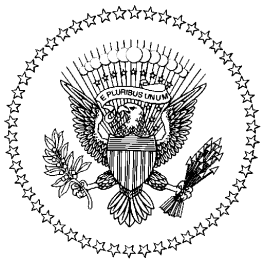
AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents



Monday, February 21, 1994
Volume 30—Number 7
Pages 283–327

Contents

Addresses and Remarks

See also Bill Signings
American Association of Retired Persons, Edison, NJ—306
Brunch with senior citizens—321
Economic report, signing ceremony—286
Law enforcement community, London, OH—298
Radio address—284
Saudi Arabian aircraft contract—305

Announcements

White House Conference on Aging—323

Appointments and Nominations

Federal Election Commission, Commissioners—304

Bill Signings

California earthquake relief legislation, remarks—283

Communications to Congress

Conflict in the former Yugoslavia, letter—324
Trade with Kazakhstan and Romania, letter—315

Communications to Federal Agencies

Research involving human subjects—323

Executive Orders

Establishing an Emergency Board To Investigate a Dispute Between The Long Island Rail Road and Certain of Its Employees Represented by the United Transportation Union—304

Interviews With the News Media

Exchanges with reporters
Old Family Dining Room—321

Interviews With the News Media—Continued

Oval Office—283, 286, 288
Roosevelt Room—305
South Lawn—313
Interviews
Michael Jackson, KABC Radio, Los Angeles, CA—294
Don Imus, WFAN Radio, New York City—315
News conference with President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, February 14 (No. 47)—289

Letters and Messages

Burmese opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, letter—297
Sweden, Prime Minister Carl Bildt, electronic mail message—315

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev—288, 289

Proclamations

To Amend the Generalized System of Preferences and for Other Purposes—314

Statements by the President

See also Appointments and Nominations
Executive order on environmental justice—283
Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program—286

Statements Other Than Presidential

Military offensive in Sudan—286

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—327
Checklist of White House press releases—327
Digest of other White House announcements—325
Nominations submitted to the Senate—326

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for $80.00 per year ($137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for $93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is $3.00 ($3.75 for foreign mailing).

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.*

Statement on the Executive Order on Environmental Justice

February 11, 1994

All Americans have a right to be protected from pollution—not just those who can afford to live in the cleanest, safest communities. Today, we direct Federal agencies to make environmental justice a part of all that they do.

NOTE: This statement was part of a White House press release announcing the signing of Executive Order 12898. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks on Signing California Earthquake Relief Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters

February 12, 1994

The President. Good morning. I'm glad to be here with the Speaker and members of the California delegation and one member of the Missouri delegation, Secretary Brown and Senator Hatfield and others, to sign this bill today.

This was legislation requested by our administration to provide the most comprehensive national response ever to a region experiencing a natural disaster, the earthquake which inflicted such damage in the Los Angeles area on January 17th. Many people had their lives shaken and transformed by the damage caused by the Northridge quake. They faced the human tragedy of 61 deaths, nearly 10,000 injuries requiring hospitalization, and many, many thousands of people who lost their homes, their jobs, or otherwise had their lives turned upside down.

We saw the fierce power of the shifting earth twist and break highways, uproot homes, ignite fires, and literally reshape parts of the Los Angeles landscape. More than 150 public schools were damaged. Five hospitals suffered destruction requiring as much as $700 million in repair. Much of the damage will take months if not years. It is only the latest hardship that the people of that area have experienced.

The first line of defense was the spirit the people of Los Angeles brought to this tragedy. Before the tremors had a chance to subside, we saw all the moving stories of neighbors helping neighbors; police, fire, rescue, and medical people serving without rest; and dedicated public officials who put people above politics. Although the central highway throughout the region sustained enormous damage, imaginative means were immediately employed to permit a return to some semblance of normal life. Crime was down 21.5 percent in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. Something good happened amidst all that tragedy as people pulled together and they stayed together.

The second line of defense against the quake was coordinated by FEMA under the leadership of James Lee Witt. FEMA has already accepted over 300,000 applications for disaster assistance. HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros led his Department's efforts to provide emergency housing aid. The SBA is processing nearly a quarter of a million applications from homeowners and businesses for disaster loans. Transportation Secretary Peña and Highway Administrator Slater are doing work to try to speed the highway repairs and to try to help provide alternative means of transportation. In each of these agencies, people are serving the way the taxpayers deserve to be treated, as customers, neighbors, and friends.

Today we put in motion the third line of defense: Federal disaster relief for California. It was the largest package of such aid in history, and as Congressman Volkmer's presence here reminds us, it also contains some aid for the people who suffered from the 500-year flood in the Middle West.

The bill provides $8.6 billion in housing assistance and home repairs, repairs to public

facilities, transit and road reconstruction, school repairs, loans to get businesses back in business, plus funds I'll be able to use to respond to unanticipated needs. Congress considered and adopted this legislation very quickly. Democratic and Republican representatives from California in the affected region worked in close cooperation. Senators Boxer and Feinstein, the House delegation, Mayor Riordan, Governor Wilson represented the needs of the city and the States very well. And I want to compliment the legislators throughout the country for recognizing that this is a national problem and making it a national effort.

Ultimately, the reconstruction of Los Angles will depend upon the resilience and the patience of the people there. Their will has been tested often over the last several years. Their spirit has remained unbroken, and I'm confident it will continue to be. Secretary Brown is here to symbolize the ongoing effort we have had to work with the people of California under his coordinated leadership since the beginning of our administration. Just yesterday we had White House officials there working on the long-term repair work to make sure that the people of California did not believe that this was just a short-term effort on our part.

We have to continue to do this. The size of the appropriation and the speed with which Congress adopted it indicates the generosity of the American people when tragedy strikes. What we now have to demonstrate is that we have the consistency of commitment to stay until this matter is put back together. It's the same thing I said to the people in the Middle West who were affected by the floods; we know there's a short-term and a long-term problem. But I must compliment the Congress on this terrific response to the terrible tragedy of January 17th. And I'm glad to be signing it today, and I'm glad that the benefits will begin to flow tomorrow.

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, did you share with Prime Minister Hosokawa at your breakfast any of the measures the U.S. is now considering in light of the breakdown in talks?

The President. No, it was a totally social visit. Mrs. Hosokawa came, I gave them a tour of the upstairs at the White House, and we talked about other things. We did talk a little bit about Latin America and a little about China, but otherwise there was nothing that could even be remotely characterized as business.

Q. Where do you think the United States will go next?

The President. We'll have to examine what our next step should be, and I will be turning to that next week. As I said, we worked until 4 o'clock in the morning the night before last hoping to get an agreement, and part of it depends upon whether the framework agreement is something that both countries will adhere to. If you go back and read the framework agreement, it plainly called for the development of objective measures, qualitative or quantitative or both—those were the words used in the agreement—to see whether we're making progress in reducing this trade deficit. So we'll just have to assess where we are and what happens. I don't really have anything else to say about it today.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:07 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. H.R. 3759, Making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes, approved February 12, was assigned Public Law No. 103–211.

The President's Radio Address

February 12, 1994

Good morning. Twenty-six days ago the people of Los Angeles suffered a devastating earthquake. Sixty-one people died; thousands of homes were destroyed; thousands of people were hospitalized. Highways were broken and twisted by the violent movement of the earth.

Because of the extent of the damage, I have just approved $8.6 billion in emergency disaster assistance for the people of California to help them rebuild roads and other

public structures, to fix gas lines, provide small business loans, and help pay the expenses of people who have lost their homes. Many have lost everything. With $900 million in aid already on the way, the total payment nears $10 billion, the largest Federal disaster assistance ever. Our country's mission, as it is after every national disaster, is to help our people recover from this tragedy and to get on with the business of everyday life. Across much of our country, everyday life has been interrupted by heavy snow and harsh winter cold. So please take care of yourselves and your neighbors who may need help.

When we respond to others in need, we show that bad weather or earthquakes or floods can bring out, in the words of President Abraham Lincoln, ''the better angels of our nature.'' By the way, Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin in Kentucky 185 years ago today. He became President just as our country was coming apart, and he lived in the White House during the 4 most troubled years in American history. From here he appealed to the best in the American people when they were going through their worst. Here his hand trembled as he set his pen to the proclamation that declared slaves thenceforth and forever free. In freeing the slaves, Lincoln freed America. A war to preserve the Union as it was became a struggle to redeem the promise of our Declaration of Independence, which holds that all men are created equal.

Lincoln went to Gettysburg, the bloodiest battlefield on our continent, to dedicate a cemetery for the war dead. There he asked America to ''resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the Earth.'' We call Lincoln the Great Emancipator, but we might also call him the Great Conciliator because no person in our history ever did more to bring us together, this vast nation of great diversity, of many political and religious beliefs and all its ethnic backgrounds.

As the Civil War neared its close, many of the victors approached the vanquished with pride and with punishment. But Lincoln called for humility and forgiveness. His second Inaugural Address contained none of the bitterness toward others, none of the petty partisan attacks that had grown so frequent in those days. ''With malice toward none; with charity for all,'' he said, ''with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up that Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'' At that moment, it was as if Lincoln had stretched out his long arms to gather up the people from every region and every corner of the country to make our Nation whole, to shepherd it beyond the war and move it forward. Only one month later, he was gone, his life taken on Good Friday, 1865.

Lincoln's legacy has touched us all down through the ages. Few now remember that he signed the homestead law giving 160 acres of land to pioneer families in search of better lives. A son of a frontier family himself, he signed a law to create land-grant colleges, which have educated America's sons and daughters ever since. Lincoln's work allowed people from ordinary backgrounds like his own to rise in life and accomplish extraordinary things. Today that work goes on. Our job here is to build up and strengthen the great American middle class, to give opportunity to all, to help our communities rid themselves from crime and drugs, to help families protect themselves from bankruptcy due to spiraling health care costs, to move people away from lifetime welfare toward full-time work, and to allow everyone who works hard to get ahead and compete and win in the new global economy.

Still the question recurs, can we do better?—just as Lincoln asked us when he said, ''The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew.''

''Fellow-citizens, *we* can not escape history,'' he said. ''We . . . will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. . . . We, even *we here*, hold the power and bear the responsibility. . . .

We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of Earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.'' Those words from Abraham Lincoln should guide our path today.

Thanks for listening, and may God bless us all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Statement on the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program

February 12, 1994

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 103–112, the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994, I am making available an appropriation of $200 million in budget authority for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program. I designate the entire amount made available as an Emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
February 12, 1994.

Statement by the Press Secretary on the Military Offensive in Sudan

February 12, 1994

The administration condemns the new military offensive by the armed forces of the Government of Sudan on populations in the south. These outrageous attacks on civilian and military targets demonstrate a callous lack of concern for the lives of innocent Sudanese and a disregard for efforts to promote peace. This offensive will only increase the suffering of the Sudanese people, create thousands of new refugees, and undermine the ongoing international humanitarian relief effort.

In response, the President has directed a number of diplomatic and humanitarian actions to be taken. He has instructed Ambassador Donald Petterson in Khartoum to protest vigorously this military action to the Government of Sudan. The State Department called in the Sudanese Ambassador in Washington to underscore our concern over the military offensive and especially the indiscriminate bombing of civilians. Our Ambassador in Kenya is urging leaders in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Eritrea to redouble their efforts, through the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), to stop the fighting and to bring about peace in Sudan. The President also intends to appoint a high-level Special Envoy to Sudan to assist efforts to achieve a ceasefire and permanent peace agreement there.

Since fiscal year 1993, we have provided more than $160 million in humanitarian assistance to the people of southern Sudan. In response to this latest tragedy, we are consulting with nongovernmental organizations in order to identify new ways to facilitate humanitarian assistance in Sudan. We are also conducting an assessment of anticipated needs in preparation for increased food aid to Sudanese refugees in Uganda, Kenya, and Zaire. We will consult with our Special Humanitarian Representative for Sudan, Ambassador John Burroughs, when he returns next week.

Despite the Government of Sudan's participation in regional humanitarian summits, it continues to violate humanitarian principles, causing further loss of life and hardship in the region. We call on the Government of Sudan to cease these actions and recognize that the future political and economic stability of Sudan depends upon all parties' respecting basic humanitarian principles.

Remarks on Signing the Economic Report of the President and an Exchange With Reporters

February 14, 1994

The President. Good morning, everybody. Before I say a few words about this year's economic report, I want to thank the Chair and the members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Dr. Laura

Tyson, Dr. Alan Blinder, Dr. Joseph Stiglitz, and their very dedicated staff for putting this report together and for being so productive and persistent in fighting to change the conditions of economic life for ordinary Americans by helping me to implement a coherent strategy and changing the direction of economic policy in this country.

The American economy is once again on the path to renewal, the path of rising output, increasing employment, and falling deficits. This did not happen by accident. It is the result of a disciplined, unified, carefully thought-out strategy.

There have been many reports in addition to this report which have said essentially the same thing over the last few months, that we now have the best conditions for long-term sustained economic growth that we've had in two to three decades. Our steadfast commitment to deficit reduction is one reason. It's helped to produce the lowest core inflation and interest rates in 20 years. And that has led to increasing business investment, more auto sales, more home sales, and millions of Americans refinancing their homes.

With the passage of NAFTA and the completion of the GATT agreement, with our efforts in Asia and with the national export strategy, we've done more to open world markets for our country and our products than at any time in the last generation. Most important, last year our economy created almost 2 million jobs, 90 percent of them in the private sector, more than were created in the previous 4 years combined.

And so we have a good strong start on an economic recovery. Our task now is to keep it, to expand it, to sustain it so that Americans in all parts of the country will feel new opportunities and stronger incomes. We know that our work is not done because there are still too many people who are unemployed and still too many regions that are in trouble.

So to build on our renewed strength at home and to take full advantage of greater trade opportunities abroad, we continue the process we began last year of reducing the deficit and investing more and more wisely in the foundations of growth. We're keeping faith with deficit reduction in the budget of 1995. In fact, the same experts who predicted that when I became President the deficit would be $300 billion next year, now say it will be 40 percent lower, under $180 billion.

We're leveraging our investment in dual-use defense technologies to keep ourselves commercially competitive and militarily strong. We're investing in new environmental technologies to create new jobs, in the new national information infrastructure which will help us to educate our children, raise productivity, provide better medical care, and reinvent the way our Government works. That's what the Vice President always tells me, and it happens to be true.

And we're investing this year more directly in the American people, in education and training and the skills they need to seize opportunities in a growing economy. And finally, we will further strengthen the foundations of our society and our economy by reforming our health care system, which is too expensive and does too little, and by working to make our welfare system a second chance, not a way of life.

In just one year, this economic team has accomplished a great deal. The initiatives I described comprise our economic strategy. The goal is clear: To secure more jobs and a high and rising standard of living for the American people in an increasingly tough global environment. Because this is a strategy for the long run, its full effects will not be felt overnight. But as we demonstrate in this report I'm about to sign, there are already many signs that the strategy is paying off.

Thank you very much.

[*At this point, the President signed the report.*]

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, are you going to impose sanctions on Japan?

The President. When our talks stalled last week and it was clear we were at an impasse, I agreed with Prime Minister Hosokawa that we would undertake a period of reflection and give them a chance to do the same thing. So we are now reviewing all of our options, but we haven't ruled anything out.

I might say that the news story that I saw on the cellular telephone today is really quite coincidental with this, although it's illustrative of the same problem. That is, we have

been engaged in these talks on cellular telephones for a very long time, and the deadline, as I said, purely coincidentally ran out at this time. But it is a good illustration of the problem we face in entering the Japanese market.

Q. But if you take action in support of Motorola's bid to penetrate the Japanese market, won't that lead to retaliation by the Japanese, and couldn't that be the start of a trade war?

The President. It could be, but I think they would have to think long and hard about it. I mean, after all, with all the Japanese investment in this country and all the jobs that are here and with all the trade we have in Japan, they still have a built-in trade surplus of tens of billions of dollars, and not only with us but with many other countries. They have reached a point now in their gross and wealth and strength when it is simply no longer acceptable for, I think for their own consumers as well as for the rest of us, for them to follow a policy so radically different from the policy of every other advanced economy. It costs jobs and incomes in our country and Europe and other places and causes their people to have to pay almost 40 percent more for basic products. I just think it's an unsustainable policy. I said so last summer when I went there; I still believe it. And it's just not acceptable for the United States to continue on the same path.

Q. What about options other than trade sanctions?

The President. We're looking at several options, but I'm not ruling anything out.

