be done. From 1993 through 1998, on average, 22 percent of all female victims of violence were attacked by an intimate partner. The legislation approved by the Senate today will do more to help these women by reauthorizing critical VAWA

grant programs, providing important protections for battered immigrant women, reauthorizing the domestic violence hotline, and helping State and tribal courts improve interstate enforcement of protection orders. It is especially fitting that Congress passed this crucial legislation in the month designated as Domestic Violence Awareness Month.

Remarks Following a Meeting With the National Security Team

October 12, 2000

Situation in the Middle East/U.S.S. Cole

The President. I have just been meeting with my national security team on today's tragic events in the Middle East, and I would like to make a brief statement.

First, as you know, an explosion claimed the lives of at least four sailors on one of our naval vessels, the U.S.S. *Cole*, this morning. Many were injured; a number are still missing. They were simply doing their duty. The ship was refueling in a port in Yemen while en route to the Persian Gulf. We're rushing medical assistance to the scene, and our prayers are with the families who have lost their loved ones or are still awaiting news.

If, as it now appears, this was an act of terrorism, it was a despicable and cowardly act. We will find out who was responsible and hold them accountable. If their intention was to deter us from our mission of promoting peace and security in the Middle East, they will fail utterly.

I have directed the Department of Defense, the FBI, and the State Department to send officials to Yemen to begin the investigation. Secretary Albright has spoken with President Salih of Yemen, and we expect to work closely with his government to that effect.

Our military forces and our Embassies in the region have been on heightened state of alert for some time now. I have ordered our ships in the region to pull out of port and our land forces to increase their security.

Tensions are extremely high today throughout the entire region, as all of you know. I strongly condemn the murder of Israeli soldiers in Ram Allah today. While I

understand the anguish Palestinians feel over the losses they have suffered, there can be no possible justification for mob violence. I call on both sides to undertake a cease-fire immediately and immediately to condemn all acts of violence.

Finally, let me say this. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the greatest tragedies and most difficult problems of our time. But it can be solved. The progress of the last few years—progress that brought Israel to the hope of a final peace with true security and Palestinians to the hope of a sovereign state recognized by the entire world—was not made through violence. It happened because both sides sat down together, negotiated, and slowly built up the trust that violence destroys.

Now is the time to stop the bloodshed, to restore calm, to return to dialog and ultimately to the negotiating table. The alternative to the peace process is now no longer merely hypothetical. It is unfolding today before our very eyes.

Now I need to go back to work on this, and so I won't take questions right now. But the Department of Defense will offer a briefing today and will be able to answer the questions that are relevant to today's events.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:47 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Ali Salih of Yemen.

Statement on Efforts To Lift Sanctions Against Serbia

October 12, 2000

Today I have directed the Department of the Treasury and the Department of State to take immediate steps to begin lifting the trade and financial sanctions imposed against Serbia in 1998, except those targeted against members of the former regime. This includes lifting the oil embargo and flight ban, which will be effective immediately.

The victory of freedom in Serbia is one of the most hopeful developments in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall. It ended a dictatorship, and it can liberate an entire region from the nagging fear that ethnic differences will again be exploited to start wars

and shift borders. Therefore, we have a strong interest in supporting Yugoslavia's newly elected leaders as they work to build a truly democratic society. Our disagreement was with the Milosevic regime, not the people of Serbia who have suffered under the regime's brutal policies.

The removal of these sanctions is a first step to ending Serbia's isolation. It is within the scope of the sanctions-lifting measure announced Monday by the European Union (EU) ministers in Luxembourg, and we will move forward in coordination with the EU. We will also ensure that such measures do not allow those supporters of Milosevic to continue the systematic theft of resources that have marked the last 13 years. In that vein, we will continue to enforce a ban on travel to the United States by top members of the Milosevic regime and keep in place measures that help the new government deter a looting of the national patrimony during the current period of transition in Yugoslavia. We will also review our restrictions on Serbia's participation in international financial institutions as Serbia makes its democratic transition and meets its international obligations.

There is still much work ahead for the Yugoslav people and their new government: restoring confidence in the rule of law, rebuilding an honest economy, accounting for the past while building a better future. Thankfully, that work can now begin—without the burden of isolation—and with the friendship of the American people.

Statement on Signing the Inter-American Convention for the Protection and Conservation of Sea Turtles

October 12, 2000

I am pleased today to sign the instrument of ratification for the Inter-American Convention for the Protection and Conservation of Sea Turtles. This treaty is the first international agreement dedicated solely to raising standards for the protection of sea turtles.

All six species of sea turtle found in the Western Hemisphere are threatened or en-

dangered, some critically so. The extensive migration patterns of these majestic creatures span thousands of miles in both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Consequently, effective conservation measures depend on close international cooperation. This treaty fosters that cooperation and serves as a model for others focused on conserving the world's most endangered species.

This Convention also demonstrates that countries can work together to protect marine life, and that our trade and environment policies can be mutually supportive. I commend the Senate for giving its advice and consent to ratification of this important agreement.

