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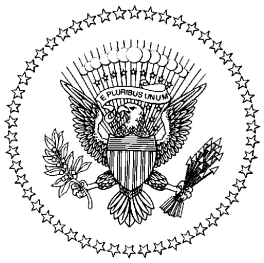

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Telephone Remarks to the Wall Street Project Conference

January 14, 1999

I am very sorry that bad weather prevented me from being with you tonight. But if Mother Nature is kind, I will be in New York tomorrow. I want to thank all of you for coming together through the Wall Street Project to work to ensure that the unprecedented prosperity of our time reaches into every corner of America.

We are living in blessed times. Our economy is the strongest in a generation. Our social fabric is mending. That's why we must seize this moment of prosperity to tackle some of our greatest challenges. You gather tonight in one of the greatest monuments of American capitalism. But just blocks away, there are hard-working families who have yet to feel the prosperity. We have not only an opportunity, we've got an obligation to give all of them the tools they need to share in this bounty.

As leaders of the companies on the Big Board, as the men and women who have helped to transform America into the world's economic superpower, you must help to build the bridge between those who work in our gleaming office towers and those who live in their shadows, between Wall Street and our greatest untapped markets. Tomorrow I'll talk about my plan to work with all of you to bring capital and hope to our most underserved neighborhoods.

Not too long ago, Reverend Jackson once talked about the freedom symphony he would write for America. The first movement would represent our liberation from slavery; the second would be the struggle to end legal segregation; the third would be the fight to win the vote; and the final movement would be the crusade to bring economic opportunity to all Americans. You can help to write that movement. In fact, it can't be written without you.

I thank you for helping to make sure that no family is left behind. And I look forward to seeing all of you tomorrow.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 8:30 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House to the conference in New York City. In his remarks, he referred to civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Review of Title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996

January 14, 1999

Dear _____:

Pursuant to section 306(c)(2) of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–114), (the ''Act''), I hereby determine and report to the Congress that suspension for 6 months beyond February 1, 1999, of the right to bring an action under title III of the Act is necessary to the national interests of the United States and will expedite a transition to democracy in Cuba.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Ted Stevens, chairman, Senate Committee on Appropriations; Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, House Committee on International Relations; and C.W. Bill Young, chairman, House Committee on Appropriations. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 15. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on Review of Title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996

January 15, 1999

I am today notifying the Congress that I have decided to suspend for an additional 6 months implementation of provisions of Title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which allow legal actions to be brought against firms trafficking in confiscated properties in Cuba. I believe that this decision best implements the Act's objective to enhance human rights and hasten the day when the Cuban people enjoy democracy and prosperity.

This action further enhances our efforts to strengthen international cooperation in promoting peaceful democratic change in Cuba. For the past 2½ years, the United States has pursued a strategy, coordinated by Under Secretary of State Stu Eizenstat, to increase international pressure on the Cuban Government to respect human rights and to begin political and economic reforms. We have urged our democratic friends and allies to take concrete actions in support of this goal. Encouraged by the results, in January 1997 I said that I expected to continue suspending this provision of Title III so long as our partners' stepped-up pro-democracy efforts continued.

Over the past 6 months, the Cuban Government has heard a more concerted message from the international community in support of democracy. A number of national leaders have publicly and privately pressed senior Cuban officials on the need for human rights and democracy. While visiting Cuba, they have spoken openly of the need for change, and they have met with and given important encouragement to pro-democracy human rights activists. In international forums, our friends in Latin America and Europe have been explicit in their condemnation of Cuba's deplorable human rights situation. The European Union has renewed its Common Position on Cuba, calling for ''a peaceful transition to pluralist democracy, the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.'' The senior-level report made at the U.S.–EU Summit last month stressed our joint efforts to promote such a transition in Cuba. This partnership has succeeded in increasing international pressure on Cuba to respect human rights and make fundamental reforms. Nongovernmental organizations have augmented their efforts as well. A strong consensus is emerging among business and labor groups that investors in Cuba should adhere to clear ''best business'' principles. While we do not encourage investment in Cuba, we welcome efforts to seek the agreement of those who do invest to provide Cuban workers with decent pay, the right to organize, and safe working conditions. Major European NGO's have undertaken to develop an international working group to pursue this important initiative further.

