

light a candle for my mother. Those are just personal things, you know.

Q. Any disappointments?

The President. No. I still think we've got to—I wouldn't call it a disappointment because to be disappointed it has to fall short of your expectations—but I think we've got some work to do within NATO in defining this whole area of—you know, out-of-area missions. Is NATO going to have a military mission beyond protecting the security of its members and the Partnership For Peace?

I'm more convinced than I was when I went there that the Partnership For Peace is the right idea at this time and that we're giving Europe a chance to have a different history than it's past, and it's enormously significant. But we don't have—the NATO—NATO was never organized or set up for out-of-area missions. They've done a terrific job with the airlift. I talked to some of our personnel today in Switzerland who were working with the airlift. They've done a great job with the mechanics of the embargo. It was never conceived that NATO would use force in any way, even in a very limited way, outside guaranteeing the security of its members. And I just think that not only in terms of Bosnia, but just generally, that whole thing has to really be thought through.

Partnership For Peace

Q. Just a last question. Did you expect it to take off, the whole question of partnership like it did? And, two, who thought of the idea first? Was this an NSC—got to go there with something positive?

The President. The answer—the first question is, I didn't know what to expect. But it's taken off; it's exceeded my expectations. I mean, I just knew how passionately I felt that it was the right approach. And I knew that I had to work through in my own mind, sort of. It was one of those things that the more I thought about it, the stronger I felt about it. It's not something, as you all know, that just knocks you off your feet once you hear about it. We all know that, but the more I thought about it, the stronger I felt about it. And I think what's happened was there began to be a consensus in Europe that this was what made sense, that we had to try for a better future, not just a better division than

we had before the cold war but a future without division and that if we could do it in a way that would permit us if circumstances turned against that dream to still do the responsible thing by those that clearly were part of the West that wanted to be part of it, then we ought to do it.

Tony would have to answer the other question in terms of the label and all that, but it was an American idea. We started by consulting all the allies; we realized that there were a whole range of reasons for reservations for immediately expanding membership. And then there were some who had some question about whether NATO had any role at all. And we talked through what our objectives were independent of NATO: What would you like to have happen in Europe in 10 years? What is it we're trying to get done? And then all of our folks went back together and came back with that idea. I have no idea who thought of it, who labeled it or who—I got it through the NSC and State and Defense. We all talked it through before I got there, because it was essentially a military training and planning concept. And I'm sure somebody knows the answer to your question, but I don't.

Q. I'm sure that it was a synthesis.

The President. Yes. I think it's something they just sort of came to. Our process worked.

NOTE: The interview began at 2:58 p.m. e.s.t. In his remarks, the President referred to Yegor Gaydar, former First Deputy Prime Minister of Russia; Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party in Russia; and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.

Remarks on Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities

January 17, 1994

I want to thank Arland for reminding us all that we can make a difference in people's lives and that there are a lot of good people out there who are dying to make more of their lives if given the opportunity. It's so easy for us here to come here and talk in Government language about Government programs that never seem to reach to the human level and to the reality of what is actu-

ally at stake among the young people of this country. And he did that better than I think that I will be able to in following up. But for all of you who are here to talk about this today, if there was ever an argument for why we needed to find ways to give people and communities the capacity to develop themselves, I think Arland Smith made a better argument than any of the rest of us ever could. I thought when he said, "I couldn't believe I was here in Washington; I used to be a knucklehead," I thought he was going to say there were a lot of knuckleheads here, but he was delicate enough not to say that. [Laughter]

First, let me if I might, comment on the earthquake that struck Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley very early this morning. I have spoken with Governor Wilson and with Mayor Riordan by phone. I've assured them that we intend to do everything we possibly can to help the people of Los Angeles and southern California deal with the earthquake and its aftermath.

