

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, May 13, 1994

**Remarks Honoring the NCAA
Champion Lake Superior State
University Hockey Team**

May 6, 1994

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Just minutes before his team took the ice against the Russians—and some of these young people were too young to remember that thrilling Olympic victory in 1980—but Herb Brooks told his team that they were born to play the game. He said, “You were meant to be here at this time. This is your moment.”

Well, Senator Levin and Congressman Stupak, I thank you for your help in making this event possible. And today I say to the players, the coaches, and the other supporters of the Lake Superior State hockey team, welcome to the White House. This is your moment.

I want to give my best regards to Bob Arbuckle, the president of LSSU; Jeff Jackson, the head coach of the Lakers. And I want to talk a little about this team. But before I do, I have to say something about another Michigan moment. During this last winter, the coldest we’d had here in 100 years, a deep freeze struck the Upper Peninsula, causing extensive damage to the infrastructure of the region.

The State of Michigan requested a major disaster declaration through our emergency management agency to provide assistance to 10 counties. I have just been advised by the Director of FEMA, James Lee Witt, that his agency is reviewing the State’s request, and he expects to recommend to me on Monday that a major disaster declaration is warranted with a preliminary estimate of \$7.1 million, which is expected to increase as the thawing continues. I want to thank Representative Stupak and Senator Levin and Senator Reigle for their interest in the matter and say that I hope the thawing continues in the Upper Peninsula, Mr. Stupak.

Now, back to the school. It’s relatively small—3,400 students—and smaller than many of your competitors. And yet, by concentrating on the fundamentals, concentrating on quality, year after year you produce excellence. Three national titles in 7 years, two in the last 3 years. Three straight NCAA championship games.

Be proud not just because you’re champions, but more important, because of what made you champions: hard work, determination, discipline, loyalty, and teamwork. I hope each of you will take that example into your communities and on into your lives. There are too many young people in America who don’t have the kind of hope you have, no one to push them forward or no one to cheer for them.

Tonight and tomorrow, people all over this country will now see a picture of you here, and some child will be inspired to work harder. Because of you, he or she will believe that they can do more with their lives, make more of themselves, and make a difference.

If I could leave one message today, it would be this: Never underestimate the impact of this achievement on other people, especially young people. President Kennedy once said, “One man can make a difference, and every man should try.” I hope all of you will do that.

Again, welcome to the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:13 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Herb Brooks, 1980 U.S. Olympic hockey team coach. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Statement on the Death of Mike
Walsh**

May 6, 1994

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to hear of the death of our good friend Mike Walsh. His friendship and advice will be

sorely missed. Our prayers and sympathies are with his family during this difficult time.

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

Proclamation 6684—National Walking Week, 1994

May 6, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

We should all be aware of the benefits of regular physical activity; it can improve our energy levels while we expend calories. It can be as simple to incorporate into our daily lives as taking the stairs instead of the elevator, walking an extra block instead of riding, or taking a walk after a meal instead of taking a nap. Regular physical exercise can help to prevent and manage coronary heart disease, hypertension, noninsulin-dependent diabetes, osteoporosis, and mental health problems, such as depression and anxiety. And regular physical activity has been associated with lower rates of colon cancer and incidence of stroke.

Walking is an excellent form of light to moderate physical activity for most people. Walking for at least 30 minutes each day is a simple and inexpensive, yet very healthful, thing to do. It is a key element in Healthy People 2000, the Nation's prevention agenda, which envisions a healthier America by the year 2000. An increase in this important, positive health-related exercise can have a significant effect on the enhanced quality and life span of those who practice it. It is an invigorating form of self-care that can contribute to the reduction of preventable death, disease, and disability and to the containment of health care costs. It also provides a time for reflection and stress reduction.

Efforts to communicate with the American people about the health benefits of regular walking and to improve environments that make walking pleasurable and safe deserve the support of policy makers, legislators, and citizens throughout the country.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 146, has designated May 1, 1994, through

May 7, 1994, as "National Walking Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 1, 1994, through May 7, 1994, as National Walking Week. I invite the Governors of the 50 States and the appropriate officials of all other areas under the jurisdiction of the United States to issue similar proclamations. I also encourage the American people to join with health and recreation professionals, private voluntary associations, and other concerned organizations in observing this occasion with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of May, 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, 2:08 p.m., May 9, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 10. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

May 7, 1994

Good morning. This week we saw a dramatic example of what we can accomplish together when you make your voices heard and Washington sets aside partisan differences to do the people's business.

Even though nearly everyone said it couldn't be done, the House of Representatives voted to make our streets safer by banning the sale of 19 different assault weapons. We pushed hard for this result, and the outcome defied the old enemy of gridlock. Democrats and Republicans alike sent a powerful message that the American people are determined to take their streets, their schools, and their communities back from criminals.

This vote teaches us an important lesson: No matter how uphill a battle may seem, when we set our minds to it, we can deal with the problems facing our country. Last year it took the same kind of commitment to pass a powerful plan to reduce the deficit. And now we're seeing the rewards of that.

Just yesterday, we learned that our economy has created over a quarter of a million jobs in April, and almost a million in the first 4 months of this year alone, about 3 million jobs since we all began this effort and nearly all of them in the private sector.

Our successes in fighting crime and improving the economy are worth thinking about on this Mother's Day weekend. We are honoring the people who are at the heart of our society's most important institution, the family.

Tomorrow, mothers all across America will enjoy the flowers, cards, and breakfasts in bed. But we should remember another gift that will improve and prolong their lives: the gift of good health care. Women are the people most likely to guard their families' health care and to make sure we're all healthier. And yet too often our health care system leaves women behind. Even when treatments are available, women don't get the necessary health care they need because they have inadequate insurance or none at all. More women than men work part-time or in jobs without insurance. And historically, research studies on everything from heart disease to strokes to AIDS have tended to focus on men, leaving women more vulnerable to many diseases.

I am committed to redressing these inequities. We've made a good start. We've got a fine woman, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala. We created the first senior-level position in Government dedicated to women's health concerns. We've increased funds to prevent and treat diseases that afflict women. Right now, the largest clinical trial in the United States' history is underway, looking at how to prevent heart disease, the biggest killer of our women. We launched a national action plan on breast cancer to fight the killer of 46,000 women every year. These women are not just numbers, they are loved ones lost forever.

And most important, we're pushing to reform the health care system.

The great majority of the letters Hillary and I have received about health care reform have been from women, voicing concerns for their families, their children, and their parents. One was from a New York woman forced to take a job with no medical coverage. Last year, a lump was found in her breast, and her doctors said it should be removed. But her family can't afford the operation. "I don't want to die," she wrote us, "and because of lack of money, I may. I hope that you'll be able to do something soon so that no one will have to go through what I am going through."

This mother is just 44 years old. I can't share her name because she hasn't told her family yet. She doesn't want them to worry. This woman's condition may be treatable, but she won't know because treatment is simply out of her financial reach.

Travesties like this happen too often. Women avoid preventive care because they're afraid of having records of preexisting conditions that will deny them insurance coverage. In a recent survey, 11 percent of women said they didn't get their blood pressure checked; 35 percent didn't receive a Pap smear; and 44 percent didn't receive a mammogram.

Our health care plan emphasizes preventive care. It eliminates preexisting conditions and bans lifetime limits on health coverage. It makes research of women's health problems a priority. It helps families when a loved one needs long-term care. And it gives coverage to everyone, regardless of whether she is healthy or ill, married or single, working inside or outside the home.

For every American blessed with a mother, or the wonderful memory of one, I ask you to think about the 16 million women in our Nation who don't get the health care services they need. And think about their children. Think how a single illness can destroy a family.

I think of a courageous woman I met this week named Kate Miles, who is caring for a son with multiple disabilities. Her family has no assistance for long-term care. So to keep her son, Robert, out of a nursing home, and because of the awful way our system op-

erates, Kate Miles had to give up her job, and her husband, Tom, must work two jobs. As she so eloquently put it: "In an institution, who will be there in the middle of the night when he's frightened, to tell him it's all right and that his mother loves him?" No mother should have to know such pain.

So today I ask every mother's child to send another card this Mother's Day. Address it to your Senator or Representative in Congress. Tell them this health care reform plan is important, because it may help the most important person in your life. And tell them along with mother love, most of our mothers taught us that the most important thing in life was to be a good person and do the right thing.

Well, this Mother's Day, the right thing is to make sure that by next Mother's Day we never have to worry about the health of our mothers being cared for.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:06 p.m. on May 6 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 7.

Remarks Announcing William H. Gray III as Special Adviser on Haiti and an Exchange With Reporters *May 8, 1994*

The President. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I want to speak for a few moments about the crisis in Haiti, the challenge it poses to our national interests, and the new steps I am taking to respond.

Three and a half years ago, in free and fair elections, the people of Haiti chose Jean-Bertrand Aristide as their President. Just 9 months later, their hopes were dashed when Haiti's military leaders overthrew democracy by force. Since then, the military has murdered innocent civilians, crushed political freedom, and plundered Haiti's economy.

From the start of this administration, my goal has been to restore democracy and President Aristide. Last year, we helped the parties to negotiate the Governors Island accord, a fair and balanced agreement which laid out a road map for a peaceful resolution to the crisis. But late last year, the Haitian military abrogated the agreement, and since

then they have rejected every effort to achieve a political settlement.

At the same time, the repression and bloodshed in Haiti have reached alarming new proportions. Supporters of President Aristide, and many other Haitians, are being killed and mutilated. This is why 6 weeks ago I ordered a review of our policy toward Haiti. As a result of this review, we are taking several steps to increase pressure on Haiti's military while addressing the suffering caused by their brutal misrule. We are stepping up our diplomatic efforts, we are intensifying sanctions, and we are adapting our migration policy.

Let me describe these steps. First, to bring new vigor to our diplomacy, I am pleased to announce that Bill Gray, president of the United Negro College Fund, former House majority whip, and chair of the House Budget Committee, has accepted my invitation to serve as special adviser to me and to the Secretary of State on Haiti. Bill is here with his wife, on his way to the inauguration of President Mandela in South Africa, and I will ask him to speak in just a few moments. But let me just say that he is a man of vision and determination, of real strength and real creativity. And I appreciate his willingness to accept this difficult and challenging assignment. He will be the point man in our diplomacy and a central figure in our future policy deliberations.

As part of our diplomatic efforts, we will work with the United Nations to examine the changes in the proposed U.N. military and police mission in Haiti. We want to ensure that once Haiti's military leaders have left, this mission can do its job effectively and safely.

Second, the U.S. is leading the international community in a drive to impose tougher sanctions on Haiti. On Friday, the U.N. Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution we had proposed to tighten sanctions on everything but humanitarian supplies, to prevent Haiti's military leaders and their civilian allies from leaving the country, to promote a freeze of their assets worldwide, and to ban nonscheduled flights in and out of Haiti. U.S. naval vessels will continue to enforce these sanctions vigorously.

We are also working with the Dominican Republic to improve sanctions enforcement along that nation's border with Haiti. To shield the most vulnerable Haitians from the worst effects of the sanctions, we will increase both humanitarian aid and the number of U.N. and OAS human rights monitors in Haiti.

While these stronger sanctions will cause more hardships for innocent Haitians, we must be clear: The military leaders bear full responsibility for this action. They can stop the suffering of their people by giving up power, as they themselves agreed to do, and allowing the restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide.

Third, I am announcing certain changes in our migration policy toward Haiti. Currently, Haitians seeking refugee status, including those interdicted at sea, are interviewed only in Haiti and not beyond its shores. Our processing centers, which have been dramatically expanded in this administration, are doing a good job under bad circumstances.

In 1993, we processed and approved about 10 times the number of refugee applicants as in 1992. In recent months, however, I have become increasingly concerned that Haiti's declining human rights situation may endanger the safety of those who have valid fears of political persecution, who flee by boat, and who are then returned to Haiti where they are met at the docks by Haitian authorities before they can be referred to in-country processing.

Therefore, I have decided to modify our procedures. We will continue to interdict all Haitian migrants at sea, but we will determine aboard ship or in other countries, which ones are bona fide political refugees. Those who are not will still be returned to Haiti, but those who are will be provided refuge. We will also approach other countries to seek their participation in this humanitarian endeavor.

The new procedures will begin once we have the necessary arrangements in place. This will take some weeks. Until then, the Haitians must understand that we will continue to return all boat migrants to Haiti. Even under the new procedures, there will be no advantage for Haitians with fears of

persecution to risk their lives at sea if and when they can assert their claims more safely at a processing center in Haiti.

The ultimate solution to this crisis, however, is for the military leaders to keep their own commitment to leave, so that Haiti's people can build a peaceful and prosperous future in their own country.

I am committed to making these new international sanctions work. At the same time, I cannot and should not rule out other options. The United States has clear interests at stake in ending this crisis. We have an interest in bolstering the cause of democracy in the Americas. We have an interest in ensuring the security of our citizens living and working in Haiti. We have an interest in stopping the gross human rights violations and abuses of the military and their accomplices. And we clearly have a humanitarian interest in preventing a massive and dangerous exodus of Haitians by sea.

The steps I have announced today are designed to relieve suffering, redouble pressure, and restore democracy. Working with the Haitian people and the world community, we will try to advance our interests and give Haiti an opportunity to build a future of freedom and hope. They voted for it, and they deserve the chance to have it.

Mr. Gray.

[At this point, Mr. Gray accepted the President's appointment and stated that he would work with commitment and determination to end the suffering in Haiti.]

Q. Mr. President, what makes you believe that these sanctions, these new policies on returning Haitian refugees to Haiti will work this time? Haven't they been tried before and found to be unreliable or to encourage people to——

The President. Before, when they were tried, the circumstances were somewhat different. First of all, let me answer the question about why we would undertake to change the policy, even though there is clearly some logistical challenge involved in doing so.

I ordered the review of this policy 6 weeks ago when we began first to get intelligence reports and then clear news reports that there was increasing violence against citizens of Haiti who did not agree with the policies

of the military regime—and indeed, some of them seem to not be political at all—of people not only being killed but being mutilated. It seems to me reasonable to assume that some of the people who are fleeing by boat are in that group of people who also are fearful of their lives. And the way the boat return has worked so far is that we take the people back, let them off at the dock at Port-au-Prince. They are then—by and large, they have been free to go to the in-country processing. But they are subject to the authority of the Haitian police at that moment. And I simply think that the risks of that cannot be justified, given the increased level of political violence in the country. Therefore, I think we have to change the policy.

Now, why do I think it will work? First, we've studied what happened before when the policy of inspection of people at sea occurred, and we have determined that two things ought to be done. First, we ought to look for a third-country processing center. And second, if we do it at sea, we ought not to do it on the Coast Guard cutters, which can be quickly overrun in their capacity, but to do it on bigger ships.

We believe if—given a little time to organize this logistically, we can handle it. Also, it will be clear that we are not changing our policy, which is the law of the United States with regard to economic refugees. People who seek to come to the United States for economic reasons only, are not eligible for this kind of status.

So we will do these reviews. We think we can do them fairly quickly, in a matter of a few days, and then return those who should be returned and take those who should be taken into the United States.

Ron [Ron Fournier, Associated Press].

Q. Are you in danger, sir, of sending signals that could open the floodgates for Haitian refugees? And how much, if any, did the fast play into your decisionmaking process?

The President. First, let me answer your first question. I hope that we will not have a flood of refugees, but we are increasing our naval resources to deal with them. We are not changing our policy about who can come and who cannot. That is a matter of American law. We are not able to do that, nor should we do that.

But I don't believe the policy we have now is sustainable, given the level of political violence against innocent civilians in Haiti. We have to try to implement this policy. I believe we can, and I think, as we do it firmly, the Haitian people will see we are not opening the floodgates for indiscriminate refugee migration into the United States but that we are going to try to find those people who have left because they have a genuine fear.

The review of this policy began before Mr. Robinson's fast, but if you will go back, and when I was first asked about it I said that I did not mind his criticism of our policy, it obviously had not worked. I said that from day one. And I respect his conviction and his courage and his conscience. And I was gratified by the comments that he said today. And I'm glad that on this Mother's Day he's going to be having dinner with his wife tonight.

Q. Mr. President, on sanctions, your former envoy to Haiti warns that the stricter sanctions will—could also ruin the situation on the ground in Haiti. It would make it impossible for President Aristide or for anyone Mr. Gray works with to set up there to bring democracy back. What kind of confidence do you have that economic sanctions are going to bring the military leaders out?

The President. Well, I think the economic sanctions will have to be coupled with a vigorous and aggressive and broad-based diplomatic effort. And we are exploring all alternatives.

As you know, we have been reluctant to impose the more severe sanctions, although President Aristide and many of the Friends of Haiti group, the French, the Canadians, others who have worked with us on this for a long time, since, have advocated this course. In my view, we must exhaust all available alternatives as we try to resolve this diplomatically. And I think it is an appropriate thing to do now.

If we are successful in trying to bring back democracy and to restore not only President Aristide but the concept, the spirit that was in the Governors Island accord, that is, a broad-based, functioning representative government that can relate to the business community as well as to the ordinary citizens of Haiti, then we will have to get ourselves in

gear to try to make sure that that economy comes back as quickly as possible. We're trying to do that with South Africa and others. I think we'll be able to do it.

Q. Mr. President, I don't understand why the administration is saying that it does not expect a large influx of Haitian refugees now. Are you saying effectively that you expect the results of the new policy will be the same as the results of the old policy?

The President. No, I'm saying—I think there will be more—some more people in the sense that we will be reviewing more people simultaneously. That is, we will be reviewing people not only in the in-country processing centers, but we'll be interviewing people either on boats or in a third country. But what I'm saying is that we have not broadened the criteria of eligibility for coming to the United States.

I want to make this very clear. The problem with the present policy is—the present policy worked in 1993 up through the abrogation of the Governors Island accord and for some time thereafter in the sense that we did not have evidence of widespread indiscriminate killing of civilians. And we increased by tenfold, by tenfold, the number of people processed and the number of people approved for refuge in this country for 1993 over 1992.

But when all this killing started, when it became obvious that the military leaders had no earthly intention of honoring Governors Island or anything approaching it or keeping their commitments, but instead were going to tolerate, organize, and abet increased killing in Haiti, it is logical to assume that some of those who get on the boats include not only economic refugees, who are the vast majority of them, but also some who genuinely fear for their lives. The only way we can get those people to the in-country processing is to let them off at the dock in Port-au-Prince where the police have jurisdiction. I do not believe that is a sustainable policy, either practically or morally, given the level of indiscriminate violence.

So there may be some more people who get in because we'll be reviewing even more people. But it would be a great mistake for Haitians who want to come here for economic reasons to just take to the boats, be-

cause we are not changing the standard by which we admit people.

Gwen [Gwen Ifill, New York Times].

Q. It seems there are two outstanding problems. One is that Lieutenant General Cédras said this morning he doesn't really have any intention of stepping aside in order to replace—in order to make room for President Aristide, and that even your supporters on this policy are concerned that there is still no equivalency between what happens with the United States and Cuban immigrants and the United States and Haitian immigrants. How do you address those two things?

The President. Well, I think we are going to have—we do have an equivalency in terms of people who get here. But we have an obligation to try to let the people who genuinely fear for their lives into this country. We are now going to do that without regard to whether they're processed in-country or on boats. Therefore, the legal standard is what it ought to be.

The Cuban situation is unique in the sense that there is an act of Congress which has certain specifics about the Cuban situation which changes our relationship with Cuba to some extent. But this will alleviate the legitimate concern with regard to the Haitians, and I hope will minimize the likelihood that hundreds of people will die at sea innocently.

Q. And about Lieutenant General Cédras?

The President. Well, of course, he's going to say that. That's what he's been saying ever since—that's what he told us when he abrogated the Governors Island accord. "I gave my word. I never expect President Aristide to keep his word. President Aristide called my bluff, kept his word, and so I'm going to shaft the agreement." That's what he said on September 30th. So he hasn't changed his mind since then. But we may be able to do better now. And I think the gentleman to my right is a person of extraordinary ability; maybe he can do some things we haven't done yet. We're going to give it our best shot.

[At this point, a Cuban-American thanked the President for his new policy on Haiti.]

The President. Thanks.

One more.

Q. How long are you willing to give sanctions to take the desired effect?

The President. I think I have to let Mr. Gray do a little work before I can answer that question.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Raoul Cédras, commander of the Haitian Army, and Randall Robinson, the executive director of TransAfrica Forum who fasted to protest U.S. policy in Haiti. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 12914—Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Respect to Haiti

May 7, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, in view of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 of May 6, 1994, and in order to take additional steps with respect to the actions and policies of the *de facto* regime in Haiti and the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order No. 12775, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses, which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order, and notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, all funds and financial resources of:

- (a) all officers of the Haitian military, including the police, and their immediate families;
- (b) the major participants in the coup d'état in Haiti of 1991 and in the illegal governments since the coup d'état, and their immediate families; and
- (c) those employed by or acting on behalf of the Haitian military, and their immediate families; that are or hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter

come within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches, are blocked.

Sec. 2. The following are prohibited, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, authorizations, or licenses that may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order: (a) the granting of permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in, or overfly the territory of the United States, if the aircraft, as part of the same flight or as a continuation of that flight, is destined to land in or has taken off from the territory of Haiti, with the exception of regularly scheduled commercial passenger flights; (b) any transaction by any United States person that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order.

Sec. 3. The definitions contained in section 3 of Executive Order No. 12779 apply to the terms used in this order.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to me by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the United Nations Participation Act, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government. All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the effective date of this order.

Sec. 5. Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 6.

(a) This order shall take effect at 11:59 p.m., eastern daylight time on May 8, 1994.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 7, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:21 p.m., May 9, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 9, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on May 10.