Statement on Hate Crimes Legislation

October 12, 2000

Today marks 2 years since young Matthew Shepard was beaten unconscious, tied to a fence, and left to die. At the time of Matthew's death, I expressed my sympathy for the family and my outrage about the heinous nature of the crime. Since then, Matthew's death has been a call to action to many across the country committed to doing more to prevent and prosecute hate crimes. Many have worked tirelessly, along with my administration, to pass meaningful hate crimes legislation this year. Their efforts led to two strong bipartisan votes—one in the House and one in the Senate—in favor of hate crimes legislation. Unfortunately, just last week, the Republican leadership—denying the will of a bipartisan majority in both the House and the Senate—stripped hate crimes legislation from the Department of Defense Authorization bill. This action is wrong, and the will of the majority should be respected. We must not let the fear of people different from ourselves prevent this legislation from passing. Working with the bipartisan coalition that supports hate crimes legislation, I will continue to fight to make sure this important work gets done.

**Statement on Senate Action on
Departments of Veterans Affairs and
Housing and Urban Development,
and Independent Agencies
Appropriations Legislation**

October 12, 2000

I am pleased that the Senate has passed a VA/HUD bill that will open the doors of opportunity in America for those who need it most, build on our agenda for national energy security, and strengthen our commitment to the environment. With this legislation—which includes key provisions negotiated by my budget team—we take an important step toward addressing critical national priorities and opening the doors of opportunity for many more Americans.

This legislation builds upon my opportunity agenda with increased funding for economic development through empowerment zones and enterprise communities and community development financial institutions, all part of my new markets initiative, and with 79,000 new housing vouchers for low income families. This agreement also increases support for the Federal Emergency Management Agency's emergency food and shelter programs which work with States and communities to help the homeless and hungry. We are also strengthening our commitment to national service with additional support for the Corporation for National and Community Service, the first increase since the inception of this critical volunteer agency in 1993.

With this legislation, we support the significant expansion of cutting-edge basic scientific research at the National Science Foundation. This includes research in nanotechnology—the manipulation of matter at the molecular and atomic level—which holds the promise of scientific breakthroughs in a wide range of fields. It also advances scientific research through support for space exploration at NASA. At especially at this time of elevated fuel prices, I am also pleased that this bill provides resources for technologies to increase fuel efficiency, an essential part of our long-term strategy to reduce dependence on oil.

This agreement also contains increased funding for enforcement of the Nation's en-

vironmental laws and for the cleanup of polluted waterways. The agreement we reached drops or fixes several objectionable riders that threatened to harm our environment. Yet, while we were able to ameliorate the impact of the remaining riders, we were not able to rid this bill entirely of objectionable provisions, in particular the rider relating to ozone.

This agreement also provides the additional \$1.5 billion I requested for the Department of Veterans Affairs, the largest increase ever requested by any administration. This funding will support efforts to improve veterans' medical care and the delivery of key services, including disability benefits.

This agreement is clear proof of the progress we can achieve when we work together to address the Nation's priorities.

**Proclamation 7362—Death of
American Servicemembers Aboard
the United States Ship COLE**

October 12, 2000

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

As a mark of respect for those who died on the United States Ship COLE, I hereby order, by the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, that the flag of the United States shall be flown at half-staff upon all public buildings and grounds, at all military posts and naval stations, and on all naval vessels of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States and its Territories and possessions until sunset, Monday, October 16, 2000. I also direct that the flag shall be flown at half-staff for the same length of time at all United States embassies, legations, consular offices, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and naval vessels and stations.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the

Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 16, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on October 17.

**Proclamation 7363—100th
Anniversary of the U.S. Navy
Submarine Force, 2000**

October 12, 2000

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

On October 12, 1900, the United States Navy commissioned its first submarine, the U.S.S. *Holland*. Few people realized that this vessel would be the first in a long line of innovative and technically sophisticated ships that would launch a new era in our national defense.

Although early-20th century submarines were small, cramped, and somewhat limited in use, a few visionary American naval leaders recognized their great potential as both offensive and defensive weapons. By the end of World War I, American submarines were patrolling our Nation's coasts and supporting Allied efforts to keep the sea lanes open along the European coast and around the British Isles. In the 1930s, thanks to the determination of submarine force leaders and notable improvements by ship designers and builders, U.S. submarines evolved into a powerful offensive force, equipped with enough fuel, food, and weapons to sustain long-range, independent, open-sea patrols.

In 1941, when Imperial Japanese forces destroyed much of the U.S. battle fleet in the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Navy Submarine Force stepped into the breach and played a pivotal role in winning the war in the Pacific. With submerged attacks during daylight hours and surface attacks at night, U.S. submarines inflicted a devastating toll on the Japanese Imperial Navy and merchant marine. By war's end, our submarine force had sunk 30 percent of

the enemy's naval force and 60 percent of their merchant ships. But this impressive victory came at a heavy price: the submarine force suffered the highest casualty rate of any component of the U.S. Armed Services. Of the 16,000 Americans who served in submarines during the war, more than 3,500 gave their lives.