I've also spoken with James Lee Witt, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. He is probably, as we meet here, on his way to California. Secretary Cisneros, I know, is going out later today. We may have other representatives of the Government there. We have done everything we can both to provide the resources and the backup we need. I believe that later today it will be possible for us to issue the appropriate Federal declaration for California. We're going to go out there anyway, and our people will be doing the necessary work to try to do that. FEMA has had a lot of challenges this year, what with the 500-year flood in the Middle West and the fires in southern California. But the good news is, I think they're well organized and ready to deal with this, and I have been very impressed with the work that's already been done since the early morning hours in southern California.

We do know that at least three people have lost their lives, that many people have lost their homes, that there's been a severe disruption of life there. There are at least three major freeways that are seriously damaged, and if you've been watching it on television you know that. So I ask the American people to remember the people of Los Angeles

County in their thoughts and prayers today. It's going to be a very difficult few weeks for them as they try to come through the immediate dangers. And there are still some immediate dangers there and in the aftermath.

On this Martin Luther King Day, we honor our Nation's challenging and most eloquent voice for human rights and human potential, a person who gave his life to guarantee better opportunities for people like Arland Smith. When Martin Luther King died in April of 1968, I was living here as a senior at Georgetown, and I remember so clearly putting a big red cross on my car and driving it down into the burning areas of town to deliver supplies to people who had lost a lot of hope. It was a very troubling time for our country and, indeed, for the whole world.

And not long after that I had a chance to go to Eastern Europe and to Russia for the first time in my life, right after the hope of freedom had been extinguished in Czechoslovakia. Well, I just got back from that trip, as you know. And while the problems those people are facing are far from over and while their future is far from free of difficulty, if you could have been with me walking the streets of Prague, you would have seen the great cause for hope, a people who for decades were shackled to a Communist system with their personal freedoms and their personal ambitions held in check now really looking forward to a very different and broader and brighter future; to see a man like Václav Havel, a former prisoner under the Communist system, living his life the way Dr. King challenged the rest of us to live, rewarded by his people with the Presidency of his country. I say that because if you think about where we are now compared to where we were when Martin Luther King died there is a great deal to hope for around the world and here at home.

But I couldn't help thinking as I was going across the world trying to help other nations deal with their problems, that I was coming home to Martin Luther King Day, and the honest hard assessment that a lot of things that were obsessing and burdening this country 25 years ago when Martin Luther King died are just as bad today as they were then. A lot of things are

better. A lot of things are better. There is more individual opportunity for people who are educated and who developed it. There is less overt prejudice. But there is more violence, less opportunity, and more destruction of family and community for the places that are really hard hit than there even was 25 years ago. And I think the only way we can honor Martin Luther King's memory is to be honest about that and to ask ourselves what we can do to rebuild the communities and families of this country and to give more young people like Arland Smith a chance to be what he is becoming.

For a long time, the Government really thought that if we just had a solution designed here in Washington that was properly funded, we could solve the problems of every community in the country. Well, we learned that that wasn't true. But we've also learned, after several years of neglect, that neglect is not a very good policy either, that somehow there needs to be a new partnership between Washington and the communities and the individuals of this country and that there needs to be a way of doing business in which we try to create the conditions in which people can seize opportunities for themselves. That's what this empowerment zone concept is all about and these enterprise communities are all about. The business leaders who are here today are here because we know that we cannot succeed in Government unless you are our partners. And we have stopped trying to tell everybody exactly how to do what needs to be done, but instead we have begun to create the conditions in which people can do what needs to be done at every level.

I want to thank all the members of our administration who are here who worked so hard on this project. I want to say a special word of thanks to the Members of Congress who are here without whom we could not have passed the whole empowerment zone concept. I tell you freely that it was not without controversy in the Congress. There were a lot of people who said, "Well, we're trying to bring down the deficit, and we just shouldn't do this. This might not work."