Proclamation 6685—Suspension of Entry of Aliens Whose Entry Is Barred Under United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 or Who Formulate, Implement, or Benefit From Policies That Are Impeding the Negotiations Seeking the Return to Constitutional Rule in Haiti

May 7, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In light of the political crisis in Haiti resulting from the expulsion from Haiti of President Aristide and the constitutional government, United Nations Security Council Resolution 917, and the overriding interest of the United States in the restoration of democracy to Haiti, I have determined that it is in the interests of the United States to restrict the entry to the United States of: (1) all aliens described in paragraph 3 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917; and (2) all other aliens who formulate, implement, or benefit from policies that impede the progress of the negotiations designed to restore constitutional government to Haiti and their immediate families.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, by the powers vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including sections 212(f) and 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1182(f) and 1185), and section 301 of title 3, United

States Code, hereby find that the unrestricted immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of aliens described in sections 1 and 2 of this proclamation would, except as provided for in sections 3 and 4 of this proclamation, be detrimental to the interests of the United States. I do therefore proclaim that:

Section 1. The immigrant and non-immigrant entry into the United States of aliens described in paragraph 3 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 is hereby suspended. These aliens are: (a) all officers of the Haitian military, including the police, and their immediate families;

(b) the major participants in the coup d'état of 1991 and in the illegal governments since the coup d'état, and their immediate families; and

(c) those employed by or acting on behalf of the Haitian military, and their immediate families.

Sec. 2. The immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of aliens who are not covered by section 1, but who nonetheless formulate, implement, or benefit from policies that impede the progress of the negotiations designed to restore constitutional government to Haiti, and their immediate families, is hereby suspended.

Sec. 3. Section 1 shall not apply with respect to any alien otherwise covered by section 1 where the entry of such alien has been approved as prescribed by paragraph 3 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917.

Sec. 4. Section 2 shall not apply with respect to any alien otherwise covered by section 2 where the entry of such alien would not be contrary to the interests of the United States.

Sec. 5. Aliens covered by sections 1 through 4 shall be identified pursuant to procedures established by the Secretary of State, as authorized in section 8 below.

Sec. 6. Nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to derogate from United States Government obligations under applicable international agreements.

Sec. 7. This proclamation shall take effect at 11:59 p.m., eastern daylight time on May 8, 1994, and shall remain in effect until such

time as the Secretary of State determines that it is no longer necessary and should be terminated.

Sec. 8. The Secretary of State shall have responsibility to implement this proclamation pursuant to procedures the Secretary may establish.

Sec. 9. Proclamation No. 6569 of June 3, 1993, is hereby revoked.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of May, 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, 12:09 p.m., May 9, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 9, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on May 10.

Message to the Congress on Haiti

May 7, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

On October 4, 1991, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA") (50 U.S.C. 1703 *et seq.*) and section 301 of the National Emergencies Act ("NEA") (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), President Bush exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12775 on October 4, 1991, declaring a national emergency and blocking Haitian government property.

On October 28, 1991, pursuant to the above authorities, President Bush exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12779 on October 28, 1991, blocking property of and prohibiting transactions with Haiti.

On June 30, 1993, pursuant to the above authorities, as well as the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended ("UNPA") (22 U.S.C. 287c) I exercised my statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12853 on June 30, 1993, to impose additional economic measures with respect to Haiti. This latter action was taken, in part, to ensure that the economic measures taken by the United States with respect to Haiti

would conform to United Nations Security Council Resolution 841 (June 16, 1993).

On October 18, 1993, pursuant to the IEEPA and the NEA, I again exercised my statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12872 on October 18, 1993, blocking property of various persons with respect to Haiti.

On May 6, 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 917, calling on Member States to take additional measures to tighten the embargo against Haiti. These include, *inter alia*, a requirement that Member States deny permission for take off, landing or overflight to any aircraft flying to or from Haiti, other than aircraft on regularly scheduled commercial passenger flights. In addition, the Resolution strongly urges, but does not mandate, the freezing of funds and financial resources of officers of the military in Haiti, including police, major participants in the coup d'état of 1991, and in illegal governments since the coup d'état, those employed by, or acting on behalf of, the military, and immediate family members of the foregoing. Effective at 11:59 p.m. e.d.t., May 8, 1994, I have taken additional steps pursuant to the above statutory authorities to enhance the implementation of this international embargo and to conform to United Nations Security Council Resolution 917.

This new Executive order:

- bans arriving and departing flights and overflights stopping or originating in Haiti, except regularly scheduled commercial passenger flights;
- blocks the funds and financial resources, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, of the individuals specified in Resolution 917, identified above;
- prohibits any transaction that evades or avoids or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions of this order; and
- authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to issue regulations implementing the provisions of the Executive order.

The new Executive order is necessary to implement certain provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 917 of May 6, 1994, that are to take effect without delay. Further measures, including a comprehen-

sive trade embargo with certain humanitarian exceptions, are required no later than May 21, 1994. I am considering additional measures to give full effect to these and other provisions of that Resolution. The measures we are imposing and the United Nations Security Council Resolution adopted on May 6, 1994, reflect the determination of the United States, acting in concert with the international community, to end the assault on democracy and human dignity in Haiti.

I am providing this notice to the Congress pursuant to section 204(b) of the IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and section 301 of the NEA (50 U.S.C. 1631). I am enclosing a copy of the Executive order that I have issued.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 7, 1994.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 9.

Remarks to Employees at a Pathmark Grocery Store in New York City

May 9, 1994

Thank you so much, Jack. And I want to thank you and all of you here for hosting me today. I was beginning to tell a story. You know, the first job I ever had was working in a grocery store. I was 13 years old; I don't think I violated the child labor laws at the time. *[Laughter]* But anyway, I did. And so every time I come into a food store, I'm always so happy, and I look around to see how the merchandise is stacked and how it's organized and everything. And I remember how different it was when I started my career as a worker almost 35 years ago now.

I want to thank you for your support of this endeavor. I want to thank Senator Connor and my longtime friend, your borough president, Ruth Messenger, for being here today in support of this. I want to thank Doug Dority and the United Food and Commercial Workers for their support of health care reform and their intense efforts to educate the Congress about this.

I want to say again what this plastic bag says, and I want to emphasize why I'm here

today, besides the fact that I was kind of hungry, driving in from the airport. *[Laughter]* That bag says: "Pathmark and the UFCW support health benefits at work and quality health care, including prescription medicines for all Americans." That just about says it all.

We're having this raging political struggle in Washington where everybody in the wide world says, "Oh, I believe every American ought to have access to health care, but we can't figure out how to do it." And the Members of Congress are being told day-in and day-out that all retail establishments and all small businesses oppose requiring employers and employees that don't have any health insurance at all now to get coverage at work, with the employers paying a substantial and fair share of that. And the image they have now is that all retail establishments and all small businesses feel that way. We have now produced hundreds of small business people, men and women from all over America who say, "I want to insure my employees, but I can't afford to because my competitors don't have to do it. Please require us all to do it, and then give small business the same chance to buy that big business has."

Today, you see a major American retailer, 175 stores, a company that's proved that you can be socially responsible and still make money. You can provide health care to your employees, and you can put stores in the inner cities. And you can make money by treating people right, your customers and the people who work with you. That is the message today.

The truth is that if all retailers in the country had to provide insurance on equal terms to their employees, you would be advantaged, because no one would be able to get a competitive advantage over you by not covering their employees while you all are covered, and you bear that cost in common and the truth is that in the future, your health benefits could be purchased for a lower cost. That is, your costs wouldn't go up as much because today part of your cost is paying the bill for everybody who doesn't have coverage, because when they get sick, they get care. They show up at the emergency room when it's too late and too expensive, and then the

cost is passed on to everybody in our society who is paying a fair share.

So this is a very, very important thing today. By being here, you are saying to me that you support health benefits at work. It works for you, and it can work for America. I just want to point out that, today, 9 out of 10 Americans who have private insurance get their insurance at work. Eight out of 10 Americans who do not have health insurance are in working families. Therefore, the most conservative, the most practical, the most realistic way to cover all Americans is to say, if people are working, they should be covered at work, and their employers should bear a fair share of that cost, like most employers do. If people are not working, then the Government should figure out how to handle it.

Today, unless you're older, on Medicare, the only people with guaranteed health care in this country are people on welfare. Why should people on welfare have a guarantee that people that are working don't have? There are people all over this country who are on welfare who would quit and go to work, let's say for one of your competitors who doesn't provide health care, and lose health care benefits for their children.

Think of that: Well, what's your story? "Oh, I left welfare. I went to work at Food Store X. I don't have health care, but at least I'm working. Now I'm paying taxes so people who didn't go to work and stayed on welfare could get health care." You don't have to be a genius to figure out that doesn't make any sense. It is not fair. It is not right. It is not fair for your competitors to have any price advantage over you because they don't contribute to their employees' health care.

It's also not fair for people whose children are born with an illness or who develop an illness not to ever be able to get health insurance because they were never in a work unit that provided it. There are millions of people like that. So I just wanted to thank you for giving me a chance, through the press, to show America that there are plenty of businesses who support requiring employers to pay their fair share. Plenty of them. And you represent that. And the truth is this country would be a whole lot better off if all the food stores in America did what you do instead of walking away. But unless everybody does

it, it's going to be harder and harder and harder for you to do it. That's what Jack said, and it's absolutely right.

Let me say, I just saw Senator Moynihan walk in. Come over here, Senator Moynihan. Senator Moynihan, your Senator, is the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, which has the largest share of responsibility for the health care bill in the United States Senate. And he will tell you that the big battle that we're fighting out there is how to find a way to cover everybody.

You have proved that a retail establishment can cover their employees and make money, that by treating people right you get higher productivity, greater employee loyalty, more production, and in the end, higher profits. But it isn't right unless everybody has to do it.

So I want to ask you as I close, every time you fill up that bag, tell people you mean it. And ask them to call their Member of Congress or write them or drop them a note and say, this is important for America. If we don't now seize this opportunity to give health care security to all of our people, more and more people will start to lose insurance. Another 100,000 Americans a month lose their health insurance permanently. It is not right. We can do this right. It will save us money over the long run. We will be a healthier, stronger, happier, more coherent, more cohesive society if we do this. We have ignored this for 60 years. In 1994 we can do something about it if people like you will let your voices be heard.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:54 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Jack Futterman, chairman and chief executive officer of Pathmark, and Doug Dority, international president, United Food and Commercial Workers.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Association for a Better New York in New York City *May 9, 1994*

Thank you very much. Lou, you are certainly richer than I am, but that ain't saying much. [*Laughter*] If only the people who weren't were compelled to stay here and the

rest of you could leave, we could hold this meeting in a closet. *[Laughter]*

I am delighted to be here. And I thank Senator Moynihan for coming with me, and I'm glad to see the Members of Congress who are here. I see Representative Maloney and Congressman Schumer, but I have been told that Congressmen Nadler, Towns, King, and Serrano are here. They may not be, but that's what I've been told. If they're not, don't be embarrassed. They've heard this speech before. *[Laughter]* Charles Rangel is on our official delegation, along with the Vice President and Mrs. Gore and the First Lady, to the Inauguration of Nelson Mandela. So that's why he's not here. And I think that my national economic adviser Bob Rubin and my Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes are also here. I thank them for coming with me. I never like to come to New York alone. *[Laughter]*

Let me say—Lou Rudin has already mentioned this, but unless you had been there, you cannot imagine what an astonishing thing it was that the House of Representatives passed that ban on assault weapons. And if it hadn't been for Charles Schumer lighting that little candle in the darkness when everybody else said it was dead, it was over, there was no chance, we would never have made it. It was an astonishing thing.

It just shows you that democracy can work, that systems can change, that things can change. But you have to work at it, and you have to be willing to fight those battles that don't always end in a landslide. We won by two votes on this one. That's twice the margin we had on the economic plan last year. *[Laughter]* But when these things come up, it's important to take the position, stake it out, and try to change. And there are a lot of wonderful stories; I wish we had time to tell them all today.

I'd also like to say I'm glad to be back before this organization. About 8 years ago, I spoke to ABNY when I was the Governor of Arkansas and I was organizing a group of southern Governors to support the continuing deductibility for State and local income taxes. Remember that? And you had something to do with me coming here.

I remember—I liked that better then, because I was—at home we call that preaching

to the saved; everybody agreed with what I was saying. They thought, what is this crazy guy from a little State doing up here taking a position that may be against his own economic interest? I thought it was the right thing to do then in the interest of federalism; I still believe it was the right thing to do. But I remember well that fine day that I had the first opportunity to see this remarkable organization.

Today I want to say a few words about the health care debate in which the Congress is involved and in which many of your Members will play a pivotal role, none more than Senator Moynihan because he's the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. But I'd like to put it in the context of all the other things that are going on.

We're at one of those rare moments in history in which, while we clearly have serious responsibilities around the world, ones that we have to meet in new and different and innovative ways, we also have an opportunity to look at ourselves very clearly and to try to strengthen ourselves from the grassroots as we move toward the next century; one that I think will be an exciting world of more open trade borders and constantly changing economies; one that will, to be sure, still be full of danger and disappointment but one that can give the American people an astonishing amount of opportunity if we do what it takes to play a leading role and to give all of our people a chance to live up to their full potential.

We can only do that, in my judgment, if we find ways of facing our problems and building our bridges to the rest of the world by being faithful to our traditional values and adapting them to the world toward which we are going, by giving our citizens the freedom they need to make the most of the opportunities they'll find, and demanding that all of us take responsibility for our common future by strengthening our families, our education system, and our system of work, and by rewarding the work of citizens by telling people that if they do what it takes to compete and win, they will have a chance to do just that.

We can't allow our people to be helpless in the faces of the changes that are coming, a world in which the average 18-year-old will literally change work seven or eight times.

Giving them the confidence and the capacity to embrace those changes is a big part of my job as President as we move toward the end of this century. We've fought hard for an economic strategy that will create a more stable and more prosperous America, beginning with an understanding that the private sector is the engine of wealth creation and job creation.

Last year, the Congress passed, against enormous opposition and the threat of recurrent gridlock, the largest deficit reduction plan in history. We used honest numbers, and Congress and the President didn't argue over whether I had given them unrealistic budget assumptions. We proposed real cuts, and soon, we will cut our deficit in half.

This year or next year, our deficit in America, as a percentage of our annual income will be smaller than any of the other major industrial countries in the world. That is a huge turnaround from the 1980's.

If the Congress adopts the budget before it now, and it's passing at a record rate, 100 Federal programs will be eliminated, 200 others will be cut, and we will have 3 years of declining deficits for the first time since Harry S. Truman was President of the United States. That is one of the reasons, along with the enormous changes which have been made in the private sector in this country, that consumer confidence is up, investment is up, productivity is up, and inflation is down.

Last week, we learned that last month our economy produced over a quarter of a million new jobs and has produced about a million in the first 4 months of this year. Over the last 15 months, the economy has produced about 3 million new jobs, nearly all of them in the private sector, again, a rather marked departure from the experience of the last few years when a very significant percentage of the jobs were created by Government.

Now, we know that there are still a lot of problems. There are still a lot of people who want work, who don't have it. There are still a lot of sections of the country that are lagging behind. But we are moving in the right direction.

Last year, the Congress also, working with me, gave us what most experts said was the

most productive first year of the Presidency, either since Lyndon Johnson's first year or Eisenhower's first year, depending on how they count in Washington; I can never quite keep up with it. But anyway, we had a good year. We passed the family and medical leave act after 7 years of gridlock. We passed the Brady bill after 7 years of gridlock. And it is already beginning to save lives. It is beginning to have an impact.

We dramatically expanded a provision of the Tax Code called the earned-income tax credit, which is designed to lower taxes for working people with children who hover right at or just above the poverty line. It is, in many ways, the biggest incentive we have for people to stay off welfare and stay at work, by saying that the tax system will not tax you into poverty, instead, it will reward your willingness to work.

We have a lot to do in the area of education and training. But already this year the Congress has passed two of the three legs of our comprehensive education program: first, the Goals 2000 bill, which gives us national education standards written into the law of the United States for the first time in the history of the Republic, supported by grassroots reforms and all kinds of incentives to achieve them in our public schools; and the school-to-work legislation, which will begin to establish a network in America of education and training for people who do not wish to go on to 4-year colleges but must have some further training after they leave high school in order to be competitive in the global economy and get good jobs with growing incomes.

Still to be done is changing the unemployment system into a reemployment system. Most of you who are employers pay an unemployment tax for a system that's been out of date for some time now, a system that assumes that when people lose their jobs they're just laid off temporarily and they'll be called back. So the unemployment taxes provide a pool of money to support people at a lower level than their wage but a sustainable level until they are called back. But the truth is most people are not called back to their old jobs today. And so we need to transform this system from an unemployment system to one that begins immediately to retrain

and replace people for new jobs in the economy.

Finally, something that Senator Moynihan has worked on a long time, we have to complete the work of welfare reform. In the end we are going to have to end the system as we know it. We are going to have to say, we'll provide education and training, we'll have a fair Tax Code, we'll have health care coverage for your kids. Once we do all these things, the system itself should come to an end at some point, and people should be provided work opportunities which take precedence over welfare.

One other thing I have to say, since we've all clapped for Congressman Schumer, is the crime bill has not passed yet. It's passed the House and it's passed the Senate, but they haven't agreed on a bill. And it is a very big deal for New York. The crime bill will have another 100,000 police officers. You have already seen in this city the evidence that crime can go down if you have neighborhood policing with real connections to the community. This 100,000 police officers will help to do this. It provides more funds for States for punishment and for alternative forms of punishment and more funds for prevention. And now it will provide the assault weapons ban. But it has not passed yet. And it is very important that we keep up the pressure to get the two sides, the Senate and the House, together to make an agreement, get the bill out quickly, and pass it as quickly as possible so that we can begin to show the benefits to the American people on the streets where they live. All these things are now in progress.

As proud as I am of all this, I have to tell you that it will not be enough to help us to deal with our present problems or seize our future opportunities, in my judgment, unless we deal with the health care situation in America, a crisis that has engulfed millions of people and stories that my wife and I have heard in letters and personal encounters, one that threatens the future stability of the Federal budget, one that threatens these fine teaching institutions you have here in New York and indeed the whole very fabric of our American community.

I wish I could just share with you any number of the unbelievable numbers of letters

that I have received from middle class America and sometimes upper middle class Americans who lost their health insurance or who have a child with diabetes or the mother had an early breast cancer or the father had an early stroke, and they've got a preexisting condition and they can never change jobs again, or the number of small businesses who tried so hard to cover their employees, but their premiums went up 35 percent and 40 percent a year.

I can tell you this: This budget I sent to the Congress—to give you an idea of the budget implications of the health care crisis—the budget I sent to the Congress cuts defense quite a lot. I think it cuts it as much as it should, and I hope it won't be cut another dollar right now with the challenges we face in the Pacific and elsewhere. But defense has been brought down dramatically since 1987.

This budget cuts overall discretionary domestic spending for the first time since 1969. We still spend money, more money on Head Start, on education programs, on women's health programs, on medical research, on education and training, and on new technology. Why? Because we eliminate 100 programs and cut 200 others. So we increase spending on the things we should, but overall domestic, discretionary spending is cut in the budget I sent to the Congress, for the first time since 1969. And still, if we adopt this budget in 1996 or '97, the deficit will start to go up again. Why? One reason only: Because health care costs in the Government's programs, Medicaid for poor people, Medicare for the elderly, are going up at 2 and 3 times the rate of inflation. So that, by the end of this decade, you will have pared down the defense system as much as it can possibly be pared down, you will have cut domestic spending, in many of our eyes, more than it should be cut, given the level of public investment we need in infrastructure and other things, and we will still have a rising deficit only because the only thing that will be going up in this budget is Medicare and Medicaid.

And at the same time, we find more and more of our finest teaching hospitals having more and more budget problems because people are being forced by their employers

into managed care networks, and they're pulling out of more expensive care. And more and more folks are showing up at the door without health care coverage, uncompensated. This system eventually is going to cost everybody.

Now, the institutions of health care in this city, as Senator Moynihan never tires of telling me are the finest in the world. And New Yorkers have set standards for expanding coverage and for returning insurance to what it was meant to be: a fair deal at a fair price. I know that Governor Cuomo, especially, has worked very hard at the State level to control costs by keeping people healthy, not just by treating them when they're sick. A lot of things have been done. But it is clear, I believe, to everyone who studies this problem that until we find a way to provide health care security for all of our people and to ask everyone to bear a fair share of personal responsibility for the cost of health care, we are not going to be able to deal adequately with the institutional problems that we face.

What I have recommended is a system which is the most conservative change I think we can make, building on what we have: asking all employers who do not presently cover their employees or who have very limited coverage to pay a fair share of their employees' health care coverage and asking the employees to pay some as well. I think that is a fair thing to do.

I just left one of your distinguished retail operations here, a big food chain headed by Mr. Jack Futterman, who is here. He joined with Doug Dority, the president of the United Food and Commercial Workers today to advocate our requirement, our proposed requirement, that all employers who don't cover their employees at least made some contribution to their employees' health care and that employees also make some contribution.

If we don't do something to provide universal coverage, if we don't do something to have a system in which everyone has health security, you're going to see more and more of the present problems. Today in America, 100,000 employees a month lose their health care coverage for good. Today in America, millions of people, 81 million Americans to be exact, 81 million in a country

of 255 million, live in a family where someone has had a preexisting condition. And what that often means is that the person either can't get health insurance or the person is locked into the job they're in because they can never change jobs. Because if you change jobs and go to another job, the new employer won't be able to cover you. This is going to become a bigger problem as big employers downsize and more and more new jobs are created by smaller employers. The structural changes in the American economy are going to accelerate this problem of providing affordable health insurance.

So what are we going to do to change it? Many of the people who are opposed to this say, "Well, you're going to break small business if you require them to pay anything." The truth is most small businesses pay something for health insurance, but their premiums, on average, are 35 percent higher than larger business or Government. They're getting hurt by it.

The truth is, if you have a chain of food stores, like the one I visited today, and they cover their employees, they're at a competitive disadvantage to people who don't. But many do it anyway. And it isn't just the 39 million Americans who don't have health insurance; it's all the other people who are at risk of losing theirs.