As the Cold War dawned, the U.S. Submarine Force once again helped to turn the tide of history, this time by deterring war. In 1954, under the leadership of Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, nuclear power was introduced to the fleet on the U.S.S. *Nautilus*. Together with advances in hull design, silencing techniques, and sonic detection, nuclear power dramatically improved the speed, stealth, and range of U.S. submarines. By the 1960s, when ballistic missiles were successfully launched from submerged submarines, the U.S. Navy Submarine Force helped protect the Free World from Soviet aggression by conducting reconnaissance missions and by ensuring that the United States could retaliate effectively against any nuclear attack from the Soviet Union or its allies.

The end of the Cold War, however, did not bring an end to the challenges facing our submarine force, as the outbreak of regional disturbances replaced the threat of all-out nuclear conflict. Modern submarines, with their ability to remain submerged for long periods of time, excel at gathering timely and accurate information about potential trouble spots around the globe. Should the need arise, our submarine force can also exercise powerful offensive capabilities, as it did during Operation Desert Storm in Kuwait and Iraq and Operation Allied Force in Kosovo. Today's submariners continue to build on a proud tradition of service by protecting U.S. interests, defending our freedom and that of our allies, and helping to shape a more peaceful world in the 21st century.

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 October 12, 2000, as the 100th Anniversary of the U.S. Navy Submarine Force. I call upon all Americans to observe this centennial celebration with

appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities in honor of those patriots, past and present, who have played a part in the rich history of the U.S. Navy Submarine Force—from ship designers and builders to logisticians and support personnel to submarine crews and their families—and in tribute to those who gave their lives for our freedom. Because of the vision, dedication, courage, and selflessness of generations of these brave Americans, the United States today has a submarine force second to none, whose unprecedented contributions to intelligence, deterrence, and offensive military capability will continue to serve as a strong pillar of our Nation's security in the years to come.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of October, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 16, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on October 17.

Executive Order 13171—Hispanic Employment in the Federal Government

October 12, 2000

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to improve the representation of Hispanics in Federal employment, within merit system principles and consistent with the application of appropriate veterans' preference criteria, to achieve a Federal workforce drawn from all segments of society, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. It is the policy of the executive branch to recruit qualified individuals from appropriate sources in an effort to achieve a workforce drawn from all segments of society. Pursuant to this policy, this Administration notes that Hispanics remain underrepresented in the Federal workforce: they make up only 6.4 percent of the Federal civilian workforce, roughly half of their total

representation in the civilian labor force. This Executive Order, therefore, affirms ongoing policies and recommends additional policies to eliminate the underrepresentation of Hispanics in the Federal workforce.

Sec. 2. Responsibilities of Executive Departments and Agencies. The head of each executive department and agency (agency) shall establish and maintain a program for the recruitment and career development of Hispanics in Federal employment. In its program, each agency shall:

(a) provide a plan for recruiting Hispanics that creates a fully diverse workforce for the agency in the 21st century;

(b) assess and eliminate any systemic barriers to the effective recruitment and consideration of Hispanics, including but not limited to:

(1) broadening the area of consideration to include applicants from all appropriate sources;

(2) ensuring that selection factors are appropriate and achieve the broadest consideration of applicants and do not impose barriers to selection based on nonmerit factors; and

(3) considering the appointment of Hispanic Federal executives to rating, selection, performance review, and executive resources panels and boards;

(c) improve outreach efforts to include organizations outside the Federal Government in order to increase the number of Hispanic candidates in the selection pool for the Senior Executive Service;

(d) promote participation of Hispanic employees in management, leadership, and career development programs;

(e) ensure that performance plans for senior executives, managers, and supervisors include specific language related to significant accomplishments on diversity recruitment and career development and that accountability is predicated on those plans;

(f) establish appropriate agency advisory councils that include Hispanic Employment Program Managers;

(g) implement the goals of the Government-wide Hispanic Employment Initiatives issued by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) in September 1997 (Nine-Point Plan), and the Report to the President's

Management Council on Hispanic Employment in the Federal Government of March 1999;

(h) ensure that managers and supervisors receive periodic training in diversity management in order to carry out their responsibilities to maintain a diverse workforce; and

(i) reflect a continuing priority for eliminating Hispanic underrepresentation in the Federal workforce and incorporate actions under this order as strategies for achieving workforce diversity goals in the agency's Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) Annual Performance Plan.

Sec. 3. Cooperation. All efforts taken by heads of agencies under sections 1 and 2 of this order shall, as appropriate, further partnerships and cooperation among Federal, public, and private sector employers, and appropriate Hispanic organizations whenever such partnerships and cooperation are possible and would promote the Federal employment of qualified individuals. In developing the long-term comprehensive strategies required by section 2 of this order, agencies shall, as appropriate, consult with and seek information and advice from experts in the areas of special targeted recruitment and diversity in employment.