We underscored our determination to support freedom in Cuba again on December 10, International Human Rights Day, when we honored human rights activists around the world, including the four members of Cuba's Internal Dissidence Working Group awaiting trial merely for defending their right to speak freely about their hopes for the future. Their willingness to make personal sacrifices for their peaceful, democratic cause inspires us to persevere on their behalf. I again pledge this administration's strongest efforts to encourage and work with our allies on effective steps to promote democracy and human rights in Cuba.

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

Remarks to the Wall Street Project Conference in New York City

January 15, 1999

The President. Thank you. I'm not sure I know what to say. [*Laughter*] First I was thinking, here I have to go follow Jesse again. [*Laughter*] You know the story about the guy that went to heaven, and St. Peter said, ''Well, we've got a lot of new entrants today, and we want everybody to stand up and tell them what the best thing they ever did in their life was. How would you like to participate?'' The guy said, ''I'd like to do that. I did a great thing once.'' He said, ''Well, what did you do?'' He said, ''I saved a bunch of

people in a flood.'' He said, ''Fine, you go on right after Noah.'' [*Laughter*]

I will say one thing, Reverend. This marriage of Jesse Jackson and Wall Street, so full of promise, has already produced one incredibly vivid, concrete result: It has done wonders for your wardrobe. [*Laughter*] I see your sons out there thinking, no, we did that. [*Laughter*]

I want to say, first of all, to all of you who are here, I'm grateful for the wonderful reception. To the previous speakers—I had actually no idea that they were going to say what they did, and I was very moved, and I thank you for that. That's the sort of thing you normally hear—or you normally don't hear because it's said—[*laughter*]—that's the sort of thing people say for your funeral—[*laughter*]—and I don't think we're there yet. [*Laughter*]

What you're here to do and what you said about what I tried to do is what I'd like to ask you to think about just for a few minutes. Just about everybody in our administration who's here has been introduced; they do come from all over, from all walks of life and all backgrounds. I'm proud of them. I'm proud of the work that Congressman Rangel and Congressman Bishop and Congressman Meeks and Congressman Jackson and others have done to help us. I'm proud that you have people like Jack Kemp and some Republican business leaders who are here. I'm proud of the fact that you have John Sweeney and Percy Sutton and my friend Ron Burkle and others here. I'm proud of the fact that you have tried to reach across all the lines that divide.

I'm very, very proud especially, Reverend, that you have made this initiative to Appalachia. You know, 20 years ago this year, I became the youngest Governor in America. And when I became Governor of my home State, 5 of the 25 poorest counties in America were in Arkansas: two were in the Mississippi Delta; three were in the Arkansas Ozarks, our Appalachia. Twenty years ago, that was a very sobering thing to me. It's all the more sobering that it hasn't changed all that much in a lot of rural America.

Fifteen years ago this year, I worked with other Governors to establish the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission. It went from the mouth of the Mississippi up through the Mississippi Delta, all the way up into all-white areas of east Tennessee and southern Illinois, who had—by the time I ran for President in 1992, in southern Illinois there were still counties with 20 percent unemployment.

Twenty-five years ago, when I came home wet behind the ears from law school, among my first clients were old coalminers whose lungs were rotted out with black lung disease and whose families barely had enough to live on. I have never understood, from the time I was a child in my grandfather's store—he had a sixth grade education and an African-American clientele—why in the wide world people with common needs, common dreams, and common capacities would spend their time fighting over a shrinking pie instead of building a bigger one. And this is a good thing for America.

Previous speakers have talked about the economy. I am proud of this visionary effort to build a bridge between Wall Street and our greatest untapped markets. And because the economy is so good, now is the time to build that bridge. If we can't do it now, when in the wide world will we ever get around to it? If there was ever a time when none of us have an excuse, this is that time. But the world changes very fast, and we have to seize the moment.

You know, Tuesday night when I give the State of the Union Address, I want to talk about the great, long-term, still-unmet challenges of the 21st century: the aging America, the fact that we have the largest and most diverse population of children in our schools in history. But a big part of it is the need to build strong, economically successful communities in the places where prosperity has not reached, in the inner cities, in rural America, and don't forget, on our Native-American reservations, as well.