If you think about it, very few people in American today have absolute security that they can never lose their health insurance, very few people. You have to either work for Government because you think Government will be there until the end of time and you think you'll always have that job, which may not be predictable because governments are downsizing, too, now, or you have to work for a company that is not only big and strong but one you're convinced will never downsize or at least won't downsize on you.

So this is an issue that affects all Americans. If you believe that everyone should have access to health care coverage, as they do in every other advanced economy except ours, there are only a couple of options. You could do what the Canadians do and say, "We'll have a private health care system, but it will be publicly financed." That's what we do with Medicare in America. We have a payroll tax and we pay for the health care of

elderly people, and then they pay something for their health care depending on what they can afford to pay. It seems to me that that was the most dramatic change we could make, because that would actually just basically take all private health insurers out of the system, and it would remove the kind of incentives you have in a country like Germany, for example, where employers and employees have a vested interest in trying to continue to keep up the pressure to hold down health care cost increases.

So I rejected that approach. If you're not going to do it that way through taxes, then people have to pay for it who don't have it now. And there are two ways you could do that. You can continue the system we have now, where employers and employees share the burden and allow those employers who want to cover it all to do so. Or you could pass a law saying anybody that doesn't have coverage now will have to buy himself or herself, the employees, the so-called individual mandate.

There are several problems with that. Number one, it becomes much more expensive in the subsidies you have to provide the low-wage workers, because employers who aren't providing anything don't have to do anything. Number two, it's like automobile liability insurance, it's harder to enforce, and often you don't find out people don't have coverage until they're sick and they need it. And number three, it would leave an enormous incentive, if widely applied throughout the society, for employers who are providing coverage to their employees now, to dump the coverage.

So it seems to me again the responsible thing to do is to extend the system that we have now. Nine out of 10 Americans and 8 out of 10 people in New York with private health insurance have it through their workplace. Eight out of 10 Americans who don't have any insurance have someone in their family who works. Therefore, it seems to me the logical, the most prudent, and the easiest and most easily understood way to cover everybody is to extend these benefits in the workplace and to provide two things to small businesses and self-employed people. One is a system of discounts so they can afford to buy decent coverage. And two is a system

in which they can become part of a buying pool so that small businesses and individuals can buy on the same favorable terms that big business and Government can. That is quite simply what we try to do.

Now, we believe if we go to this sort of system and then provide for people to be in big buying groups where they can compete for health care, billions of dollars will be saved just by the end of the decade, that we will not continue to see costs go up at 2 and 3 times the rate of inflation, and that the savings will be broadly and fairly shared. Today, you know, medical inflation has gone down in the last year as it almost always does when we seriously considered reforming health care. But the benefits have flowed disproportionately to those who have access to big, managed care networks and not to those who do not.

So I will say again, it seems to me that this is an issue, for human reasons, for economic reasons, for reasons of our ability to manage the Federal Government's budget, has to be addressed and ought to be addressed this year. This is a thing that is going against the whole thing we want to do in America, which is to promote labor mobility by freezing tens of millions of people in the jobs they're in because of the health care problems of their families.

The system we have now clearly discriminates against small business, when small business is the energy behind most job growth in America. And the system clearly discriminates against you if you're responsible and you provide health care, because of the billions of dollars in cost-shifting. The system is also causing serious problems now or in the future for the great academic health centers of our country, including those here in New York.

For 60 years, Presidents and Congress have grappled with this problem. Richard Nixon proposed an employer requirement to cover health insurance in the early seventies, sponsored by Senator Packwood from Oregon who is still in the Congress. We have debated this over and over and over again. What is the difference today? The difference today is, any number of medical associations have come out for what we're trying to do. Hundreds of small businesses have stood up

against the relentless lobbying of the NFIB against the employer requirement, rooted in part in the fact that the NFIB has a lot of independent insurance agents who are obviously vested in the system we have now.

We have a lot of big business, even retailers, who are now saying the time has come for all Americans to have health care security. It's the only way to control health care costs. It's the only way to have genuine competition. It is the only way to guarantee labor mobility. It is the only way to reward work over welfare.

Just consider this—I'll say this in closing. Senator Moynihan's worked on this welfare issue all these years. Consider this: If you are a person on welfare and you are a person with a limited education and you take a job, chances are you'll get a job at a very modest wage, often in a company that doesn't have health insurance. Then you can begin working, drawing an income, and paying taxes to go to pay for the health care of people who didn't make the decision you did, instead, who stayed on welfare.

That is the system we have in America today: Go to work, lose your health care benefits; stay on welfare, keep them; go to work, pay taxes for the people who didn't make the decision you did. That is just one of the incongruities. The only way to fix it, ever, is to provide health care security for all of our people. Every other advanced country in the world does it, and we ought to do it now.

Thank you very much.

[At this point, the President left the room to briefly meet with Vina Drennan, widow of Fire Capt. John Drennan, Jr., who died in the line of duty. Lou Rudin, president, Association for a Better New York, invited participants to ask questions. The comptroller of New York then asked how the health care plan would relieve State and local governments of the burden of Medicare.]

The President. Well, they will do one thing for sure and another thing, maybe. And let me try to be explicit about that. There are—in New York, as nearly as I can tell—I've studied these figures over the last several years for your State; this year I think the Medicaid budget went up something like 15 percent. If our plan passes and Medicaid is

folded into the health care system generally—that is, people on Medicaid will go into large purchasing groups, along with folks from small businesses and medium sized businesses and others, and the working poor, many of whom get Medicaid supplements in this State and others—that's quite a large part of your burden—will be paid for in a completely different way, that is, employers, employees in a Federal discount, then the rate of increase in Medicaid costs will be dramatically less than it is now. So over the next 4 or 5 years you will save quite a lot of money.

In addition to that, the hospitals here who have large Medicaid burdens will be better off because the Medicaid population will be in with the whole population, and the reimbursement rate will be the same for everybody. So that will take a significant burden off the hospitals with high Medicaid costs here.

Now, the other big issue in New York has been, is it fair for New York to have a 50–50 match when Mississippi gets an 80–20 match? Maybe New York should pay more than Mississippi because there are more wealthy people here. But there is also a huge poor population here. In other words, is it fair to have this match rate based overwhelmingly on the, essentially, the average income of a State, the per capita income? We have a commission that is meeting on that, which is supposed to make a report to us in, I think, 1995, next year, about how to change it. There's no question that the formula should be changed and that States like New York with high per capita incomes but huge numbers of poor people are not treated quite fairly under a formula that only deals with per capita income. And that's going to happen next year.

But we reasoned, and I think properly so, that in order to pass a change in a formula like that, we needed to have an adequate study, we needed to have an alternative, and we needed not to mix it up in the whole question of providing health care coverage for all Americans, which we're having a hard enough time passing as it is.

So we put in this system to review it, come back in '95 and deal with it. So I think that that will also happen. I think you will get some relief there. But just passing the bill

will save you a ton of money on Medicaid over the next 5 years.

[A city councilman asked about provisions to help cities deal with the health care needs of illegal aliens.]

The President. Well, as you know, presently, basically undocumented aliens often just become—their health care bills often become the burden for the States of the localities. What we propose to do is not to give undocumented aliens health care security cards, because if we did that we would basically be further rewarding people who get around our immigration laws, but to continue to handle them through the public health units that now do it, while providing a direct funding strain for the public health units to deal with the alien health care costs.

There will be a big debate in the Congress, and one of the things Senator Moynihan and the others who have jurisdiction over this in the committees will have to hash through is exactly how much money should be in the fund for undocumented aliens to go to public health units in New York, in Florida, in California, New Jersey, the States with big burdens.

But under our plan, at least, there is a special fund which recognizes that we are not doing enough to help the States deal with the burden of health care for undocumented aliens.

Q. Mr. President, my name is Joe Califano. Delighted to have you here, Mr. President.

The President. Also, I should say for Joe, we also have comprehensive drug treatment as part of the package of benefits.

Q. That's what I was about to ask you. New York City has one of the toughest substance abuse problems in the country, and what does your bill do for substance abuse?

The President. I think, Joe, I should make two points. One is that our bill, as it's presently written—and this is, again, a big problem for the Congress to deal with, but we thought that one of the reasons our bill is somewhat longer than some of the other bills is that we deal with a lot of other things other folks don't. What's going to happen to the academic health care centers, what's going to happen to the undocumented aliens—all of those things that have been—we believe

that there should be a package of benefits which includes primary and preventive benefits and which includes comprehensive alcohol and drug abuse treatment in the benefits. And we believe it will save this society a fortune over the long run. And one of the real hard decisions that Congress will have to make and that we will have to deal with is whether we should continue to be a nation that closes the barn door after the cow's out.

You should know—and I didn't get into all this in my speech with you—but our bill is heavily weighted towards primary and preventive health care: mammographies for women whenever the doctor thinks it's appropriate and free from age 50 on—and just things like that, and comprehensive alcohol and drug abuse treatment benefits and any number of other primary preventive care treatment. So that's covered in the basic benefit package.

In addition to that, in this year's budget there is a 12 percent increase in funds for drug education and treatment, even though we're cutting overall spending. And in the crime bill there is a huge increase for drug and alcohol abuse treatment for people who are incarcerated or who can avoid incarceration if one of the conditions of avoidance is being in a treatment program.

Q. For those that don't know, Joe Califano was former Secretary of HEW a few years ago. Joe, thank you.

The President. He's also the head of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, which is why I knew the answer to the question before he asked it. *[Laughter]*

[A participant asked about the future of quality health care and academic health care centers after the plan is enacted.]

The President. This is a rather complex issue, but I'd like to talk about it in a little bit of detail, because it's so terribly important to New York, if I might. The academic health centers today are mostly, by accident of history, located in large cities. They treat, as part of their ongoing teaching functions, huge numbers of poor people. They also, historically, have treated huge numbers of professionals and others who have wanted to come to them because of the high quality of their care.

They are now getting it coming and going, for the following reasons: The more poverty concentrates in areas where academic health care centers are, the more people they have to treat who basically have no compensation for their care. So that hurts them financially. And then, as you just heard, the more people—more employers put their employees in managed care networks, the more likely those networks are then the people making those choices, to choose the lowest cost health care option available, which may steer income, again, and opportunity away from the academic health care centers, ultimately undermining quality, ultimately undermining the ability of the United States to train, educate, and provide the finest doctors in the world, as well as ongoing medical research.

This is a huge deal, much bigger than it would appear at the moment. It goes way beyond the number of patients who stream in and out of Sloan-Kettering every year because it has implications for the entire United States and the whole quality and fabric of our health care system.

We seek to do two things in our bill which I think would help. One is, while I strongly support the whole concept of managed competition and managed care, I believe that we should leave more choices, and I think economically we can leave more choices with the employees or the patients, if you will. So under our plan, each health alliance would have to offer every employee at least three choices, although we think that employees—people will be offered more choices. Under the Federal employee health insurance plan, for example, which is a pretty good model, we have probably more than 20 choices. But you would have a range of choices so that it wouldn't be the employer's decision alone. The employer's contribution would be constant, no matter what. The employer wouldn't have to pay more.

But the employee would have the option, at least to enroll in a fee-for-service medicine or enroll in a Sloan-Kettering plan, for example, even if it were a little more expensive, because you could get a wider range of doctors or higher quality or whatever. So we'd have more choices there.

The second thing that we do is to try to provide for a direct fund to the academic

health centers in recognition of the fact that you won't get the—there won't be a Medicare disproportion of share payment anymore because everybody will be covered. There's going to have to be a direct fund. And it's sort of like the question this gentleman asked about undocumented aliens.

There will be a big argument about how much money should be in the fund, but plainly the United States has been supporting academic health care centers directly through medical education subsidies but indirectly through this undocumented—this Medicaid disproportion of share payment. And the time has come for us as a people, I think, to directly support the academic health care centers.

And what I would just say to you, sir, I met with all your counterparts in the Boston area not very long ago, and I told them the same thing. We need to go into the Congress, work this out, figure out what the financial requirements are, and do it.

The American people pay 40 percent more of their income for health care than any other people on Earth. A lot of it is due to the inefficiencies of the system. A part, a small part, is due to the excellence with which we educate doctors. And I think every American is willing to pay it, and we ought to pay it directly. And so I think if we do it right, this health care bill will make your existence more secure in the years ahead.

And the one thing I think you would agree with, if we don't do anything your condition will grow more perilous. So we have to do something, and the right thing to do is to have a direct support mechanism for the academic health care centers.

[A participant asked the President to discuss the fears some people have of losing their doctor.]

Q. Mr. President, I just want to tell you that his father and his grandfather come from Texarkana. *[Laughter]*

The President. Is that right? No wonder you asked such a good question. *[Laughter]* That's a good question. Give him a hand. He asked a good question—*[applause]*

If the health care plan is not passed, more and more people will give up their doctor. And let me explain why. Most people who

have health insurance, as I said, are insured through their place of work. The employers normally choose what health care plan covers the employees. More and more employers are choosing so-called managed care plans, where you make—basically you agree to pay a group of doctors and other medical professionals a flat rate, and they provide all the care they agree to provide during the course of a year.

If you switch from a plan where all the employees just pick their doctor and their hospital to a managed care plan and if that managed care plan only permits the doctors, the hospitals, and the other medical providers to provide care who are enrolled in the plan, then obviously a lot of employees will have to be forced to change. That is happening today.

Today, a little more than half of the American people who are insured at work are insured by plans that give them no choice. We're already at a little more than half. Now, the plan—so that's where we are now. And that trend is growing rapidly as employers try to control health care costs.

Under our plan, at least every person would have access to three different types of plans: let's say a managed care plan, like the one we described, where you might have to give up your doctor but it would be lower cost; a professional organization where a few hundred doctors get together and offer health care; or continuing a fee for service medicine, continuing the old plan you've got, where you'd have to pay a little more, but at least your employer would still make the same contribution and you could pick your own doctor.

So we're trying to do our best to get the benefits of managed care and the cost controls inherent in it, the market controls, and still give people some choices of their doctors. And as I said, the law requires three different types of plans, but if you look at not only the Federal health plan—California just had a small business buyers co-op that's a lot like what we're trying to set up, where they had 2,300 small businesses with 40,000 employees go in and buy insurance together. And everybody says this is a Government plan; we're just trying to do this for everybody. The State of California hired 13 people

to run this plan. And they were able to lower the cost of all the businesses and employees involved and to offer them 15 different choices by simply pooling them together. That's what I want to do.

I want to try to get the benefits of competition but to leave the choice of physician up to the people themselves. And I think that this is the best way to do it. If we do it, it will encourage all these plans to let all doctors provide services who will do it at the right price. That's what I want to do.

The fair thing to do is to say, okay, we'll provide these services, we'll manage this plan, we'll provide these services if you'll pay this amount. Then any doctor who's willing to do it for that price, in my judgment, ought to be able to do it.

[A participant asked about medical care for children in urban areas.]

The President. Thank you. You raise an issue which I think is important to emphasize here, because it will be an issue in New York, and in a different way it's an issue where I come from.

There are two different questions here. One is, have you covered people for the services they need at the time they need it? The second is, even if people have coverage, do they have access? For example, you've got a lot of people living in this city whose first language is not English who are citizens. If we pass this health care plan, how are they to know what their benefits are and how they access them? And how are we going to do that? That's a significant educational problem.

In rural America, one of the things our bill does that I'm very proud of is provide significant incentives for National Health Service Corps doctors. We're going to increase by fivefold the number of those doctors going into rural areas and underserved inner-city areas to get health care out there to people where it exists.

But I am convinced that a lot of our children who come from such difficult family circumstances are going to have to continue to get health care information and some basic health care services in the schools. That's why I've always been a strong supporter of the school-based health clinics. I know that

they've become emotionally charged around the whole issue of teen pregnancy, but quite apart from that—you know, when I was a kid, we got our ear tests, we got our shots, we got a lot of things in the schools that don't happen very often any more. So a lot of these services, if you want access to be there, in my judgment, are going to have to be provided either in or quite near schools if we're going to reach these children as we should. Thank you very much.

[At this point, the President was presented a gift.]

The President. I want to say one thing: As an ardent basketball fan, Lou made one minor error when he compared the victory of Schumer with the assault weapons with the victory of the Knicks over the Bulls. And it's very important for health care, so I'm going to leave you with this: The Knicks overcame a 15-point deficit and beat the Bulls with fabulous defense. Schumer passed the assault weapons ban by playing offense. We cannot pass health care unless we play offense, and that means people like you have to tell the Members of Congress it's okay for them to play offense and solve this problem. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:07 p.m. in the Trianon Ballroom at the New York Hilton.

Exchange With Reporters During a Meeting With Health Care Letter Writers in New York City May 9, 1994

Haiti

Q. Mr. President, Lawton Chiles is worried that your new refugee policy is going to put an undue burden on his State. Is there anything you can say to allay his concerns?

The President. Yes, I've already talked to him. We had a long talk about it. He just wants to make sure we don't start it until we have the capacity to implement it, which is what I said yesterday.

Q. Are you going to seek prior congressional authorization before you would consider sending troops to Haiti?

The President. I don't have anything further to say. I'm not going to discuss that option until it becomes appropriate.

Press Secretary Myers. Thank you.

Health Care Reform

Q. Mr. President, what did you gain by just meeting these people just now? Some insight into the average American's mind on health care?

The President. Well, these are—we received three letters from people who are here who either can't get health insurance or lost it, or people who think they have to stop caring for their children to go to work. There are all kinds of—the people who wrote me these letters—maybe I should let them speak for themselves—are often lost in the debate in Washington. Millions and millions of people whose hopes and whose whole lives are riding on the outcome of this health care debate are almost exclusively unorganized. They very often represent far more people than the people who have organized who are lobbying Congress, who are saying one thing or another about this health care bill. But they're in every community; they're in every work force; they're in every kind of situation.

Why don't we just—I don't know if you've met them already, but—did you introduce yourself to everybody here? Tell them who you are and what you do.

Sally Gorsline. I'm Sally Gorsline. I'm from Kingston, New York.

The President. And—

Ms. Gorsline. I had an illness, and I went bankrupt because I didn't have health insurance.

The President. And your friends came with you, right?

Ms. Gorsline. This is my daughter, Stephanie, and my future son-in-law, Bill.

The President. Who also has no health insurance.

Cathy Rosen. My name is Cathy Rosen. I'm from New Rochelle, New York. And I had coverage, but my boss went out of business, and I wound up taking up another job. And I have no insurance coverage right now. And I have a condition that warrants it, that needs health insurance coverage, but I don't have it and it's potentially life-threatening.

And this is my girlfriend, Ellen, who came with me.

The President. And you've now been seeing who?

Ms. Rosen. No, I'm not. I can't get treatment. I can't even find out what the possibilities are because I have no health coverage. And I just can't afford it.

Anita Lampert. My name is Anita Lampert. This is my husband, Steven, and my son, Cameron, who's getting very restless. My husband is self-employed. And so I wrote a letter discussing the problems of a self-employed individual, like probably a lot of you, photographers, freelance artists, plumbers, architects, anybody who's self-employed, and the problem with rates being so high. If you don't work for a big corporation, it's very hard to get insurance at affordable rates. And when you have a child that comes into your life, health insurance is very, very important.

The President. They might not be organized, but there are tens of millions of them. And we've already received—Hillary and I have received a million letters. We're just trying to give voice to them.

So in addition to all the economic arguments and all the substantive arguments I made in there in the speech, the real compelling case for health care reform is with these folks here.

Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange began at 2:10 p.m. in the Mercury Ballroom at the New York Hilton. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks to the Community in Warwick, Rhode Island

May 9, 1994

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Pell, Congressman Reed, Governor Sundlun. And thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for such a wonderful welcome. It's good to be back in Rhode Island and to see so many of you here.

Governor Sundlun thanked me for our quick approval of Rhode Island's plan to extend health care to pregnant women and to young children. I thank him and the people

of Rhode Island for putting this plan together.

Our administration has granted more initiatives for more States than any in history, but few as good as the one from Rhode Island to try to help the health care of your little children. And I congratulate you on that.

I also want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Pell for his leadership of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and his work with me on some of the most difficult issues of our time. In the last year, we have succeeded in opening up the United States in trade areas, investment areas, in ways that were literally not even thought of just a little while ago.

We also have continued our work to make the world safer. When I became President there were four countries in the former Soviet Union with nuclear weapons. Now three have agreed to give them up and are giving them up. And the nuclear arsenal in Russia is no longer pointed at the United States, nor are our missiles pointed at them. I thank Senator Pell for his support of that.

Finally, I want to thank your Congressman for his leadership in the Goals 2000 legislation that I signed a few weeks ago, which establishes national standards for our public schools and supports grassroots reforms to achieve those standards for the first time in American history, and for his courage in leading the United States House of Representatives to vote to ban the 19 serious assault weapons that are used for killing people on our streets.

I want to thank your Lieutenant Governor, your State treasurer, your attorney general, the State democratic chairman, and the Mayor of Providence, Lincoln Chafee, all of them for being here today. What?

Gov. Bruce Sundlun. The mayor of Warwick.

The President. The mayor of Warwick—I'm sorry.

Governor Sundlun. He's John Chafee's son.

The President. Yes, the Governor says he's John Chafee's son, I know that. And I want to thank John Chafee for having a health care bill that covers all Americans. I'm going to work with them, and we're going

to have a bipartisan health care reform this year if I can possibly get it done.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ran for President because I wanted to change the country, working with you, because I wanted it moved beyond the politics of gridlock in Washington, all the partisan rhetoric, all the arguing over left and right, all the politics of delay and distraction and destruction, to try to move this country forward again and pull our country together again. I thought we could do it with three simple words: a commitment to opportunity for all Americans, an insistence on responsibility from all Americans, and a belief that we were one community, that we are all in this together. I thought we could do it by rebuilding the value of work and the strength of our families, by pulling together at the national level and at the grassroots. And we have made a good beginning.

Last year, in a very tough fight, the United States Congress had the courage to pass our economic program which brought down the deficit, kept interest rates down, got investments up. I'm happy to report that in the first 4 months of this year, we've seen a million new jobs come into this economy, 3 million in all in the first 15 months of this administration; 8 thousand new jobs in Rhode Island, the first job growth in 4 years in this State. We are well on our way to meeting our goal of 8 million jobs in this 4-year period.