But when we looked at the history of what had happened to—[*inaudible*—community, when we see what happens when work disappears, when families are under stress,

when a void is created into which gangs and guns and drugs move, we realized, I think, as a people here in Washington last year, that we had to do something to try to change the rules of the game, community by community, neighborhood by neighborhood.

We also know that we can't do it without help from the business community. So I say to you here on this Martin Luther King Day, America needs your help. The real reason Arland Smith's got a good story is that after he paid the price to go through the educational system and to change his own habits and the way he presented himself and his own aspirations for his own life, the only real reason he's got a story to tell is that he also has two jobs. And if there were no job at the end of the rainbow, then this man would be standing up here giving a very different speech: "Why did you all hold out false hopes? Why did you tell me to be a good student, to be a good citizen, to be a good father, to do all these things, and then there was nothing at the end of the effort for me?"

Our most urgent task is to restore to young people like Arland all across this country the conviction that if they do work hard, they will be rewarded, the absolute, unshakable belief that they can make their future better. And we cannot do that without a community-based effort and without a partnership with employers all across this country.

In Martin Luther King's last book, "Where Do We Go From Here," he said that community-based businesses, no matter how small, are vital because they are a strength among the weak though they are weak among the mighty. If we want people to live by the work ethic, we've got to give them work. It's as simple as that. We have advanced, from the beginning of this administration, a new approach, coordinated in partnership here in Washington between the private and public sector and also coordinated at the grassroots level, to focus on a community investment strategy which would empower people to determine their own future. That's what the empowerment zones and enterprise communities are all about, and that's what our efforts to strengthen the community investment act and to develop community development banks are all about. And that's what our effort to pass a crime bill that would put another

100,000 police officers on the streets in grass-roots communities are all about.

All these things are not about imposing Federal formulas on communities; they're about giving communities the right to define a future for themselves and the resources to succeed. That's what the strengthening of the Head Start is all about. That's why on April 15th, 15 million working families will get a tax cut because their incomes are modest and because we want them to succeed as workers and as parents. That's what the earned-income tax credit is all about.

This empowerment zone initiative, therefore, is a central part of a broadly coordinated strategy. With business people in mind, the plan seeks to make places more attractive for new investment so that people can—Arland Smith can fulfill their dreams. We built about \$2.5 billion in tax incentives into this plan. They say if you hire a new worker in this zone, you'll get a tax break. If you retrain a worker who lives in this zone, you'll get a tax break. In other words, the plan rewards people for results, for reaching people in communities that presently are seeing disinvestment instead of new investment.

It's much better than welfare, and it recognizes that it doesn't make any economic sense for us to be trying to build new markets all around the world when we have huge, untapped, undeveloped markets right here at home: millions and millions and millions of potential consumers for American products and services who cannot be part of the American market because they, themselves, do not have the education, the training, the jobs, and the supports that they need. If we simply can apply our international economic policy to south central Los Angeles, Harlem, Milwaukee, Detroit, you name it, the Mississippi Delta, south Texas, we're going to do just fine in this country. We should see the American people who have the ability of this fine young man who just spoke as an enormous asset that we are not tapping. And we have no excuses now for not doing it, because we know better, and we know it. How many times did I give that speech during the NAFTA debate? The only way a rich country grows richer is to find more people who buy its products and services. In America we have millions of people who don't buy our prod-

ucts and services, because we have not invested in them and their potential and created the conditions in which they can succeed. So that is what this is all about.

Nobody in our strategy gets something for nothing. The rules for businesses that participate are the same as for the rules of communities. It tells everybody if you assume certain responsibilities, if you make certain investments, if you make certain commitments, there are rewards. And it gives you all, again I would say, the chance to develop the systems that work best community by community.