Q. Isn't it a little dangerous now, on the eve of a major decision with North Korea's nuclear program, to enter into this politically difficult period with Japan? The United States will need Japan——

The President. Well, we will need Japan. But the United States, Japan, and China all agree with South Korea on this policy, that we should be pursuing a nonnuclear Korean Peninsula. That is not going to change. I would call you back to the statements that both Prime Minister Hosokawa and I made when he was here. We have great common interests and a natural friendship, and I don't think that's going to change. But the relationship has to change. There are elements in Japanese society and elements in the Japanese political system who very much want the relationship to change. So we're just going to have to see what our options are and proceed.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:42 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan

February 14, 1994

Bosnia

Q. President Nazarbayev, do you support NATO's decision to threaten the Bosnian Serbs with air strikes in case they don't remove all their artillery from the hills surrounding Sarajevo?

President Nazarbayev. Despite the fact that Kazakhstan is well removed from those events by a great distance, I still believe we all as members of the U.N. respect the decision taken by the Security Council.

Q. Mr. President, is there a gap between the U.N. and the United States on what steps need to be taken in order to launch air strikes?

President Clinton. I don't have any reason to believe that there is. Keep in mind the Secretary-General asked NATO to take the action we took and made it clear that—we made it clear that we do not want to take that action unless we could follow through on it, that is, unless the conditions were met that we would take the action we said. And he agreed with that. So I have no reason to believe that there is any difference of opinion.

Q. Do you sense that the Serbs are beginning to cooperate?

President Clinton. I think so. Again, let me say that the larger issue is whether we can move toward a reasonable peace agreement quickly after establishing a safe zone around Sarajevo. But we're just going to have to see. There's still a few more days left before the time runs out.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not

available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's News Conference With President Nursultan Nazarbayev

February 14, 1994

President Clinton. Good afternoon. I'm delighted to welcome President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan to the White House today. This was our first meeting, and it was a very good one.

As I said, this was our first meeting, and it was a very good one. Over the last year I asked both Vice President Gore and Secretary of State Christopher to visit Kazakhstan during their trips to the region. Both told me how impressed they were by the great progress Kazakhstan has achieved under the strong leadership of President Nazarbayev.

While there are many aspects to the widening relationship between our two nations, one of the most important is our work in nuclear nonproliferation. When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, there were four of the New Independent States, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, who had Soviet strategic nuclear weapons on their territory. One of my highest national security priorities has been to ensure that the breakup of the former Soviet Union did not lead to the creation of new nuclear states. Such a development would increase the risks of nuclear accidents, diversion, or terrorism. That's why when I was in Minsk last month, I praised Belarus for working to eliminate its nuclear weapons and why last month's historic agreement to destroy over 1,800 nuclear weapons in Ukraine is so important.

In the 2 years since Kazakhstan attained its independence, it has shown the leadership to meet its international arms control obligations and to address the most dangerous legacy of the cold war. Kazakhstan signed a protocol in Lisbon making it a party to the START Treaty. In July of 1992, Kazakhstan ratified that accord. And last December, Vice President Gore had the privilege of being in Almaty when Kazakhstan's Parliament voted to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state.

Today I was honored when President Nazarbayev presented me with his Government's instrument of accession to the NPT. This historic step sets an example for the entire world at a pivotal time in international nonproliferation efforts. It will affect over 1,000 warheads from SS–18 missiles, the most deadly in the cold war arsenal of the former Soviet Union.

This step will also allow Kazakhstan and the United States to develop a full and mutually beneficial partnership. To strengthen that partnership and to support Kazakhstan's economic reforms, I am announcing today a substantial increase in the United States assistance to Kazakhstan from $91 million last year to over $311 million this year. In addition, we are prepared to extend another $85 million in funds for the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons in 1994 and '95.

President Nazarbayev and I also agreed today to continue our efforts to encourage and facilitate trade and investment between our two nations. We signed a charter on democratic partnership which states our common commitment to democratic values, including the rule of law and respect for individual rights. These values were a source of strength in both our multiethnic societies.

The United States and Kazakhstan will also sign agreements today on scientific cooperation, space, defense conversion, investment protection, and other areas. These are the building blocks of a strong and enduring relationship.

The President's visit here today opens a bright new era for that relationship, and the United States looks forward to being Kazakhstan's friend and partner in the months and the years ahead. We believe we have established the basis for a long-term partnership of immense strategic importance and economic potential for the United States.

President Nazarbayev has shown great courage, vision, and leadership, and we are prepared and eager to work closely with him and with the people of Kazakhstan.

Mr. President, the microphone is yours.

President Nazarbayev. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the—[*inaudible*]—official visit to the United States is a crucial stage

in the development of the Kazakh-American relationship.

Today, President Clinton and I had talks that were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. This has been our first personal meeting, and I'm satisfied to state that it has been a fruitful one.

We have discussed openly a number of important issues of mutual interest. At the center of this discussion were the issues related to a further development of the Kazakh-American bilateral relationship, the latest development in the Commonwealth of Independent States and central Asia and strengthening of international security.

President Clinton and I highly appreciate the dynamics of a development of the Kazakh-American relationship. We unanimously have agreed that—[*inaudible*]—enjoy good prospects for a further expansion and deepening of our cooperation in various areas.

The most important one among the documents that were signed today is the Charter of Democratic Partnership between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United States of America. This document in everyone's opinion marks a principally new phase in our relationship that has given a larger scale—[*inaudible*]—basis. It covers such aspects as politics, economy, military cooperation, science and technology, ecology, health care, and others.

I familiarized President Clinton with the situation in our region. And I'm satisfied with his deep understanding of Kazakhstan's interest to safeguard its security, territorial integrity, and in viability of existing borders, to—[*inaudible*]—stability and to create a favorable environment to follow the path of a democratic development and economic reforms.

These issues are of exceptional importance to us due to the signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by Kazakhstan as a non-nuclear state. Security guarantees provided by the United States are contained in the charter as well as our participation in multilateral cooperation within the framework of partnership in the name of peace, a program initiated by NATO, strengthened our confidence in the future of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state.

During talks, both parties confirmed their interest in an increased contribution that American businesses can make and to develop the economy of Kazakhstan. The conditions that are necessary for this to happen are there. We believe that American companies that have partaken in this—[*inaudible*]—could determine one of a more promising and mutually beneficial trends in our cooperation. The list of such entities has been submitted to the American business community.

We also believe that the setting up of the Kazakh-American Business Council for Economic Cooperation and to the central Asian funds for small business development with the headquarters at Almaty will also contribute to obtaining the aforementioned objectives. An entirely new aspect of our cooperation will develop when American companies take part in a conversion of the defense industry in Kazakhstan. And agreements have been made to set up a bilateral committee that will deal with these issues.

I'd like to express my gratefulness personally and on behalf of my delegation for the hospitality and warm reception and for the fact that all the problems that were discussed found deep understanding. I believe that the strategic relationship in economy and politics between the United States and Kazakhstan will serve the cause of democracy and economic reforms and will also help establish a just order of—[*inaudible*]—former Soviet Union.

I have invited President Clinton to visit Kazakhstan officially, the times of which will be agreed on through diplomatic channels.

Thank you.

Bosnia

Q. Mr. President, Bosnian Serbs have withdrawn only 28 of the 500 heavy guns from around Sarajevo. Will NATO carry out its threatened air strikes if any of those guns remain in place by the deadline? And also, do you foresee expanding the demilitarization formula to other areas of the former Yugoslavia?

President Clinton. The latter issue is something that would have to be discussed between ourselves and our allies and the leadership of the U.N.

Let me answer the former question first. I expect that the terms of the NATO agreement will be followed. Keep in mind, the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked us to take action. We agreed to take action. All along the way, the United States made it clear that if we were going to take this step, we had to be prepared to take the step. And we were assured all along the way that our allies in NATO and that the Secretary-General agreed. So I don't believe there is a fundamental misunderstanding on that point.

Let me say, we also have some people here from the press with President Nazarbayev, so I'll try to alternate with this lady, I think, in the back.

NATO Membership

Q. How acceptable is the idea of Kazakhstan's integration into NATO?

President Clinton. Well, first, let me say, I'm grateful that Kazakhstan has agreed to participate in the Partnership For Peace. The whole idea of the Partnership For Peace is to give countries that are not in NATO, that were part of the Warsaw Pact or part of the former Soviet Union or were just simply neutral and not in NATO, the opportunity to participate in military planning and exercises and to increase a level of confidence and security on the part of those countries. No decision has been made by NATO yet about when other new members will be let in. I think there will be some more new members let in, but the thing we're most anxious to do is to move this year—this year—with some joint training and exercises and planning.

Kazakhstan Oil

Q. For all the good feeling between your two countries, is the United States going to block the proposed pipeline between Kazakhstan and Iran—block international financing?

President Clinton. Why don't you let President Nazarbayev respond? We talked about that.

President Nazarbayev. That certainly is the question that must be addressed to me. Kazakhstan, particularly western Kazakhstan, is a very powerful oil area. According to the estimates, there are about $25 billion—[*inaudible*]—of oil and gas—[*inaudible*]. The first American company, Chevron, that a contract with it was signed last April, has already started producing oil and selling that in international markets. The traditional ways of transporting oil went through Russia and Novorossisk and the Black Sea. In the first place, that's still the priority for us, and we're going to adhere to that and use the existing facilities—and we've got—[*inaudible*]—agreement with the Russian Government.

However, because they—[*inaudible*]—is used for political speculation, naturally Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, that are oil-bearing states, are actively seeking alternative ways. We've got a number of alternatives, the first one of which is to build a pipeline south of the Caspian Sea through Iran and—[*inaudible*]—into the Mediterranean, as well as through the Caspian Sea from the Caucasus and—[*inaudible*]—Mediterranean. The third one is through Iran into the Persian Gulf. All these projects are being examined at the moment, and a feasibility study is being made. And no final decision has been taken yet.

President Clinton. I think the—from my perspective, if I might just follow up, I was impressed with the fact that President Nazarbayev said his first priority was to try to get adequate access to the pipeline that goes through Russia. And we discussed what we might do together to pursue that goal, and I think we should first.

Yes, ma'am.

Future World Order

Q. ——at least one of the options of the possible—[*inaudible*]—forecast as to the outcome of the division of the world today? At least as far as the two—[*inaudible*]—are concerned that existed in the past, what is the world's division going to be?

President Clinton. If I knew that, I would be a far smarter man than I am. All I can tell you is that we hope is that the world will not be polarized in the way it has been in the past. We understand fully that neither the United States nor any international organization has the power to wipe all the troubles from the world, that as long as there are civil wars and people are fighting one an-

other based on differences of race or religion or ethnic group or for political reasons, those things will probably occur as long as human beings inhabit this planet. But we hope the end of the cold war gives us a chance to develop a partnership with people all around the world based on shared values and shared commitments to democracy and to economic opportunity and to respecting borders, neighbors' borders, so that we can focus on fighting things that we all disagree with, including the proliferation of dangerous weapons and terrorism.

That is what I hope will happen. That is why the idea behind the Partnership For Peace is to give us a chance to have a Europe which is not divided for the first time since nation states have occupied the territory of Europe. We're doing our best.

Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News].

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, your own economic report today indicates that our trade, our exports with Japan, would improve by only $9 to $12 billion of the total amount of our trade deficit, if all the barriers were dropped. In that case, why are we considering sanctions? Shouldn't we begin looking at our own problems of productivity?

President Clinton. Well, no——

Q. And what is the state of your thinking regarding sanctions and whether this could lead to a trade war?

President Clinton. First of all, $12 billion is a lot of money, even today. Secondly, it's not a question of American productivity. We now know that American productivity is at least as high as that of anyone else in the world. Let me explain what that means—the $12 billion—the trade deficit would drop by $12 billion if all the barriers were removed.

What that means is that in order for us to move closer toward balance, two other things would have to happen which have not happened in this country because of the closed system which has existed. We would have to customize some products for the Japanese people in the Japanese market that would be available then to that market. And secondly, we would have to dramatically step up our efforts to market and to pierce that market. Then you're looking at much more than $12 billion per year. So, I think that that's a very significant thing, much more than $12 billion once those two changes begin to be made.

Also keep in mind the Japanese people today spend 37 percent more than Americans do, for example, on average for consumer products and services, so that—you've got to factor that in. If they actually were paying normal prices for products, goodness knows how much more they might buy and what that would do to the trade relationships of the United States or Europe, for that matter. This is a very important thing. I can only say what I have said already today which is that we have reached no decisions. This is what Prime Minister Hosokawa and I described as a period of reflection.

The story today about the cellular telephone issue is purely coincidental. That is, that's been an issue now for nearly 5 years I think. And the deadline for making a finding of fact, not deciding what action will be taken but for making a finding of fact, just happens to fall tomorrow. But it is, while it's coincidental, it is a problem which is illustrative of our general problem. There is no question that Motorola provides a world-class product, fully competitive in quality and price on that.

Anyone else who's here with President Nazarbayev have a question? Yes, please. Yes, go ahead.

Central Asia

Q. Mr. President, how does the United States view Kazakhstan among other central Asian republics, and what place does it give to Kazakhstan within this framework?

President Clinton. The United States believes that Kazakhstan is critically important to our interests and to the future of democracy and stability in central Asia because of its size, because of its geographic location, near China as well as Russia, as well as so many other countries that are important in that area, because of its immense natural wealth, because of its progress in promoting reforms and because of its strong leadership. So it's a very, very important country to us and a very important part of our future calculations.

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, given the strong position you took with your visitor from Japan the other day, are you not now really in a situation where given the expected finding of fact tomorrow, you just about have to impose sanctions?

President Clinton. Well, I'm going to make a decision within a few days. We need to clarify what America's approach is going to be now within the next several days. But I think that what's happened in the cellular telephone case is a classic example of what the problem is. There are a number of options open to us, including some that have not been widely discussed that may offer a great promise here.

And let me also say for those of you who worry about a trade war and other things, this is a battle that is raging not just in the United States and in Europe and in all other parts of the world that have been exposed to the mercantilist policies of Japan, this is a battle that is raging in Japan. And there are a lot of people in Japan who want to take a different course and may be strongly encouraged by the fact that we did not conclude a phony agreement one more time but instead are trying to have an honest progress to a better relationship.

In the interest of equal representation——

U.S. Investment in Kazakhstan

Q. My question actually is for both of you, sort of a follow-up on the oil issue question. President Nazarbayev, your country is going to be receiving substantially more aid from the United States. I'll ask you bluntly if U.S. oil companies will be receiving more preferential treatment in developing your oil fields. Mr. Clinton, I'll ask you if that was a key negotiating point?

President Nazarbayev. I've already mentioned that the first company to start work in Kazakhstan was Chevroil, that's conducted negotiations with the former Soviet Union for about 4 years. And after the collapse of the Soviet Union, we have been able to complete those negotiations in the course of only 6 months. International expertise has been made with respect to this project, and it's considered to be an internationally acceptable one.

The second consortium was put together in western Kazakhstan and such American companies as Mobil Oil, British Petroleum, Agip, total altogether about six major oil companies that are going to explore the depository fields. That exceeds Tengiz by 6 times. An answer—[*inaudible*]—come up with a feasibility study, the priority will in the first place be given to those companies, and the major company among them is Mobil Oil.

This is why I believe that these are very serious contracts that we have signed, altogether about 70 American companies working in Kazakhstan—[*inaudible*]—oil and gas. They also involve gold and silver mining, manufacturing of nonferrous metals, and processing of agricultural—[*inaudible*.] For the first time Philip Morris bought the entire stock of a tobacco manufacturing plant, and I believe that's a good start.

President Clinton. The short answer to your question is no, there was no quid pro quo. Perhaps I can give a brief but somewhat lengthier explanation because I think it's an important question.

We decided to increase our aid because we thought the money would be well spent, because we see the progress of reform, we see the long-term commitment, and we see the enormous strategic significance in this country and in this President. To be fair on the aid, it might be correctly stated the other way around, that is, instead of our conditioning their aid on any kind of special deal for our people, what we saw was that our people had the confidence, that is our energy companies had the confidence in other companies to go there and invest. I think there are now 70 American companies with investments in Kazakhstan.

So in that sense, they have sent us a message, and they have told us that they believe this is a stable, secure, long-term, positive environment and that we ought to be part of helping to make it so.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 47th news conference began at 1:56 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. President Nazarbayev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. The tape did not include the translation of President Nazarbayev's remarks.

Interview With Michael Jackson of KABC Radio in Los Angeles, California

February 14, 1994

Mr. Jackson. Good afternoon to you there, sir.

The President. Hello, Michael, how are you?

Mr. Jackson. I must tell you, Mr. President, when people heard that you were coming on this morning, their already broad beams grew broader. People are very, very delighted that you've taken the interest, sir, and the direct concern that you have with the suffering out here. But it's an inspiring morning.