We also, if the Congress passes the budget I have presented this year, will not only increase funding for education, training, technology, and medical research, we will reduce overall domestic spending and defense spending for the first time since 1969. And we will have 3 years of reduction in the deficit for the first time since Harry Truman was President. No more rhetoric; action for the American people.

Our administration is breaking new ground in education. We've reformed the college loan program to lower interest rates and to improve the repayment schedule for our young people. We passed the bill to have national standards for schools. We passed a bill to set up a network in every State in the country for the young people who graduate from high school who don't go on to 4-year

colleges but do need further education and training. And we are going to reform the unemployment system in this country to make it a reemployment system. And we're going to change the welfare system to end welfare as we know it. We can do these things if we keep working ahead.

I'm proud of the work our administration has done to strengthen the American families that are out there struggling to make ends meet and raise their children, with the Family and Medical Leave Act, with an earned-income tax credit increase in this year's tax year which will dramatically enable more and more working people on modest wages to stay out of poverty, to stay off welfare by cutting their taxes. One in six working families in America will be eligible for a reduction in income taxes this year, so they can support their children and be successful workers at the same time. That is the kind of thing we ought to be doing in this country.

Finally, let me say we are trying to rebuild the bonds of the American community in many ways but with two great initiatives. The first one you can see by the signs over here: the national service program. Ladies and gentlemen, this fall when school starts, 20,000 young Americans will be eligible to earn money for furthering their education after high school by working at the grassroots level in their communities in programs to solve the problems of America at the grassroots. National service will sweep America. The year after next, we will have 100,000 young Americans earning money on their education, solving the problems of America at the grassroots level.

The other thing we're trying to do, which will be done in a few weeks to strengthen our American communities is to pass the most sweeping, most effective, most comprehensive crime bill in the history of the United States: 100,000 more police officers for our streets; innovative forms of punishment; real funds for prevention to help our young people avoid crime, to have something to say yes to as well as something to say no to; and finally, after that tough battle, finally a ban on those assault weapons which are meant to kill people, not go hunting with.

My fellow Americans, we are changing the landscape in America by moving beyond

rhetoric to reality in dealing with the real problems and the real opportunities of the real people in this country. But we will never do what we need to do to rebuild community, to support family, to have a responsible budget, and to build a responsible future until we guarantee health care security to all the American people.

We are spending 40 percent more on health care than any other country in the world. We are the only advanced country in the world that does not cover all of its citizens. We have 100,000 Americans a month losing their health insurance for good. We have 58 million Americans in any given year who don't have health insurance part of the year. We have 81 million Americans who live in families where there is a child with diabetes, a mother with premature cancer, a father with an early heart condition, and they can never get health insurance or they pay more than they can afford or they can never change their jobs because of the cursed preexisting conditions which are paralyzing family life for tens of millions of Americans. Three quarters of American people have health insurance policies that have lifetime limits so that if anything should happen to them or their children, when they need it most they might lose their coverage.

Small businesses pay 35 to 40 percent more for their health insurance premiums than those of us insured by Government or big business. My fellow Americans, no one can justify an administrative system which costs tens of billions of dollars in sheer paperwork, more than any other system in the world. Why? Because we are the only country in the world that has, in spite of the best doctors, the best nurses, the best health care, the best research, and the best technology, 1,500 separate companies writing thousands and thousands and thousands of policies on little bitty groups, and employing hundreds of thousands of people in doctors' offices and hospitals and insurance companies to see who is not covered and what is not covered. We are spending billions of dollars to figure out how not to provide health care to our people, when we ought to be covering all Americans. If other countries can do it, the United States can do it as well.

Our goal is simple. By the end of the year, I expect to sign a law that guarantees Americans, every American, private health insurance that can never be taken away.

My wife and I have received about a million letters from people all over the country. They're people just like those of you in this audience. They may be some of you in this audience. Most of them aren't organized in any way, so they can't make their voices heard in Washington. But they're out there in every community and every workplace. I received a letter from Anthony Catuto and his wife, a young disabled couple whose Medicare coverage doesn't pay for the prescription drugs they need. They come from Rhode Island, and they just met me on the tarmac. They deserve the ability to take care of their children. I just met, out there on the tarmac, a relatively new resident of Rhode Island, Anne Hood, and her wonderful child. She was a self-employed writer from New York. And when she and her husband moved to Providence and had a baby, her insurance company dropped her coverage without even letting her know.

Let me tell you—let me tell you, I'm going to wait for the plane to go by. *[Laughter]* I just met three people in New York who had written me these letters. One of them, no health insurance for their child; another with a dangerous medical diagnosis, not pursuing the diagnosis even though it could be a life-threatening illness because they had no health insurance.

I was in Columbus, Ohio, the other day. I met a wonderful woman who ran a delicatessen with 20 part-time employees and 20 full-time employees. And she said, "I am the embodiment of everything that is not right with this system, and I have a good insurance person who's done a good job of giving me the most inexpensive insurance they can get. I had cancer 5 years ago. I insure my full-time employees. We pay way too much in our deductibles, and our co-pays are too high. I cannot afford to insure my part-time employees. I feel guilty that I don't insure my part-time employees, and I'm mad that none of my competitors insure their full-time employees. I'm paying for them as well as for my own." We can do better.

Hundreds and hundreds of business people have told me that sort of thing. Today in New York, I was in the 10th largest retail grocery chain in the United States of America, and every one of their employees has comprehensive health benefits. And they said, "If we can do it, why can't all the other people in our business?" That's the kind of attitude we need in this country, people taking responsibility for themselves, their employees, and their future.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is not going to be easy. Six Presidents have tried over 60 years to solve the health care crisis in America, and we have not done it. But this year we can do it with the same kind of courage that finally turned the deficit around, with the same kind of courage in the Congress that finally took on the interest groups for the assault weapons ban, with the same kind of courage that broke a 7-year deadlock for family and medical leave, a 7-year deadlock for the Brady bill, a 5-year deadlock on this crime bill. Let's do it in one year for health care and finally put this issue behind us.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. at the T.F. Green Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gov. Robert Weygand; State Attorney General Jeffrey Pine; State Secretary of the Treasury Nancy Mayer; and Guy Dufault, Rhode Island Democratic State chairman.

Proclamation 6686—Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, 1994 *May 9, 1994*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The Pacific Ocean is ringed by some of the most populous, dynamic, and promising countries the world has ever known. So rapid has the progress been in this region that the new Pacific community has come to exemplify the ideals of growth and prosperity. America is well-placed to play a major role in that thriving community, not only because of geography and history, but also because of the leading role that countless Americans

of Asian/Pacific descent play in our diverse society.

Americans of Asian and Pacific ancestry share twin heritages—the stimulating cultural legacy of the lands of their ancestors and the liberty that is the birthright of every American. Drawing on the values and customs of their homelands and their expectations of America's promise, Asian/Pacific Americans have long helped to advance and enrich our Nation. We can all be profoundly grateful for their contributions to every field of human endeavor, from science, law, and literature to agriculture, commerce, government, and the arts.

Many of these achievements have been the work of brave and tireless immigrants who, through determination, creativity, intelligence, and dedication to American ideals of freedom and fairness, have added strong threads to the fabric of America's multicultural society. As they have built a community of tremendous talent and breadth, they have helped our country to usher in this new era of great opportunity and unlimited hope.

To honor the achievements of Asian/Pacific Americans and to recognize their contributions to our Nation, the Congress, by Public Law 102-450, has designated the month of May of each year as "Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month."

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of May 1994, as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this occasion with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of May, 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, 11:02 a.m., May 10, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 11.

Proclamation 6687—Older Americans Month, 1994

May 9, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each year over 2 million of us become older Americans—entering a time of life that can bring new freedom, new choices, and new beginnings. Retirement years offer the freedom to strengthen family bonds and to share knowledge and talents with friends and family members. It can be a time to engage in cultural, intellectual, and recreational activities with others and to provide them with the guidance that comes from a lifetime of experience. It can be a time of new beginnings—used to pursue a second career, to gain more education, or to engage in volunteer work that makes our neighborhoods, communities, and the world a better place in which to live.

To enjoy these opportunities, we must take greater responsibility in planning for a long life. Maintaining a healthy lifestyle and staying physically fit can help us to make the most of these new freedoms, choices, and beginnings. While we in Government work to promote universal health care coverage for all Americans, all of us can encourage friends and families to pursue daily practices that promote physical and mental well-being.

This year's Older Americans Month celebration centers around the theme of long life and good health with the slogan—"Aging: An Experience of a Lifetime." I am asking all Americans to help make this theme a reality by striving to achieve healthy and productive lifestyles.

Each year, we are learning new ways to promote longer, healthier, and more rewarding lives. We can do this by learning to eat nutritiously, by giving up smoking, by moderating our consumption of alcoholic beverages, and by entering into a personal or group fitness program. New studies show that regardless of age, it's never too late to improve health and vitality.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by

the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the month of May 1994, as Older Americans Month. I call upon individual Americans, representatives of government at all levels, businesses, and community, volunteer, and educational groups to work to increase opportunities for older Americans and to adopt healthier lifestyles.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of May, 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, 11:02 a.m., May 10, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 11.

Remarks in a Town Meeting in Cranston, Rhode Island

May 9, 1994

The President. Thank you very much. First, thank you, Doug and Ginger, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for coming. And I want to thank the people in New Haven and Springfield.

We only have an hour tonight; we're not going to have any breaks. So I'm going to give a very brief opening statement about the problems presented by our health care system in America today and briefly what we propose to do about it.

There is a crisis in health care. During any given time in the year there will be a total of 58 million Americans without any health insurance. There are 81 million Americans—out of a population of 255 million—in families with preexisting conditions, that is, someone in the family has been ill, which means they either don't have insurance, they pay much more for their insurance, or they can never change their jobs because they would lose their insurance if they changed jobs. It's a huge problem.

One hundred and thirty-three million Americans, or three out of four Americans with private health insurance, have insurance policies with lifetime limits, which means

they can out-run their limits if they have someone in their family really sick. In addition to that, the costs of the Government health program, Medicare and Medicaid, are going up at roughly 3 times the rate of inflation and threaten to undermine all of our efforts to bring the deficit down. It's a very serious problem.

And one more thing, even though we have this many people, 58 million, who are without insurance, our country spends a higher percentage of its income on health care, 40 percent more, than any other country in the world. Yet we are the only major country that hasn't been able to figure out how to give insurance to everybody.

If we want to cover everyone, if we believe everybody should have health insurance, you either have to have a Government-funded program, that is, Medicare is a Government-funded program or a program like the Canadians have, or you have to guarantee private insurance to everybody. There aren't any other options.

I favor a program of guaranteed private insurance to the employed uninsured because that's what we have for most everybody else. Nine out of ten people in this country with private insurance are insured through the workplace. Eight out of ten Americans without insurance are in a family with at least one worker. So I favor guaranteed private insurance with good benefits—including primary and preventive care and mental health benefits and alcohol and drug abuse benefits, because all these things will save us money over the long run—no lifetime limits, and insurance that can't be taken away.

Under our plan, we would preserve the choice of physicians, something that is rapidly disappearing today with growth of managed-care networks. More and more people are losing the right to choose their doctors, actually being forced to give up their family doctors and go to someone else. So under our plan, every American every year would have the opportunity to choose at least three different plans in which they choose the doctor, choose a high-quality plan. Employers wouldn't pick the plan, the employees would. And insurance companies couldn't deny anybody coverage.

To deal with the problems I mentioned up at the beginning of this talk, it would be illegal to drop coverage or cut benefits, increase rates for people who had someone in their family who'd been sick, use lifetime limits to cut off benefits, or charge older workers more than younger ones. I hope we'll get to talk about that more in a minute. Some younger workers are upset about that, but I'm convinced it's the right choice for our country. And I hope we get a chance to talk about it.

Our plan would preserve Medicare as it is but would add to Medicare prescription drug benefits and phase in long-term care benefits. I think that's quite important because a lot of people on Medicare don't get the drugs they need, with the result that hospitalizations are more frequent and the program actually costs more and keeps people less healthy than would be the case otherwise.

I favor guaranteeing these health benefits at work, with employers and employees bearing a portion of the contribution, in more or less the ratio they do with major companies today but with discounts to small businesses who couldn't afford it otherwise. And the Government would help with the unemployed.

The last chart I turned over is just a summary of what I said. *[Laughter]*

So that's how the program would work: universal guaranteed private insurance; maintain the choice of doctors; leave Medicare the way it is; require employers and employees who don't cover now to take up their own coverage, but provide discounts for small businesses; the Government would have a pool to pay for the discounts and to cover the unemployed, uninsured; add prescription drugs; and phase in a long-term care benefit for the elderly people on Medicare and for the disabled, which I think is quite important.

Now, I hope we can flesh it out, but I don't want to talk anymore. Let's go to questions.

Health Care Reform

[At this point, moderator Doug White introduced the first participant, who asked if the new health care plan could focus only on peo-

ple currently uninsured and if health care professionals could donate one percent of their time to provide care to that group.]

The President. Let me try to answer your first question and then your second question. First of all, somewhere around 15 percent are not insured. But the problem is more serious than that in two ways. A whole lot of people, principally folks who work for smaller business, have very limited insurance, that is, very high deductibles or co-pays or limited benefits. And an enormous number of people are at risk of losing their insurance. So we are actually adding to the pool of permanently uninsured people about 100,000 people a month.

Therefore, we are going to leave a lot of people alone. There will be a lot of people, for example, who will keep the same benefits that they have. If they have the same or better benefits or their employers pay the same or bigger contribution, they'll be left alone. And that's a huge number of people. So there will be an awful lot of people that won't be affected by that in that sense.

But we have to set up a system that stops this hemorrhaging and gives small businesses and self-employed people the right to buy insurance on the same terms that big business and Government can. So I think that's an answer to that.

With regard to your other question, the truth is that most doctors and hospitals contribute far more than one percent of their time and earnings now because when people don't have insurance, they do eventually get health care. But they get it when they're too sick and they show up at the emergency room; they get wildly expensive care. And then they either absorb it, that is, the doctors, the nurses, the hospitals either eat it, or they pass it along to all the rest of you, so you wind up paying more than you otherwise would for your own health care because others don't do it.

But I think that basically, we are going to leave as many people alone as we can while trying to minimize the chance that anyone can ever lose their insurance again.

[A participant with an artificial limb asked if she would receive the same quality care under the plan, even if she happened to lose her job.]

The President. First of all, this health care plan will not take away from you any benefit you now have.

Q. Okay.

The President. So if you keep working for the State and you have this option, you can keep it. Secondly—they say I don't have the microphone high enough. Usually they tell me not to hold it so high. *[Laughter]* The second thing is, the choice you have of your provider is something we are trying to protect. I know that's a hot issue in one of your political races here. What I want to say to you is that more and more and more Americans are losing their right to choose their doctors right now, as employers decide on managed care plans to hold down costs. A lot of people who work for these employers are having to move into the managed care plan, and their doctors are not enrolled in the plan, or their suppliers, and so they lose their choice.

Under our plan, even if you change jobs—so you went to work, let's say, for a small business—every year, you would have the right every year to choose from a minimum of three plans, one of which would guarantee you the right to choose any provider you wanted. You might have to pay a little bit more for it than you would otherwise pay, but you would always have that right, and your employer would always have to make a major contribution to your health care.

Q. Maybe I'll move to the White House next. *[Laughter]*

The President. Thank you. It would suit me just fine. I'd like to have somebody like you working for me.

Anticrime Efforts

[A student asked about guns and drugs in schools.]

The President. Thank you very much for your question. First, let me say, this young man has asked maybe the most important question in America today, but he's also asked a health care question. So I'll give you one line on the health care implications of this and come back and answer his question.

Why is it a health care question? Because one reason we pay more for health care than any other country is we have more kids getting shot and cut up and showing up at the emergency room, imposing enormous costs on this system. We have the highest rate of childhood violence and killing of any of the major countries in the world. It's a big issue.

Here's what we're doing. We are in the process of passing a crime bill which will do the following things, and it should be passed, now, in a few weeks: First, it will ban 19 assault weapons, the purpose of which is only to kill people, not to hunt. Second, it will make it illegal for minors to own or possess handguns, except under the supervision of an approved adult for an approved purpose. Third, it will provide funds to schools that have high levels of violence to set up things like metal detectors and do other things to make children more secure in the schools. The fourth thing it will do, and this is where you come in—you asked your question. The fourth thing it will do is to provide funds to schools and States throughout the country to teach young people ways to resolve their differences and deal with their anger and their frustration, short of resorting to violence. Because a lot of our kids are growing up in troubled families, are not taught how to do this. And a lot of young people don't think about the future, they just lash out and hurt people.

So all these things are in this crime bill. I think they're very, very important. We're also going to provide for more police officers on our street who can work with young people, work in the schools and go into schools and do things like the D.A.R.E. program, the drug education programs to try to keep drugs out of the schools. But I think all of these things will really make a difference.

Now, what can you do about it? We can pass all these programs, and unless every school in this country has committed young people and committed parents trying to keep the drugs out and the violence out and the guns out, it's going to be hard for us to succeed. So we're going to give you the tools to do it, and then you have to organize, school by school, to get it done. I'll do my part, and I want you to do yours.

Doug White. Do you think you can remember all that? [*Laughter*]

The President. Sure you can.

Q. I think so.

The President. Get the assault weapons off, take the handguns away from the kids, metal detectors and other security devices at schools, teach kids nonviolent ways to resolve their differences, and organize every school.

Education

[*Moderator Ginger Casey introduced a participant in New Haven, CT, who asked about racial balance in schools.*]

The President. Well, I think that racially balanced schools or racially diverse schools are good for the students. And in terms of how that is done, that's really a question to be resolved on a State-by-State basis. But one of the things we have tried to do at the national level is to change the school funding formula for Federal aid so that we give relatively more money to the schools that have a larger number of low-income children. And very often that means a more racially diverse population. That is about all we can do at the national level, besides enforcing the civil rights laws, which I intend to do very vigorously.

But I think in every State, since we live in a country that is so multiracial and multicultural, it is better if children go to school with people of all different racial and ethnic backgrounds. And I think we should support that so we can learn to live together and work together.

Anticrime Efforts

[*A participant from Salem, CT, suggested criminal control rather than gun control.*]

The President. Well, we already have the highest percentage of people in prison of any country in the world. And our crime bill gives more money to the States to build even more prisons. It also stiffens penalties. It has a "Three strikes and you're out" provision to deal with people who are very dangerous but are fortunate enough to commit crimes where their victims aren't hurt so bad. If they do three violent crimes in a row, they'd still be getting a life sentence, ineligible for parole under Federal law. I favor tougher punishment, and I favor keeping serious crimi-

nals in prison longer. But you have to do other things as well.

There is no question that one of the reasons we have a higher death rate is, in the last several years, if you just look at it, is the average victim of a gunshot incident today outside the home has more bullets in him or her than was the case 10 or 15 years ago. And that's why I think we did the right thing to go after the assault weapon. But I also believe we should have tougher punishment and focus that punishment on the serious repeat offenders.

Health Care Reform

[A participant asked if inner-city hospitals would be adequately compensated under the new plan.]

The President. The short answer, Sister, is yes. And that's one of the reasons that the Catholic hospital network has been so supportive of what we have been trying to do and has worked very closely with my wife and with me as we've tried to put this program together.

But let me explain precisely what the issue is. There are an awful lot of people who are uninsured or underinsured in the inner cities. Under our program, every person who comes through your doors will be a source of reimbursement, that is, you will get reimbursed for the care you give. And it will make a huge difference in time to help keep some of our inner-city hospitals open, many of which have been closing at an alarming rate, leaving nothing left.

It's gotten to the point where some of our inner-city areas, there's almost the same access-to-health-care problem that you have in rural parts of my State or in the High Plains in the country.

Gun Control

[Mr. White discussed the impending release of a juvenile murderer in Rhode Island on his 21st birthday. He then introduced a participant who questioned the fact that a juvenile criminal record would not prevent a handgun purchase under the Brady Act.]

The President. Yes, I heard about it. The people of this State are very upset about this. I mean, I had that—I don't know—3,000 or

so people out at the airport to meet me, and I was just working through the crowd and literally a dozen people mentioned this case to me.

Let me say, first of all, I care a lot about this. My first job in public life was as an attorney general in my State, dealing with criminal procedures. Then I was Governor, and I had to enforce the criminal laws in my State, including the capital punishment law. Most States, years ago, before juvenile crime was the problem it is now, had laws which basically said you couldn't be charged as an adult until you reached a certain age. Many times it was 15 or 16, sometimes more, sometimes earlier. And if you were tried as a juvenile, you had to be released either when you became 18 or 21, and your records would be sealed. You'd sort of be given a new chance. That was before. When these laws were passed, you didn't have teenagers going around gunning people down like you do now. Now, I think you have two or three options.

First of all, on this particular case, one thing the State of Rhode Island could do is to pass a law which says that the records of juveniles would not be sealed as it relates to questions under the Brady bill; that is, have you ever been treated for mental illness, have you ever committed a felony or what would have been a felony if you had been an adult? And the State legislature could simply change that law for that purpose and then put those records in. And then the gun store owners and all gun sellers would then be obligated to check that record and not sell a gun to that young man, just like they would be under a criminal, under anybody convicted of a crime as an adult.

The second thing I want to say is, I do not know about the constitutionality of this, but another thing you could do is to say, if you want the benefit of the State's juvenile law when you could have been prosecuted as an adult—and if you have a law which permits 15-year-olds to be prosecuted as an adult—you have to be willing to voluntarily undergo psychiatric treatment and get some sort of approval before you are released.

Now, those are two things that I would think you ought to consider. But I know on terms of getting—being eligible to buy a gun,

you could change that law tomorrow and apply it to this case and this young man and all other people similarly situated. At least you'd have that protection.

Those are my best ideas. I think it's an outrageous thing that this kid could get out—apparently has refused all treatment—get out and buy a gun. I think it's wrong.