Sec. 4. Responsibilities of the Office of Personnel Management. The Office of Personnel Management is required by law and regulations to undertake a Government-wide minority recruitment effort. Pursuant to that on-going effort and in implementation of this order, the Director of OPM shall:

(a) provide Federal human resources management policy guidance to address Hispanic underrepresentation where it occurs;

(b) take the lead in promoting diversity to executive agencies for such actions as deemed appropriate to promote equal employment opportunity;

(c) within 180 days from the date of this order, prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order;

(d) within 60 days from the date of this order, establish an Interagency Task Force, chaired by the Director and composed of agency officials at the Deputy Secretary level, or the equivalent. This Task Force shall meet semi-annually to:

(1) review best practices in strategic human resources management planning, including alignment with agency GPRA plans;

(2) assess overall executive branch progress in complying with the requirements of this order;

(3) provide advice on ways to increase Hispanic community involvement; and

(4) recommend any further actions, as appropriate, in eliminating the underrepresentation of Hispanics in the Federal workforce where it occurs; and

(e) issue an annual report with findings and recommendations to the President on the progress made by agencies on matters related to this order. The first annual report shall be issued no later than 1 year from the date of this order.

Sec. 5. Judicial Review. This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch. It does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable in law or equity except as may be identified in existing laws and regulations, by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers or employees, or any other person.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 12, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:14 a.m., October 13, 2000]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 16.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting
the International Convention for the
Suppression of the Financing of
Terrorism**

October 12, 2000

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the International Convention

for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1999, and signed on behalf of the United States of America on January 10, 2000. The report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention is also transmitted for the information of the Senate.

In recent years, the United States has increasingly focused world attention on the importance of combating terrorist financing as a means of choking off the resources that fuel international terrorism. While international terrorists do not generally seek financial gain as an end, they actively solicit and raise money and other resources to attract and retain adherents and to support their presence and activities both in the United States and abroad. The present Convention is aimed at cutting off the sustenance that these groups need to operate. This Convention provides, for the first time, an obligation that States Parties criminalize such conduct and establishes an international legal framework for cooperation among States Parties directed toward prevention of such financing and ensuring the prosecution and punishment of offenders, wherever found.

Article 2 of the Convention states that any person commits an offense within the meaning of the Convention "if that person by any means, directly or indirectly, unlawfully and wilfully, provides or collects funds with the intention that they should be used or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in full or in part, in order to carry out" either of two categories of terrorist acts defined in the Convention. The first category includes any act that constitutes an offense within the scope of and as defined in one of the counterterrorism treaties listed in the Annex to the Convention. The second category encompasses any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of the act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.

The Convention imposes binding legal obligations upon States Parties either to submit

for prosecution or to extradite any person within their jurisdiction who commits an offense as defined in Article 2 of the Convention, attempts to commit such an act, participates as an accomplice, organizes or directs others to commit such an offense, or in any other way contributes to the commission of an offense by a group of persons acting with a common purpose. A State Party is subject to these obligations without regard to the place where the alleged act covered by Article 2 took place.

States Parties to the Convention will also be obligated to provide one another legal assistance in investigations or criminal or extradition proceedings brought in respect of the offenses set forth in Article 2.

Legislation necessary to implement the Convention will be submitted to the Congress separately.

This Convention is a critical new weapon in the campaign against the scourge of international terrorism. I hope that all countries will become Parties to this Convention at the earliest possible time. I recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention, subject to the understanding, declaration and reservation that are described in the accompanying report of the Department of State.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 12, 2000.

Statement on Signing the Presidential Transition Act of 2000

October 12, 2000

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 4931, the "Presidential Transition Act of 2000." This Act amends the Presidential Transition Act of 1963, which was enacted to promote the orderly transfer of power when general elections result in a change in the Presidency. Before 1963, there was no formal provision for such transfer of power, nor were there any Federal funds available to pay for the expenses of the transition. The Presidential Transition Act of 1963 authorized the use of Federal funds for transition activities and charged the General Services Administration (GSA) with providing, upon

request, office space and a variety of services to the President-elect.

This Act will further improve the process by which the United States changes Presidential Administrations. It authorizes the GSA to develop and deliver orientation activities for key prospective Presidential appointees. To ensure coordination between the parties involved in this process, GSA should consult with the Office of Personnel Management and the White House Office of Presidential Personnel in the development of these programs. In addition, this Act authorizes the GSA to consult with Presidential candidates prior to the general election, so that they can develop a plan for computer and communications systems that will support the transition between the election and the inauguration.

This Act also requires the GSA, in consultation with the National Archives and Records Administration, to develop a transition directory. The directory will draw upon the existing body of information that describes the organization and inter-relationships of the executive branch, as well as the authorities and functions of the various departments and agencies. It will serve as a valuable "one-stop shopping" guide to Presidential appointees as they begin to carry out their various responsibilities. The Office of Personnel Management and the White House Office of Presidential Personnel should also be consulted in the development of this directory.

In approving this measure, I note that section 3 of the Act instructs the Office of Government Ethics to conduct a one-time study and submit to two Congressional committees "a report on improvements to the financial disclosure process for Presidential nominees," which "shall include recommendations and legislative proposals." There is good reason to believe that the financial disclosure process can be improved through streamlining and elimination of duplication without harming the positive intent of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978. The Recommendations Clause of the Constitution (U.S. Const. Art. II, Sec. 3), however, protects the President's power to decline to offer any recommendation to the Congress. Accordingly, to avoid any infringement on the President's

constitutionally protected policy making prerogatives, I will construe section 3 of this Act not to extend to the submission of proposals or recommendations that the President finds it unnecessary or inexpedient for the Administration to present.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 12, 2000.