Good morning, sir.

The President. Good morning. It must be inspiring. The courage, the determination demonstrated by the school's administration, faculty, and students to get the campus back in operation so quickly, just a month later, is very impressive. I want to compliment President Blenda Wilson and everyone else who worked on it. I think she's there along with Cal State University Chancellor Barry Munitz. And I just have heard so much about it.

FEMA spent a lot of time out there. I think Dick Krimm's with you there——

Mr. Jackson. Yes, he is. He will be on shortly.

The President. —and we've had so many reports from Henry Cisneros and Federico Peña and all the people I've had out there and all the people from California who work at the White House who have been out there.

I couldn't believe that you sustained $300 million worth of damage. And all of your 53 buildings were damaged, and you're back open a month later. It's a real tribute to you. So I'm glad to hear the California spirit alive and well. I can hear it in the background from all the clapping and everything.

Mr. Jackson. It's here.

The President. The Vice President is coming out to Northridge on Wednesday to inspect the damage. And I hope you'll all go see him. He's younger and has less gray hair than I do, so more college students should like seeing him. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Jackson. Did he write that comment, Mr. President?

The President. No, no, but he might have. I mean, he's got a pretty good sense of humor about it. We kid each other a lot. And his sense of humor is great, especially if the jokes are at my expense. [*Laughter*]

Federal Aid to California

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, why does it take an earthquake, a disaster of this magnitude to get such a generous response from Washington? I mean, shouldn't some of the Federal aid and assistance be available to people who are dislocated by, for example, the closure of so many cold-war-related industries here in California?

The President. Absolutely. Absolutely, it does. It should happen. Since I have been in office, we've worked very hard to dramatically increase the amount of assistance in terms of job training and in terms of alternative development of jobs for use of defense technologies, for commercial purposes, and in helping communities put themselves back together.

I came in here with a real philosophy that we ought to be spending a lot of money every year on defense conversion and on other things that dislocated people who wanted to work. So last year we spent $500 million on defense conversion. This year we're going to spend much more. And we need to do more.

Now, keep in mind, one of the things that constrains us now is the enormous Government deficit, which the Congress is normally willing to suspend in the case of an emergency. So that's one of the reasons these things happen more quickly. But we are moving toward investing more in communities and in workers and in new technologies. And it shouldn't take a natural disaster to get us to plan for and take care of the fundamental needs of our people.

Natural Disasters

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, Mother Nature really has socked it to us and given most of the Nation a devastating few months. As you read and study the reports and you watch the news, do you have an overall comment that you'd care to make about the way that citizens impacted by hurricanes, blizzards,

floods, fires, and now earthquakes have responded to these disasters?

The President. Well, I'd say the American people get an A-plus for the way they've dealt with this. You know, there was a 500-year flood in the Middle West. I visited there several times—just stunned by it. Then in the last several months you've had the fires in California, plus the mudslides and the terrible problem of the earthquake, and of course, another earthquake and the problems in Los Angeles just a couple of years before that. So this is really an enormously difficult time for people, especially in California but in many other parts of the country. And then in the East Coast, you know, we had the bitterest winter in over 100 years and many, many people died there.

But it seems that when these things happen, when nature reminds us that we're not in full control of our destiny, somehow people almost relax more, and they come together; they think about what's really important; they trust each other. I think it's fascinating in how many communities the crime rate dropped dramatically after this earthquake occurred, when presumably it might have been easier to go out and steal from people. People didn't want to do it as much.

I think that sometimes we need to remember what it was like in the midst of one of these natural disasters and see if we can't behave more like that all the time and realize we need each other and we are a community, and when we pull together and work together, we can do unbelievable things in a very short time. When we fight with one another, when we're divided, when we're shortsighted, then none of us can become what we ought to be.

Natural Disaster Insurance

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, I know you've toured the area. It's so easy to assess the damage and compare the scene with a war zone, but I think that's where the comparison ends. But this is a campus of 25,000 students who are hell-bent and determined to get on with life, to get on with their education, and they don't look like refugees from a battlefield. Sir, should——

The President. Good.

Mr. Jackson. Good. Mr. President, should there be such a thing as automatic sort of mandated natural disaster insurance so that no one is left out when the hurricanes and the earthquakes, et cetera strike?

The President. Well, we're looking at that. Let me say, we're trying to do more to try to reduce the cost of people and property of natural disasters by doing a better job of thinking ahead, by choosing where we will build with an awareness of potential disasters, by constructing what we do build very well, by retrofitting where it's cost-effective. You know, a lot of the retrofitting that was done on the highway structures in California really worked. And if we had had another 6, 7 months before this last earthquake, we would have retrofitted more and had even less damage. So these are things that we have to really invest a lot more time and effort in.

With regard to having a Federal disaster insurance fund, I think that you have to remember that insurance works when the risk is spread broadly. And that requires a lot of people to participate, including many who don't think they're particularly at risk and others who may not be particularly at risk.

So when the taxpayers do it like this, we spread the risk very broadly across all of us who live in America because some of us are in trouble. If there were a way to use insurance mechanisms to do a better job so we wouldn't have to increase the deficit, that would be better still. But we have to ask ourselves whether that would be putting even more burden on people who are really not at risk.

We're thinking about it, and we're soliciting ideas. And there are a lot of bright people in universities all over California and in businesses who may have some good ideas about this. And I assure you that—three or four have already been presented to us, and we're going to research them all very carefully and eagerly look for other options, because we have been very fortunate that we could get the money through the Congress to deal with the floods and to deal with the earthquakes. But it is a difficult thing.

Health Care Reform

Mr. Jackson. When we have health care reform, will the new system, whatever its final shape, better serve the masses in time of a major disaster?

The President. Oh, absolutely. I kept wondering, when I was out in California and I realized how many people were hurt or needed medical care or thrown out of their homes and maybe subject to overexposure, how many of those people didn't have health insurance, whether they didn't go to the doctor or didn't visit the hospital just because they didn't have any coverage, or whether they did, took medical care, and now wonder whether they can afford to pay for it or whether they're at risk of bankruptcy.

If we would simply join the ranks of all the other advanced countries in the world and provide comprehensive health care that can never be taken away through a system of guaranteed private insurance, it would stabilize life for working families enormously. I also will say that according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office study issued about a week ago, small businesses would benefit perhaps more than big businesses because their premiums would go down and everybody would be covered.

We have simply got to stop making excuses and saying, ''Well, America's the only country in the world that can't figure out how to cover its folks.'' You've got almost one in four people living in California without any health insurance—citizens, never mind the immigrant population, citizens who don't have health care. We have got to do a better job.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, Blenda Wilson, who's the president of CSUN, would love to ask you a question if she may. And by the way, I've just realized why it was difficult for you to get through to Boris Yeltsin, sir. He was worried that you might have been calling for disaster relief. [*Laughter*]

The President. I thought I might have to get on the phone and phone around the world to get enough money to deal with it, but we made it. [*Laughter*]

Message to Students

Blenda Wilson. Mr. President, we're delighted that you would join us on this opening of our spring term. While we've been talking about disaster relief and health care, I recall your work several years ago with the education commission of the States and found you to be a strong advocate of education, partly because, I think, you realize as we do that the young people and middle-age people, for that matter, who attend California State University will be those citizens and employees and employers and entrepreneurs that are essential to economic development. When you think about the relationship of disaster relief and higher education and work-study programs, which are very important to you, what would you say to the students that are gathered here at this public university?

The President. Well, first of all, I'm proud of the fact that Congress was able to come up with the money to fully reimburse Cal State, Northridge for the losses it incurred, along with a 10 percent match coming from the State. I'm very proud of that.

Secondly, I hope that during this clean-up effort, there will be even more jobs available in the short run, which will help a lot and which some of your students will be able to get.

But thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, the average age of a college student today is a little over 26 years of age. More and more people recognize that if they want to get a good job with a growing income, if they don't want to have the kind of stagnant wages that most American workers have been saddled with for 20 years, they've got to have at least 2 years of post-high-school education and training. And we are busily engaged here in Washington in passing some education legislation and some training legislation which will make it easier for every person in America to get those 2 years of post-high-school education and training. That's the most important thing of all. If you stay there, if you see it through, if you go on and get a 4-year education, the more you have, the better your prospects are. But we know, based on the 1990 census, we actually now have hard evidence that the global economy is punishing high school dropouts, punishing high school graduates, and rewarding people who have 2 years or more of post-high-school education.

So if we want to restructure the California economy and we want new jobs in high-tech

areas without the guarantee of defense, we've got to make sure that every young person and every not-so-young person in California who will go to a place like Cal State, Northridge, does so.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, I can't think of an occasion when a Chief Executive of the United States has aligned himself so immediately and completely with a Californian concern or issue, in this case a natural disaster. Our leader locally is Mayor Richard Riordan, of course.

The President. Is he there?

Mr. Jackson. Yes.

Mayor Richard Riordan. Mr. President?

The President. I had to do it, otherwise he would have camped out on my doorstep here and never gone home. [*Laughter*]

Mayor Riordan. Well, I feel like you've been camping out on our doorstep. I'd like to thank you on behalf of not only the students, faculty, and staff of Northridge but all the citizens of L.A. for your A-plus effort and your A-plus team. We've had, I think, more Cabinet members in Los Angeles in the last month than you've had in Washington.

The President. Thank you, Mayor.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. President, thank you so very much, indeed, for taking our call on the spur of the moment like that, sir.

The President. Thank you, Michael. Let me just say one thing. I want to compliment the Mayor and everybody that we've worked with in California. I know you could say that they're so good at this because you're becoming experts at dealing with disasters. But let me say, I was a Governor for 12 years. I went through floods and hurricanes, I saw whole little towns blown away. I have lived through a lot of these things. And I cannot say enough about the leadership of the Mayor and the people out there. The work that they've done, it's just been terrific.

And in terms of doing this radio program, you know, one of the things I said I'd do if I ever were fortunate enough to be elected President is to try to give this job back to the people of this country and their real concerns. And you know, I just left a very important meeting with the President of Kazakhstan. That's a long way away, but it affects American interests. But our interests can only be affected there if people in California can succeed, if the people who are listening to this radio program can succeed.

So, I think I did my job today by talking to you, and I just loved it. I thank you for giving me a chance to do it.

Mr. Jackson. Thank you, sir.

The President. Thank you. Bye bye.

NOTE: The telephone interview began at 2:35 p.m. The President spoke from the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Dick Krimm, Assistant Associate Director for Response and Recovery for the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Letter to Burmese Opposition Leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

February 10, 1994

Dear Daw Aung San Suu Kyi:

Let me take the opportunity to express again my deep concern about your welfare and to applaud your remarkable courage in pursuing human rights and democracy for the people of Burma. Despite your four and one-half years of detention, your determination and courage continue to inspire friends of freedom around the world. Recent resolutions adopted in the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Human Rights Commission make clear the international community's outrage over your continued detention as well as that of all other prisoners of conscience in Burma.

I also want to assure you of the United States' continuing support for the struggle to promote freedom in Burma. The 1990 elections handed your party an overwhelming mandate from Burma's people and firmly rejected military rule. Obviously, the path to democratic change must be worked out by the Burmese themselves who have assigned you a key role in bringing about such a democratic transition. We strongly condemn the effort to deny you the right to participate freely in the political life of Burma.

You have my utmost admiration for your stand. Like your courageous father, you symbolize the authentic aspirations of the Burmese people. History is on the side of freedom throughout the world and I remain confident that your cause will prevail.

Please accept my warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content this letter. This item was attached to the following Press Secretary statement released on February 15:

President Clinton has sent a letter to detained Burmese opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi to offer his support for her efforts on behalf of democracy and human rights in Burma. Congressman Bill Richardson of New Mexico, Deputy Majority Whip, was invited by Burmese authorities to meet with Aung San Suu Kyi on February 14 and has delivered the President's letter to her. He met with her again today. Congressman Richardson is the first person outside of Aung San Suu Kyi's immediate family to meet with her since she was placed under house arrest in July 1989.

The United States urges Burma's military leaders to build on this small step by beginning a dialog with Aung San Suu Kyi and moving toward genuine democratic reform. The Burmese people made clear their desire for an end to more than three decades of military rule and the establishment of democratic government in the 1990 elections, but the government continues to thwart implementation of the results. The President regards the continued detention of Aung San Suu Kyi and all other prisoners of conscience in Burma as unacceptable and renews his call for their immediate and unconditional release.

Remarks to Members of the Law Enforcement Community in London, Ohio

February 15, 1994

Thank you very much. Thank you, Ray Skillern, for that introduction and, even more important, for your personal endorsement of community policing. I'm glad to be here with John Lenhart and Greg Merritt and my longtime friend Attorney General Lee Fisher. I thank him for what he said and for the work he is doing with all of you here in Ohio with Operation Crackdown and with many other anticrime initiatives.

I thank Senator Glenn and Senator Biden for coming down here. Senator Biden doesn't represent Ohio, except he represents all the law enforcement people in Ohio as the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and I appreciate him taking a whole day off from this break and coming down and being with Senator Glenn and me and being here with your Congresswoman Deborah Pryce. The three of them will have to vote to produce a crime bill that will deal with the issues I came here to discuss with you today.

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to all the State officials who have come out either here or at the airport and to Ron Noble, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who came down with me. He has a lot to do with not only the Secret Service, who are my law enforcement detail—that's a job in itself from time to time—but also with the work we're doing to try to stiffen the regulations on gun dealers. I want to say a little more about that in a moment.

And finally, let me thank the leaders of the police associations who are here: the FOP president, Dewey Stokes, from Ohio; the head of the National Association of Police Officers, Bob Scully, who came down with us; and your State FOP president, Steve Young. I thank all of them.

I came here today because your work, all of you who are in law enforcement, is probably more important to most Americans today than it has ever been in the whole history of the country. We know what crime and violence is doing to our people. The good news is that they know what it's doing to them, and they really want us to do something about it. And maybe for the first time, the American people are willing to do their part, too.

This is a moment of great hope and opportunity for America. Everywhere I go it's what people want to talk to me about. The other day I flew into Shreveport, Louisiana, and the front page of the newspaper had a letter that a teenage girl had written to me. So she came out to meet me at the airport, this young girl. And her letter said this: "If I could meet the President, I would ask him to make his top priority crime. Crime is so bad I'm afraid to go outside. I really didn't pay attention to crime until someone shot and killed my friend who was one of my church members. My concern is,"—listen to this—"My concern is I won't have anyone to marry because all the nice young men will have been

killed, incarcerated, or in a gang. If I could give only one gift to America and the world, it would be no guns, no killing, just peace.''

Over the weekend, four people were shot, and a little girl was killed in an apartment complex in Bucyrus, not too far from here. This morning I met the widow and the father of Officer Chris Clites of the Columbus Police Department who was killed in the line of duty. I met a 14-year-old girl named Sarah Johnson from Cleveland who saw a friend of hers being beaten by three juveniles and two adults, and she ran into the crowd and threw herself on the body of her friend, unfortunately, too late to save his life. Too bad no adults would follow her example, maybe the child would be living today. I met a woman named Anne Ross from Dayton, whose life has been threatened repeatedly because she began a program called Ravenwood 2000 that works with police to close crack houses in her neighborhood, something the Attorney General has worked so hard on. I met a man named Jim Johnson, who's from the Driving Park area of east Columbus, who's devoting much of his life now to crime patrols and helping citizens work with police officers to reduce the crime rate.

In the last three decades, violent crimes have increased by 300 percent. Over the last 3 years, almost a third of Americans have either had themselves or someone in their families victimized by crime. Yesterday was the 65th anniversary of the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre in Chicago, which captured the entire Nation's attention. The country was riveted by the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre. Some of you may be old enough to remember it as children; I have seen movies about it. It absolutely galvanized the Nation. In 1929, seven people were killed; that was a massacre in 1929. In most cities today, it's a normal weekend.

What are we going to do about this? Here is what our administration is trying to do. First, we want a drug strategy that gets hardcore drug users who cause most of the drug-related crimes off the streets, out of crime, and into treatment. Second, we want a tough, smart crime bill that puts 100,000 more police officers on the street and violent criminals behind bars. Third, we want to use every resource at our disposal to fight crime and drugs from public schools to public housing. Fourth, we want to give our young people something to say ''yes'' to by putting hope and opportunity back in their lives. And finally, we want to challenge every American to work with you, the law enforcement community, as partners, to put the values of work and family and community back at the center of the lives of our young people before it is too late for them.