Q. I agree with you there. I would like to let you have this because this is an article that was written, and it will give you a little bit more on the case.

The President. Thank you.

Q. He slaughtered two women and two babies and—

The President. Well, I've given you my best ideas. And I think it's terrible. And yes, my eyebrows are raised and my temperature.

You ought to fix that gun thing. You can do that. I think you can do that, and I hope you will.

Arkansas Record and Health Care Reform

Q. Mr. President, the Providence Journal recently published a report comparing the States on livability and health care. Rhode Island placed near the top, Arkansas, the bottom. I'm worried. Are you going to do for us what you did for Arkansas?

The President. Do you think that's a fair question? I mean, is that a fair question? Of course not, right?

My State, at the end of World War II, had a per capita income that was 56 percent of the national average. While I was Governor, the last 6 years, we had a job growth rate higher than the national average. Our per capita income increased higher than the national average. We were nationally recognized for education reforms, for welfare reforms, for dramatic improvement. You should judge people based on where they started; now, that's a fair question. That sounds like the kind of thing that the President said to me in the campaign.

And I also extended health care benefits to more pregnant women, more little children, improved health care to elderly people—those are things that I did do—and maintained taxes at the same percentage of income of my State when I left office as they were when I took office.

So I think I did a pretty good job as Governor. And by the way, my fellow Governors, including the Governors of New England, once voted me the best Governor in the country. So I did the best I could.

Now, having said that, I did not revolutionize the economy, wipe out all poverty, and end all problems. I plead guilty. But what I did do is just what I'm trying to do as President, which is to fix things.

Now, what you have to decide is whether you think it is acceptable for the United States to continue to be the only advanced country in the world that cannot figure out how to give insurance to all of its people, whether it is acceptable for us to spend 14.5 percent of our income on health care. No other country spends over 10 percent. Germany and Japan spend under 9 percent; they cover everybody, and we don't. We have to decide whether this is acceptable. Why does it happen? Because we spend so much more on insurance and paperwork and other things. That, to me, cannot be justified.

And if we want to go on like we are, where more and more people lose their right to choose their doctor every year, more and more people are finding themselves uninsured, we can. Otherwise, we should decide what we're going to do about it and how we're going to do it.

I don't pretend for a moment to have all the answers. All I can tell you is that I've done my best to find them with the help of a lot of brilliant people, most of them, by the way, from your part of the country, not from mine. They came up with the plan. We've worked very hard on it. But I think what we need to do is to talk about how we can solve this problem. That's what I've been in the business of doing all my life.

The Economy

Ginger Casey. President Clinton, do you feel, though, that the economy has turned around for working class people in this country?

The President. Oh, I think the economy has plainly turned around. It hasn't done as much as it should, but let me just give you some facts. Last month we had 267,000 new jobs come into this economy; in the first 4 months of this year, a million jobs; in the

first 15 months of our administration, 3 million jobs. Rhode Island had 8,000 new jobs this year, the first time in 4 years you've had any job growth. So it's beginning to turn around.

We have driven the deficit down. And if my budget is adopted this year, we will have the first time since 1969 that we've got a decrease in domestic spending, except for health care, which is going up. And we'll have 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President.

So I'm doing the best I can to turn it around. But what we need to do is to get everybody in a room together—Senator Chafee's got a health care bill, and we've got other health care bills—we need to find out how can we cover everybody, how can we hold the cost down, and how can we solve the problems of the country. I don't pretend to have all the answers, but I do intend to keep the same can-do spirit as President that I brought to the Governor's office. And I'm still pretty proud of it. And I think most of the folks at home think that way, too.

Child Care

[A participant in Springfield, MA, asked about the availability of quality child care.]

The President. Well, let me just mention a couple of things. We have focused our child care efforts basically on trying to increase the incomes of working parents with modest incomes. This year, one in six American taxpayers will be eligible for an income tax cut because they are working for very modest incomes, hovering just modestly above the poverty line, and it's hard for them to be successful parents and successful workers. So we're focusing on that.

In our welfare reform bill, we plan to also do more to try to help parents with modest incomes afford their child care. Beyond that, of course, there is the Federal child care tax credit, and most States do the same thing.

Have we done as much as we should? I don't think so. But I think if we can help cover the health care expenses of all working parents and their children and help to deal with the income tax structure, I think that would go a long way toward helping you afford child care. And we're doing as much as we can with the money we have.

Reaction to Criticism

[A participant in Massachusetts asked if the President and his family were being held to a higher standard than their predecessors.]

The President. Well, I think I've been subject to more assault—[laughter]—than any previous President, based on the evidence. But the Vice President said a few days ago that there are powerful forces in this country who basically resent the way the last election came out, so they keep trying to undo it and pretend it didn't happen. But we'll have an election in 1996, and I wish that we could just all settle down and be Americans for a while and work on our problems, and then evaluate me based on the job I do and let—people will have a chance to make another decision. But I think that the constant politics of diversion and division and destruction is not good for America, but I'm prepared to live with it and keep working. So far, it has not interfered with the progress and the record of the Congress and the work we're trying to do for the country. And as long as I can keep it from interfering with it, I can live with it if you can.

Anticrime Efforts

[A participant asked about the use of probation and parole and then asked if the President could speak Spanish.]

The President. Let me answer the second question, first. I don't. [Laughter] I wish I did, and I probably ought to. And I think before too long, nearly every American President will be expected to, not only because of the high percentage of Hispanic-Americans we have but because of our increasing ties and our common future with Central and South America.

One of the things that I'm quite proud of is that we're going to host a Summit of the Americas in the United States in December. And there are 33 democracies in Latin America, one democracy where the President's been kicked out by dictators, military dictators—that's Haiti—and one Communist country, Cuba. That's a wonderful record.

What was the first question you asked? What was the first question? Oh, the overcrowding of the prisons. I think there should be more probation and parole. Let me say

what our crime bill does. Our crime bill funds more prison places to keep serious offenders in prison but also gives States the flexibility to use some of these monies to keep the nonviolent offenders out of prison with legitimate probation programs and diversion programs like boot camps and other kinds of programs.

I think the lady a moment ago from Connecticut asked the question about shouldn't we keep serious offenders in prison longer. It will be easier if we draw reasonable distinctions between who should not be in and who should be in, so that those who should be in can be kept longer. I think probation is an important part of that.

But as this young man can tell you, since he works in the program, if you want a probation program, you have to pay to have a good one; otherwise, it's just a joke. You can't let it be a joke, you've got to actually invest in one that works. And it's cheaper than prison.

Global Trade and Manufacturing

[A participant asked what could be done to help the failing costume jewelry industry in Rhode Island.]

The President. I don't know. That's the straight and honest answer. But let me tell you what I have tried to do; and I think the American business community would support me in this assertion.

Our administration has really tried to do two things in the area of trade. We've tried to open up more trade, recognizing it would subject our people to more competition, but we'd be able to sell more things abroad, because we know that's what we have to do, at the same time enforcing our trade laws more vigorously. And I've gotten a lot of criticism for it. I've gotten criticized for enforcing our trade laws against Japan, for example, the disputes we've had there, and some of the other countries we've had disputes with. But I think that is very important.

The second thing I think we have to do is to move to a situation where, over a period of years, these international trade rules begin to take into account our obligations to the environment and our obligations to the working people of each of our countries.

Now, we can't immediately rewrite the rules for all other countries. And we

shouldn't tell other people how to live and what rules they ought to have. But we all do ultimately breathe the same air and share a common environment. And if the United States, or for example, there are other countries that may do more on the environment than we do, if these countries are to do well in the global economy, we must at least be moving toward some common accords on environmental standards and ultimately on labor standards. The United States has begun to put these issues in the national debate. When we made the trade agreement with Mexico, the first trade agreement ever, ever in history that had environmental standards in it, it had never been done before. So we are beginning to do that. Meanwhile, we are going to try to firmly enforce our own trade laws.

The reason I said I don't know is, I don't know enough about your industry, I'm sorry to say, to make a comment. But I will look into that.

Thank you.

Ms. Casey. Mr. President, when there are other countries that underprice what it costs for people to manufacture an item here in the United States, countries that don't have to pay health insurance or any other kind of benefits or meet any OSHA requirements or EPA standards, won't business naturally go to where the cheapest widget is?

The President. Some will and some won't. But that's always been the case. That is, if you go back to the whole history of America, first of all, jobs moved from one part of our country to another because of labor costs. Then jobs moved from one sector of the country into another. We used to have a whole lot of people working in agriculture, for example. Now, less than 3 percent of our people can produce enough food to feed all of us and half the world to boot. So they have to find other things to do.

We have the same percentage of our wealth today comes from manufacturing as it did 15 years ago. But fewer people do it because fewer people can make more output in manufacturing. So we're in this constant struggle to create more new jobs than we're losing. And what's happened in the last 20 years for the first time ever—at least since we've been charting these things—we've

been creating new jobs, but they're not better than the ones we're losing. That had not happened to us before. And that's why average wages have been stagnant in the country for 20 years. Some are better, but some are not.

So what my challenge is is to identify the new technologies of the 21st century, make sure we are targeting investments on those technologies, make sure we are educating and training our people for those jobs, and make sure that the jobs we create are (a) as numerous and (b) better than the jobs we're losing. That is the great test of keeping the middle class alive in America. It's very hard to do, but we're trying to be on the path to do it. I think we're doing the right things.

Defense Conversion

[A General Dynamics electric boat division worker asked about the Sea Wolf submarine program and retraining for defense workers.]

The President. First of all let me say, as you know, I supported, against a lot of opposition, doing the second Sea Wolf and to try to keep the electric boat company going and also because we're going to move in—we're going to have a transition, if all goes as planned, into a different submarine. In other words, the Sea Wolf was conceived as a submarine designed specifically to counter a Soviet submarine threat, but we believe if we keep working with the Soviets to reduce, the nuclear problems will not be there. We also, however, know we will need a newer, smaller, lighter, faster, different submarine to take us into the 21st century. So I do think there will be defense work in the submarine industries.

Q. Will we survive that curve, through?

The President. Well, that's why I wanted to do the second Sea Wolf. I'm trying to make sure you do get to the curve.

The second thing we're attempting to do is to—we're spending several hundred million dollars a year now working with defense contractors and their workers to try to help develop other things they can do for a living, again, in high technologies that will be there 10 years from now, so that they can earn the same or greater wages.

Mr. White. They are uniquely skilled, so you are more able to adapt to a certain thing, and you would lose that by going away—

The President. That's right. But I've been amazed, frankly, at the number of adaptations that a lot of these defense corporations are coming up with. I realize it's harder in boat manufacturing, maybe it is some sort of electronic circuitry, for example, or other kinds of weapons manufacturers. But we are working very hard on that.

We've got this advanced technology project where the Government basically funds, on a competitive basis, proposals by defense industries to convert to domestic nondefense purposes. And so the results of the last year and a half have been incredibly encouraging to me. I can't say there will be a solution for every problem, but I'm confident that we're moving in the right direction on it.

[The participant expressed his support for retraining programs.]

The President. I think we have to do that, too. Let me say, I have been twice now on a program that the Secretary of Labor sponsored, Bob Reich, from Massachusetts, who believes that some people will just have to retrain for other high-tech jobs. And one of the people in the program is a 59-year-old—this is another reason I don't want discrimination against older workers in health care premiums—a 59-year-old Bell Lab employee who lost his defense job and had to retrain at 59 and got a job working in a hospital at more or less the same level because he was able to do a lateral transfer through a high-tech training program.

And I think that's going to be very important, because you're right, not every industry will be able to modify its own business. So some of the workers will have to try to get lateral transfers.

Civil Rights

[A commissioner with the New England Hispanic civil rights commission asked about civil rights policy.]

The President. Well, if you look at—first of all let me say, we don't have time to go into the specifics, so if you will write me a specific letter, I will give you a specific an-

swer. But I want to mention one thing in particular. Last year, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department was much, much more active in many areas than it had been in the past. The civil rights activities of the Department of Housing and Urban Development under Henry Cisneros dramatically increased last year over what they had done for years in the past. And then I appointed Deval Patrick, who's a very distinguished civil rights lawyer, to be head of the Civil Rights Division. And most people who had been following it believe that we have dramatically increased the activism of the division.

But I can't respond to any specific concerns you have, sir, but if you will write them to me, I will get back to you on the specifics, because I intend to be very vigorous in this area. And my impression, just looking from the statistics, and I've gotten reports from the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and on the Housing and Urban Development, is that we have dramatically increased our civil rights activities, which is what I had intended to do. And so if there are problems, I'll fix them if you will get them to me.

Hillary Clinton

[A participant expressed his support for Hillary Clinton for President in the year 2000.]

The President. First let me say that I'm sure my wife would be flattered by your attention.

Q. President Clinton, I started this 2 months ago.

The President. I just—by the way, I just talked to her on the phone right before I came in. She is in South Africa with Vice President and Mrs. Gore for the inauguration of Nelson Mandela. And she's a wonderful person with enormous ability. But she has always told me that she never thought she would ever seek elected office.

Q. Yes, she would. [Laughter]

The President. And after this life—I'm not sure she would ever—

Q. Mr. Clinton, never say never. You guys are rolling with the punches. Good, keep rolling. [Laughter] You know, they can throw a lot of crap, but you're always—

Ms. Casey. Oh, please, Mickey.

The President. Thank you very much.

Now tell them, I didn't know anything about this, will you? [Laughter]

Drug Abuse Treatment

[A participant asked about treatment programs for drug addicts.]

The President. Well, that involves two activities of this administration, so let me answer you. The short answer to your question is, yes, if we get the whole health care plan passed. That is, our health care plan will cover treatments for alcohol and drug abuse problems. I think it's very important. And treatment works. I know it does, I've seen it in my own family.

Secondly, this year in the crime bill and in our budget, we have big increases for drug treatment for people who are in the criminal justice system. It's crazy, folks, with such a high percentage of people who get convicted of things because they've got a drug problem, to turn right around and put them back on the street before they've had any drug treatment. It does not make any sense, and it's being penny-wise and pound-foolish, I think. So we're trying to help the States deal with that.

President's Childhood

[A 9-year-old boy being raised by a single mother asked if as a boy the President missed his father.]

The President. Well, sometimes I did, too. I missed—and you know something?

Q. What?

The President. Sometimes I still do. But my mother did a real good job, and she did the best she could. She worked real hard every day, and she was a real good mother. And I think I had a good childhood.

And there are lots and lots of kids—a big percentage of our young people in America today spend at least some of their childhoods with only one of their parents. Now, and oftentimes that's too bad, but that's the way it is. And so what we have to do is be grateful for our parents that are sticking with us and helping us, and never use that as an excuse and just make the best we can of our lives, okay?

Q. Yes.

The President. Good for you, pal. Thanks. Give him a hand. [Applause]

Child Support Enforcement

[A participant asked how the administration plans to help single mothers who are having a difficult time collecting child support payments from irresponsible fathers.]

The President. That's a wonderful question. First of all, one of the biggest problems we've got with deadbeat dads is—sometimes deadbeat moms, but usually deadbeat dads—is the ability to cross the State line and not have enforcement across State lines. So a big part of our welfare reform program is going to be to stiffen enforcement of child support across State lines and to try, whenever possible, just to have an automatic withholding from people's checks once they start missing their child support payments, even if they live in another State, and to have uniform enforcement. That will have a dramatic impact.

Now, in many cases where there was not a marriage in the first place, we're going to have to have some help from the mothers in identifying the fathers. But in every case where we can, in my opinion, once people start to miss their child support, I think you just ought to have automatic withholding. I don't think people should be able to avoid the responsibility for their children just because they're not in the homes raising them. And I think the more automatic, the quicker it can be, the less legal hassle, the less going to court, the fewer lawyers, the fewer pleading with the judges, the more it's just an automatic system, the better off we are. And that is what we're going to work toward as a part of comprehensive welfare reform.

I can tell all of you that your bills as taxpayers to support women and children on public assistance would be much lower if we had a tougher and more automatic system of child support collection, and I think that's what we have to do.

Q. Mr. President, could I ask you when will this begin?

The President. Let me just say this: We're doing better. Many States—one of the things that we did at home that I was quite proud of was, when people came in to have their babies, if they were single, divorced, sepa-

rated, we started identifying the fathers then and immediately beginning to process the child support and creating a presumption of paternity that could be only overcome with proof.

I mean, there are lots of things that are being done now in State after State, but we'll introduce our welfare reform bill in a few weeks. And then it will pass in a few months, and then it will become the law of the land. And it would be, I think, a big advance. We did some things last year to require the States to stiffen child support, but the big thing is, right now, is you've got so many people crossing the State lines and evading their responsibilities. That's what we have to try to attack. And I think you have to have almost some sort of automatic system to do it.

Education

[A high school student asked about college costs and education funding.]

The President. Let me answer the second question, first. We are, this year, even though we're cutting overall spending at home, we're giving more money to education and training programs. The second question is, don't dismiss this national service thing too lightly. Basically, what national service does is to give young people like you the opportunity to work either before you go to college, while you're in college, and in some cases, after you leave, and earn credit, almost \$5,000 a year, against the cost of going to school. We'll have 20,000 young people in national service this year; the year after next we'll have 100,000 people in national service, solving the problems of their communities.

In addition to that, last year when we adopted my economic program, the Congress did, to bring the deficit down, one of the things in that bill that almost nobody noticed was a reorganization of the student loan program to cut the costs of operating it, lower interest rates on student loans, and string out the repayments so that you need never be discouraged about borrowing money to go to college, because now if you borrow money in the student loan program, you say, "Oh, I can't borrow 4 years' worth because I'm going to be a teacher when I get out, and I'll never pay it back." Under the new rules you can now pay that money back over a

much longer period of time as a percentage of your income. So even if you're going to take a job that doesn't pay a lot of money, you'll always be able to limit your repayment to a percentage of your income.

So we've lowered the interest rates and made the repayments easier. And that should mean that no one should ever be discouraged from going to college again, even if they have to borrow the money, because they can pay it back in a responsible and bearable fashion.

Ms. Casey. Where do you want to go to school?

Q. URI.

The President. A paid political announcement. [*Laughter*]

Infrastructure Improvements

[A participant asked what has been done to rebuild America's infrastructure.]

The President. First of all, we have fully funded for 2 years in a row now the ISTEA program, the intermodal transportation program that was adopted several years ago, to make sure we can push the money out more quickly. Secondly, I have now our people studying, with the benefit of folks from all over the country who are experts in transportation investment, what other options we have, short of some big tax increase which I don't think we can enact, to increase the funding flowing to infrastructure investments, and especially to road and bridge improvement.

These things, by the way, create a lot of jobs in the economy, and they're basically good-paying jobs. And they often go to people who otherwise couldn't get them. And they dramatically increase the society's productivity.

Many of the Asian countries that we're competing with that have far higher savings rates are spending massive amounts of money on fast trains, on new airports, on major new transportation systems. So it's a big issue in terms of our long-term economic health. And I believe—keep in mind we're keeping a pretty fast pace here. I had to work on the economy first and then pass the education programs. And now we're working on the health care and the crime bill.

Q. A lot of bumpy roads.

The President. A lot of bumpy roads. But I think we will have an infrastructure built to take some advantage of this, but not until early next year in 1995.

Mr. White. Mr. President, thank you ever so much. Unfortunately, we are just about out of time. We want to thank you very much for coming to visit not only Rhode Island but us here at Channel 10.

The President. Thank you.

Mr. White. Our 10 Town Meeting is coming to a close. And we'd like to invite you, Mr. President, if you'd like, to stay behind and say hello to some of our friends.

The President. Thank you. I have very much enjoyed this. The questions were wonderful, and I thank the folks in Springfield and New Haven, too.

NOTE: The town meeting began at 8 p.m. at the WJAR-TV studio. The President was introduced by moderators Doug White and Ginger Casey. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the American Nurses Association Conference

May 10, 1994

Thank you so much. Thank you for your warm welcome. And thank you, Ginna, for that award.

I arrived a few moments ago, and I remember the first time I ever heard your president speak. I knew that she had worked for Vice President Gore, and I thought it was so interesting to hear the head of a national association who was speaking without an accent. [*Laughter*]

I want to say a special word of appreciation to your first vice president, Ellen Sanders, who's participated in White House and congressional meetings on health reform, and to Diane Weaver, the president of the Association of Nurse Executives, who cosponsored this breakfast.

I am very proud to share the stage today with all the fine nurses in the executive and the legislative branches whom you have honored. And I thank you for doing that. And I thank them for their service. I also want to say a special word of thanks to all of you and to the ANA for the courage and the vi-

sion you have demonstrated by fighting for health care reform, and the right kind of health care reform, long before it was a hot issue. As you know, the position paper you put out on national health reform probably more closely parallels the recommendations that our administration has made than that of any other professional health care group in the country. And I thank you for that very much.

I want to thank you, too, for recognizing my mother, who worked for 30 years and then some as a nurse and was deeply proud of what she did. I remember when I was little boy watching her get up in the middle of the night always starting work by 7 a.m. or 7:30 a.m. in the morning, always telling me stories that indicated that there was literally nothing in the world more important to her than dealing with a person frightened, in pain, with a caring and effective manner. This award will help to expand the frontiers of nursing in the areas of women's health, something that she would have been very proud to be a part of.

My mother, as all of you now know, completed her memoirs, which became her autobiography shortly before she died. She went over about half of it and was able to do the final editing. And it was my privilege after she passed away to work with the author and just try to make sure all the facts were right. I got very stern instructions from her. She said, "Now if you have to do this do not change one word I said about you"—[*laughter*]"—especially the part about your manners not always being great." [*Laughter*] "And make sure you get the facts straight. Otherwise leave it alone."

But I was very pleased with the two book reviews that her book got yesterday. One by the great American author, Joyce Carol Oates in the New York Times, and then another one here in the Washington Post. But it tickled me, the one in the Washington Post said that if you read this book, you would understand why I perplexed people in Washington. I was actually brought up by real people, and occasionally I still acted like one. [*Laughter*] I didn't know what that—[*laughter*]"—I'm trying to get over it, but it's hard even here.