Jesse Jackson came to Wall Street—the same reason Willie Sutton robbed banks: That's where the money is. [*Laughter*] And I don't mean that in a pejorative way. How could any American of any station in life not be proud of the financial markets we have built and, as Mr. Grasso said, of the fact that now 200 million of our 260 million people actually benefit from it? We are beginning

to share the wealth. We need to do more of that, and I'll have some more to say about that later. But that's why Jack Kemp is here and why I always liked him. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Kemp. I like you, too, Mr. President. [*Laughter*]

The President. Although, when Reverend Jackson said he was the ultimate Republican, I thought, would that it were so. [*Laughter*] I probably just destroyed his future prospects. [*Laughter*] I'll be glad to renounce that anytime you want. [*Laughter*]

But I ask you to think about this. Wall Street has done a great thing in spreading the wealth across America because now 200 million people directly or indirectly benefit from the stock market, because a lot of the stock market are pension funds, retirement funds, now mutual funds, things that get all kinds of people into the stock market. It is only natural that not only is this where the money is, but they have found ways to involve large numbers of people. And yet we know there are still pockets that are relatively untouched.

Now, some of them are just down the street. Treasurer McCall over there, he manages New York's money. He'd have more to manage if the unemployment rate in New York weren't twice the national average. He'd have more money to rebuild these old schools, more money to give all these kids in troubled neighborhoods after-school programs and summer school programs and opportunities they need to develop their full abilities.

You know, I always say, one of Clinton's 10 rules of politics is, whenever somebody tells you, looks you straight in the eye and says, ''This is not a money problem,'' you can bet everything you've got they're talking about somebody else's problem, not theirs. [*Laughter*] It is partly a money problem.

Now, before we—so we have to find ways for you to do this. I think the Government has a role to play here, I think we have to do our part. And I thank the Members of Congress who are here. The first thing we have to do is to stay with the strategy that's gotten us this far. You know, this year—there are a lot of things that I wish I could be announcing more investment in, in the State of the Union. But we've got to keep the budget balanced to keep the interest rates low and the confidence high. We've got to keep investing in our people and target the money we do have to education, to training, to technology, to things that will develop their abilities. And we've got to show leadership and continue to expand trade and deal with this financial crisis around the world because the global economy is either going to work for us or against us. Thirty percent of our growth has come from our relationships with other countries.

The second thing we have to do is to keep working to do what we can to revitalize communities, not by ignoring them or by trying to impose kind of one-size-fits-all programs, but by doing what we've been trying to do: being a partner with people who live in each community and being a catalyst to bring the spark of private enterprise. These partnerships work in interesting ways. We put 100,000 police out there in the crime bill, and we've got the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest murder rate in 30 years. And we don't tell people who they must hire or how to train them or where to deploy them. But it makes a difference.

In 1993, when I took office, the crime rate, the violent crime rate had tripled in 30 years, and the number of police had only gone up 10 percent. It wasn't rocket science; people needed help. Local governments—the economy was down, they didn't have the money to hire the police and train them and deploy them properly.

When we offered tax cuts to clean up brownfields, all kinds of inner-city neighborhoods were able to be revitalized. We've got cities now that hadn't had a new factory in a month of Sundays getting actually new manufacturing facilities in their backyard, and providing good jobs. That's what we try to do with the empowerment zones and the community development banks—just to give people tools to do what they want to do.

And I appreciated what Weldon said about affirmative action. I hope we can end it some day. But if you see what's happened in the examples where people have cut it out altogether, it seems to me the rest of us are disadvantaged. My daughter is in college. I want her to go to college with a bunch of students that look like Americans, because that's the

America she's going to live in. So I ask you to think about that.

I want to thank Secretary Slater, who's here. The Department of Transportation will issue its new rules on disadvantaged business enterprises in the next few days and extend more opportunity to more people.

In the past 5 years—I'd like to say one thing about the banking community that I think is important—we've worked very hard to both streamline and strengthen the Community Reinvestment Act. It was also under fire, has been under fire, still is under fire by some. That Community Reinvestment Act has been on the books for more than 20 years, but 95 percent of all the financial commitments made under the law in the last 20 years have been made in the last 5 years. That's more than one trillion dollars in long-term commitments to invest in people.

And I might say, our banks are more profitable than they were 10 years ago. This is not bad for business; this is good for business. I guess the presence of the business leaders and the Wall Street people here among the previous speakers ought to make that general point. This is not a welfare program; it is not a charity program. We are not asking anybody to do anything we do not think they will make money out of. And if they can't make money out of it, we can't ask them to do it. What we're trying to do is to create an environment and create the conditions in which it is more likely that more people will take a chance. We believe they will be rewarded by the chances they take.