I care a lot about this problem. The first elected job I ever had was as attorney general of my home State. I was a Governor for a dozen years. I know what it means to double the prison capacity of a State and to sign laws toughening crimes and to carry out the death penalty, to add to the stock of police officers and try to deal with all the problems that are facing them. I know this is a tough problem. I also know it is a complicated one. It's easy to demagogue, easy to talk about, and quite another thing to do something that will make a fundamental difference in the lives of the people of this country.

You have to help us to do something that is tough but that is also smart, something that will actually make a difference to every one of you when you get up in the morning and you put on your uniform and you put on your weapon and you go out and put your life on the line. You need to work with us to make sure that what we do makes a difference to you and to what you're doing, that it's not just another bunch of political speeches that sound good and score 90 percent in the polls, but may not make a difference. You need to make sure we make a difference.

The purpose of all public service, your work and mine, should be to get people together and to get something done. That is what we are trying to do here.

First of all, it's clear that to reduce crime significantly in America we have to reduce hardcore drug use. Last week our Drug Policy Director Lee Brown, who was the chief of police in Houston, Atlanta, and New York, and one of the pioneers of the community policing concept that Patrolman Skillern talked so eloquently about, announced, along with me, our strategy on drug control and drug abuse. It focuses on hardcore drug use because that's the worst part of the problem. Heavy users can—just for example, heavy

users are about 20 percent of all cocaine users, but they consume two-thirds of the available cocaine. And more than 50 percent of the people arrested for crimes now test positive for drugs. We have got to get these hardcore users off the street. For those who are going to be back on the street, we have got to get them into treatment. We want to help them get the treatment they need, but if they don't get the message we have to use the courts, the jails, the prisons to make sure they do. Our budget and the crime bill, if they both pass, will help us to get another 140,000 hardcore drug users into substantial treatment programs that have a chance to work per year.

There are two other things that we have emphasized. First of all, there is a disturbing bit of evidence in this last year that casual drug use among young people is beginning to rise again. And we have to get the message out to them. The only policy to follow is no use. Drugs are dangerous. Drugs are illegal. It cannot become acceptable among young people to use drugs again. We have got to send the message out loud and clear. We know the most powerful tool we have over the long run is changing the whole culture in America. I don't know how many of you have been active in the DARE program, but when my daughter was in the 5th grade I heard her and her classmates give me no less than 10 speeches about the officer that came on a regular basis in the DARE program. It makes a difference whether kids are told early and clearly, by someone they really respect, that the only sensible policy is no use.

And finally, we're going to try to alter our policy relating to controlling the supply of drugs coming into this country. We spend a lot of time trying to patrol our borders. We spend a lot of time trying to patrol the high seas. We want to spend more money, more resources, and more efforts going after the drug dealers and the drug kingpins in their home countries. They come after us at home; we should go after them at home. The drug strategy must work with the crime bill. And the most important message I have to say to you again today is we need your help to pass a crime bill that makes a difference.

Last summer I stood with police officers and leaders of police associations, along with Senator Biden as the chair of the Judiciary Committee and the longtime strongest, most consistent proponent of getting a new crime bill, to propose a comprehensive plan to put more police on the streets, more criminals behind bars, and to do more than we'd ever done before to prevent crime. Just before Thanksgiving, as Lee Fisher said, the Congress passed the Brady bill, which requires a 5-day waiting period before purchasing a handgun so we can check into criminal records.

Meanwhile, in the Senate, Senator Biden introduced our anticrime bill, working with the Attorney General and with Members in both parties of the Senate. It went through the Senate, and it provides, among other things, for another 100,000 police officers on the street, for a ban on assault weapons, for an enormous increase in the investment that the Federal Government makes to the States for alternatives to imprisonment, like boot camps for young people, and more help for States. It's a big deal in Ohio, to deal with prison overcrowding and for some other things that I'll talk more about in a minute. It's a very good bill.

In the House, there were important parts of the program which were adopted, but the House has not yet succeeded in passing all the elements of the crime bill so that the Senate and House can then get together, agree on a common bill, pass it, and send it to me for signature.

The American people have waited on this bill long enough. It was almost passed, or a previous version of it, in 1992, and it didn't pass. This bill needs to be passed, on my desk for signature soon. This is not something we should take all year doing. We should take a few weeks, do it right, and send it to the President's desk.

I'll make this commitment: If Congress will pass the bill soon, I will respond by cutting through the redtape and the bureaucracy in Washington so that within a year 20,000 new police officers are hired and start the training that they need to make our streets safer. We need some clear things in the crime bill that come out of both the Senate and the House.

What's the bottom line? One, we've got to have a stronger police presence not only

to catch criminals but to prevent crime. The Senate's approved and the House should approve another 100,000 police officers over the next 5 years. It will be paid for not by new taxes but through a violent crime trust fund that will pay for the entire crime bill through reductions in the Federal bureaucracy—reductions by attrition. We have proposed to reduce the number of Federal employees over the next 5 years by 252,000. That's a 12-percent reduction. It would make the Federal Government the smallest it's been in 30 years and take the entire amount of money we get from the savings and put it into fighting crime. I think it's a good swap.

But if we do it, then it's important that the local departments do what Ray Skillern talked about. We've got to have more police officers on the street, people who know their neighbors and know the children and understand when there are problems and listen to people when there's a stranger in the neighborhood and do things that are necessary to keep crime from happening in the first place as well as to catch criminals quicker. We know that works. We know that works.

The Mayor of Houston was recently reelected with 91 percent of the vote. You can't get 91 percent of the people to agree that the sun's coming up tomorrow morning. [*Laughter*] Why? Because he put another 655 police officers on the street, and in one year—15 months—crime dropped 22 percent and the murder rate dropped 27 percent. Why? Because the police officers did two things: They got back in touch with the community, and they were heavily deployed toward the areas where they knew the biggest problems would be. We can do this. We can do this. We'll provide the people; you have to deploy them properly. But we can do it.

Now once again, this is an issue where the people may be ahead of Washington. We've got a smaller program that the Attorney General runs that the Congress has provided for us to put more police officers on the street. It's a grant program, and communities of all sizes all across America apply for it. We have given out 100 grants to cities and communities nationwide, including four in Ohio, to Cleveland, Mansfield, Newark, and Xenia. Now that's the good news. The bad news is, we have received applications from 3,000 communities. And instead of making people happy, every time—because there's so much focus on this at the grassroots—every time we announce these grants I get 10 calls from mayors saying, ''I helped you in 1992. I've got a problem. Where's my money?'' The answer is, your money is in the crime bill. Help us pass it, so we can help all of America and not just a few.

Second, the crime bill stiffens penalties. It does add capital punishment for a number of crimes and some of them are quite appropriate. When someone kills a law enforcement officer in the line of duty, I think the penalty for that ought to be death. There ought to be a deterrent that is clear and unambiguous. But even more significant perhaps is the concept that is now sweeping America that is known under the slogan, ''Three strikes and you're out.'' And I want to talk about it because I support it. A significant percentage of the violent crimes in this country are done by a very small percentage of the total criminal population. Most criminals are nonviolent. Most criminals who commit violent offenses are not committing life-threatening offenses or rape. We know that. We know that there are a core of people who are predisposed to do things which are horrible, and that is the genesis of the ''Three strikes and you're out.'' If people cannot stop doing things that threaten other people's lives, they simply shouldn't be eligible for parole.

Now, the important thing about this is, if we're going to pass it in the Congress we ought to do it right. There should be no partisanship in this, no politics, no posturing. We ought to do what is right for America. We ought to pass a tough, good, clear bill, but we shouldn't litter it up with every offense in the world that the average police officer will tell you in the front end shouldn't be part of it. In other words, we need to draw this properly and right so we can set a standard that says ''Three strikes and you're out,'' and it means something that every American can agree with.

And then we have to recognize, as all of you know, that most laws, criminal laws, are State laws, and most criminal law enforcement is done by local police officials. And therefore, we have to hope that what we do

in the Congress will set a standard that all other States then across the country will embrace, so we can identify the relatively small number of people that are wreaking heartbreak and devastation and death and put them behind bars and keep them there.

When we do that we also have to help you with more space for dealing with some of your prison problems. And we are debating what the best way to do that is. I want to say, on the way down here today, Senator Glenn gave me a speech—I could tell he'd given it before, but it still was good—[*laughter*]—about the Ohio prison overcrowding problem and how we ought to have nonviolent offenders and less expensive construction. He said, ''You know, when I was a Marine, a quonset hut was good enough for me, and it ought to be good enough for criminals as well.'' Because I was a Governor and an attorney general I could write you a book on the cost of building penitentiaries and what's wrong with it, but I won't do that today.

The fourth thing we need to do is to make sure the criminals are not better armed than police officers. We ought to pass the assault weapons ban. The Senate bill that your other Senator who is not here today, Senator Metzenbaum, has worked so hard on bans the manufacture, transfer, and possession of deadly military-style assault weapons and large-capacity ammunition-feeding devices. These weapons have become the weapons of choice for drug traffickers, street gangs, and paramilitary extremists groups. Just ask the leaders of the police organizations that are here, ask Bob Scully and Dewey Stokes what they know about this as a national problem, not just an Ohio problem, as a national problem. The leaders of the police organizations in this country have told Congress time and time again until they're blue in the face that these weapons cannot be allowed on the street, that it is wrong to send police officers out to fight people who are better armed than they are. This has nothing to do with sportsmanship.

Now the fifth thing we need to do is to make our schools gun-free, drug-free, and violence-free. If kids can't go to school safe, this country cannot move into the 21st century in good shape. It sounds like a simple thing, but there have been schools in this country where people do bullet drills. I met at one of my town meetings in California—this really eloquent young man stood up and said, ''My brother and I, we don't want to be in a gang. We don't want to have guns. We don't want to do wrong. We want to stay in school and make something of ourselves. And we left the school in our neighborhood because it wasn't safe. We went to another school because we thought it was safer, and a nut walked in that school when we were registering, shooting a gun, and shot my brother standing right in front of me to register for school.'' There are hundreds of stories like this, all over America. We have got to make the schools safe. Our bill allocates $300 million over 3 years for local schools and communities for safe-school projects. Up to a third of it can be used for metal detectors, school police, or security measures, the rest to provide alcohol and drug education counseling for youngsters who are victims of violence and activities to get young people to stay out of gangs.

You know, we've got to put basic recreation and a spirit of teamwork and working together back into a lot of these schools. There are a lot of schools in America today where there is nothing for these kids to do anymore, where all the tough financial problems have found their way into just taking out things that would give the kids something they can do.

I've said this many times, but if you think about it, all of us are part of gangs, we just need to be in good gangs. We all have a need to be a part of something. The local police force is a gang. If you're on a bowling team, it's a gang. Right? Your church is a group of people that think like you do. I mean, people are social animals; they have to be part of something. And we have to do that.

The final thing I want to say is there is lots of evidence that young people can be taught to find ways that are nonviolent to resolve their conflicts and their frustrations. They can do that. We have run across at least one school in the last year that had a wonderfully successful program for reducing violence, and it had to be suspended after a year because someone had given them $3,000 to bring in someone to run the pro-

gram and they didn't continue the gift. We ought to be able to build that in. If we know you've got kids coming out of difficult circumstances, every school that needs to do it should have someone who is trained who can teach kids how to find nonviolent ways to deal with their frustrations and resolve their conflicts.

Another thing that's in this crime bill that's been a cause for Senator Biden I wanted to mention is that it makes a special effort to prevent crimes of violence against women, who are especially vulnerable to violent crime. This crime bill increases sentences for rape, requires rapists to pay damages to victims, protects women against domestic violence, and creates training programs to help judges learn more about this because a lot of judges don't know how to handle these things as well as possible. You haven't read much about this, but this provision dealing with crimes against women I think is one of the more important things in the crime bill over the long run. We have got to be more sensitive to this.

Again let me say, finally, we have to do more to prevent crime. There have got to be more things done that provide alternatives for kids. This crime bill has summer youth activities, recreation programs in high-crime areas, and after-school programs. We need to do more on that.

This year the National Service Program that I worked so hard to start has 3,000 young people going out all across America in their communities to work on trying to give young people something to do that will prevent crime, a summer of safety in service to America. I'm very proud of it; we need more of that all across the country.

Now let me say, I know the crime bill won't solve all the problems, but it will make a beginning. Our HUD Secretary, Henry Cisneros, has a safe homes initiative in public housing projects. The Treasury Secretary is tightening up on Federal licensing of firearms dealers. There are more gun dealers in America than there are people running filling stations, or something I know more about, people who own McDonald's. [*Laughter*] You laugh about it, but that's stunning, isn't it? It's stunning. And we have to do something about it.

We are doing what we can to try to deal with it. We also recognize that crime is highest in areas where families are weakest, communities are weakest, and where there are the fewest jobs. We know that. We know that a lot of these problems move in, almost pulled in by the vacuum created by the breakdown of family, community, and work. And we have some strategies designed to encourage the business community in this country to invest in putting people back to work in these areas where chronic unemployment is so high.

America, out of its generosity, has spent a lot of your money in the last 10 to 15 years trying to get American businesses to invest in the Caribbean, to invest in the developing world, to give people a chance to grow in the idea that it was good for our long-term self-interest, that if these people had jobs and incomes, they would buy more American products. In America's cities today and in our devastated rural areas, there are people who would love to buy American products if they had the jobs. We ought to have the same policy for them we do for countries abroad.

The last thing I'd like to say is we need help. We need you to help us pass the crime bill. But we also need the American people to recognize that you cannot do this alone. The most law-abiding societies are not necessarily those with the biggest police forces, they are those that have the strongest families, the strongest values, the strongest code of conduct against hurting their neighbors. We need help. And every American that is willing to support this crime bill and stand up and shout, hallelujah, when more police officers are hired on the street needs to be not only law-abiding but law-supporting.

Every American can be part of a crime control unit. Every American can be part of doing something in the neighborhood school to help those kids who don't have parents to teach them right from wrong. Most of them are still real good kids, and they're doing the best they can early on and they need help. Every American can do something to restore these values.

And let me say, when I see what has happened in the crime area: 3 times as many murders today as in 1960; 3 times as many violent crimes per police officer as there

were 30 years ago; and 3 times as many births outside marriage, where there has never been a marriage, also related to the ultimate crime problem, I realize that a lot of these things are going to require the American people to get together and get something done.

They can't just look at you. They can't just look at me. They can't just look at your Members of Congress. We have to look inside, too. Yes, there's a role for the Congress; yes, there's a role for the police. But there's a role for the American people, too. You can't make me believe that we can't take our streets back and give our kids their futures back. And we're going to do our best, starting with the crime bill. We want you to help us.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. at the Ohio Peace Officers Training Academy. In his remarks, he referred to Raymond Skillern, police patrolman, Canton, OH; John Lenhart, superintendent, Ohio Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation; and Greg Merritt, executive director, Ohio Police Officers Training Academy.

Executive Order 12899—Establishing an Emergency Board To Investigate a Dispute Between The Long Island Rail Road and Certain of Its Employees Represented by the United Transportation Union

February 15, 1994

A dispute exists between the Long Island Railroad and certain of its employees represented by the United Transportation Union.

The dispute has not heretofore been adjusted under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, as amended (the "Act").

A first emergency board to investigate the dispute was established by Executive Order No. 12874 on October 20, 1993. The emergency board terminated upon issuance of its report and, subsequently, its recommendations were not accepted.

A party empowered by the Act has requested that the President establish a second emergency board pursuant to section 9A of the Act (45 U.S.C. 159a).

Section 9A(e) of the Act provides that the President, upon such request, shall appoint a second emergency board to investigate and report on the dispute.

Now, Therefore, by the authority vested in me by section 9A of the Act, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Establishment of the Board.* There is established, effective February 15, 1994, a board of three members to be appointed by the President to investigate this dispute. No member shall be interested pecuniarily or otherwise in any organization of railroad employees or any carrier. The board shall perform its functions subject to the availability of funds.

Sec. 2. *Report.* Within 30 days after creation of the board, the parties to the dispute shall submit to the board final offers for settlement of the dispute. Within 30 days after submission of final offers for settlement of the dispute, the board shall submit a report to the President setting forth its selection of the most reasonable offer.

Sec. 3. *Maintaining Conditions.* As provided by section 9A(h) of the Act, from the time a request to establish a board is made until 60 days after the board makes its report, the parties shall make no changes in the conditions out of which the dispute arose, except by agreement.

Sec. 4. *Expiration.* The board shall terminate upon submission of the report provided for in section 2 of this order.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
February 15, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:06 a.m., February 16, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on February 17.

Nomination for Commissioners of the Federal Election Commission

February 15, 1994

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lee Ann Elliott, a former member of the Federal Election Commission, and Danny L. McDonald, a present

member, to additional terms as members of the FEC.