Anyway, here's something my mother said about her work, which would apply to all of

you and those whom you represent. But it meant a lot to me. It was just her words. "Nurse anesthetist work is all-consuming. You don't do it halfway. You don't daydream. You don't let your emotions wander. You're the person responsible for putting another human being into a state of unconsciousness, somewhere between life and death. For 30 years, from the minute that I would walk into the operating room and start talking to the patient and begin putting him to sleep, until I got him safely back to the recovery room, nothing in the world could have crossed my mind. I don't care what problems were on the outside. I don't care what problems I might have been having at home. I never thought of my life beyond the moment."

I remember when I was also a child, things were somewhat more informal. My mother used to take me to the hospital and let me meet the other nurses and the doctors and watch the emergency room and watch people go into the operating room. It was utterly fascinating. And the work you do has always sort of captured my imagination.

My own wife had never been in a hospital before in her entire life until our daughter was born, never been in a hospital for any kind of sickness. And learned only a few moments before the happy event that she was going to have to have a C-section. And we had gone through Lamaze, and we had done all this stuff, and I was supposed to be in the operating room. And our hospital at that time had never before let a father into the delivery room if it wasn't a natural birth. It was a big deal. So I said, "Look, I've been watching people get cut on and bleed since I was a little boy. I'll do fine." [*Laughter*] "But she had never been here before, and she may not—you better let me come in." [*Laughter*] So they did and actually changed the policy so that if fathers had been through the Lamaze course and then the mothers eventually had to have a C-section, they got to go. So I felt—that's my one contribution to medical advances. [*Laughter*]

But I owe all that to my mother, who was a remarkably determined woman in the face of often excruciating adversity. I think one of the reasons that the Nurses Association has been so forthright about this health care reform issue is that you see it from the grass-

roots up in human terms and you don't get so hung up as some people do on all the political rhetoric and the positioning and the characterizations that have, frankly, put a lot of Members of Congress at a severe disadvantage because they haven't had the chance to spend the time and make the effort to deal with this issue that you have. It is, after all, a mind-bendingly complex problem. It's 14.5 percent of our income, and for people who don't live in it every day, it can be a very difficult thing.

But I just wanted to thank you because I believe that the personal experiences you have shared, so many of you common to the ones that my own mother shared, really animated the Nurses Association to take the position that you have taken.

I want to emphasize today that what I seek, contrary to the attacks, and what you have sought, is not a Government-run health system, it's a private insurance health system that covers everybody, where the health care professionals run it and not the insurance companies. That's what we seek.

We seek private insurance that can never be taken away. It's wrong to treat seriously ill children in an emergency room who could have been treated more easily and more inexpensively if their parents had just had the coverage. With our reforms, every family will have that kind of quality insurance. We ought to reform the insurance system that today often only covers the healthiest people and even then will deny them coverage for anything they've been sick with before.

When you go to a patient's bedside, you ask, "Why does it hurt? Where does it hurt? How can I help?" You don't ask whether this is a preexisting condition you're looking at. [Laughter] It's a very important issue.

If you think about all this preexisting condition business, there are 81 million Americans who live in families where there's been a child with diabetes or a mother that had cancer prematurely or a father that had an early heart attack or some other problem. I see these people everywhere. This is no small number. Now, we get action lickety-split up here all the time when a million people or 2 million people are adversely affected by something if they are well organized. But these 81 million people, they're professionals

and blue-collar workers; they're old folks and young folks; they're all different kinds of people; and they are by definition disorganized. There is no national association of people with preexisting conditions. [Laughter] You think about it; if there were, and 10 million of them showed up here, we'd have health care reform so fast you couldn't blink.

You must be their voice in an organized way. And you can be. So we ought to cover everybody with private insurance, and we ought to have insurance reforms that deal with preexisting conditions and don't discriminate people based on age. This is somewhat controversial. I know that. But I believe if we went back to health insurance the way it originally was when Blue Cross first started writing it, where everybody was put in a large group, risk was broadly spread, and people paid a fee against the day when they would be sick, it would be fairer for all Americans. And our economy would work better, our society would have a stronger sense of community, our families would function better. People would be free of a lot of the anxiety that comes——

Hillary and I have received about a million letters. And whenever I go somewhere now, they arrange for some of the letter writers to come see me. And it's just gripping to see people just over and over and over and stunning to see how they do come from all walks of life and how they have been broken by the things which have happened.

The third thing I think we should do is to preserve the Medicare program. It's interesting, the people who criticize our program say this is Government-run health care which, of course, it isn't. And if you tried to take away Medicare, which is a Government-funded health care, well, they would be up in a tree somewhere screaming about it.

But we don't want to do anything to the Medicare program, except to make it better. I do believe we should add a prescription drug benefit and phase in long-term care that is community-based or home-based for two simple reasons. One is, there are an awful lot of elderly people who aren't poor enough to be on Medicaid but aren't well off, who have significant medical bills. We know the elderly use 4 times the prescription drugs

that the nonelderly do. And we know from study after study after study that a proper medication regime can keep people out of the hospital and can save money and that we now have—any number of elderly people every month—I was in a grocery store in New York yesterday called Pathmark, which also operates, as many do now, a drugstore. And it was gripping; the CEO was saying, “My workers tell me that every day they watch older people come in this store and go from the drugstore, down the food aisle, and try to make up their mind what food they’re going to give up to get their medicine, or whether they’re going to give up their medicine to buy their food”—gripping. So I do believe we should do that. But the Medicare program works. It has low administrative overhead. We think it should be secured.

The fourth thing we want to do is to bring greater choice to our people. I guess the thing that has made me the maddest in the relentless campaign against this plan are all those bogus ads where they say, “You’re going to have to call some Government office to figure out where you go to the doctor.”

There are two realities of modern life that you have to drive home to every Member of Congress, without regard to party or philosophy. Number one, Americans are rapidly losing their choices today. Already, of people who are insured at work, fewer than half have more than one choice of a health plan. That’s a fact today. And they’re rapidly losing their choices. Number two, medical professionals are increasingly losing their right to decide unilaterally, may have to have somebody get on the phone to an insurance company executive a long way away to ask for permission to do what anybody knows ought to be done under the circumstances.

Now, most Americans, believe it or not, don’t know either one of those things, even though they may be caught up in it, and I think it’s very important. Our plan is designed, number one, to increase the choices that consumers have. We’re moving to more managed care. There can be a lot of good things in it, but under our plan, every year, every person would have a choice between at least three plans, or among at least three plans but in all probability many more. And number two, under our plan, medical profes-

sionals would also be given more choices and would have to do less checking in with the insurance company in advance. Now, being treated by doctors and nurses, you know, is an American tradition. Every time I do one of these town meetings, like I did in Rhode Island last night, I talk to somebody that’s just been forced to give up their doctor and just move away from the choices they made.

We believe when all Americans can choose among several health plans, many Americans, many more Americans, will choose to stay with their own providers. And many more of these plans will be organized in such a way that all providers can participate if they’ll do it for the agreed-upon fee. That’s what we believe will happen. And if we don’t do this, if we don’t have some legal action to reorganize this, you’re going to have less choice by consumers, less choice by providers.

Time and again, we’ve also seen that the quality of care is directly related to the quality and the quantity of the nursing staff. One of the things that amazes me is how many nurses have been laid off in recent months and been told, well, this is because health care reform is coming. I’ll tell you what, one of Clinton’s unbending laws of politics is, whenever somebody who’s got a tough decision to make can shift the heat from themselves to you, they’ll do it every time. They will do it every time. That law never varies.

Now, what is really going on? What’s really going on is, a lot of these health care providers are under the gun. Right? More managed care; people bargaining tougher for prices; more and more people who are uncovered where there’s uncompensated care that has to be provided; less and less ability to pass on the cost of uncompensated care to other people because they’re in these managed care networks they’re in: all this stuff is going to happen if we don’t do anything. All of us could go on vacation for a year, and this same thing would go on. You know that. And don’t let your Members fall for it.

What’s going to happen is we’ll continue to see these trends occur unless we find a way to give health care providers reimbursement for all the people for whom they care, at an appropriate level in an appropriate way. More than a decade of research now shows

that more and better trained nurses result in shorter hospital stays, better survival rates, fewer complications, whether you're dealing with low birthweight babies or older people.

You do not have to work for the Congressional Budget Office to understand that healthier patients and shorter stays means lower health care costs. Sometimes I think if you do work for the Congressional Budget Office you will never get that, but—[laughter]—we're working pretty well on the whole. This is a big deal. This choice issue and maintaining an array of qualified people doing the things for which they are best qualified is terribly important.

Finally, let me say—and this, I guess, is, except for this whole issue of whether this is a Government program, which it isn't, is the most controversial part of it—our reform is based on providing guaranteed benefits at work. Now the reason for that is simple, for the people in this country that have health insurance, 9 out of 10 of them have it at work where there is some shared responsibility between the employer and the employee. For the people who don't have insurance, 8 out of 10 of them have someone in their family who is working.

It seems to me that the fairest and simplest, and if you will, the most conservative way to achieve universal coverage, to have health care security for everybody, is to ask employers and employees who aren't doing anything or barely doing anything to do more so that they can fulfill their own responsibilities and then use tax funds to cover the unemployed, uninsured people for whom you could say, "Well, there's a general responsibility just like Medicare and Medicaid" and then organize the market so that smaller businesses and self-employed people, (a) get discounts if they need it and (b) are able to buy good insurance on the same terms that those of us who are insured by Government or larger businesses can.

Now it seems to me that is a fair and simple and obvious way to do this. I think that any other way will sooner or later involve either a radical change, that is, getting rid of the whole health insurance market and substituting taxes for it, or involve people who are already paying too much for their own health care, having to pay something for peo-

ple who won't do anything for themselves because they say they should be exempt.

Now I think that this is a very important issue. You know, again, we lose sight of the fact that most small businesses are making an effort to cover their employees. We have brought hundreds and hundreds of small businesses to Washington to talk to the Congress, but they are not organized. There is no association called: small businesses who cover their employees and are mad their competitors don't and mad they can't get better insurance rates—[laughter]—and wish somebody would help them. So an association that may have a lot of folks in the insurance industry, along with other small businesses, says, "Don't do this; the whole small business economy will break," says this, and there's no association on the other side. You have to be their voice.

Had a car dealer from a town of 7,000 people in Arkansas up staying with me the other night, he and his wife, long-time friends of mine. She's a college teacher. He's a car dealer. He said to me the other night—it was funny—he said, "You know, for 20 years I have been feeling sorry for myself because I've provided a good health plan for my employees, and none of my competitors did." So he said, "I was so happy when you proposed this just because I thought I was going to get even." [Laughter] And then he said, "But you know, then I remembered that in the last 20 years I put three of my competitors out of business. And I'm making more money than I ever have. And the reason is I still got the same folks working for me I had 20 years ago because I gave them health benefits."

And yesterday I went to New York and I visited this Pathmark store. They have 175 stores, 28,000 employees, the 10th biggest supermarket chain in the country. We're all told, "Oh, if you do this, the retailing business will go to pieces." These people have put new stores in inner-city areas that other chains would not touch, fine new stores. They are making money, and they have always provided comprehensive health benefits to their employees. And they are now sacking their groceries in a bag that says they favor health care benefits to all Americans, guaranteed through the workplace.

I say this to you because, as you know, there are a lot of nurses that don't have any health care coverage and a lot of nurses who are single parents who don't have health care coverage. And this is the other point I want to make that I did to all those young people working in that grocery store yesterday: Everybody now in Washington is for welfare reform, and I guess it means different things to different people. But I have basically a 3-point strategy to achieve what I think would end the welfare system as we know it: One was embodied in last year's economic plan, lower income taxes for working people who are hovering just above the poverty line with children. This year one in six American working families will be eligible for lower income taxes so they can succeed at work and can succeed as parents.

Strategy number two, give people education and training and then give them a certain amount of time to find a job. And if they don't, require them to take it. And if they can't, provide some public subsidy in the private sector or some publicly funded job so that work is preferable to welfare.

Strategy number three has got to be cover the people with health insurance. Consider this: All these people on welfare in this country who are dying to get off—and by the way, that's most of them—who are dying to get off, most of them have limited education. Suppose they go through a little training program and they get a job that pays a modest wage but is still more than the welfare benefits. But they go to work for an employer who does not provide for health care.

Think about this: You are a mother with two children. You give up being on welfare to take a job that pays more than the welfare check, but you lose health care coverage for your kids. What are you going to do if your kid has to go to the dentist? What are you going to do if your child is desperately ill? How are you going to feel every week, every 2 weeks or every month when you get your paycheck and you see what's taken out of it in taxes and you realize those taxes are going to pay for the health care benefits of people who decided to stay on welfare instead of going to work? You don't have to be as bright as a tree full of owls to figure out that this doesn't make a lot of sense. *[Laughter]*

Now a lot of American nurses are in this situation today, getting up every day, slaving away, trying to take care of people who have children without insurance, caring for people who come into their office who are on public assistance who have children with insurance because of the Medicaid program. It is not fair. It is not right. It is not smart.

And you could say, "Well, all this inability to cover everybody, if this were fueling some enormous American economic expansion, because we were saving so much money on health care, maybe you could deal with that." But the truth is we're spending over 40 percent more of our income on health care than any other country in the world. Oh yes, some of it because we're more violent, and that's something we pay for. Some of it because we have better medical research and technology, and that's worth paying for. But a whole lot of it, as you well know, is because of the way we have financed health care, which has employed hundreds of thousands of people in doctors' offices, in clinics, in hospitals, and in insurance companies to read the fine print on thousands and thousands of policies to see who and what is not covered. And it has rifled inefficiencies through this system that we are all paying for.

We can fix this. We can fix it by having a law which fixes what's wrong, keeps what's right, provides health care security to everybody through a private system, increases the choices consumers have, and increases the decisions that doctors and nurses and other qualified providers make without oversight by others. We can do it.

In order to do it, we have to recognize we have to go through a fog of misinformation, a torrent of labels which aren't right, and recognize, too, that you have to lobby and stand up for, in an organized and very personal way, that great association that doesn't exist, the association of 81 million Americans and families with preexisting conditions, the association of hundreds of thousands of small businesses who are doing the right thing and being punished for it, the association of all the poor women in this country who are out there working their hearts out and their fingers to the bone to do right by their kids without health insurance and paying taxes for people on public assistance

who have it for their children. All of those associations are disorganized.

You have devoted your lives to providing health care to all Americans. You have honored my favorite nurse today. You have given me a chance to hope that my mother and my grandmother are looking down on me thinking I was the first generation in three that didn't produce anybody that was caring for other people in health care. So they think at least I walked off with the award today. *[Laughter]* It means more to me than I can say.

But the determination that my mother showed in getting up off the pavement many times in her life is the same sort of determination you have to show for us to get health care reform this year. And remember, most of these Members of Congress want to do the right thing. But they don't know what you know; they haven't spent the time that you've spent; they haven't had the experiences you have had. You have to help them. And the people in their districts that really need their help are not in those great national associations.

You keep them in your mind and keep that example in your mind. Don't let this year go by. We can do this this year with your help and your leadership.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:56 a.m. in the Regency A Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency. In his remarks, he referred to Virginia Trotter Betts, president, American Nurses Association. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations

May 10, 1994

Thank you for being here and thank you for that warm welcome. As all of you know, this is the first meeting of our Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations and the Intergovernmental and Policy Advisory Committee.

There are a lot of people in this room with whom I have worked for many years on a wide variety of issues, especially on the economy. I am pleased with where we are going.

You may know the blue chip forecast came out today, saying that there is no sign of inflation in the economy this year and next year and predicting a growth rate in the range of 3.5 percent this year, which means a continued effort to create jobs and move our economy forward. In the last 15 months or so, our economy has produced about 3 million jobs, most of them in the private sector, which is a real departure in terms of the percentage of new jobs in the private sector from the last few years, a million jobs in the first 4 months of this year, over a quarter of a million in April alone.

So, I'm encouraged about the direction in which we are going. The Congress is moving rapidly to adopt the budget that I sent up which, if adopted as it is, will eliminate 100 programs, cut 200 more, still save some new money for education and training, for Head Start, for new technologies, for medical research, but represent the first overall reduction in domestic discretionary spending since 1969. And it will produce the first 3 years of declining deficits since Harry Truman was President if this budget passes.

So I think we are moving in the right direction. But we all know we have to do more to try to spark global economic growth and to spark growth in our country from global economic affairs. Last year we had NAFTA, we had APEC meeting, we had an export policy which involved removing any number of items from export controls which had previously been placed on them during the cold war. And we've continued that work in this year.

But the most important thing we can do this year, plainly, if we want to create hundreds of thousands of high-paying jobs in America, is for Congress to ratify the GATT agreement. The Uruguay round cuts tariffs by over a third on manufactured products. Three-quarters of the world's trade growth over the next decade will come from the developing world, and GATT is expanded to cover things that it formerly has not covered, including intellectual property and services. We have got to adopt the GATT in the Congress this year.

This is about exports and jobs. It's also about our leadership in the world. We broke 7 years of global gridlock last year to get this

GATT agreement, and we've proved that we can do things finally around here that haven't been done in the past. It took 7 years to pass the Brady bill, but we did it after 7 years; 7 years for the family and medical leave bill. This crime bill has been hanging around here for 5 years; it's going to be better and stronger than any crime bill we've ever passed, thanks in no small measure to the courage of the House last week in adopting the assault weapons ban. The GATT was around for 7 years. So we're trying, this administration is, to earn a reputation for breaking gridlock at home and around the world. We cannot be the only nation not to ratify the GATT this year.

Now, the problem is our trading partners are just now beginning to understand it's harder for us to do than it is for other countries because we operate under budget rules which require us to replace all the tariffs that we lower and give us no credit for the increased economic activity that will plainly flow and which will generate more tax revenues. The only thing that we can count is the reduced direct spending and agricultural subsidies that will come if we ratify the GATT.

So our economic team, Dr. Tyson and Mr. Rubin and Mickey Kantor and the Treasury Department, and Mr. OMB—they've all been sort of splitting their heads trying to figure out how to get this done this year, because we estimate that over a 5-year period tariffs will be reduced by in the range of \$14 billion. And we have to figure out how to replace that. We are working very hard to do it.

But GATT will only pass if there is an American effort to pass it that is bipartisan, that is reasonable, that is credible, and that is consistent. And so I wanted to come here today to say to you, we need your help. We need all of your help. We're moving to restore a measure of global growth. We are beginning to get good predictions out of Europe, a lot of people thinking that Europe is beginning to turn around. I am very hopeful—I had a nice conversation with the new Japanese Prime Minister yesterday—I am very hopeful that through our efforts, and we have a good relationship, we will be able to resume our trade talks and continue to make

progress there, and they'll be able to get some growth back into their economy.

But we have to continue to set the standard. People know that our economy is functioning at a higher level than many of our trading partners. They expect us to take the lead. And even though this is harder for us than it is for our partners, we've got to try to find a way to do it. I am convinced we can do it, just like we did with NAFTA, if, but only if, there is a bipartisan effort and if there is a business-government-labor effort and if there is a State, local, and national effort. If it is broadbased, if it is deep, and if it is real, and if it is constant, we can do this.

But I really need your help if we're going to do it. And I hope you will resolve to make sure that we do achieve this so that we can go on to other areas. But it's a good agreement. It's good for America. And it will be a real shame if we walk away from it. Besides that, we need to keep our record of breaking gridlock going. I'm depending on you to help.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. in the Indian Treaty Room of the Old Executive Office Building. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Proclamation 6688—Labor History Month, 1994

May 10, 1994

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

For more than a century, the labor movement in the United States has served as a major force for our economic and social progress as a Nation.

American trade unionists have fought for and achieved benefits for all citizens. At the turn of the century, the average worker made about ten dollars for a 60-hour week, and more than 2 million children similarly worked long hours for even less pay. Prior to the formation of a national labor movement in 1881, safe working conditions, regular hours, decent living wages, paid holidays, and vacations were often mere dreams.

Emergency and family leave were almost unimaginable.

The struggle of American workers against these appalling circumstances transformed our Nation. Disasters, like the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire and the 1991 Hamlet Poultry Fire, and triumphs, like the Sanitation Workers struggle for dignity and union representation in 1968, have played a significant role in shaping American life. By studying labor history, we find the foundations of work life in America—the 8-hour day, the 40-hour week, security in unemployment and old age, protection for the sick and injured, equal employment opportunity, protection for children, and health and safety standards. In addition, labor history shows that American workers were in the forefront of the effort to make public education available for every child.

As an American, I am proud of the accomplishments of our labor movement, through which we all enjoy better lives. In issuing this proclamation to observe Labor History Month, I recognize that our work for economic and social progress in America is not over. As we approach the 21st century, the next chapter of labor history must be characterized by a strong voice for America's workers. This will include establishing partnerships of employers and workers, cooperating to achieve safe, high-performance work environments, improving the skills of American workers and the competitiveness of American businesses, and enhancing human dignity in the American workplace.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the month of May 1994, as "Labor History Month." I call upon the people of the United States to observe this period with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of May, 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, 10:53 a.m., May 11, 1994]

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

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report on Aeronautics and Space

May 10, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit this report on the Nation's achievements in aeronautics and space during fiscal year 1993, as required under section 206 of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2476). Aeronautics and space activities involve 14 contributing departments and agencies of the Federal Government, as this report reflects, and the results of their ongoing research and development affect the Nation as a whole in a variety of ways.

Fiscal year 1993 brought numerous important changes and developments in U.S. aeronautics and space efforts. It included 7 Space Shuttle missions, 14 Government launches of Expendable Launch Vehicles (ELVs), and 4 commercial launches from Government facilities. Highlights of the Shuttle missions included the first in a series of flights of the U.S. Microgravity Payload that contained scientific and materials-processing experiments to be carried out in an environment of reduced gravity; the deployment of the Laser Geodynamic Satellite (a joint venture between the United States and Italy); the deployment of a Tracking and Data Relay Satellite; and, the second Atmospheric Laboratory for Applications and Science mission to study the composition of the Earth's atmosphere, ozone layer, and elements thought to be the cause of ozone depletion. The ELV missions carried a variety of payloads ranging from Global Positioning System satellites to those with classified missions.