Now, I have given a lot of thought, having been a Governor and having tried to do this on a State level with mixed results, to what works and what doesn't. When I became Governor of my State for the second time in 1983, we had an unemployment rate 3 percent higher than the national average. And the Mississippi Delta was then and unfortunately still is the poorest part of America. But I could take you through towns in the eastern part of my State—Mr. Nash, the Under Secretary of Agriculture, and I went week after week, month after month, year after year into town after town after town. And we would go into a county and see 2 towns 10 miles from one another, the same income makeup, the same racial makeup, the same educational makeup, and one would have an unemployment rate 4 points lower than the other. One would have a school in which there was no white flight but instead coordinated, integrated, high-quality education. And it was always because of the leadership and the vision and the discipline and a common concern for the people who lived at the local level. They created empowerment zones without even knowing what the idea was or what it meant. So what we have really argued over and over and over again now for a year in Washington is what we could do to set up a system that would accelerate the creation of those success stories, so there can be millions more Arland Smiths.

I asked the Vice President to head a new Community Enterprise Board to try to come up with that sort of system, to change the Federal relationship with America's communities but also to set in motion a process for

American communities which would require them to undertake the discipline of examining where they are, what they're doing right and wrong, and how to come up with strategies to succeed. I am very proud of the work that they've done so far.

And this occasion today in which we open the applications for the empowerment zones, I am absolutely convinced, will benefit every single community in America that participates in it whether they win the first round of zones or not, because they will be able to see that by doing the things that work, we can open up opportunities for people to live up to the fullest of their capacities.

Again, I want to thank Arland Smith for coming here today and reminding us what is really at stake and what can be done. I want to thank the business leaders for being here today, because we can't do this without you. You know it, and we know. And his story is an example of it. And I want to thank the Vice President and everybody who has worked on the Community Enterprise Board for an outstanding piece of work which he will now describe.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:18 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Arland Smith, a Youth Employment Training Program graduate.

Remarks Honoring Martin Luther King, Jr., at Howard University

January 17, 1994

Thank you very much. Thank you, Charles DeBose, for that fine introduction and, even more important, for the example that you have set by your service. I can think of no more significant tribute to the life and memory of Dr. King than what you are doing and what all the other young people who are involved in community and national service are doing throughout this country. I know a number of them are behind me here on the stage, and I want to thank them all.

Dr. Jenifer and Mrs. Jenifer, to Joyce Ladner and all the distinguished people here at Howard, I'm delighted to be back here again. I thank and honor the presence of all the civil rights leaders who are in the audi-

ence; three members of the Little Rock Nine, who helped to integrate Little Rock Central High School in my home State so many years ago; my good friend and the distinguished journalist, Charlayne Hunter-Gault; and members of my Cabinet here; presidents of other universities here; and other distinguished American citizens, all of whom have labored in the vineyard that produced Martin Luther King.

I want to say a special word, too, if I might at the outset, of appreciation for the fact that Howard provided the moment for me to remember again that in all great debates there should be some discord. When the president of the student body got up here, I thought to myself, well, we do have a responsibility to seek justice as we see it. And I was glad she was here doing that.

It was a year ago on this day that I last spoke at Howard, and I'm glad to be back on this day. Only three American citizens, one from each century of our history, are honored with a holiday of national scope. Two were Presidents, but the other never occupied any office, except the most important in our democracy: He was a citizen. George Washington helped to create our Union, Abraham Lincoln gave his life to preserve it, and Martin Luther King redeemed the moral purpose of our United States. Each in his own way, each in his own time, each three of these great Americans defined what it means to be an American, what citizenship requires, and what our Nation must become.

Dr. King, his family, and those who joined in his cause set in motion changes that will forever reverberate across America, across the lines of geography, class, and race. The people who are here today, those whom I've mentioned and those whom I did not, all of them reflect that stunning fact. They endured beatings; they risked death; they put their lives on the line. They marched when they were tired; they went to bed often without a place to sleep. They made the word "American" mean something unique because they, all of them, in a way were trying to get us to live by what we said we believed. For all of you who are very young here today, many of you who were not even born when Martin Luther King died, it may seem to you that the struggle was a very long time ago.