"These two individuals have served their country admirably as members of the FEC. I am pleased that they have agreed to extend their commitment to this important body, which will be well served by their experience," the President said.

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks Announcing the Saudi Arabian Aircraft Contract and an Exchange With Reporters

February 16, 1994

The President. Thank you very much, Secretary Brown. Ladies and gentlemen, in this Olympic season, we come here today to announce a gold medal win for America's businesses and workers.

Last year the Government of Saudi Arabia decided to find replacement aircraft for its civilian fleet of approximately 50 airplanes. Today, the Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar, has officially informed me that King Fahd has decided to purchase the entire replacement fleet from American companies, from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas. The purchase will be financed by the United States Export-Import Bank. It will total almost $6 billion and will support tens of thousands of American jobs in Washington, California, Kansas, Missouri, Utah, Arkansas, and several other States.

The purchase is a vote of confidence in American quality, American workers, and the competitiveness of our exports. As Secretary Brown said, it underlines the efforts that we have made, from NAFTA to GATT to the APEC conference to our national export strategy in lifting export controls on many products which for many years could not be sold abroad, to expand our markets, to reduce trade barriers, to create good high-paying jobs in America in a thriving and open world economy. It proves again that we can compete; we don't have to retreat.

The United States and Saudi Arabia have long enjoyed close relations. We have especially strong commercial relations in the field of civil aviation. With today's announcement, this proud tradition will continue well into the next century. Close economic ties complement the important political and strategic relationship that we have and that we value greatly with Saudi Arabia.

Let me note that I have already spoken directly with many Members of Congress and Governors and other State and local officials whose constituents will benefit from this sale. The message I gave them is simple: We worked hard on this, and we will continue to work hard at home and abroad to help our people thrive in the global economy.

In closing, let me thank especially King Fahd, Prince Bandar, and the Government of Saudi Arabia for this decision; Secretaries Brown, Christopher, and Peña; Tony Lake and others in the White House, including Bob Rubin and Mr. McLarty, all of whom had some role in this. We all spent a lot of time over a long period on this. The sustained effort that was done is another product of the teamwork that we try to practice in our administration. Secretaries Brown, Christopher, and Peña all personally traveled to Riyadh in part to emphasize the importance of this sale to our country. And I thank them especially for that.

Let me also offer my congratulations to the management and to the employees of Boeing and McDonnell Douglas. Your hard work really made this possible. We just tried to bring it to the surface. America should be proud of this day. And I hope this day will lead us to many others like it.

Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. President, it's been reported that you personally called on King Fahd to buy American-made aircraft. I'm wondering if this means that you'll be taking a much more active role in drumming up business for U.S. firms? For instance, in Vietnam, since you've recently lifted the trade embargo there, might you encourage leaders in that country to purchase U.S. aircraft?

The President. It depends on what the facts are in any case. I think you can say, first of all, that the Secretary of Commerce has showed an historic level of activism, not only in this area but in many others. The Secretary of State has done a remarkable job in a short period of time in changing the culture of many of our embassies and getting

them in country after country after country much more involved in trying to promote commercial activities and working with the Commerce Department and others.

The Secretary of Transportation has, I think, focused on the global aspects of his job more than any of his predecessors that I can think of. So I think what you could say is that this administration will be aggressively involved in this kind of endeavor. When I think it is appropriate and potentially helpful, I don't mind asking for the business. But I think it's something I don't want to lay down a general rule of thumb on because I think it will have to be taken on a case-by-case basis.

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, are you still contemplating more sanctions against Japan, or can you rule that out for now?

The President. Well, ever since the talks I had with Prime Minister Hosokawa, we've been reviewing our options, consulting with our friends, and trying to assess what course we ought to take. And I think sometime in the next few days my economic team—Mr. Rubin is here—and our national security team will come back with a set of options and recommendations to me. And then I'll have something to say about that. That is different from, of course, the announcement which was made yesterday by Ambassador Kantor on the cellular telephone issue. That's an issue of longstanding development.

Saudi Arabian Aircraft Contract

Q. Mr. President and Prince Bandar, actually, does this emphasis on redoing the Saudi commercial airline system, does it sort of represent a shift in priorities and a shift in emphasis? Does the Saudi Government no longer feel as much of a military threat perhaps as it did before and feel the need to—[*inaudible*].

Prince Bandar. No, just means Saudi needs to modernize its fleet, that's all. [*Laughter*]

The President. For those of you who don't know it, the Prince is an accomplished pilot, trained on American fighters in the United States, and he just wants to always see them in the best and the newest airplanes. [*Laughter*]

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Remarks to the American Association of Retired Persons in Edison, New Jersey

February 16, 1994

Thank you. Thank you very much, Bernice. And thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for that warm welcome. I am delighted to be back in New Jersey. I always love to come here. You know, New Jersey had a lot to do with making me President in one of your typically close elections here. I keep hoping someday I'll see an election in New Jersey that's not close just so somebody doesn't have a heart attack right before the election. [*Laughter*]

I'm so glad that Hillary came up here with me today. I think she deserves a gold medal for trying to fix the health care system. I want to thank Dr. Flora Edwards, the president of Middlesex Community College, and all of those who made it possible for us to come here and meet today. I want to thank my longtime friend Senator Bradley for his statement. He and Senator Lautenberg, who couldn't be here today, and the Members of Congress who are here and those who aren't are going to have some tough decisions to make. I thank Congressman Pallone for his statement. This is the second time I have been to your district to talk about health care. Once I was at the Robert Wood Johnson Hospital, a wonderful medical facility, to talk about what we were trying to do to help to make sure we'd have more of those kind of facilities. And I thank Congressmen Klein, Menendez, and Payne and Hughes also for being here today and coming out of their district during this congressional recess period.

I'd also like to say I'm glad to be here with your new Governor, Governor Whitman. We had a great visit down in Washington at the Governors' conference. I thank you for being here. And Mayor Spadoro met me outside with the whole city government. I thought they were going to give me a list of every-

thing they wanted from Washington. [*Laughter*] I now have met more people in this city government than most of you have, and I liked it, too.

I want to thank a special person—I want to ask him to stand up—representing the Edison Seniors Council, the man who wrote me and asked me to come here, David Sheehan. Where are you, David? Stand up. Thank you, Governor and Mrs. Florio, for coming. I'm glad to see you here. I want to say a special word of thanks to the AARP, to Bernice Shepard, and also to Kevin Donnellan and Molly Daniels and all the others who have worked so hard to get this group of people here.

I was a Governor in my former life—or as I like to say, back when I had a life—for a dozen years, and before that, an attorney general of my State. And I had a long, long time to work with the AARP to do 20 or 30 things that were important to the members of AARP in my State. And I always found that I could depend upon the AARP to do the right thing and to stand for the right thing, not only on issues that affected senior citizens, by the way. The AARP in our State was one of the strongest advocates for education reform, for example, trying to help their grandchildren mostly get the kind of educational opportunities that we would need for the 21st century. So I'm delighted to be here and delighted to embrace your goals of long-term care and prescription drugs for senior citizens.

When I became President I had some pretty old-fashioned ideas that I at least thought then and now I think still are too much in absence in our Nation's Capital. I had the crazy idea that the purpose of our political system was to get people together and to get things done and that that was more important than all the partisan squabbling and personal finger-pointing and all the blame-placing and all the kind of stuff that we're treated to day-in and day-out, sort of emanating in this endless gusher of politics and negativism that our national system seems to produce. And I went there with the view that we ought to try to find a way to put that aside and actually deal with the serious problems of this country and to basically change and move toward the 21st century in ways that would guarantee the things we care most about, work and family and community; would enable America to go into the next century as the greatest country in the world, being fair to all of our people.

In the last couple of months I've had the opportunity to review the progress of the past year. And I won't repeat all that now, but I think it's clear that we've begun to turn this economy around. The deficit is going down instead of up. Investment is going up instead of down. New jobs are coming into the economy, because the Congress took some tough decisions.

This year, we're trying to face some more of our problems: developing a new approach to education at the national level to help States and local school districts reach world-class goals with grassroots reforms; helping people who aren't going to college move from school to work with further training and education so their incomes will be decent; and developing a whole new training system for people who lose their jobs so that people can have the security of knowing that throughout their lives, they'll always be able to get the training they need to get newer and better jobs.

Yesterday I went to Ohio to talk about the problem of crime, something that you've dealt with a lot here in the last couple of years. We're trying to pass a crime bill in the next few months in Congress that will put another 100,000 police officers on the street and take assault weapons off the street and put repeat violent offenders behind bars for good.

So I tell you, I think we are moving in the right direction. But I have to say that unless we have the courage to deal with this health care issue, it's going to be very difficult over the long run for our country to be fully competitive and for your Government to fully serve you. Why is that? There are many reasons, but let me just give you three, if I might.

First of all, nearly everybody in America's for balancing the budget in theory. What you need to know is, the budget we have now reduces defense, in my judgment, by all we can afford to reduce it and maybe then some a little bit. It reduces defense in the wake of the aftermath of the cold war. It freezes

all domestic spending for 5 years, which means every time I want to give the State of New Jersey one more dollar to educate children or retrain adults or help poor kids with the Women and Infants Children program or the Head Start program, I have to cut another dollar somewhere else: total freeze.

Social Security recipients get their cost of living increases, but that's tied to inflation, and it doesn't go up any faster than revenues do. The only thing in our budget now going up at faster than the rate of inflation, faster than the rate of revenues, is health care costs, Medicare and Medicaid, at 2 and 3 times the rate of inflation. So, (a) there will never be a budget in balance unless we do something to bring health care costs in line with inflation; (b) we will be spending all of our new money shortly on nothing but health care, and not new health care, not the long-term care you want, not the prescription drugs you want, but more money for the same health care. So we won't be buying anything new, and we will be paralyzing the whole rest of our budget. So that's the first thing that bothers me about it.

The second thing you need to know is that this system is the only advanced system in the world—that is, no other country in the world has a system that doesn't provide health security for everybody, and yet we are spending 14.5 percent of our income, 14.5 cents of every dollar, on health care. Only Canada spends 10 cents; Germany and Japan are under 9. And we have to compete with them every day.

And if you've seen this argument we're in with Japan now over cellular telephones, health care costs for the American phones are a lot bigger than the ones they are for the Japanese phones. Today we just announced we sold $6 billion worth of American-made airplanes to Saudi Arabia, beating out our European competitors in spite of the fact that there is a huge extra cost in health care in every one of those planes. And that means American jobs, so that bothers me.

The third thing that bothers me is that Americans are rapidly losing their choices in health care and being forced into plans that give them almost no choice and don't cover the basic things that are needed. And another 100,000 Americans a month lose their health care forever. So these are the reasons I say we have to face up to this problem.

What did Hillary say those people were in the health insurance ad, Harry and Louise? I always want to say Thelma and Louise; they're about that—[*laughter*]. And you know those health care ads where the actors are telling you how scared you ought to be of our program—they never put any real people on there.

We've gotten nearly one million letters from people talking about their real problems in the health care system. And so, since we can't afford to keep up with the health insurance companies who have all of your premiums to buy television ads with, we just started bringing ordinary citizens who've written us in. I want to introduce four people from New Jersey who wrote us letters who are here today. I wish they had written us ads. Barbara Hassmiller, stand up—where are you, Barbara?—who wrote us when her father lost his job at age 70 and had a stroke and was not eligible for long-term care under Medicare and was, thankfully, too well off to be eligible under Medicaid, the Government's program for poor people. Helen Kallos—where are you, Helen? Stand up—whose mother was taken ill at an advanced age and who wanted to help care for her mother at home. But under our system, you can't get any help for providing for your kinfolks if you keep them at home through long-term care. But if you're eligible, the Government will spend a fortune to put them in a nursing home but won't help you leave them at home for much less money. Margaret Meding, who discovered that her husband had a condition that neither Medicare nor private insurance would cover nursing home care for even though plainly it was the most appropriate thing. And finally, Arthur Paranto who had both Medicare and a Medigap policy, but his biggest health care problem was a huge drug bill which he got no help for.

When I ran for President, starting in 1991, I met people in the State of New Hampshire who literally were making a choice every week between food in their refrigerator and medicine in the medicine cabinet because Medicare provided no drug coverage, and

this in the country that has the finest pharmaceutical industry in the world, leading the world in all forms of medical research related to drugs; when we know, based on the experience of a country like Germany, for example, that if you provide more prescription medicine to people in a proper way, you actually save money on hospitalization costs and more severe medical costs over the long run.

These are people you will never see in television ads, unless I can raise a lot more money for this campaign. But they are real people, and they have real problems that deserve to be addressed. They are some of the problems that the First Lady and her task force dealt with over a period of months when they consulted thousands of doctors and nurses and other medical providers and people in the insurance industry and consumers to try to come up with an approach that would deal with the real problems of real people, not the rhetoric that you often see in the campaign.

Now, I care about them. I care about the fact that there are people with no insurance, that there are millions of Americans with insurance who could lose it in a minute, that there are millions of others who pay too much for their insurance because they or someone in their family have a preexisting condition or who can never change jobs because if they do, they'll lose their insurance.

Sure, I'm concerned about the small businesses who don't offer health insurance and are afraid they can't spend anything to provide it. But I'm also concerned about people like the fine husband and wife I met yesterday in Columbus, Ohio, in a little delicatessen, where they have 20 employees' full-time, 20 part-time; they're not required to do anything. The lady had a serious medical condition; all of her employees' premiums went through the roof because she was sick. But she refused to drop their coverage. She said, ''I'm going to cover my full-time employees, and I would gladly cover my part-time employees if only my competitors had to do the same.'' She said, ''You know, I'm out here doing this because it is morally right. I'm not going to let these people work for me and not have health insurance. But none of my competitors have to do it. We wouldn't go broke if you just required us all to make a fair contribution to the Nation's health care system.'' I'm concerned about people like her, too.

What we're trying to do is to fix what's wrong with the system and keep what's right. You all know what's right. We do have the best health care in the world for people who have it available to them. We do have by far the best medical research and technology developments in the world. And we shouldn't do anything to mess that up. What we propose to do is to fix the system of financing, which is crazy and which is adding tens of billions of dollars to this system, dollars that you pay that have not anything to do with the health care of Americans.

We want guaranteed private insurance for every American. We want preventive and primary care in that insurance package to save money over the long run. We want to protect the choices that people have. Today, fewer than half the people who are insured in their workplace have any choice anymore of their doctor or their medical plan. We want to increase that. We want to give small businesses and farmers and individuals access to the same rates that now only people who are insured, like me, through government or through big business have. We want to protect the academic health care centers like the Robert Wood Johnson facility I visited, and medical research. And we also know we have to preserve what is right for you.

Our plan clearly preserves and strengthens Medicare. It retains your right to choose a physician under the Medicare program just as it operates today, as well as dealing with these other issues. It puts $3 billion into medical research, including issues confronting older Americans like Alzheimer's, cancer, heart disease, and stroke research—more money into medical research, not less. If there's a breakthrough just around the corner, we want to turn the corner in a hurry.

But look what has got to be fixed. If we don't do anything, millions more will continue to lose their coverage. If we don't do anything, millions more will continue to pay more than they should. If we don't do anything, we'll still have older people being charged more for their health insurance than younger people when they're still in the work force. If we don't do anything, we will know

that the insurance companies will continue to restrict costs and to decide who can or cannot be insured and under what circumstances.

In today's system, the insurance companies regularly charge older people more than younger people. In today's system, older Americans are also regularly victimized by costly and unnecessary tests and procedures and by overcharging and by being sold bogus long-term policies that don't have the coverage they purport to have. You know that as well as I do. That's wrong, and we have to do something about it.

I also want to thank Bernice for pointing out that this long-term care issue is not simply an issue for the elderly. We have millions of Americans living with various kinds of disabilities who could be much more productive, much less costly to society and much happier if they had adequate long-term care. They should also be taken into account.

This system can also be much less expensive administratively. It is unbelievable: Every single solitary study that's been done of our health care system comparing it with any other says we spend about a dime on the dollar more than anybody else pushing paper around. Why? Because we have 1,500 separate health insurance companies with thousands and thousands of different policies, requiring clerical workers in hospitals, in doctors' offices, and insurance offices that are not present any other place in the world, only to make sure that nobody gets covered for anything that the fine print of the policy says that they're not covered for. Nobody else does this. Nobody in the world does this.

And so we are paying for a paper system that is organized to keep people out of the health care system. So the best health care system in the world is not available to some people because of the paperwork barriers that are placed. And the people who are paying for most of these television ads want the paperwork barriers to stay there. Don't kid yourself. That is what is going on. It doesn't have anything to do with consumer choice. You get more choice under our plan than under the system they're taking us toward.