NOTE: H.R. 4931, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 106-293. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 13. An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Statement on Signing Legislation To Permanently Authorize the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

October 12, 2000

I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 4115, which would permanently authorize the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

One of my earliest acts as President was to dedicate the Museum, and since then almost 15 million people have visited the institution, which serves as a constant and painful reminder that racism, anti-Semitism, and all forms of hatred are ever-present dangers, and that indifference to hatred makes each of us complicit in some way. Each generation must be taught these critical lessons anew, and therefore the Museum's special emphasis on reaching America's young people is vitally important for our country's future.

The Museum has become a moral compass that must endure, especially as the Holocaust recedes in time. When the survivors are gone, our Nation will have this vital American institution to illuminate humanity's darkest potential and to inspire our eternal vigilance.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 12, 2000.

NOTE: H.R. 4115, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 106-292. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 13. An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Statement Congratulating South Korean President Kim Dae-jung on Winning Nobel Peace Prize

October 13, 2000

I congratulate President Kim Dae-jung on his selection as the winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize. I can think of few leaders who have done so much over so many years to earn this honor. It is a fitting tribute to his courage in promoting peace and reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula and to his lifelong dedication to the principle that peace depends on respect for human rights.

This Prize not only celebrates what President Kim has accomplished; it inspires those of us who cherish peace and freedom to help him realize his vision. Since his historic summit with Chairman Kim Chong-il, prospects for a better future on the Korean Peninsula have risen greatly. The American people will stand with the people of Korea until the sunshine of peace and freedom illuminates the entire Korean Peninsula.

Statement on Action To Support the Third Generation of Wireless Technology

October 13, 2000

Today I am pleased to sign an executive memorandum that will help ensure that America maintains its leadership in two of the most important technologies driving the U.S. economy—wireless telecommunications and the Internet. I am directing Federal agencies to work with the Federal Communications Commission and the private sector to identify the radio spectrum needed for the “third generation” of wireless technology. These so-called 3G systems will allow Americans to have mobile, high-speed access to the Internet and new telecommunications services anytime, anywhere.

My administration is committed to strengthening U.S. leadership in the information and communications industry. Over the last 5 years, the information technology sector has accounted for nearly one-third of U.S. economic growth and has generated jobs that pay 85 percent more than the private sector average. The action I am taking today will

help U.S. high-tech entrepreneurs compete and win in the global marketplace. It also will allow consumers to enjoy a wide range of new wireless tools and technologies, such as handheld devices that combine services like a phone, a computer, a pager, a radio, a customized newspaper, a GPS locator, and a credit card.

I am confident that Federal agencies, working with the private sector, can develop a plan for identifying the spectrum that will meet the needs of the wireless industry and is fully consistent with national security and public safety concerns. As made clear in a report released today by my Council of Economic Advisers, time is of the essence. If the United States does not move quickly to allocate this spectrum, there is a danger that the U.S. could lose market share in the industries of the 21st century. If we do this right, it will help ensure continued economic growth, the creation of new high-tech jobs, and the creation of exciting new Internet and telecommunications services.

Memorandum on Advanced Mobile Communications/Third Generation Wireless Systems

October 13, 2000

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Advanced Mobile Communications/Third Generation Wireless Systems

The United States and the rest of the world are on the verge of a new generation of personal mobile communications, as wireless phones become portable high-speed Internet connections. The United States Government must move quickly and purposefully so that consumers, industry, and Government agencies all reap the benefits of this third generation of wireless products and services.

In less than 20 years, the U.S. wireless industry has blossomed from virtually nothing to one with 100 million subscribers, and it continues to grow at a rate of 25 to 30 percent annually. Globally, there are over 470 million wireless subscribers, a number expected to grow to approximately 1.3 billion within the next 5 years. It is an industry in

which U.S. companies have developed the leading technologies for current and future systems. It is an industry whose products help people throughout the world communicate better and in more places, saving time, money, and lives.

Many saw the first generation of wireless—cell phones—as an extravagant way to make telephone calls. Yet as with all communications systems, the value of wireless communications increased as the number of users and types of use increased. Today's second generation wireless technology increased services and information offered to users and increased competition among providers. Digital "personal communications services" provide added messaging and data features, including such services as voice mail, call waiting, text messaging, and, increasingly, access to the World Wide Web. These first and second generation services increased productivity and reduced costs for thousands of businesses as well as Government agencies.

The next generation of wireless technology holds even greater promise. Neither the first nor the second generation of wireless technologies were designed for multi-media services, such as the Internet. Third generation wireless technologies will bring broadband to hand-held devices. Higher speeds and increased capability will lead to new audio, video, and other applications, which may create what many are calling "mobile-commerce" (m-commerce) that people will use in ways that are unimaginable today. Moreover, an international effort is underway to make it possible for the next generation of wireless phones to work anywhere in the world.