Now, again I say, we know that we've got this booming economy, but we also know the overwhelming majority of the capital is bypassing our underserved areas. We know that in board rooms all across America today, people are laying plans for new investments in emerging markets, and not all of them are in trouble today. We know that venture capitalists are planning new ventures, from Silicon Valley to the suburbs of Washington, DC.

But especially with—especially with—the problems in Asia and the uncertainties abroad, we need to ask ourselves, how are we going to keep growing the economy, keep the unemployment rate low, with inflation down? How are we going to do that? The answer is, we've got to find more places to invest and more customers. And the largest pool of untapped investment opportunities and new customers are not beyond our shores; they're in our backyard.

They're up the street in Harlem or the Bronx or across the river in Brooklyn or in any other countless number of cities around the country where, every morning, huge numbers of working mothers and fathers have to get up and find some way to get transportation—sometimes in cities that don't have public transportation—get all the way out to the suburbs to get a job, and then come home at night dead tired, leave their kids an hour, sometimes an hour and a half earlier, and lower their income dramatically by the cost of transportation. Why? Because no one is investing. And there's a lot of other people that are still looking for work. I told you—you think about the fact that we have a 4.3 percent unemployment rate. It's the lowest peacetime rate in 41 years, and still within this city, there are several neighborhoods where the unemployment rate is in double digits.

Now, anybody who has ever spent time on the streets, who has ever had to struggle to get by, knows that most people there are not stupid. It takes some amount of skill to survive in the environment a lot of Americans have to survive in today. So to me, this is a self-evident case.

The question is, how are we going to do it? Recently—let's listen to this—recently, a Harvard business school professor found that families living in our most distressed communities still control more than $85 billion a year in purchasing power, more than the entire retail market in Mexico—just the people in the most distressed communities. Still, more than 25 percent of that market is going unmet. In Harlem, the number is more like 60 percent.

How many places are there in America where a kid has to walk for blocks and blocks past abandoned storefronts just to buy a book for school or milk for the family? Now, that is what we're talking about.

And businesses that have recognized this potential have been rewarded. Two of Pathmark's most productive grocery stores are in Bed-Stuy and Newark Central Ward.

These two stores do double the business of a typical grocery store. Of Rite-Aid's 148 stores in New York City, the Harlem branch ranks second in the number of prescriptions filled. People appreciate it if you make it easy for them to spend their money when they need it.

In a meeting with the Vice President this summer—by the way, both these companies announced that they would expand their investment in these areas. And that is good. But we've got a lot more to do. And we need help from the people that are here, from Congressman Rangel and the other Members of Congress here, from Maxine Waters and others who are trying to bring together stakeholders for capital formation for new growth in their areas. For all the people from the rural communities, from the Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, we need help from everybody. We need help from Republicans and Democrats. This ought to be an American issue. We all have an interest in this.

I want to thank again Reverend Jackson and Sandy Weill, who couldn't be here this afternoon, and all of you who have been part of the Wall Street Project. And what I'd like to do today—and I worked hard on this so I'm not going to do what Jim Harmon said I did before—I'm actually going to read some of this talk. Because I have been working with development experts, with business people, with the Members of Congress I mentioned, and others, to try to say, okay, if our role is to be a catalyst, if our role is to be a partner, what else can the Federal Government do to help get this jump-started, to provide a vehicle through which we can channel and attract more money? And here are the things that I want to announce:

First, in the balanced budget this year, we'll support a new market venture capital program to bring capital and technical assistance to small businesses in distressed areas. Thousands of entrepreneurs who only need a little capital and expert guidance to expand their businesses and create new jobs—these funds will give it to them.

Second, we'll expand our investment in the community development banks that provide inner-city and rural residents small amounts of credit to transform good business ideas into reality. And Emma has been great on this, and I thank you for your support of this.

When I was Governor, I heard about this guy named Muhammad Yunus in Bangladesh—Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world—who had set up these banks to make very small loans to rural village women to start small businesses. At the time I met him in the mid-eighties, they made 400,000 loans at market interest rates to groups of people. You had to get a group together; everybody got a loan, but the second person couldn't get the loan until the first person started to pay back and so forth. They had a higher repayment rate than the commercial banks did at commercial interest rates.