Now the Congress is going to begin to work on these programs, and there will be a thousand ideas. But there are a few major plans before the Congress now. Only one of them proposes to keep Medicare strong and makes it stronger; that's our proposal. Only one of them deals with long-term care and prescription drugs for the elderly, our proposal.

I have to say this in all respect: I am very grateful for the kind words that AARP has said about this plan. But there are interest groups in there spending tens of millions of dollars to beat this plan—are going to come after it piece by piece by piece. We are the only plan that offers any help for long-term care and for prescription drugs. And I would respectfully suggest that the AARP ought to be for the only plan that helps you. Otherwise, the interest groups will convince Congress that you don't really care, and you will lose these parts of our plan. The time has come to be counted, to stand up, to take a stand, and to fight with us if you want to get something done. This is a fight. And if you want it, you're going to have to fight for it.

Let me also say that in addition to this issue of what new things can happen, you need to look at what's going to happen if our plan doesn't pass and someone else's idea does. There are a lot of people who really believe the only way to reduce the deficit and to reform health care is to basically take benefits away from older Americans. We have shown in the budget we passed this year and in the health care proposal we made that you can reduce the deficit and reform health care and be fair to older Americans.

If we fix the health care system, you can keep the deficit on a downward path, as the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office showed, saving unbelievable amounts of money by the first decade of the next century. And you can do it without slashing medical care to the elderly or the Social Security system. On the other hand, look at some of the other alternatives that are out there. Next week the Senate will consider a balanced budget amendment that many believe will lead to dramatic cuts in Social Security and Medicare without doing a thing to fix the health care system or to add to your security.

Now, no one can be against a balanced budget in principle. Remember, I've heard all that rhetoric about cutting Government

spending, but you're looking at the person that's bringing the deficit down, with the help of Congress, not letting it go up. I've heard all the rhetoric. Our budget proposes to eliminate over 100 Government programs and to cut 60 percent of the specific line items in the Federal budget. So I know all about cutting spending. But this balanced budget amendment, according to every single analysis, will force either the Congress to raise taxes or cut Social Security and Medicare and aid to cities and States, or both, significantly.

The only way to get this deficit down to zero in a fair way without unduly cutting defense, which is not good for the country, or cutting Social Security and Medicare or having an unnecessary tax increase when we are building back for an economic recovery, is to reform the health care system. That is the responsible way to do it. But make no mistake about it, right now there are forces in the Congress who believe that they should use Medicare to either balance the budget or take the money away from seniors and pay for somebody else's health care, instead of asking them to take responsibility and pay a part of their own.

If this balanced budget amendment passes, or if these other health care proposals were to pass, which cut Medicare—and they all do—then we would all be trying to do something for middle class children in the future by hurting middle class senior citizens today. The middle class has taken a big enough hit. Let's do it in the fair, right, and disciplined way, not the cheap, easy, quick way.

We ought to be taking care of each other. We shouldn't pit the old against the young or the middle-aged. And we have a way to do it. It just requires us to undertake the pain of making thousands of separate tough decisions that will have to disappoint some people in the present system. But if we reform health care, we can achieve these savings without cutting benefits to the elderly; we can reduce the deficit without cutting Medicare. That's what we ought to do.

We proposed savings in Medicare. Do you know the present budget estimates that Medicare and Medicaid will increase in every year in the next 5 years between 2 and 3 times the rate of inflation plus population growth? It is unacceptable. But we think those savings should be plowed back into benefits that help the people who actually set up and operated the Medicare system and helped to pay for it all these years, the people who paid the payroll taxes. That's how Medicare was financed, after all. Don't forget that.

So we want to take the savings from Medicare, which will be achieved by bringing health costs in line with inflation and put them into providing the prescription drug benefits and put them into phasing in the long-term care benefits for the elderly and the disabled. That is the fair way to save money from Medicare, bring the deficit down, reform health care, and not hurt the senior citizens of the country. We don't need to mess up Medicare. It works. We need to add to it and strengthen it, and we can do that.

I will say again, three of the four letters I received from the fine people that were introduced today were from people who had a problem with long-term care, three of the four. If you are really poor in this country and you qualify for Medicaid, you can get in a nursing home. Unfortunately, most places you don't qualify for alternatives to nursing homes, so you may not get the best placement. But at least you will have some care. But if you are older and you are not really poor and you don't have a certain set of very unique conditions, you're out in the cold. And then, if you qualify for nursing home care under Medicare, which is reasonably rare, you still won't qualify for long-term care any place but a nursing home. And if you're not old enough to be eligible for Medicare and you're disabled, then you have to be impoverished to be eligible for Medicaid so you go to a nursing home instead of getting some in-home care where you might also be able to do something to generate some income. This system does not make sense, and we can do better.

The purpose of our common endeavors should be to allow all of us to rear our children with good values and a good education and a real shot at the American dream and then to live as long and as well as we possibly can, respecting the rights and the interests

of our neighbors. We cannot do that with the health care system we have today.

There's one other thing about this program I'd like to emphasize, and that is that we try to do something to protect early retirees who run out of their health care benefits. This is a big issue in New Jersey. When so many big companies are downsizing, who's there to protect the people who are forced into early retirement? Many of them lose the benefits they've paid for throughout their entire working lives if a company decides to save money by cutting the benefits of retirees. A better approach, in my opinion, is to make a commitment to these workers. A more fair approach would say to any retiree over 55, your policy is guaranteed, and all you have to do to keep your health benefits is to keep paying the same share you were paying when you were a working person. I think that's fair, and I think we ought to do it.

Now, that is what our program does. If you want fair benefits for early retirees, if you want a prescription drug benefit, not just for the elderly but for families as well, if you want a beginning on this long-term care problem which is plaguing our country and something we had better face because people over 65 are the fastest growing percentage of our population, if you want health care costs brought under control in a way that is fair, then I would argue you have to support our plan. Not because you think it is perfect—this deals with a very complicated issue—but because it is the only plan that deals with these issues. And then you can come and say whatever you think about the edges of it.

Now, before I close, let me just say, sometimes when a person like me gives a speech like this and you hear it, you say, ''Well, why is anybody against it?'' And you either distrust them or you distrust the speaker, right? Because you know it's more complicated.

Let me restate: This fight is about who calls the shots in the health care system. It's about where the jobs will grow and shrink in the health care system, and it's about who pays, because people get health care. Even people without health insurance will eventually get health care, but normally when it's too late, too expensive, in an emergency room, and the rest of us pay for it.

So this fight is about that. Should the insurance companies and the HMO's that they control call the shots for the future? Should they be the ones who decide who gets insurance and who doesn't and who pays how much? Should we continue to be the only advanced country in the world that gives all those decisions to them, with all the consequences that you know?

And a lot of them—by the way, that does not mean they're all bad people. A lot of them are good people. A lot of them are doing the best they can under terrible circumstances. But this is a bad system. And a lot of them now say, ''Well, what we want is to give everybody access.'' Let me tell you what they mean, folks. They mean they want to give you access just like everybody in this room right now has access to a Mercedes, right?—or maybe to a new Chevrolet pickup truck if you're from my part of the country. In other words, we all have universal access today to every car sold in America. It's just some of us can't afford to buy them, right?

So when you hear this word, perk your ears up and ask yourself, ''Now, what do they mean by that? Give me the details.'' Say, when you hear that word, say, ''What do you mean by that?'' Because nobody else in the world that we're competing with talks about access. They say, ''If you're a family living in our country, here is your health coverage, and here are your responsibilities.''

When they say access, do they still mean we're going to charge old folks much more than younger people? What's covered? What are the benefits? What are the costs? What are the copays? What are the deductibles? What about the people that don't feel like helping? Listen.

The second issue is, the tough issue is the employer mandate. Should we require all employers to do something toward their employees? That is a tough issue. I concede that. But look at what we have today. Seventy percent of the small businesses in America today cover their employees because they think it is the right thing to do. Most of them cover them with packages they think are not quite adequate, but it's all they can afford. And they pay on average 35 to 40 percent more

in health insurance premiums than government and big business does.

So is it fair to the 70 percent of the small businesses to do that? Or shouldn't we allow them to go into bigger pools where they can get the same rates that government and big business do, and then say to all small business owners, "You have to do something to take some responsibility for your folks"? I think we should.

This is a fight over jobs. If you don't need as much paperwork, if you have one standard form, instead of 1,500 companies writing thousands of different policies, you won't have to hire as many people to keep up with who shouldn't be covered for something. But you will have—so you will have fewer jobs. Let's level with you. You will have fewer jobs in the clerical department of hospitals, clinics and insurance companies. But you will have more jobs taking care of people in long-term care, producing pharmaceuticals, providing basic primary care in public health clinics in inner cities and depressed rural areas. You will have more jobs. So there will be a job shift.

But we shouldn't pretend that this is easy. This is a real fight, and you have to decide whether that's a change you're willing to undertake. I tell you, I think we are willing to undertake it.

Under our plan, which has been studied by any number of people who are, to put it charitably, nonbiased—everybody who studies it says more than half the people in this country will get the same or better health care for the same or lower cost. Everybody who's studied our plan says that there will be some more costs for some people, principally those who pay nothing now and for young, single, healthy workers who will have to pay a little more so that elderly workers can pay a little less and families can get a little better break. I think that's fair. And I think most young people think that's fair.

This is a great opportunity for our country, because we're having an honest debate. I will try not to paper over the real difficulties. I tried to be frank with you today about what the real difficulties are. But I am telling you, if you want this country to be what it ought to be and if you want every elderly person in this country to have access to a life that he or she has earned by being a good American and if you want your children and grandchildren to grow up in an America not burdened by debt and not burdened by a Government strangled by health care costs and absolutely unable to invest in jobs and technology and education, in short, if you want us to do the sensible and the humane thing, then help us pass comprehensive health care reform that guarantees insurance to all Americans and has long-term care and has prescription drugs and is fair.

We need your help. Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. in the gymnasium at Middlesex Community College. In his remarks, he referred to Bernice Shepard, AARP board member; Gov. Christine Whitman of New Jersey; former New Jersey Gov. James Florio and his wife, Lorinda; Edison Mayor George Spadoro; Kevin Donnellan, AARP legislative counsel; and Molly Daniels, manager, AARP health care reform help desk.

Exchange With Reporters on Arrival From Edison, New Jersey

February 16, 1994

Bosnia

Q. Mr. President, are there a lot of differences between the U.N. and NATO on Bosnia Sunday night?

The President. No.

Q. What is the problem——

The President. Well, I don't think there is a problem. The decision of the North Atlantic Council still stands. And the rules are clear: that the heavy artillery either has to be taken out of the safe zone or put under the control of the U.N. either in one of these areas where the weapons can be deposited; or if the weapons cannot be moved, they still must be under the control of the U.N.

So I think the issue is just simply working out the mechanism for control of weapons that are either too high in the mountains or snowbound or otherwise unable to be moved to one of these centralized areas. But so far, it seems to me that based on the detailed conversations I had today with the national security staff and the work the Joints Chiefs are doing that they're just working it out.

They're just trying to work through what reasonable standards of control are. And I have no reason to believe that there's any difference at this time.

Q. Do you get the sense the Serbs are cooperating and will cooperate Sunday night?

The President. Well, I hope so. It's clear that the NATO allies are still firm. And it's clear to me that the U.N. is working out the real and meaningful definition of control of those weapons.

Health Care Reform

Q. [*Inaudible*]—can your plan pass without senior citizens' group support?

The President. Well, I think the senior citizens groups are going to have to fight for long-term health care and for prescription drugs if they want it in there. They're going to have to fight. That's the message I gave them in New Jersey today. I think they will fight.

NOTE: The exchange began at 6:04 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Proclamation 6650—To Amend the Generalized System of Preferences and for Other Purposes

February 16, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. Pursuant to sections 501 and 502 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (''Trade Act'') (19 U.S.C. 2461 and 2462), and having due regard for the eligibility criteria set forth therein, I have determined that it is appropriate to designate Kazakhstan and Romania as beneficiary developing countries for purposes of the Generalized System of Preferences (''GSP'').

2. Proclamation No. 6579 of July 4, 1993, implemented an accelerated schedule of duty elimination and modified the rules of origin under the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement. Proclamation No. 6641 of December 15, 1993, implemented the North American Free Trade Agreement. Certain conforming changes and technical corrections to the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (''HTS'') were omitted from these proclamations. I have decided that it is appropriate to modify the HTS to make such changes and corrections.

3. Section 604 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2483) authorizes the President to embody in the HTS the substance of the provisions of that Act, and of other acts affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including but not limited to sections 501 and 604 of the Trade Act, do proclaim that:

(1) General note 4(a) to the HTS, listing those countries whose products are eligible for benefits of the GSP, is modified by inserting ''Kazakhstan'' and ''Romania'' in alphabetical order in the enumeration of independent countries.

(2) In order to make conforming changes and technical corrections in certain HTS provisions, pursuant to actions taken in Proclamation No. 6579 and Proclamation No. 6641, the HTS and Proclamation No. 6641 are modified as provided in the annex to this proclamation, effective as of the dates specified in such annex.

(3) Any provisions of previous proclamations and Executive orders inconsistent with the provisions of this proclamation are hereby superseded to the extent of such inconsistency.

(4) The modifications to the HTS made by paragraph (1) of this proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles that are: (i) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (ii) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after 15 days after the date of publication of this proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:27 a.m., February 16, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation and its annex were published in the *Federal Register* on February 17.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Trade With Kazakhstan and Romania

February 16, 1994

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

I am writing to inform you of my intent to add Kazakhstan and Romania to the list of beneficiary developing countries under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). The GSP program offers duty-free access to the U.S. market and is authorized by the Trade Act of 1974.

I have carefully considered the criteria identified in sections 501 and 502 of the Trade Act of 1974. In light of these criteria, I have determined that it is appropriate to extend GSP benefits to Kazakhstan and Romania.

This notice is submitted in accordance with section 502(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

Electronic Mail Message to Prime Minister Carl Bildt of Sweden

February 16, 1994

Dear Carl:

I appreciate your support for my decision to end the trade embargo on Vietnam and thank you for all that Sweden has done on the question of the POW/MIA's.

I share your enthusiasm for the potential of emerging communications technologies. This demonstration of electronic communications is an important step toward building a global information superhighway.

Sincerely,

Bill

NOTE: The President's message was released as part of a statement by the Press Secretary announcing the first Presidential correspondence with a foreign head of state using electronic mail. The text of Prime Minister Bildt's message to the President follows:

Dear Bill,

Apart from testing this connection on the global Internet system, I want to congratulate you on your decision to end the trade embargo on Vietnam. I am planning to go to Vietnam in April and will certainly use the occasion to take up the question of the MIA's. From the Swedish side we have tried to be helpful on this issue in the past, and we will continue to use the contacts we might have.

Sweden is—as you know—one of the leading countries in the world in the field of telecommunications, and it is only appropriate that we should be among the first to use the Internet also for political contacts and communications around the globe.

Yours,

Carl

Interview With Don Imus of WFAN Radio in New York City

February 17, 1994

Mr. Imus. Here now, on the "Imus in the Morning" program, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton. Good morning, Mr. President.

Health Care Reform

The President. Good morning, Don, how are you?

Mr. Imus. Well, I'm not that great, because your wife was here in New York 2 or 3 months ago to do that "Sesame Street," and it is broadcast from the same studio complex we are. So she sent down the Secret Service to get me. And of course, when they showed I didn't know what they were here for. It made me kind of nervous.

But anyway, I was talking to her, and I told her that since I had last talked to you I had had major lung surgery, and I have health insurance. And out of my pocket, though, even with health insurance, it cost me $20,000. So I'm for any health care plan—[*laughter*]—including yours.

The President. Well, that's good. I hope the surgery worked well. Your lungs seem to be in good order as nearly as I can tell. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Imus. Well, I feel pretty good. She was astonished that it cost that much. I explained that I was in a private room and stuff like that. But still, there was a lot of expense. And I—just curious to me how ordinary people, the median wage in this country being around $19,000 a year, how they could pay for that stuff.

The President. Well, it's really tough. She was in Maine last week and talking to a woman that broke her wrist and was charged $40 for sitting on a cot in a hospital in an emergency room for 30 minutes, charged for an Ace bandage she didn't use and things like that. There are a lot of problems in the health care system, mostly related to the way we finance it. The health care of this country—the delivery system, the doctors, the nurses, the medical research, all of that—it's very, very good. But the delivery system is messed up by the way it's financed. This is the only country in the world that has 1,500 separate health insurance companies writing thousands and thousands of different policies. You've got to read the fine print to figure out what's the copay, what's the deductible, how much cash do you have to put up if you have something like the operation you had. It's a really tough deal.