The Federal Government has always played a crucial role in the development of wireless services. To foster the development of cellular telephone service, the Federal Government made available radio frequency spectrum that had previously been used by other commercial and Government services. For the second generation—digital PCS—the Federal Government allocated spectrum in bands occupied by private sector users, and ensured competition by awarding numerous licenses, while maintaining technology neutrality.

The United States has also placed a high value on promoting Internet access. Government support for the development of third generation wireless systems will help combine the wireless revolution with the Internet revolution. As part of these efforts, radio spectrum must be made available for this new use. The United States has already been active by, among other things, participating at the World Radiocommunication Conference 2000 (WRC-2000) earlier this year. WRC-2000 adopted the basic principles of the U.S. position, which was negotiated by Government and industry stakeholders: (1) governments may choose spectrum from any one or all of the bands identified for third generation mobile wireless; (2) governments have the flexibility to identify spectrum if and when they choose; and (3) no specific technology will be identified for third generation services. This result will allow deployment of the best technologies and permit the United States to move forward with rapid deployment of third generation services in a way that advances all U.S. interests.

The spectrum identified by international agreement at WRC-2000, however, is already being used in the United States by commercial telecommunications, television, national defense, law enforcement, air traffic control, and other services. Similar difficulties in making spectrum available for third generation mobile wireless systems are evident in other parts of the world. Because different regions have already selected different bands, there almost certainly will be a few preferred bands rather than a single band for third generation services.

In the United States, Federal Government agencies and the private sector must work together to determine what spectrum could be made available for third generation wireless systems.

Accordingly, I am hereby directing you, and strongly encouraging independent agencies, to be guided by the following principles in any future actions they take related to development of third generation wireless systems:

—Third generation wireless systems need radio frequency spectrum on which to operate. Executive departments and agencies and the Federal Communications Commission

(FCC) must cooperate with industry to identify spectrum that can be used by third generation wireless systems, whether by reallocation, sharing, or evolution of existing systems, by July 2001;

—Incumbent users of spectrum identified for reallocation or sharing must be treated equitably, taking national security and public safety into account;

—The Federal Government must remain technology-neutral, not favoring one technology or system over another, in its spectrum allocation and licensing decisions;

—The Federal Government must support policies that encourage competition in services and that provide flexibility in spectrum allocations to encourage competition; and

—The Federal Government must support industry efforts as far as practicable and based on market demand and national considerations, including national security and international treaty obligations, to harmonize spectrum allocations regionally and internationally.

I also direct the relevant agencies as follows:

1. I direct the Secretary of Commerce to work cooperatively with the FCC, as the agencies within the Federal Government with shared responsibility and jurisdiction for management of the radio frequency spectrum, to develop, by October 20, 2000, a plan to select spectrum for third generation wireless systems, and to issue, by November 15, 2000, an interim report on the current spectrum uses and potential for reallocation or sharing of the bands identified at WRC–2000 that could be used for third generation wireless systems, in order that the FCC can identify, in coordination with the National Telecommunications and Information Administration, spectrum by July 2001, and auction licenses to competing applicants by September 30, 2002.

2. I also direct the Secretary of Commerce to work cooperatively with the FCC to lead a government-industry effort, through a series of regular public meetings or workshops, to work cooperatively with government and industry representatives, and others in the private sector, to develop recommendations and plans for identifying spectrum for third generation wireless systems consistent with

the WRC–2000 agreements, which may be implemented by the Federal Government.

3. I direct the Secretaries of Defense, the Treasury, Transportation, and the heads of any other executive department or agency that is currently authorized to use spectrum identified at WRC–2000 for third generation wireless services, to participate and cooperate in the activities of the government-industry group.

4. I direct the Secretary of State to participate and cooperate in the activities of the government-industry group, and to coordinate and present the evolving views of the United States Government to foreign governments and international bodies.

Furthermore, I strongly encourage the FCC to participate in the government-industry outreach efforts and to initiate a rule-making proceeding to identify spectrum for third generation wireless services that will be coordinated with the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information during the formulation and decision-making process with the goal of completing that process by July 2001, so that such spectrum can be auctioned to competing applicants for licenses by September 30, 2002.

William J. Clinton

**Memorandum on Preparing
American Youth for 21st Century
College and Careers**

October 13, 2000

*Memorandum for the Heads of Executive
Departments and Agencies*

*Subject: Preparing American Youth for 21st
Century College and Careers*

Six years ago, I signed into law the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 to expand career and educational opportunities for our youth. A one-time Federal investment to jump-start State and local education improvement and workforce development efforts, the initiative will end next October after helping raise the academic performance of millions of students.

States and schools have used School-to-Work resources to help students achieve high

academic and industry-recognized occupational standards; encourage community and business involvement in our schools; and integrate technical and academic education. Through innovative learning strategies like strengthened curricula, work-based learning, internships, and career academies, School-to-Work has made learning more relevant to the challenges students will face after high school graduation.

Research shows that School-to-Work students take more challenging classes, earn higher grades, and are more likely to graduate from high school and enroll in college. In particular, School-to-Work programs such as career academies have improved the academic achievement of students who are most likely to drop out of school. School-to-Work helps students see the relevance of their studies for their futures, motivating them to attend classes and study hard, and has created thousands of new partnerships between businesses and schools.