I also requested that a redesign of the Space Station be undertaken to reduce costs while retaining science-user capability and maintaining the program's international commitments. To this end, the new Space Station is based on a modular concept and will be built in stages. However, the new design

draws heavily on the previous Space Station Freedom investment by incorporating most of its hardware and systems. Also, ways are being studied to increase the Russian participation in the Space Station.

The United States and Russia signed a Space Cooperation Agreement that called for a Russian cosmonaut to participate in a U.S. Space Shuttle mission and for the Space Shuttle to make at least one rendezvous with the Mir. On September 2, 1993, Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., and Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin signed a series of joint statements on cooperation in space, environmental observations/space science, commercial space launches, missile export controls, and aeronautical science.

In aeronautics, efforts included the development of new technologies to improve performance, reduce costs, increase safety, and reduce engine noise. For example, engineers have been working to produce a new generation of environmentally compatible, economic aircraft that will lay the technological foundation for a next generation of aircraft that are superior to the products of other nations. Progress also continued on programs to increase airport capacity while at the same time improving flight safety.

In the Earth sciences, a variety of programs across several agencies sought better understanding of global change and enhancement of the environment. While scientists discovered in late 1992 and early 1993, for instance, that global levels of protective ozone reached the lowest concentrations ever observed, they also could foresee an end to the decline in the ozone layer. Reduced use of ozone-destroying chlorofluorocarbons would allow ozone quantities to increase again about the year 2000 and gradually return to "normal."

Thus, fiscal year 1993 was a successful one for the U.S. aeronautics and space programs. Efforts in both areas have contributed to advancing the Nation's scientific and technical knowledge and furthering an improved quality of life on Earth through greater knowl-

edge, a more competitive economy, and a healthier environment.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 10, 1994.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting the Report of the
Department of Housing and Urban
Development**

May 10, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the requirements of 42 U.S.C. 3536, I transmit herewith the 28th Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which covers calendar year 1992.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 10, 1994.

**Remarks at the National Fire and
Emergency Services Dinner**

May 10, 1994

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for that warm welcome; and distinguished head table guests. I don't know about being America's Fire Chief, but I do know whenever I ring the bell, Steny Hoyer shows up. [*Laughter*] So today he rang the bell, and I showed up. And I am honored to be in your presence tonight.

I want to recognize, not only Steny but the other Members of Congress who are here. I'm sure they've been introduced already, but Congressman Curt Weldon and Congressman Sherry Boehlert, Senator William Roth, Congressman Howard Coble. I think you will find that support for fire and emergency services is a bipartisan affair in the United States Congress. And I think you will find that I have tried to be a good partner to them. I also want to recognize some people who are not here, including Congressman

Dick Durbin and Congressman Bill Emerson, who are the cochairs of the House Task Force on Natural Disasters; and to acknowledge the legislators of the year you identified, Chairman Norm Mineta and Senator Dan Inouye. I also want to thank, for their work in the administration and their work to come, our Fire Administrator-designate, Carrye Brown. And I'd like to say with a special word of pride how very much I appreciate the extraordinary work of one of my fellow Arkansans, James Lee Witt, the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

You know, when I became President there were many jobs, but there were two or three jobs that I thought had suffered under previous administrations without regard to party, because they had not been filled with people who had actual experience doing what they were hired to do. One was the Small Business Administration, and I put someone in the Small Business Administration, not who had been a long-time political associate of mine, although he is a friend of mine, but someone who had spent 20 years financing and starting and expanding small businesses. It occurred to me that a person that did that job, since that's where most of the job growth is in America, would be better off if he or she had known something about it before they showed up at the door.

And when it came time to pick a FEMA Director, as a Governor in the State that had the highest death rate per capita from tornadoes in the country, I knew a little something about what it was like to deal with FEMA over a very long period of time, under administrations of both parties in Washington. And that's why I asked the person who had done the emergency services work in our State and had gone through fires and floods and tornadoes and seen whole towns blown away, to do that job.

Most people think that our administration has done pretty well in responding to earthquakes in California, floods in the Middle West, hurricanes in the South, severe winter weather that hit so many of our States last year. But we know that all the Federal responses in the world only work when it is matched with and really supports the courage

that you show on a daily basis in all of your States and communities.

I used to tell people that when I was the Governor of my State I had a real life. And back when I had a real life, one of the things I did was to work on trying to extend fire service to our rural areas with a direct funding stream every year that went to volunteer fire departments and with a number of other training and other legislative initiatives that made it possible during my 12 years of service to create over 700 volunteer fire departments in our State. I'm very, very proud of that. And I'm proud of the work that all of them did and what it did for people's fire insurance rates and how many homes and lives were saved as a result of that effort.

On Monday, yesterday, I went to Engine 24 and Ladder 5 in New York City, in Greenwich Village, to honor three firemen who 40 days ago paid the ultimate tribute: John Drennan, of Staten Island, who hung on for 40 days with massive injuries over most of his body—his funeral Mass will be said at St. Patrick's Cathedral tomorrow—a captain, 49 years old, with a wonderful wife, a schoolteacher, and four children; and two young firemen, James Young, of Queens and Christopher Siedenburger, of Staten Island, who was only 25 years old when he died. Sometimes I think that we forget how dangerous it can be to put yourself in the line of natural disasters and sometimes manmade disasters for your fellow human beings.

I was deeply moved when I met the partners of those three firemen who died, and I will always remember them. Especially will I think of them when I have the privilege and the honor of signing the arson prevention act. I am going to be proud to sign this law, not just to make your lives easier, but to reduce the number of wasted lives and wasted dollars we lose to arson every day, needless and senseless tragedies that might otherwise be prevented.

I want to thank all of you who worked so hard on that law, all of you at the grassroots, all of you in the Congress, and the chief sponsors, Senator Dick Bryan and Representative Rick Boucher. I can't wait to have the chance to sign that. And I'm sure that Congressman Hoyer and Congressman Weldon and some of the others here will have some idea about

exactly how we ought to sign that. And once again, when they ring the bell, I will show up.

I noticed that the title of your annual report was, "Protecting a Nation at Risk." I thought you were describing my job. [*Laughter*] I'll say this, there will always be risks involved in the work of freedom and the work of holding a civilized society together. The great tension we face today all around the world, in some ways, can be seen in the work you're doing against arson.

There is today no cold war, no imminent threat of nuclear annihilation, although nuclear dangers remain. Three of the four countries in the former Soviet Union that had nuclear weapons have committed to getting rid of them, and Russia, which still has nuclear weapons, and the United States no longer point their warheads at one another. That is a wonderful thing to consider.

But it's also true that we are fighting a constant battle all around the world between order and chaos and between those who wish to live in harmony and freedom and those who would abuse that very freedom. You see it whether it's in the ethnic brutality and the civil war in Bosnia or the rise, the lamentable rise, of organized crime in Russia where organized criminal thugs murder bankers at will who are trying to see free enterprise take root there or in the work of the gangs and some of the horrible tragedies within our own cities and communities.

Those of you who are willing to literally put your lives on the line for other people's interests, for people who are in trouble, are the ultimate rebuttal to the cynics who believe we cannot create a world of justice and freedom where people live together in peace and honor. But we will, all of us, for the rest of our lives be fighting and working to make sure that our Nation is not put at risk and that our world can become safer by making sure the forces of order win over the forces of chaos and that the people who wish to have freedom are also willing to exercise it with responsibility. Every day, your lives symbolize that, the first and most enduring lesson of our democracy, and I thank you for it.

Thank you very much.

[*At this point, the President was presented gifts, including a statue of an American eagle.*]

The President. I promise when I was invited to come, I had no idea I was going to receive any of these things. And you probably don't know this, Congressman Hoyer, but I have sometime been a collector of eagles. I love them very much. And in our State, Mr. Witt and I, we did a lot of work trying to preserve the American eagle. And by the time I left office, we had the second largest number of eagles of any State in the country. They do symbolize what is best about our country, and I will treasure this. Of all the ones I have collected, I think I have none that is as beautiful as this, and I'm very, very grateful.

Thank you so much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:03 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report of the Trade and Development Agency

May 11, 1994

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As required by section 201(d) of the Jobs Through Exports Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-549; 22 U.S.C. 2421(d)), I transmit herewith the annual report of the Trade and Development Agency for fiscal year 1993.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Claiborne Pell, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Lee H. Hamilton, chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Federal Council on the Aging

May 11, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 204(f) of the Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended (42 U.S.C. 3015(f)), I hereby transmit the

Annual Report for 1993 of the Federal Council on the Aging. The report reflects the Council's views in its role of examining programs serving older Americans.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 11, 1994.

Nomination for Deputy Director for Management of the Office of Management and Budget

May 11, 1994

The President today announced his intent to nominate John A. Koskinen as Deputy Director for Management of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

"John Koskinen has just the right qualifications for this job," the President said. "He has extensive management experience in both the private and public sector. Improving the management of the Federal Government is a top priority of this administration, and I expect John to be a great point man for that effort."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for Ambassador to India
May 11, 1994

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank G. Wisner of the District of Columbia as Ambassador to India.

"I am pleased to announce Frank to this most important post," the President said. "He brings an experienced background and skilled diplomacy to this important assignment."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for Ambassador to Saudi Arabia

May 11, 1994

The President today announced his intent to nominate Raymond Edwin Mabus, Jr., of Mississippi, as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

"Ray is a good friend who I had the honor of serving with as a fellow Governor. As Governor of Mississippi, he represented the people of that State with distinction," the President said. "He brings the leadership and vision he has demonstrated throughout his years of public service to this critical assignment. I am pleased to nominate him as my personal representative to Saudi Arabia."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for Ambassador to Tunisia

May 11, 1994

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary Ann Casey, of Colorado, as Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia.

"Mary Ann Casey's extensive foreign service experience will be a great asset in her role as Ambassador to Tunisia," the President said. "I am delighted to announce her nomination."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Statement on Signing the Farmers Home Administration Improvement Act of 1994

May 11, 1994

I am today signing into law S. 1930, the Farmers Home Administration Improvement Act of 1994. This Act is intended to give the Farmers Home Administration in the Department of Agriculture (USDA) an additional tool with which to reduce the substantial backlog of delinquent farm loan debt. It authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to use USDA's Office of General Counsel or private attorneys acting under contract, in addition to the current authority to refer matters to the Department of Justice, to resolve loan delinquencies.

My Administration is committed to more aggressive Government action to resolve the problem of delinquent farm loan debt. There are too many borrowers, many of them of substantial means and not full-time farmers,

who have been delinquent on their farm loans for years. Resolving these cases will return resources to taxpayers and provide additional opportunities for beginning farmers.

Because the Attorney General has overall responsibility for the conduct of litigation by the United States, I have directed the Departments of Justice and Agriculture to work together to implement this authority.

William J. Clinton

The White House
May 11, 1994.

NOTE: This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 12. S. 1930, approved May 11, was assigned Public Law No. 103-248.

Memorandum on Use of Private Attorneys by the Department of Agriculture

May 11, 1994

Memorandum for the Secretary of Agriculture, the Attorney General

This directive sets forth the terms and conditions under which the Department of Agriculture will exercise the authority granted to the Secretary of Agriculture pursuant to section 331(c) of the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (7 U.S.C. 1981). That authority permits the Secretary of Agriculture to contract with private attorneys and use Department of Agriculture attorneys for legal services necessary to prosecute and defend any claims arising under subsection (b)(5) of section 331 of the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (7 U.S.C. 1981), concerning farmer program loans made by the Farmers Home Administration.

This directive permits, subject to the conditions set forth below, foreclosure, deficiency judgment, and debt collection litigation by private contract attorneys arising from Farmers Home Administration farmer program loans and loan guarantees made pursuant to the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act, 7 U.S.C. 1921 *et seq.* (hereinafter referred to as "actions"). The Department of Agriculture will refer all other matters arising under the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act, including

all matters in bankruptcy, claims of fraud, and appellate proceedings to the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice will prosecute such referrals expeditiously, and may, in its discretion, with the Department of Agriculture's concurrence, refer any action back to the Department of Agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture agrees that the decision to contract with private attorneys for prosecution of actions will be made only upon its determination that (a) the private attorney will provide competent and cost-effective legal representation and (b) representation by the private attorney will accelerate or improve the process by which the actions are brought to conclusion.

Thirty days prior to initiating the process to contract with a private attorney for prosecution of actions, the Department of Agriculture will inform the appropriate United States Attorney of the intent to contract and the basis for such decision.

Prior to referral by the Department of Agriculture of any action to a private attorney, or Department of Agriculture attorney, the Department of Agriculture shall notify the Department of Justice. The Department of Agriculture shall require that the private counsel or Department of Agriculture attorney promptly provide to the appropriate United States Attorney copies of all significant pleadings, motions, memoranda, orders, and opinions filed in State or Federal court.

Should any legal or policy issue of general importance to the Government arise that pertains to the conduct of actions under this agreement, the Department of Agriculture will ensure that the private contract attorneys or Department of Agriculture attorneys are made aware of guidance issued by the Department of Justice.

If the Department of Justice determines that the interests of the Government are better served through representation by the Department of Justice because there exist any significant factors, such as counterclaims, claims for equitable relief, multiple Federal agency interests, or significant legal or factual issues, of major importance to the Government, the Department of Agriculture will promptly withdraw the action from private counsel or the Department of Agriculture at-

torney and refer the action to the Department of Justice, for expeditious disposition. The Department of Agriculture will reserve the right to withdraw any case from the control of a private attorney.

The Department of Agriculture will fulfill its obligations under this directive through its Office of General Counsel. The Department of Justice will fulfill its obligations under this directive through the Civil Division or such other office as the Attorney General may direct.

The Department of Agriculture will provide to the Department of Justice a quarterly report tracking the status of all actions within the scope of this directive being pursued by the Department of Agriculture attorneys and private contract attorneys, including summary statistics to permit evaluation of this directive.

The Department of Justice will provide to the Department of Agriculture a quarterly report tracking the status of all actions within the scope of this directive being pursued by the Department of Justice, including summary statistics to permit evaluation of this directive.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 12.

Teleconference on Community Policing Grants and an Exchange With Reporters

May 12, 1994

The President. Mayor Archer.

Mayor Dennis Archer. Mr. President, how are you, sir?

The President. Mayor Peters.

Mayor Mike Peters. Yes, how are you?

The President. Mayor Darrah.

Mayor Joan Darrah. Yes, President.

The President. And Mayor Campbell.

Mayor Bill Campbell. Hello, Mr. President, how are you?

The President. I'm fine. I'm here with the Attorney General, who's also on another phone right here with me.

Attorney General Janet Reno. Good morning.

The President. We want to congratulate all of you for working so hard to make your communities safer. I'm proud to announce today, as all of you know, that the four of you, along with the leaders of 142 other cities, counties, and towns all across this country, will get a downpayment on this administration's pledge to put another 100,000 police officers on the street.

I want to specifically note some Members of Congress who are not on the phone call but whose districts have winners: Congressman John Lewis, Congresswoman Barbara-Rose Collins, Congressman John Conyers, and Congresswoman Barbara Kennelly, all of whom have worked closely with us on this initiative.

The Justice Department received applications from nearly 3,000 communities in every State and territory for these community policing grants and awarded them now to more than 200 cities and towns. It's obvious that communities all across the country are coming to the conclusion that if they have more police officers on the street who are properly trained and properly deployed, we can drive the crime rate down and make our people safer. That is at the heart of this administration's crime bill and has been at the heart of our strategy from the beginning. When I ran for President, I pledged to do my best to break gridlock and pass the most sweeping, effective, and comprehensive crime bill in history and that that bill would include 100,000 new police officers.

Now, the bills have passed both the House and the Senate; they're going to conference—especially with the courageous passage of the assault weapons ban by the House last week. I think you can feel comfortable that all those officers are on the way. This program, as I said, is our downpayment. And we're very encouraged about it.

The American people have waited for this bill long enough. And I do want to take this opportunity in talking with you to say that it is imperative that we not let politics any more delay for one day the passage of this crime bill. We have got to get the House and the Senate together and go through with it. And I want to urge you, even as we celebrate your winning these awards for these

new police officers, to urge you to keep pressing the Congress to push forward.

Freedom from violence and freedom from fear are essential to maintaining not only personal freedom but a sense of community in this country. And I think now we have the best chance at forging a bipartisan consensus for dynamic, aggressive, and sustained efforts to bring the crime rate down that we have ever had. And that is in no small measure due to all of you.

So I thank you for what you've done. I congratulate you on your award today, but I urge you to help us pass the crime bill so that we can continue to put the police officers out, do something about the weapons, do something about prevention, do something about punishment.

I want to ask now the Attorney General to say a few things, and then I'd like to hear from each of you.

General Reno.

[At this point, the Attorney General and Mayor Archer of Detroit made brief remarks supporting the community policing initiative and the pending crime legislation. Mayor Archer commended the President on his efforts to ban assault weapons and conveyed greetings from President Carter who was visiting Detroit.]

The President. That's great. Well, you tell him, first of all, I enjoyed being with him last week. And I thank him and President Ford and President Reagan for the work they did on the assault weapons ban. And tell him that I'm going to be calling him in a day or two.

[Mayor Peters of Hartford, CT, Mayor Darrah of Stockton, CA, and Mayor Campbell of Atlanta, GA, made brief remarks supporting the community policing grants and the pending crime legislation.]

The President. Well, thank you, Mayor. I just want to point out, you know, when you and I talked last week, we emphasized that it's not just important to have more people, it's important to do the right things with them. And I know that you will do that. I know the other mayors will.

I think we also need to hammer home the message that we all believe that we can have

substantial reductions in the crime rate. We believe that the streets of America can be made safer again. That is the ultimate objective of all these initiatives, to allow the American people to live in safety and security and freedom with a real sense that we're part of a community again, that we don't have to be afraid of each other. And I am convinced it can be done. And we're going to do what we can here, knowing that grassroots leaders like you have to make the difference.

General Reno, do you have anything to say?

Attorney General Reno. No. Just Amen. *[Laughter]*

The President. Have a great day. Thank you.

Supreme Court Nominee

Q. President Clinton, have you decided on your Supreme Court nominee, will you announce today, and who is it?

The President. Well, you won't have to wait much longer. When I have a decision, I will announce it. But let me answer—there was a question earlier. There was an interesting comment in the paper today by a—I'm sorry, I don't remember the gentleman's name, but an expert on this whole process who pointed out that the most important thing is for the President to appoint someone that the President feels very good about and a high level of confidence in. I know that this has now become the most pressing story in the Capital. But this is really a story that will have implications for years, indeed, perhaps for decades to come.

I think one of the benefits, and perhaps one of the burdens, the American people got when I was elected President is that I believe I know a lot about this issue, and I care a lot about it. I used to teach constitutional law. This is not a decision I can defer to aides, even though I have been well-assisted in this and I appreciate it. So I am going to attempt to do what I did last time, even against all the pressure of time deadlines, and that's to make a really good decision that I feel good about.

I think that I did that with Judge Ginsburg. The Attorney General advised me on that issue, and I appreciate her advice. And she's given me some advice this time, and I appre-

ciate that. But you won't have to wait much longer. And when I do it, it will be something that I'm convinced will be good for the United States for a long time to come. And if it takes just a little time to work through these questions that I have, then it's worth doing.

Q. Does that mean you just haven't reached a decision yet?

The President. It means just what I said. When I have something to announce, I will announce it. On these matters, I tend to keep my own counsel more than on other things. I think it is the right thing to do. It is one of the few things that the President just does on his own, of course ultimately with the advice and the consent of the Senate. I'm going to do my best to do a good job with it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. from the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Statement on the Death of Lewis Puller

May 12, 1994

I am saddened by the death of my friend Lewis Puller, who served his country with honor and distinction. As the son of America's most decorated Marine veteran of World War II and a winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his moving story of his personal struggle, "Fortunate Son," Lewis Puller was a true American hero. His death reminds us all of the grief that still haunts so many of America's veterans today, of the wounds that never heal, and the loved ones left behind.

My most memorable moment with Lewis was on Memorial Day a year ago at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, when he appeared at that ceremony unexpectedly and wheeled himself up next to me on the platform. I want his wife, Toddy, and his children, Lewis and Maggie, to know that it was an honor for me to be by his side on that day, and as Memorial Day approaches again, Lewis will hold a special place in my thoughts and prayers.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention and Protocols on Conventional Weapons Restrictions *May 12, 1994*

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed To Be Excessively Injurious or To Have Indiscriminate Effects (the Convention), and two accompanying Protocols on Non-Detectable Fragments (Protocol I) and on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Mines, Booby-Traps and Other Devices (Protocol II). Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention and its Protocols.

The Convention was concluded at Geneva on October 10, 1980, was signed by the United States on April 8, 1982, and entered into force on December 2, 1983. More than 30 countries have become Party to the Convention. It constitutes a modest but significant humanitarian effort to protect the victims of armed conflict from the effects of particular weapons. It will supplement prohibitions or restrictions on the use of weapons contained in existing treaties and customary international law, including the prohibition on the use in war of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925. It will provide a basis for effective controls on the widespread and indiscriminate use of landmines, which have caused widespread civilian casualties in recent conflicts.

The Convention and its Protocols restrict, for humanitarian reasons, the use in armed conflicts of three specific types of conventional weapons. Protocol I prohibits the use of weapons that rely on fragments not detectable by X-rays. Protocol II regulates the use of landmines and similar devices for the purpose of reducing the danger to the civilian population caused by the indiscriminate use of such weapons, and prohibits certain types of booby-traps. Protocol III restricts the use of incendiary weapons in populated areas.

The United States signed the Convention on April 8, 1982. Since then, it has been sub-

ject to detailed interagency reviews. Based on these reviews, I have concluded that the United States should become a Party to the Convention and to its Protocols I and II. As described in the report of the Secretary of State, there are concerns about the acceptability of Protocol III from a military point of view that require further examination. I therefore recommend that in the meantime the United States exercise its right under Article 4 of the Convention to accept only Protocols I and II.