Mr. Imus. Well, you know, one of the ways, Mr. President, you could settle all this is for you and the First Lady to take on Harry and Louise from those insurance company commercials in like a segment of "American Gladiators." [*Laughter*]

The President. Yes, you know, I wouldn't mind that actually. The first I heard about them, I thought they were Thelma and Louise, you know. [*Laughter*] I tried to take them on a little bit yesterday in New Jersey. The problem is that they don't reflect real people, but they can scare real people because when we hear something about health care, we always want to calculate it, as we should, in terms of, well, how is this going to affect me and my family and our policy.

But real people out there are in trouble. I mean, I was at a little delicatessen in Columbus, Ohio, the day before yesterday talking to the woman who ran it, and she insured her 20 full-time employees even though a lot of her competitors didn't. She told me the stories about what had happened to their premiums when she got sick, how much she resented the fact that she did it and others didn't. I mean, if you really go out there and talk to real people about how the system really works, it's very different than what these ads say. And the ads are designed to mislead people about our plan so that we can keep the same financing system we've got. That's why the health insurance industry's running them.

But as a result of the way they do things, some people pay much more for insurance than others because they're older. Some people pay more just because they're in small businesses. Some people cannot get any insurance or can never change jobs because they've got a preexisting condition. No other country in the world does this.

But one thing we do have more than anybody else in the world is clerical workers, in hospitals, in doctors' offices, insurance offices, keeping up with all these forms that are required so we can see who doesn't get what coverage and make sure you pay all that $20,000. I mean, that's the way the financing system works. That's what needs to be reworked.

Mr. Imus. When you and the First Lady lobbied the business council, and they voted two-to-one against the plan, were you surprised about that or——

The President. No, they've never—you know, mostly they've not been for any of this. I was surprised that we have as much big business support as we do. What I wanted them to do, although it's largely ideological, most of them are paying premiums which are too high now. I thought we might get them for the first time to go along with the requirement for universal coverage or guaranteed private health insurance, because every other country has it. That's what their competitors provide. And all their competitors have lower health costs than these guys do.

But I was very disappointed that they didn't do it. Now, the Chamber of Commerce came out for universal coverage yesterday, which was encouraging. But the big business group I still think supports universal coverage. There were some other—they've got some members who don't support some parts of our plan. And the group that came to see me said that, "Well, we really are not

for this other plan. We think it's better strategy to say, 'Well, we ought to start with that.' "

But the truth is, you know, I didn't expect them to be in the vanguard of health care reform. But a lot of these big companies actually are paying more than they should because of all the cost-shifting. That's another big problem in our system. A lot of people who don't have health insurance ultimately get health care, but they get it when it's too late and too expensive. They show up at the emergency room, and then the hospitals have to pass those costs on to the people who do have insurance, which really runs the cost up of companies that have good health policies.

The Presidency

Mr. Imus. A lot of these mainstream news friends of mine who appear frequently on this program, like Tim Russert and folks like that, they think that I hang out with you, you know, and like set policy. [*Laughter*]

The President. Don't disabuse them, you know. Is Russert—is that mainstream? I don't know. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Imus. I try to explain to them, I've talked to you five or six times on the phone, and I'm not one of those people who claims to have access that doesn't exist. However——

The President. I've still got my Imus doll in here, though, in the White House.

Mr. Imus. Oh, you do?

The President. You bet I do. I watch that head bob up and down all the time. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Imus. You know, by the way, thanks for the pictures you sent me. I was doing an interview with the Washington Post the day those arrived. And this woman begged me to give her one of them so she could put it in the paper. And I said I didn't think the President would be interested in doing that.

But one of the things I tell people is that having talked to you four or five times during the campaign and now twice since you've been President, I said I thought that probably I had changed more in my approach in that, you know, you are the President, and I'm not going to ask you goofy questions. And my question to you is, do you think you've changed?

The President. Oh, I think it changes you some. What you have to guard against is getting the bad changes with the good. I mean, I think anyone who assumes this office who really wants to make a difference here instead of just to occupy the White House changes. I think, you know, I am much more focused every day than I have ever been in my public life on the work at hand and what I can do. I think that the responsibilities are so great it requires much more concentration. And you just have to kind of filter out a whole lot of things that once might have occupied your time and attention.

On the other hand, you have to guard against becoming more isolated, because it is so easy to get isolated here. I mean, you've got to—because of the security concerns, the Secret Service is always here and you're always—you travel in an armored limousine and you travel on Air Force One and you're always—it's just easy to get isolated from the people. So what I have to do is to try to make sure that I'm growing in the job all the time and continuing to deepen my ability just to focus on the big issues that really affect the lives of the American people without getting isolated from them.

Mr. Imus. Somebody said the White House is the crown jewel in our penal system. [*Laughter*]

The President. Yes, that was one of my better lines, did you think?

Mr. Imus. Oh, that was yours. Oh, okay.

The President. Yes. I said I couldn't figure out whether it was America's most beautiful public housing or the crown jewel of the penal system. [*Laughter*]

The El Camino

Mr. Imus. Of course, I guess I could ask you, the bed in that old El Camino wasn't large enough to play football on, so, Mr. President, what was that Astroturf for? [*Laughter*]

The President. You're old enough to remember what it was like with a pickup truck, nothing but metal in the back, right?

Mr. Imus. Absolutely.

The President. If you wanted to put—that's the only car I had then. I carried my

luggage back there. It wasn't for what everybody thought it was for when I made the comment, I'll tell you that. I'm guilty of a lot of things, but I didn't ever do that. [*Laughter*] But I don't think I should disclaim it really; just leave it out there.

Mr. Imus. I mean, it's like saying you didn't inhale, Mr. President. I mean, come on here. [*Laughter*] Anyway, by the way, congratulations on that Saudi——

The President. No, it's just that I didn't inhale in the back of the pickup. [*Laughter*]

Saudi Arabian Aircraft Contract

Mr. Imus. Congratulations on the Saudi aircraft deal. Mickey Kantor's doing a terrific job, isn't he?

The President. He is doing a great job. I mean, he's really been very, very good. You know, he's hammered out these major trade agreements, the NAFTA agreement and the GATT world trade round. And he's worked so hard to expand our trade operations. On this Saudi deal, we had three Cabinet members actually go to Saudi Arabia working on it: the Commerce Secretary, Ron Brown, whose major job it is to sell American products abroad, once Mickey Kantor gets us a fair framework; the Transportation Secretary, because it was airlines, Federico Peña; and the Secretary of State because it affected our foreign policy. They all went through Saudi Arabia and made an effort to help sell it. And you know, this is going to have a positive impact on about 60,000 jobs, which is an amazing thing.

Japan-U.S. Trade

Mr. Imus. And this may be a simple-minded trade question, Mr. President, but people like me wonder about this. How come we can't say to the Japanese, "Look, you guys can't send your junk over here until you let us send our stuff over there, and that policy starts tomorrow."?

The President. Well, you can do some of that. That's what we're trying to do with this telephone issue. I guess you saw the facts—when you mentioned Mickey, you must have seen him doing his interview on the cellular telephone——

Mr. Imus. Yes, I did.

The President. ——business, where he pointed out in the part of Japan where we have equal access, Motorola has 50 percent of the market. And in the Tokyo and Nagoya area, same products, where there's not equal access to take advantage of the whole system, the Japanese have 780,000 or something units, and Motorola has 12,000, less than 2 percent of the market.

So we've now concluded that case. We've established the facts, and we have to develop a response. But what you want to do is to do something that will succeed in opening their market without denying American consumers access to products they want to buy or without hurting American investments in Japan. We have increased exports to Japan dramatically, but exports from Japan to America have increased dramatically. And their markets are still the most closed of any advanced country in the world.

So in the past, America for 10 years tried 30 different trade agreements, the main focus of which was to change the processes by which they dealt with, instead of to, you know, achieve specific concrete results. And nothing ever happened. I mean, the trade deficit just got bigger and bigger. So we're going to try to pursue a much more aggressive policy now which will actually open markets.

And I might say there's a lot of people in Japan who agree with us. This is a problem for them, too, because as rich as that country is, the average Japanese pays almost 40 percent more for consumer products than the average American because their market's so closed.

So it isn't good for them either. They simply cannot continue to pursue the policy that they pursued when they were a poor country growing rich. They're now a rich country, and they can't export to the rest of the world and keep their own markets closed. And I think they know that. And we're going to work hard and try some different things to push that market open. But there are a lot of people in Japan who agree with us.

Mr. Imus. Of course, he was really aggressive, obviously, as you know, I mean, suggesting that they'd lied and broken that '88 agreement. I mean, he was pretty brutal there——

The President. Well, they didn't do what they said they'd do in '88. And last summer they said that we would have a trade agreement which would deal with autos and electronics and a lot of other issues—telecommunications—that would measure the results of our progress in qualitative and quantitative terms, which is a jargon phrase which means we'll see whether we're reducing the trade deficit or not. And they didn't want to do that here.

So there's a big fight going on in Japan now. The permanent government agencies there that have dominated policy for years and years, for decades, the trade and finance agencies, think the system they've had has worked. It's given them low unemployment and high savings rates, big exports and no imports, and they want to keep it. There are a lot of other people that want Japan to become a fully modern state with fair and open trade. And I think in a way we're helping the cause of the reformers by being tougher than America has been in the past on this issue in trying to get these markets open for our people.

Delbert McClinton

Mr. Imus. When the word got out around, particularly here in New York, yesterday that you were going to be on, all my friends at the networks called me and they said, ask him this and ask him that. And I'd tell them, I say, you ask him, because I'm not presumptuous enough to think I'm Ted Koppel or Tim Russert. I mean, our agenda here is to make you laugh, which we've done.

The President. But are they presumptuous enough to think they're you, that's——

Mr. Imus. No, they're not. [*Laughter*] Let me try to get some information, and the next time you have a gig at the White House we want to get you to book Delbert McClinton, because he's great. [*Laughter*] Do you know who Delbert is?

The President. Who is Delbert?

Mr. Imus. Oh, he's great. Man, you'd love him. If you love Elvis, you'll love Delbert McClinton. Sings that Texas blues.

The President. I like that Texas blues.

Mr. Imus. Oh, you'd love him. I'm going to send you a CD. I'll send it to my new best friend, Mark Gearan. I'll send it to him. He can give it to you.

The President. Are you hard up for a best friend? [*Laughter*] If you looked at Mark Gearan, if you can just look at him, he never—I don't believe he ever saw a country and western singer, much less heard one.

Mr. Imus. Well, maybe I'll send it to Paul Begala then.

The President. He's got a 1950's haircut. [*Laughter*]

Whitewater Development Corp.

Mr. Imus. I do have a math question, though. It's sort of like one of those, if Bill leaves L.A. traveling 55 miles an hour, and Bob leaves New York traveling 60 miles an hour, when will they each reach Sioux City, Iowa? So here's the question, Mr. President: You're the Governor of Arkansas making $35,000 a year, and Mrs. Clinton's over at the law firm making around $55,000. And out of what looks like a gross to me of around $90,000, how did you guys manage to lose $69,000 in that goofy Whitewater land deal? [*Laughter*]

The President. Oh, because we lost it over a long period of time.

Mr. Imus. Oh, okay.

The President. Most of it, the loss, was when we paid the bank loans back with interest, and we never got any money on the interest. So it happened over a long period of time.

Mr. Imus. Is that something that you think is going to—everybody I have on I ask this, and I've wanted to ask you. In your mind, is that something—I mean, are you guys sitting around there thinking this is going to turn into Watergate?

The President. No.

Mr. Imus. No.

The President. No, it's an investment I made 15 years ago that lost money instead of made money, because the property market turned around at home. It's a simple, straightforward thing, and it'll be shown to be. I mean, I'm absolutely comfortable with that. I mean, I'm amazed by all the twists and turns of interpretation that's been given. But that's about what happened.

Mr. Imus. Because I've had a bad run of luck here, Mr. President: I endorsed David

Dinkins; I endorsed Jim Florio; I was supporting Barry Diller in his takeover for Paramount, so I don't need anything to happen to you now. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, there are a lot of folks that come after us on a regular basis. I wish they'd fight with us on the issues instead of what they do, but that's part of it. Apparently that's part of being President in the latter half of the 20th century in a highly competitive environment. All I know is I get up every day, show up for work, work as hard as I can, try to help people improve their lives, and that's what I'm going to keep doing. And the ones that want to keep attacking me, I'm going to let them do it and just do the very best I can with it. And I'll try to make your gamble good. I don't want you to be disappointed, but—[*laughter*]—keep in mind, sometimes if you make choices, sometimes you're going to lose. All your politicians can't win. It's like going to the horse races.

Mr. Imus. Of course, you notice how I've turned this into how it's going to affect me as opposed to your Presidency and the future of this country and the free world. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's probably, you know——

Mr. Imus. Let me say this: I don't mean to be disrespectful, but that vacation, that model home, that looked like someplace where Tonya Harding's bodyguards were holed up—[*laughter*]—no wonder you guys couldn't sell them. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, you know, it was a little place where a lot of working people without much money were looking for a place to retire and own some property in a beautiful place. And by the way, north Arkansas is full of folks like that. They're good people, even if they're not rich. I know that now that you've hit the big time, it's not worthy of you, but if you—[*laughter*]—maybe if you could guarantee me a profit I could go build a house on a piece of land down there, and I could let you retire in Arkansas.

Mr. Imus. Actually, the guy I've worked with for 22 years, Charles McCord has a house right on the shore there of Bull Shoals Lake, right there in Lead Hill, Arkansas.

The President. In Lead Hill, which is near Zinc.

Mr. Charles McCord. Exactly, 10 miles from Zinc, yes, sir.

The President. You've been there?

Mr. McCord. I built a vacation home there, Mr. President.

The President. Oh, there you are. It's beautiful, isn't it?

Mr. McCord. It is one of the most gorgeous parts of this country, period, and absolutely, northeastern Arkansas, the Buffalo River country, all of that, absolutely.

Bosnia

Mr. Imus. Mr. President, the United States—I just wanted to ask you briefly about Bosnia—the United States has always, in my mind, at least, set the agenda for NATO. But in the case of Bosnia, it seems that we are acquiescing to them. As the lone superpower in the world, aren't they really bottom line looking to us to do what we've always done?

The President. Well, that's what we were able to do in getting the resolution through last summer, authorizing the use of airpower if Sarajevo was strangled. And then we and the French and then eventually the Germans and the British and all the others, agreed after this last terrible incident in the market in Sarajevo to strengthen that resolution and say that there ought to be basically an artillery-free zone around Sarajevo, which is what we're in the business of implementing now.

The difference is this—I know it's confusing—but basically the United Nations is on the ground in Bosnia. And the United Nations includes troops on the ground, includes troops from NATO countries. There are British troops on the ground; there are French troops on the ground; there are Canadian troops on the ground; there are Spanish troops on the ground; there are about to be some Dutch troops on the ground. A lot of these countries did not want NATO to use airpower to protect Sarajevo or do anything else because they were afraid that their troops on the ground would be attacked and killed, and we didn't have any troops on the ground. And when I said I thought that the arms embargo ought to be lifted, a lot of those countries said, "Well, you may be right, but we're afraid for our troops on the ground who are there fulfilling the U.N. mission trying to keep people alive and deliver food and

medicine, and keep the roads open.'' So to be fair to them, they were in a different position.

Now I think that the United States has finally succeeded in—and I told the allies at the NATO meeting in January we could not have an empty threat. So the Serbs now, I think, must know that if they don't comply, NATO will take action. And the United States has been pushing this for a long time. And I think we finally succeeded in bringing our allies around. I think a lot of them finally figured out that their troops on the ground were at greater risk by doing nothing than they were by taking action. But to be fair to the NATO allies, the United States has not put ground troops in Bosnia. I did not think we should. But because they had them there fulfilling the U.N. mandate, they were reluctant to have NATO bomb, because they were afraid of retaliation against their soldiers.

Now I think, we've sent a clear message to the Serbs. And I think everybody will hold tight. And we've got a chance. We've got a chance to really not only protect Sarajevo but to get a peace agreement that is decent and fair. And that's what we're going to be working for.

The President's Health

Mr. Imus. A final question, Mr. President, your cholesterol is around 204, right?

The President. No, no, it's down now, I think.

Mr. Imus. Oh, it is?

The President. Well, I don't know, I think it's—what was it? Is that what it was?

Mr. Imus. Yes.

The President. Yes, I lost 15 pounds, but my cholesterol is still too high.

Mr. Imus. Yes, but the other day I read about the Clinton burger and that pastrami sandwich and that apple fritter the size of a baby's head. [*Laughter*]

The President. Hey, hey, the apple fritter—I had one bite of apple fritter.