But the need for highly skilled and educated workers has only grown in the past few years. Information Age jobs require more skills and knowledge, much of which was unknown only a decade ago. More than four-fifths of manufacturers use computers in design or manufacturing, and nine-tenths of them report difficulties in finding qualified job candidates. The number of jobs that require a college degree is growing twice as fast as the number of other jobs. In these strong economic times, the National Association of Manufacturers describes the shortage of skilled workers as “the only dark cloud hanging over our future.”

As the School-to-Work legislation nears its conclusion, the Federal Government must prepare to continue its support of State and local efforts that prepare our youth for post-secondary education and careers. To build upon the lessons of School-to-Work program and coordinate the efforts of Federal programs to prepare youth for their futures, I hereby establish the National Task Force on Preparing Youth for 21st Century College and Careers. The Task Force will examine how a coordinated Federal policy can help all youth prepare for future careers in a rapidly changing, technologically driven economy.

The Task Force shall be co-chaired by the Secretaries of Education and Labor. Other members of the Task Force shall include the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and other executive branch officials as determined by the co-chairs. The Department of Labor shall provide funding and administrative support for the Task Force.

The Task Force shall, to the extent permitted by law:

1. promote coordination and collaboration among Federal agencies seeking to improve the academic achievement and career preparation of America's youth;
2. continue existing efforts to involve businesses and community organizations in improving the education and training of our youth;
3. promote sustainable School-to-Work reforms in interested States and encourage the effective utilization of Federal School-to-Work funding through outreach, technical assistance, and dissemination of research findings and best practices;
4. help State and local agencies locate resources, including Federal resources, for initiatives that build on their School-to-Work efforts;
5. report to the President, through the Director of the National Economic Council and the Director of the Domestic Policy Council, no later than January 15, 2001, on:
 - (a) the ways in which the School-to-Work Opportunities Act has improved students' academic performance and career readiness, including community involvement, integration of academic and occupational curricula and standards, small learning communities, career development, application of academic and technical knowledge and skills in the 21st century workplace, development and utilization of industry-recognized portable credentials, and coordination of secondary and postsecondary education;

- (b) the extent to which States are preparing to sustain School-to-Work reforms as Federal support under the School-to-Work Opportunities Act phases out;
 - (c) measures the Federal Government can undertake to promote the effectiveness of State and local School-to-Work reforms;
 - (d) how the Departments of Education and Labor can build on the School-to-Work program to collaborate and coordinate critical programs that prepare youth for postsecondary education and careers; and
 - (e) other matters related to our youth's preparation for and transition to postsecondary education and careers, as deemed appropriate by the Task Force.
6. Report to the President, through the Director of the National Economic Council and the Director of the Domestic Policy Council, no later than September 15, 2002, on:
- (a) updated and revised findings from the Task Force's January 2001 report;
 - (b) how the efforts of Federal agencies to prepare our youth for further education and careers, in addition to those efforts of the Departments of Education and Labor, can be better coordinated, be made more effective, and incorporate the lessons learned from the School-to-Work program;
 - (c) the gaps, if any, between current Federal activities and the rapidly changing education and training needs of the American economy, and how those gaps could be addressed by Federal, State, or local governments or private organizations;
 - (d) how School-to-Work strategies can best prepare special populations for college and careers, including individuals who do not graduate from high school, ethnic minorities, economically disadvantaged students, youths involved in the juvenile justice system, and students with disabilities;
 - (e) what, if any, critical needs exist for new data and research related to improving the academic achievement and career preparation of our Nation's youth; and
 - (f) other matters related to our youth's preparation for and transition to postsecondary education and careers, as deemed appropriate by the Task Force.
- The Task Force shall terminate after it issues its final report to the President in September 2002.

William J. Clinton

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.

October 10

In the morning, the President met with Special Envoy Vice Marshal Cho Myong-nok of North Korea in the Oval Office. Later, he had separate telephone conversations with Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority concerning the Middle East peace process.

October 11

In the morning, the President traveled to Pittsburgh, PA, and in the afternoon, to Philadelphia. In the evening, he traveled to Chappaqua, NY, where he watched the Presidential debate.

The President declared an emergency in New York and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area affected by the West Nile virus on July 15 and continuing.

October 12

In the morning, the President had separate telephone conversations with National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger and Secretary of Defense William H. Cohen on the terrorist bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemen and the situation in the Middle East. He also had separate telephone conversations with

Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel, Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority, Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the Middle East peace process. Later, he returned to Washington, DC, where he had separate telephone conversations with Prime Minister Barak, Chairman Arafat, King Abdullah II of Jordan, and President Mubarak, and a conference call with Chairman Arafat and President Mubarak concerning the situation in the Middle East.

The President announced his intention to nominate Mark J. Mazur to be Administrator of the Energy Information Administration.

The President announced his intention to nominate Marca Bristo to be Chair and a member of the National Council on Disability.

The President announced his intention to nominate Edward Correia to be a member of the National Council on Disability.