Now the Grameen Bank has made about 2 million loans and the same thing is true. Last year your United States Government, under our administration, funded 2 million of those loans in poor countries, from Africa to Asia to Latin America. Our community development banks are designed to do the same thing at an American scale with American financial cost for people who need it. And I thank the Members of Congress who are supporting it. We are now establishing them all over America; we have to expand them.

Next, our SBA—Aida's SBA—[*laughter*]—has helped to transform companies such as America Online from small start ups to household names. That's right, AOL started with an SBA loan. Last summer the Vice President challenged the SBA to do the same for businesses in underserved areas. In response, the SBA will strengthen its outreach efforts; offer new financing terms, such as delayed payment of interest on loans; and waive regulatory requirements to promote investments in targeted communities.

We're also going to expand the tax incentives for the SBA license, specialized small business investment companies. Their job is to channel capital to small businesses owned by economically disadvantaged citizens. So we're going to give people more tax incentives to invest in them. I want to say a special word of thanks to Congressman Bill Jefferson from Louisiana, who first brought this to my attention. This wouldn't have happened without him because I wouldn't have known about it, and I thank him.

Fourth, in the next balanced budget I will ask Congress to support the creation of new—this is when you can get some of these big guys to give you some money, so listen to this—[*laughter*]—American private investment companies to encourage even bigger businesses to enter these underserved markets. For years we've supported in America the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, OPIC. What it does is provide financing to promote growth abroad. We ought to have an ''APIC'', an ''American Private Investment Company'', to support private investment at home.

Now, here's how it will work: ''APIC'' will be administered jointly by HUD and the Small Business Administration. It will offer loan guarantees to investors who help businesses expand or relocate in inner cities and rural areas. If one group of private investors puts up at least $100 million, then the Government will guarantee another $200 million in loans. Now, if five groups of investors do the same thing, that's $1.5 billion in equity for investment in underserved America.

Finally, to encourage as many individuals and companies to put together more funds to invest in underserved areas, we will propose new tax credits worth 25 percent of the amount of equity placed in investment funds, community development banks, and a host of other investment vehicles targeted for these untapped markets.

Now, this is a good beginning. This will provide incentives and a vehicle. But we can't do this alone. And Congressman Rangel and the other Members of Congress here, the CBC, the HBC, the groups in Congress who will care about this, they need your help. We cannot pass this without bipartisan support and people who see that this is bringing free enterprise to places that haven't felt it in ways that will help the whole American economy.

Now, you think about it. If our exports drop this year because of continuing low growth in Latin America, in Asia, in other places, how are we going to keep the American economy growing? How's everybody else going to get a pay raise? How are we going to do this? We should do this not just for those folks, but because they can help us build a better America and better lives for everybody.

And so I say to you, we've got to pass these laws. And we have to make it an American issue. It can't be a Democratic issue or a Republican issue. It shouldn't be the Black Caucus, the Hispanic Caucus, or Bill Clinton's idea. I don't care—I would gladly put any label on this you want if I thought it would pass it. I would be glad to call it the ''Herbert Hoover-Warren Harding-Calvin Coolidge Economic Development Act.'' I will do anything to pass it. [*Laughter*] There is plenty of credit to go around. And I ask you to do everything you can to try to make this an American issue.

And I ask all my friends in the business community to go down to Washington, call your Members in Congress, without regard to party, and say, ''Hey, you know, the President made a pretty good point there. If our markets are going to keep dropping next year, we've got problems. We need some new markets. We need someplace to put the money that has been made so it can make some more money.'' So I implore you to do that.

Let me just say one final thing. I don't want to make another point and make a whole other speech, but don't ever forget that we're not going to be able to get business to go into or to stay in areas where people don't have the education and skills to do the jobs that are needed. And we need the business community to keep supporting our schools, to help people who need help with adult literacy or to go back and finish high school, to mentor those kids in middle school so they'll go on to college. We can't forget that, because if we do, there will be a limit to how successful we can be.