Mr. Imus. Oh, okay. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's right, I did get off my diet that day. But I was transported. I mean, I was out there in a place I felt at home in. I was in a little town in Ohio, you know, and I spoke to all those police officers, and I stopped at this little deli with this guy who had been a butcher's assistant when he was 13 years old and had finally saved enough money to open his own deli 3 years ago. And he built it with his hands, and he made this Clinton burger, And I thought, well, I'm going to eat it. He did it. And then I went to this restaurant in downtown Columbus and talked to those folks about health care. And I asked them what they thought I ought to have, and they said I ought to try the corned beef on pumpernickel. So that's what I did. They said that's what was good, so I tried it. Every now and then I lose my discipline. But I lost 15 pounds last year, and I'm going to try to lose 10 or 15 more this year. I like it better. I don't like to diet, but I like the way I feel when I'm a little bit lighter.

Mr. Imus. Mr. President, you were terrific. It's always great to have you on. Thank you very much.

The President. Well, thank you. Don't lose your sense of humor now just because I'm President.

Mr. Imus. No, I won't.

The President. Just give my adversaries equal time, that's all I ask. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Imus. Thanks.

The President. Have a good day.

Mr. Imus. All right, the President, Bill Clinton, here on the ''Imus in the Morning'' program.

The President. See you in Lead Hill.

NOTE: The telephone interview began at 8:03 a.m. The President spoke from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks at a Brunch With Senior Citizens and an Exchange With Reporters

February 17, 1994

The President. I want to welcome all of you here today. You represent 60 million Americans, and we need your help to pass health care reform.

One of my key tests for health care reform is: Is it fair, and does it protect older Americans? Our proposal does. It preserves and strengthens Medicare. It gives new prescription drug coverage and long-term care cov-

erage to senior citizens. And it protects the choice of a doctor.

Other approaches to health care reform in Congress threaten Medicare by taking money away from Medicare to pay for the health care of others. Congress comes back next week, and we'll take up the balanced budget amendment. It also will take money from Medicare without doing anything to strengthen the health care security of senior citizens.

Make no mistake about it, right now in Congress there are people who represent interests who want to use Medicare as a sort of a bank to pay for other people's health care, to bring down the deficit, to do other things that have nothing to do with the purpose for which Medicare was paid in the first place.

We have demonstrated with our budgets that you can reduce the deficit and still be fair to older Americans. We have demonstrated with our health care plan that you can take savings from Medicare and strengthen Medicare by providing prescription drug benefits, by providing long-term care benefits, by doing something to help early retirees and guarantee the security of their health care plans.

I'm here today to say that I don't want Medicare to be used as a bank for other people's designs. I do want to strengthen Medicare and provide the prescription drugs and long-term care benefits, but it can only be done if we fight together for a health care plan that has these provisions. Otherwise, if we don't fight, then these provisions will be taken out of our plan and, in fact, Medicare will be put at risk, either by the balanced budget amendment because of the way it works or by other people's health care plans.

So I need your help. We can do this. We can provide guaranteed health insurance for all Americans and include prescription drugs, which will save money over the long run and include new options for long-term care, which will save money over the long run, but only if you will fight. And I hope you will.

I thank you for being here.

Whitewater Development Corp.

Q. Mr. President, for the last couple of days, you've been talking about how hard the health care fight is going to be. At the same time, yesterday the special counsel in the Whitewater case said that his investigation he thinks is going to take a year and half. Is that going to be distracting for you, and why do you think it's going to take so long?

The President. Because most of it has nothing to do with me. I mean, this decision which many called for is going to cost the taxpayers millions of dollars, because what they did was to shut down the investigation that was ongoing of the S&L issues down there, which I have nothing to do with, and submerged it all in there. So it may take a good while because they have to go over all that ground. But I have really nothing to do with it, and they'll have to do whatever they're going to do in whatever time they're going to do it. The reason I thought it was a good idea to do the special counsel was so I wouldn't have to fool with it anymore, and I'm not spending any time on it.

Q. We see your lawyer coming in and out of here quite frequently. Are you meeting with him about this?

The President. I talked to him yesterday. But he basically just gives us a regular update, oh, every few weeks.

Welfare Reform

Q. Mr. President, are you contemplating taxing food stamps and the poor people to support your welfare plan?

The President. No.

Bosnia

Q. Mr. President, have you prepared the American people psychologically for the possibility of military conflict Monday?

The President. Well, I have done my best to talk about this, and we'll continue to talk about it as we get closer. I think the most important thing now is that the Serbs and others in Bosnia understand that the NATO allies are dead serious about carrying this out but that if the Serbs will move their weapons or put them under United Nations control, there will be no air strikes, and that we want to do what we can to get a permanent long-term peace agreement. That's what we're really working for.

The American people, I think, understand what is at stake here and understand our in-

terest in not permitting Sarajevo to be shelled and hundreds of thousands of people's lives to be destroyed and in working for a peaceful agreement.

I have not committed ground troops to this conflict. I have said that we will participate in NATO air strikes, and I think it is the right thing to do. But I hope the air strikes will not be necessary, and they will not occur if the Serbs will comply.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Old Family Dining Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Announcement on the White House Conference on Aging

February 17, 1994

The President announced today that he is formally calling for a White House Conference on Aging to be convened in May of 1995.

"I am pleased to resume the proud traditions of White House Conference on Aging begun by President John F. Kennedy in 1961," said the President, noting that there has not been a White House Conference on Aging since 1981. "The fact that this will be the last White House Conference on Aging of the 20th century makes this one even more significant."

Under the terms of the Older Americans Act, which authorizes that such a Conference be held, a 25-member policy committee chosen jointly by the President and the Congress will be selected to work out the specifics of the Conference, including its agenda and the number of participants. Earlier in the fall, President Clinton announced his selection of Robert B. Blancato, formerly of the National Italian-American Foundation and the former House Select Committee on Aging, to be the Executive Director of the White House Conference on Aging.

"An older America must soon face a new century," concluded the President. "A 1995 White House Conference on Aging allows us to plan for this challenge by working together to develop policy recommendations for the 21st century. We owe this to future generations."

Memorandum on Research Involving Human Subjects

February 17, 1994

Memorandum for the Vice President and the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Review of Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects

Federally funded biomedical and behavioral research has resulted in major advances in health care and improved the quality of life for all Americans. The pursuit of new knowledge in these fields of research often requires experiments that involve human subjects. Although human subjects research is an essential element of biomedical and behavioral research, bioethical considerations must influence the design and conduct of such research.

Since 1947, when guidelines for research with human subjects were promulgated, there has been increasingly widespread recognition of the need for voluntary and informed consent and a scientifically valid design of experiments involving human subjects.

Over time, this recognition has evolved into a rigorous and formalized system of regulations and guidelines, which were codified in governmental policies on human subject research, and were included in the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare's regulations in 1974, 45 C.F.R. 46. In 1991, 16 agencies formally adopted the core of these regulations in a common Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects. This Policy requires that all research protocols involving human subjects be reviewed by an Institutional Review Board. This review ensures that (1) risks are minimized and reasonable in relation to anticipated benefits; (2) there is informed consent; and (3) the rights and welfare of the subjects are maintained (56 Fed. Reg. 28003 (June 18, 1991)).

Although these regulations provide the framework for protecting human subjects in research, we must exercise constant care and ensure that these regulations are strictly en-

forced by departments and agencies. Therefore, I direct each department and agency of Government to review present practices to assure compliance with the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects and to cease immediately sponsoring or conducting any experiments involving humans that do not fully comply with the Federal Policy.

William J. Clinton

Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia

February 17, 1994

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

On October 13, 1993, I provided a further report to the Congress on the deployment of U.S. combat-equipped aircraft to support efforts of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to achieve peace and stability in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As part of my continuing efforts to ensure that Congress is fully informed, I am again writing to you, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to inform you that the United States has expanded its participation in this important effort to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Beginning with United Nations Security Council Resolution 713 of September 25, 1991, the United Nations has actively sought solutions to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In Resolutions 781 and 786 (October 9 and November 10, 1992), the Security Council established a ban on all unauthorized military flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina. Responding to ''blatant violations'' of the no-fly ban, in Resolution 816 (March 31, 1993) the Security Council extended the ban and authorized Member States and regional organizations to take ''all necessary measures'' to ensure compliance with the no-fly zone. NATO agreed to enforce the no-fly zone and ''Operation Deny Flight'' commenced on April 12, 1993.

Under Security Council Resolution 824 (May 6, 1993), certain parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been established as ''safe areas.'' Sarajevo is specifically included as a safe area that ''should be free from armed attacks and from any other hostile act.'' In addition, authority for the use of force in and around Sarajevo to implement the U.N. mandate is found in Security Council Resolutions 836 and 844 (June 4 and 18, 1993), which authorize Member States, acting ''nationally or through regional organizations,'' to use air power in the safe areas to support the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), subject to close coordination with the Secretary General and UNPROFOR.

As my previous reports to you have described, the participating nations have conducted phased air operations to prevent flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina that are not authorized by UNPROFOR. The United States has played an important role by contributing combat-equipped fighter aircraft, along with electronic combat and supporting tanker aircraft, to the operations in the airspace over Bosnia-Herzegovina. The no-fly zone has eliminated air-to-ground bombings and other air combat activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most violations have involved rotary-wing aircraft. Our enforcement operations have been conducted safely with no casualties to date.

Recent heavy weapons fire in the Sarajevo area has resulted in a continuing heavy loss of life as well as serious injuries among the civilian population. An attack on February 4, 1994, killed ten people, and the following day a Sarajevo civilian marketplace was hit by a mortar attack that caused numerous civilian casualties, including 68 deaths. The United Nations Secretary General thereafter requested NATO to authorize, at the request of the United Nations, air operations against artillery or mortar positions determined by UNPROFOR to have been involved in attacks on civilian targets in the vicinity of Sarajevo.

On February 9, 1994, NATO accepted the U.N. Secretary General's request and authorized air operations, as necessary, using agreed coordination procedures with UNPROFOR. In addition, NATO took the decision to set a deadline for the withdrawal of heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons) from within 20 kilometers of the center of Sarajevo, with the exception of an area of two

kilometers from the center of Pale, or for their regrouping and placement under U.N. control. After ten days from 2400 GMT February 10, 1994, all heavy weapons found within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, unless controlled by UNPROFOR, will be subject to NATO air strikes. In addition, NATO's decision provides the flexibility to act outside the 20-kilometer zone in response to any further artillery or mortar attacks on Sarajevo and authorizes the initiation of air attacks to suppress air defenses that would represent a direct threat to NATO aircraft in carrying out these operations. Further, U.S. airborne indirect-fire-locating units may be deployed to support these NATO operations. Importantly, U.S. forces assigned to NATO to conduct these missions retain their prerogative to take all necessary and appropriate action in self-defense, consistent with applicable NATO rules of engagement.

In my earlier reports I have informed you about the contribution of U.S. aircraft to participate in NATO air operations in Bosnia. In view of recent events, I have further directed the Secretary of Defense to take appropriate steps to ensure, in conjunction with our allies, that the assets necessary to implement the February 9 NATO decision are available in the region for the conduct and support of the NATO operations described above. At this point, more than 60 U.S. aircraft are available for participation in the authorized NATO missions.

In addition to no-fly zone operations and preparations to conduct air operations pursuant to the NATO decision, U.S. forces have conducted more than 2,200 airlift missions to Sarajevo and more than 1,200 airdrop missions in Bosnia. U.S. medical and other support personnel continue to provide critical services in support of UNPROFOR. Our U.S. Army light infantry battalion in Macedonia is an integral part of UNPROFOR monitoring efforts in that area. Finally, U.S. naval forces have completed over 18 months of operations as an integral part of the multinational effort to enforce the economic sanctions and arms embargo imposed by the Security Council.

I am taking these actions in conjunction with our allies in order to implement the NATO decision and to assist the parties to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict. It is not now possible to determine the duration of these operations. I have directed the participation by U.S. armed forces in this effort pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief.

I am grateful for the continuing support the Congress has provided, and I look forward to continued cooperation with you in this endeavor. I shall communicate with you further regarding our efforts for peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate.

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.

February 12

In the morning, the President had breakfast with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa of Japan. Later in the morning, he had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister John Major of The United Kingdom.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Hot Springs, AR, where he remained overnight.

February 13

In the afternoon, the President spoke by telephone with Tommy Moe, Olympic gold medal skier.

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

February 14

In the morning, the President participated in the American Heart Association Valentine's Day Heart Run in Yates Memorial Field House at Georgetown University.

In an afternoon ceremony at the White House, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Ana Christina Sol, El Salvador; Humayun Kabir, Bangladesh; Muhammed Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain; Maleeha Lodhi, Pakistan; and Raymond Chretien, Canada.

February 15

In the morning, the President traveled to London, OH, where he toured the Defense Training Center at the Ohio Peace Officers Training Academy. In the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Valerie Lau to be Inspector General of the Treasury Department, and Elio E. Muller, Jr., to be alternate U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. He also announced he has appointed Michelle Denise Jordan as Deputy Regional Administrator, Region V, at the Environmental Protection Agency.

The President announced that he has established Presidential Emergency Board No. 224, to investigate and make recommendations for settlement of the current dispute between the Long Island Rail Road and certain of its employees represented by the United Transportation Union. The board members are:

—Dana E. Eischen of Ithica, NY, Chair;
—Tia Schneider Denenberg of Red Hook, NY; and
—Irwin M. Lieberman of Stamford, CT.

February 16

In the late morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Edison, NJ. They returned to Washington, DC, in the early evening.

February 17

The President announced his intention to appoint 15 men and women to serve as members of the Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments, and that Ruth R. Faden will serve as Chair. The members are:

Ethicists
Ruth R. Faden
Ruth Macklin
Patricia A. King
Jay Katz

Historian
Susan E. Lederer

Attorney
Kenneth R. Feinberg

Epidemiologist
Duncan Thomas

Clinicians, Radiation Therapy/Nuclear Medicine
Eli J. Glatstein
Henry D. Royal
Mary Ann Stevenson

Clinician, Nonradiation/Public Health
Reed V. Tuckson

Military Medicine Specialist
Philip K. Russell

Radiation Biologist
Nancy L. Oleinick

General Scientist
Frank Press

Citizen Representative
Lois L. Norris

February 18

In the morning, the President had telephone conversations with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela on democratic reform in South Africa, and Prime Minister Tansu Ciller of Turkey on issues concerning Bosnia and Cyprus.

In the afternoon, the President had lunch with chief executive officers.

The President declared a major disaster exists in Mississippi and ordered Federal funds to be released to help communities in that State recover from a winter storm which struck on February 9.

The President named Charles C. Clarke as Regional Administrator with the Environmental Protection Agency for Region 10, representing Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

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

Checklist of White House Press Releases

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

Released February 14

Transcript of a press briefing by Council of Economic Advisers Chair Laura D'Andrea Tyson on the annual economic report

Transcript of a press briefing by Assistant to the President for Economic Policy Robert E. Rubin, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Roger Altman, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy Alicia Minell on the balanced budget amendment

Announcement of the Treasury Department study on the balanced budget amendment

Announcement of the schedule for health care events for older Americans

Released February 15

Announcement of the establishment of Presidential Emergency Board No. 224 on the dispute between the Long Island Rail Road and employees represented by the United Transportation Union

Released February 16

Transcript of a press briefing by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown on the Saudi Arabian aircraft contract

Fact sheet on the sale of American commercial aircraft to Saudi Arabia

Released February 17

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Transcript of a press briefing by Council of Economic Advisers Chair Laura D'Andrea Tyson on the national economy

Acts Approved by the President

Approved February 16

H.R. 1303 / Public Law 103–212
To designate the Federal Building and United States Courthouse located at 402 East State Street in Trenton, New Jersey, as the ''Clarkson S. Fisher Federal Building and United States Courthouse''

H.R. 2223 / Public Law 103–213
To designate the Federal building located at 525 Griffin Street in Dallas, Texas, as the ''A. Maceo Smith Federal Building''

H.R. 2555 / Public Law 103–214
To designate the Federal building located at 100 East Fifth Street in Cincinnati, Ohio, as the ''Potter Stewart United States Courthouse''

H.R. 3186 / Public Law 103–215
To designate the United States courthouse located in Houma, Louisiana, as the ''George Arceneaux, Jr., United States Courthouse''

H.R. 3356 / Public Law 103–216
To designate the United States courthouse under construction at 611 Broad Street, in Lake Charles, Louisiana, as the ''Edwin Ford Hunter, Jr., United States Courthouse''