I believe that United States ratification of the Convention and its Protocols I and II will underscore our commitment to the principle that belligerents must refrain from weapons or methods of warfare that are inhumane or unnecessary from a military standpoint. I am also mindful of the strong sense of the Congress that the Convention should be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification, as evidenced in section 1365 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 (October 23, 1992, Public Law 102-484) and section 1423 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1994 (November 30, 1993, Public Law 103-160).

More specifically, by becoming Party, we will encourage the observance by other countries of restrictions on landmines and other weapons that U.S. Armed Forces and those of our allies already observe as a matter of humanity, common sense, and sound military doctrine. The United States will be able to take the lead in negotiating improvements to the Mines Protocol so as to deal more effectively with the immense threat to the civilian population caused by the indiscriminate use of those weapons. It will strengthen our efforts to encourage adoption of a moratorium on export of all anti-personnel landmines.

I therefore recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention and its Protocols I and II and give its advice and consent to ratification subject to the conditions contained in the report of the Department of State.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
May 12, 1994.

Remarks at the Gallaudet University Commencement Ceremony

May 13, 1994

Thank you. Thank you so much for the warm reception and for the honorary degree.

I must tell you at the beginning that I have been deeply moved by the wonderful statements of your students, Jeanette and Andre. I think they have already said everything I could hope to say as well or better. And I wish only that I could say it to you in their language as well.

I'm delighted to be here with Dr. Jordan, whom I have admired so much and Dr. Anderson, a native of my home State; with my great friend and your champion, Senator Tom Harkin; with many Members of Congress, including Major Owens, who will receive an honorary degree, Congressman David Bonior, Congressman Steve Gunderson, and your own Representative in Congress, Eleanor Holmes Norton.

I honor, too, here the presence of those in the disability rights community, the members of our own administration, but most of all, you the class of 1994, your families, and your friends. You have come to this extraordinary moment in your own life at a very special moment in the life of your country and what it stands for.

Everywhere, nations and peoples are struggling to move toward the freedom and democracy that we take for granted here. Our example is now over 200 years old, but it continues to be a powerful magnet, pulling people toward those noble goals. This week we all watched and wondered as a former prisoner stood shoulder to shoulder with his former guards to become a President of free and democratic South Africa.

Yet each day across the—from Bosnia to Rwanda and Burundi, and here in America in neighborhood after neighborhood, we wonder whether peace and progress will win out over the divisions of race and ethnicity, of region and religion, over the impulse of violence to conquer virtue. Each day we are barraged in the news as mutual respect and the bonds of civility are broken down a little more here at home and around the world.

It is not difficult to find in literature today many who suggest that there are large num-

bers of your generation who feel a sense of pessimism about the future. People in my generation worry about that. They worry whether young people will continue to try to change what is wrong, continue to take responsibility for the hard work of renewing the American community.

I wish everyone who is worried about America could see your faces today and could have heard your class speakers today. Our whole history and our own experience in this lifetime contradict the impulse to pessimism. For those who believe that nothing can change, I say, look at the experience of Rabin and Arafat as the police representing the Palestinians begin to move into Gaza and to Jericho. For those who proclaim there is no future for racial harmony and no hope in our common humanity, I say, look at the experience of Mandela and de Klerk. For those who believe that in the end people are so vulnerable to their own weakness they will not have the courage to preserve democracy and freedom, I say, look to the south of our borders where today of almost 3 dozen nations in Latin America, all but two, are ruled by democratically elected leaders.

Here at home, with all of our terrible problems, for every act of craven violence, there are 100 more acts of kindness and courage. To be sure, the work of building opportunity and community, of maintaining freedom and renewing America's hope in each and every generation is hard. And it requires of each generation a real commitment to our values, to our institutions, and to our common destiny.

The students of Gallaudet University who have struggled so mightily, first for simple dignity and then for equal opportunity, you have built yourselves, and in the process you have built for the rest of us, your fellow citizens of this country and the world, a much better world. You have regiven to all of us our hope. Gallaudet is a national treasure.

It is fitting, as Dr. Anderson said, that President Lincoln granted your charter because he understood better than others the sacrifices required to preserve a democracy under diversity. And ultimately, Lincoln gave his life to the cause of renewing our national rights. He signed your first charter in the midst of the Civil War where he had the vi-

sion to see not just farmland and a tiny school but the fact that we could use education to tear down the walls between us, to touch and improve lives and lift the spirits of those who for too long had been kept down.

Over the years, pioneers have built Gallaudet, sustained by generations of students and faculty, committed to the richness and possibility of the deaf community and the fullness of the American dream. This school stands for the renewal that all America needs today.

Lincoln's charter was an important law. But let me refer to another great president to make an equally important point, that just as important as laws are the attitudes that animate our approach to one another. The president that I'm referring to is your president, King Jordan. When the Americans with Disabilities Act passed, he said, and I quote, "We now stand at the threshold of a new era for all Americans, those of us with disabilities and those of us without." He went on to say that in this pursuit, as in every pursuit of democracy, our task is to reach out and to educate each other about our possibilities, our capabilities, and who we are.

I ran for President because I thought we were standing on the threshold of a new era, just as President Jordan says. I felt we were in danger of coming apart when we ought to be coming together, of arguing too much about going left or right, when we ought to be holding hands and going forward into the future together. I grew weary of hearing people predict that my own daughter's generation would be the first generation of Americans to do less well than their parents. I was tired of hearing people say that our country's best days were behind us. I didn't believe it in 1992, and I sure don't believe it after being here with you today.

My responsibilities to you and your generation are significant. That's why all of us have worked hard to restore the economy, to reward work, to bring down the deficit, to increase our trade with other nations, to create more jobs; why we've worked to empower all Americans to compete and win in a global economy through early education and lifetime training and learning, through reforming the college loan program, to open the doors of college to all Americans; why we have worked to strengthen the family

through the Family and Medical Leave Act; why we have worked to create a safer America with the Brady bill and the ban on assault weapons and putting more police on the street and punishing and preventing more crime as well.

But I say to you that, in the end, America is a country that has always been carried by its citizens, not its Government. The Government is a partner, but the people, the people realize the possibility of this country and ensure its continuation from generation to generation.

I think there is no better symbol of this than the program which I hope will be the enduring legacy of our efforts to rebuild the American community, the national service program. Six Gallaudet students, including four members of this class, will be part of our national service program, Americorps' very first class of 20,000 volunteers. I am very proud of you for giving something back to your country.

By joining the Conservation Corps and committing yourselves to rebuild our Nation, by exercising your freedom and your responsibility to give something back to your country and earning something for education in return, you have embodied the renewal that America must seek. As King Jordan reminded us, Government can make good laws, and we need them. But it can't make good people. In the end, it's our values and our attitudes that make the difference. Having those values and attitudes and living by them is everyone's responsibility and our great opportunity.

Look at the changes which have occurred through that kind of effort. Because previous generations refused to be denied a place at the table simply because others thought they were different, the world is now open to those of you who graduate today. Most of you came here knowing you could be doctors, entrepreneurs, software engineers, lawyers, or cheerleaders—[laughter]—because over the years, others spoke up for you and gave you a chance to move up. And you have clearly done your part. You have made a difference. You have believed in broadening the unique world you share with each other by joining it to the community at large and letting the rest of us in on your richness, your

hearts, your minds, and your possibilities. For that, we are all in your debt.

Perhaps the greatest moment in the history of this university occurred in 1988 when the community came together and said, "We will no longer accept the judgment of others about our lives and leadership in this university; these are our responsibilities and we accept the challenge." In days, what was known as the "Deaf President Now" movement changed the way our entire country looks at deaf people. The Nation watched as you organized and built a movement of conscience unlike any other. You removed barriers of limited expectations, and our Nation saw that deaf people can do anything hearing people can, but hear.

That people's movement was a part of the American disability rights movement. Just 2 months after King Jordan took office, the Americans with Disabilities Act was introduced with the leadership of many, including my friend Tom Harkin. In 2 years it became law and proved once again that the right cause can unite us. Over partisanship and prejudice we can still come together. For the now more than 49 million Americans who are deaf or disabled, the signing of the ADA was the most important legal event in history. For almost a billion persons with disabilities around the world, it stands as a symbol of simple justice and inalienable human rights.

I believe that being deaf or having any disability is not tragic, but the stereotypes attached to it are tragic. Discrimination is tragic. Not getting a job or having the chance to reach your God-given potential because someone else is handicapped by prejudice or fear is tragic. It must not be tolerated because none of us can afford it. We need each other, and we do not have a person to waste.

The ADA is part of the seamless web of civil rights that so many have worked for so long to build in America, a constant fabric wrapped in the hopes and aspirations of all right-thinking Americans. As your President, I pledge to see that it is fully implemented and aggressively enforced in schools, in the workplace, in Government, in public places. It is time to move from exclusion to inclusion, from dependence to independence, from paternalism to empowerment.

I mention briefly now only two of the many tasks still before me as your President and you as citizens. Our health care system today denies or discriminates in coverage against 81 million Americans who are part of families with what we call preexisting conditions, including Americans with disabilities. It must be changed. If we want to open up the workplace and if we are serious about giving every American the chance to live up to his or her potential, then we cannot discriminate against which workers get health care and how much it costs. If you can do the job, you ought to be able to get covered. It's as simple as that. And that simple message is one I implore you to communicate to the Congress. We have fooled around for 60 years. Your time has come. You are ready. You are leaving this university. You want a full, good life and you do not wish to be discriminated against on health care grounds. Pass health care reform in 1994.

The last thing I wish to say that faces us today also affects your future. The Vice President has worked very hard on what is called the information superhighway. We know that America is working hard to be the technological leader of the information age. The technologies in which we are now investing will open up vast new opportunities to all of our people. But information, which will be education, which will be employment, which will be income, which will be possibility, must flow to all Americans on terms of equal accessibility without regard to physical condition. And we are committed to doing that.

Finally, let me just say today a personal word. A few days ago when we celebrated Mother's Day, it was my first Mother's Day without my mother. And so I have been thinking about what I should say to all of you, those of you who are lucky enough still to have your parents and, perhaps, some of you who do not. On graduations, it is important for us to remember that none of us ever achieves anything alone. I dare say, as difficult as your lives have been, you are here today not only because of your own courage and your own effort but because someone loved you and believed in you and helped you along the way. I hope today that you will thank them and love them and, in so doing,

remember that all across this country perhaps our biggest problem is that there are too many children, most of who can hear just fine, who never hear the kind of love and support that every person needs to do well. And we must commit ourselves to giving that to those children.

So I say, there may be those who are pessimistic about our future. And all of us should be realistic about our challenges. I used to say that I still believed in a place called Hope, the little town in which I was born. Today I say, I know the future of this country will be in good hands because of a place called Gallaudet.

For 125 years, young people have believed in themselves, their families, their country, and their future with the courage to dream and the willingness to work to realize those dreams. You have inspired your President today and a generation. And I say to you, good luck and Godspeed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Jeanette Anne Pereira and Andre Laurent Thibeault, students; I. King Jordan, president; and Glenn B. Anderson, chairman, board of trustees, Gallaudet University. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Announcing Stephen G. Breyer as Supreme Court Associate Justice Nominee and an Exchange With Reporters

May 13, 1994

The President. Good afternoon. Today I am proud to nominate Judge Stephen Breyer to serve on the United States Supreme Court.

I believe a President can best serve our country by nominating a candidate for the Supreme Court whose experience manifests the quality in a Justice that matters most, excellence: excellence in knowledge, excellence in judgment, excellence in devotion to the Constitution, to the country, and to the real people. It is a duty best exercised wisely and not in haste.

I have reflected on this decision now for the last several weeks, about 37 days. I have been well served by the White House Coun-

sel, Lloyd Cutler, and the other members of our legal staff who have worked very hard, by our Chief of Staff, Mr. McLarty, who's kept the process going in an orderly way, and by others who worked on it. We have worked hard to achieve the pursuit of excellence. In that pursuit, I came again to Judge Breyer, who serves today, as most of you know, as the chief judge for the United States Court of Appeals for the first circuit. And I will nominate him to be the Supreme Court's 108th Justice.

Without dispute, he is one of the outstanding jurists of our age. He has a clear grasp of the law, a boundless respect for the constitutional and legal rights of the American people, a searching and restless intellect, and a remarkable ability to explain complex subjects in understandable terms. He has proven that he can build an effective consensus and get people of diverse views to work together for justice's sake. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Stanford, a graduate of Oxford University, a magna cum laude graduate of the Harvard Law School. He served the late Justice Goldberg as a law clerk, spent 2 years in the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department, and served as chief counsel of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, where he had the opportunity to work with Senators of both parties.

Judge Breyer has had a private law practice, has written dozens of scholarly articles, published in distinguished law reviews and legal texts. And he's been a member of the Federal Sentencing Commission. For more than a decade he served with true distinction on the U.S. Court of Appeals in the First Circuit. His writings in areas ranging from the interpretation of legislation and analysis of the sentencing guidelines to the underpinnings, regulation, and the interplay of economics and the law reveal a keen and vital mind. His record displays a thirst for justice. His career personifies both public service and patriotism.

As you know, I had a wealth of talent to choose from in making this nomination. In addition to Judge Breyer, whom I considered very seriously for this position the last time I had a Supreme Court appointment, I'd like to take just a moment to comment on two

of the gentlemen who made this decision a difficult one for me.

Secretary Babbitt was attorney general and Governor of his State, and during that time, a colleague of mine. He was a candidate for the Presidency in a race which everyone acknowledged raised the serious and substantive issues of the day. He has been a very effective Secretary of the Interior for me, one of the most sensitive, complex, and difficult posts in this administration. He would bring to the Court the responsibility and discipline of service in public life. He would bring a feel for law at the State level and, most important perhaps, for life at the grassroots. Although I know he would be a good addition, indeed, a superb addition to the Court, frankly, I came to the same conclusion I have every time I've thought about him: I couldn't bear to lose him from the Cabinet, from his service at Interior, from his service as an adviser to me and a vital and leading member of our domestic policy team.

Judge Richard Arnold, the chief judge of the eighth circuit, has been a friend of mine for a long time. I have the greatest respect for his intellect, for his role as a jurist, and for his extraordinary character. I think a measure of the devotion and the admiration in which he is held is evidenced by the fact that somewhere around 100 judges, one-eighth of the entire Federal bench, wrote me endorsing his candidacy for the Supreme Court. But as has been widely reported in the press, Judge Arnold has cancer and is now undergoing a course of treatment. I have every confidence that that treatment will be successful. And if I am fortunate enough to have other opportunities to make appointments to the Court, I know I will be able to consider Judge Arnold at the top of the list.

Five decades ago, Judge Learned Hand defined the spirit of liberty as the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women, the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own bias, the spirit which lies hidden in the aspirations of us all. When our citizens hear about Judge Breyer's nomination and learn about his background and beliefs, I believe they will join me in saying, here is someone touched by that spirit of liberty, who believes in the Constitution and

the Bill of Rights, who is graced with the intellectual capacity and the good judgment a Supreme Court Justice ought to have, and whose background and temperament clearly qualify him to be an outstanding Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

So I will send his nomination to the Senate for confirmation with great pride and high hopes.

Q. Mr. President, you have foregone the opportunity to name someone with greater political experience, such as Secretary Babbitt. What makes you think that Judge Breyer will be able to reshape the Court or forge a new consensus—

The President. No, I think, Judge Breyer actually has quite a lot of political savvy, and I would say two things. First of all, as you know, when I talked about Senator Mitchell, I would not have offered the position to Senator Mitchell if he were running for reelection and were willing to stay as majority leader of the Senate. And I felt the same way in the end about Secretary Babbitt. I mean, here's a man that is dealing with issues of incredible magnitude, especially in the West, a very important part of our country. And so I just couldn't bear to think about that.

And then, the more I thought about Steve Breyer and the time I spent with him last time I had a vacancy on the Court, the more I realized he had proved that he had the kind of political capacity and judgment we need because he'd been exposed to the full range of issues working here as the chief of staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee. He obviously has a lot of political skills because of his reputation as a consensus builder on a court where most of the appointees were made by Republican Presidents. And look at the people supporting his nomination. I mean, he's gotten Senator Kennedy and Senator Hatch together. I wish I had that kind of political skill. [*Laughter*]

Q. [*Inaudible*—between two others who might not be as easy to confirm enter into your selection process?

The President. No. I'm convinced all three of them would have been handily confirmed. I know—I mean, I've heard all this, but I'm convinced all three of them would have been handily confirmed. I have no

doubt about it whatever. And I spent quite a lot of time on that.

Q. Mr. President, in the end, why do you think that there was so much—maybe it's our fault as much as it is your aides' fault—so much confusion in which direction you were leaning? Earlier in the week we thought that Secretary Babbitt had the best choice. Then later, it was Judge Arnold. Now, of course, you've made your decision.

The President. Because you all didn't talk to me. When we have these appointments that only I make, especially if it's something where, with all respect to my aides, I think I know as much or more about it as they do. And I told you all, they worked hard for me, and they did a wonderful job. There's an enormous amount of work to do, but—one of the best jobs I ever had was teaching the Constitution of the United States to law students. I care a lot about the Supreme Court. I read people's opinions. I read articles. I read letters that people send me about prospective candidates. I think about this a lot, and I care very deeply about it. And I was going to take whatever time I had to take to think this through.

In the course of those conversations with my staff, I always try to take, when we get down to the finals, where I'm down to three or four folks, I try to take every strong suit I can about a candidate and work through it, every weakness and we work through it.

But I think, you know, on these Supreme Court cases—we may never get another appointment, but if I get another one you're just going to have to ride along with me because in the end, I'm going to make the decision. I'm going to do what I think is right.

But I've told you what happened today. All three of them had a great claim. I couldn't bear to lose Bruce Babbitt. With Judge Arnold, I think we have to have the progress of his health ultimately resolved. He is a magnificent man, and I think a lot of the stated opposition to him was based on a misunderstanding and was flat wrong. And I would have been happy to defend him against all comers from now to doomsday. But I think I have done the right thing by my country with this appointment, and I feel very good about it.

Q. Mr. President, when you look at the mark that you want to leave on the Court, what specifically does Judge Breyer bring to the Court?

The President. I think he brings three things that I think are important, besides the ability to get people together and work with them. I think he brings, one, a real devotion to the Bill of Rights and to the idea that personal freedoms are important to the American people. And I think he will strike the right balance between the need for discipline and order, being firm on law enforcement issues but really sticking in there for the Bill of Rights and for the issue of personal freedoms. You know, this country got started by people who wanted a good letting alone from Government. And every time we think about doing anything around here, we have to recognize that Americans have always had a healthy skepticism about Government reaching into their lives. I think he understands that.

The second thing I think he understands is the practical implications of governmental actions that the Court may have to review. I know that some of his writings have been a little bit controversial in some quarters in analyzing the economic impacts of governmental actions and things of that kind. But I think that he shows that he really understands that.

The third thing that I think he can do is cut through the incredible complexities that surround so many of the issues that we're confronted with in our world today and render them simple, clear, and understandable, not only—first of all, to himself, secondly, to his colleagues, and thirdly, to the American people. I think it is important that the American people have confidence in the Supreme Court and feel that somehow it is accessible to them. And I believe that Judge Breyer will do a good job of that.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

May 9

In the morning, the President had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata of Japan. He then traveled to New York City.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Rhode Island and returned to Washington, DC, in the evening.

The President declared a major disaster exists in the State of Nebraska and ordered Federal funding to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by a severe snow and ice storm on April 10 to 13.

May 11

The President declared a major disaster exists in the State of Michigan and ordered Federal funds be released to help communities in that State recover from record breaking temperatures and a deep freeze which began on January 10.

The President announced his intention to nominate Neil Offen as a member of the Inter-American Foundation. Upon confirmation, Mr. Offen will be designated Vice Chair.

May 12

In the afternoon, the President met with Foreign Minister Alain Juppe of France to discuss his upcoming visit to France to commemorate D-Day.

The President appointed Joseph N. Onek as a member of the District of Columbia Judicial Nomination Commission.

May 13

The President declared a major disaster exists in the State of Maine and ordered Federal funds be released to help communities

in that State recover from flooding and ice jams which began on April 15.

The President announced his intention to nominate Phyllis Elliott Oakley as Assistant Secretary of State of the new Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

The President announced his intention to nominate Jose M. Amador as Assistant Secretary for Science and Education at the Department of Agriculture.

The President announced his intention to nominate George Charles Bruno as Ambassador to Belize.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

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

Submitted May 10

Colleen Jennings-Roggensack, of Arizona, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts for a term expiring September 3, 1996, vice Joseph Epstein, term expired.

Clyde Arlie Wheeler, Jr., of Oklahoma, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, vice George James Benston.

Submitted May 11

John A. Koskinen, of the District of Columbia, to be Deputy Director for Management, Office of Management and Budget, vice Philip Lader.

Ronald E. Neumann, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

Frank G. Wisner, of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India.

Submitted May 12

Jeffrey Rush, Jr., of Missouri, to be Inspector General, Agency for International Development (new position).

Fredric K. Schroeder, of New Mexico, to be Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration, Department of Education, vice Nell Carney, resigned.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

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

Released May 6¹

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia

Released May 8

White House statement on a comprehensive policy review of U.S. policy toward Haiti

Released May 9

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's telephone conversation with Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata of Japan

Released May 10

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on convergence of the U.S. Polar-or-

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

biting operational environmental satellite systems

Fact sheet on the on convergence of U.S. Polar-orbiting operational environmental satellite systems

Fact sheet on the Landsat remote sensing strategy

Released May 11

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Transcript of a press briefing by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, and president of the Consumers Union Rhoda Kaptakin on ratification of the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Released May 12

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with Foreign Minister Alain Juppe of France

Released May 13

Transcript of a press briefing by Special Counsel Lloyd Cutler and Deputy Counsel Joel Klein on the President's nomination of Stephen G. Breyer to be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved May 11

S. 1930 / Public Law 103-248
Farmers Home Administration Improvement Act of 1994