The President announced his intention to nominate Allen Carrier to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development.

The President announced his intention to appoint Michael B. Levy as a member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad.

The President announced his intention to appoint Bruce D. Judd as a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

The President announced his intention to reappoint Carol A. Cartwright as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

October 13

In the morning, the President had separate telephone conversations with Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and King Mohamed VI of Morocco concerning the Middle East peace process.

The President announced his intention to appoint Floyd Adams, Jr., as a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

The President announced his intention to appoint Glenn Roger Delaney as a Commissioner (Commercial Fishing Interest Rep-

resentative) of the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas.

The President announced his intention to nominate Gregory M. Frazier to be the U.S. Trade Representative's Special Trade Negotiator for Agriculture and Food Policy.

The President announced his intention to nominate Dr. Hans Mark to be Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Nuclear and Chemical and Biological Defense Programs.

The President announced the nomination of Mora McLean to be a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

The President announced his intention to appoint Yeni Wong as a member of the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin.

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 October 12

Mora L. McLean,
of New York, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace for a term expiring January 19, 2001, vice Allen Weinstein, term expired.

Mora L. McLean,
of New York, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace for a term expiring January 19, 2005 (re-appointment).

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 October 10

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Jake Siewert

Transcript of a press briefing by Special Adviser to the President and Policy Coordinator on North Korea Wendy Sherman on the visit of the North Korean delegation

Released October 12

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Jake Siewert

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of Virginia

Released October 13

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Jake Siewert

Transcript of a telephone press briefing by Special Assistant to the President for Economic Policy Thomas Kalil, Council of Economic Advisers Chair Martin Baily, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information Gregory L. Rohde, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence Linton Wells, and Federal Communications Commission Chairman William Kennard on third generation wireless technology

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing the appointment of Charles L. (Jack) Pritchard as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved October 10

H.R. 999 / Public Law 106–284
Beaches Environmental Assessment and Coastal Health Act of 2000

H.R. 2647 / Public Law 106–285
To amend the Act entitled “An Act relating to the water rights of the Ak-Chin Indian Community” to clarify certain provisions concerning the leasing of such water rights, and for other purposes

H.R. 4444 / Public Law 106–286
To authorize extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (normal trade relations treatment) to the People’s Republic of China, and to establish a framework for relations between the United States and the People’s Republic of China

H.R. 4700 / Public Law 106–287
To grant the consent of the Congress to the Kansas and Missouri Metropolitan Culture District Compact

H.J. Res. 72 / Public Law 106–288
Granting the consent of the Congress to the Red River Boundary Compact

S. 1295 / Public Law 106–289
To designate the United States Post Office located at 3813 Main Street in East Chicago, Indiana, as the “Lance Corporal Harold Gomez Post Office”

S. 1324 / Public Law 106–290
To expand the boundaries of the Gettysburg National Military Park to include the Wills House, and for other purposes

H.R. 3363 / Private Law 106–6
For the relief of Akal Security, Incorporated

Approved October 11

H.R. 4578 / Public Law 106–291
Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001

Approved October 12

H.R. 4115 / Public Law 106–292
To authorize appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and for other purposes

H.R. 4931 / Public Law 106–293
Presidential Transition Act of 2000

S. 704 / Public Law 106–294
Federal Prisoner Health Care Copayment Act of 2000

Approved October 13

H.R. 1162 / Public Law 106–295

To designate the bridge on United States Route 231 that crosses the Ohio River between Maceo, Kentucky, and Rockport, Indiana, as the “William H. Natcher Bridge”

H.R. 1605 / Public Law 106–296

To designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 402 North Walnut Street in Harrison, Arkansas, as the “J. Smith Henley Federal Building and United States Courthouse”

H.R. 1800 / Public Law 106–297

Death in Custody Reporting Act of 2000

H.R. 2752 / Public Law 106–298

Lincoln County Land Act of 2000

H.R. 2773 / Public Law 106–299

Wekiva Wild and Scenic River Act of 2000

H.R. 4318 / Public Law 106–300

Red River National Wildlife Refuge Act

H.R. 4579 / Public Law 106–301

Utah West Desert Land Exchange Act of 2000

H.R. 4583 / Public Law 106–302

To extend the authorization for the Air Force Memorial Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs

H.R. 4642 / Public Law 106–303

To make certain personnel flexibilities available with respect to the General Accounting Office, and for other purposes

H.R. 4806 / Public Law 106–304

To designate the Federal building located at 1710 Alabama Avenue in Jasper, Alabama, as the “Carl Elliott Federal Building”

H.R. 5284 / Public Law 106–305

To designate the United States customhouse located at 101 East Main Street in Norfolk, Virginia, as the “Owen B. Pickett United States Customhouse”

H.J. Res. 111 / Public Law 106–306

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2001, and for other purposes

S. 366 / Public Law 106–307

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Act

S. 1794 / Public Law 106–308

To designate the Federal courthouse at 145 East Simpson Avenue in Jackson, Wyoming, as the “Clifford P. Hansen Federal Courthouse”

S. 302 / Private Law 106–7

For the relief of Kerantha Poole-Christian