Now, a lot of things have been said about Dr. King today. And nearly everybody has committed some portion of his ''I Have A Dream'' speech to memory. But I found a sentence in there that applies uniquely to us here, that I don't ever hear anybody quote. But it's very important. He said in 1963, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, that he challenged America, quote, ''to refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity in this Nation.'' Now today, those vaults of opportunity are richer and fuller than they ever have been. Wall Street has helped to make that so. Now

what we need to do is to open those vaults up so they'll fill up even more for all of you.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. at Windows on the World Restaurant in the World Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson; former HUD Secretary and 1996 Vice Presidential candidate Jack Kemp; John J. Sweeney, president, AFL–CIO; Percy Sutton, founder, Inner City Broadcasting; Ron Burkle, owner, Yucaipa Cos., Los Angeles, CA; Richard Grasso, chairman and chief executive officer, New York Stock Exchange; H. Carl McCall, State comptroller; Weldon Latham, Jr., partner, Pittman, Potts, and Trobridge; Sanford I. Weill, chairman and co-chief executive officer, Citigroup; and development economist Muhammad Yunus, managing director, Grameen Bank, Bangladesh. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner

January 15, 1999

Thank you very much. Robert left his cards up here, so I'm going to take them home and put them in my keepsake album. [*Laughter*] If he ever gets mad at me, I'll call him on the phone and read this speech back to him. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all of you for being here and for being there for Hillary, for me, for Al and Tipper, for our administration over all these last years and especially during the last year. I'm going to miss Steve Grossman and his team at the DNC. I thank Len Barrack. I thank Carol Pensky—this is her last event. And I thank Steve. They took the helm of a party that was troubled and made it far from troubled in 2 years.

I want to thank all the staff members who have been here. I have in some ways the most sympathy for this group of people because they have to hear me give the same speech over and over and over again. [*Laughter*] And I want to thank the members of the administration who are here, and Congressman Dingell and Debbie, thank you for being here; Governor Ann Richards, who made some of my campaign stops in the '98 campaign even more memorable than normal. [*Laughter*]

I want to say a special word of thanks, as Hillary did, to Sheryl Crow, who is a good friend, a good Democrat, and an unbelievable artist. And she's getting better every single year—unbelievable.

Hillary said that we met Robert and Lynda in 1983, actually just before they got married, at the Kentucky Derby. It was an amazing event. I'd never been before and actually have never gotten a chance to go back since. But it was the last year in office of Governor John Y. Brown—all of you will remember how sort of staid and laid back John Y. Brown is. [*Laughter*] He had Al Hirt playing at the breakfast before the—"My Old Kentucky Home." And all I remember about the Kentucky Derby is that I was perfectly sure what horse would win, and the only person in this vast party John Y. Brown had assembled who would bet on the horse I recommended was Lynda Carter. And I have been for them ever since, whatever the issue is. [*Laughter*] Oh, and the horse won by three lengths.

I really admire them both for so many reasons. It's not easy to do this—to sort of get out front, get your friends here. Some of you came all the way across the country to be here because they asked you. And I appreciate that and hope the weather is not so bad you can't get back. Those of us who are in Washington don't want anybody to be trapped here who doesn't want to be. [*Laughter*] We all came here voluntarily, but we want you to be able to leave and come, to go as you please. [*Laughter*]

Finally, let me say, you can't imagine—you know, Al and Tipper and Hillary and I, we've done a lot of campaigning together. We did in '92; we did in '96; we do a few events together now, even though our lives are considerably busier, and often with conflicting schedules. But I think that one of the real secrets of whatever success that we've had for the American people has been that we have really tried to be a team; we've tried to be friends; we've tried to be family; and we've tried to be frank with each other. And each person has made a unique contribution. And then we've tried to model that in dealing with the Democratic Party and the House and the Senate groups and all of our friends

around the country that are involved in whatever initiative we're involved in. It seems to me, that's the way people ought to live, but it turns out it's a fairly effective way to do business.

And I think it's fair to say that Tipper Gore has given the mental health issue more visibility than it's ever had on the national stage, and it will have an enduring, positive impact. I think it's clear to anybody who has looked at it that whatever even my harshest critics would have to say, that the Vice President has been far and away—not even close—the most influential person in his position over more issues, achieving more for the American people than anyone who has ever held his position in the entire history of the Republic. Not only that, as you will hear me say increasingly in the months ahead, and any mistakes we made were my fault. [*Laughter*]

Of course, I don't even know how to talk about what I believe Hillary has meant to the success of our endeavors. She's been on every continent. She's gone to places most people in her position don't go, both in America and beyond our borders, into little villages in Africa and Asia and Latin America and the Indian subcontinent, to talk to women and their children—especially their daughters—about what their lives can be and what we should do to help them. She's gone all over America to save the Star-Spangled Banner and Thomas Edison's lab and Harriet Tubman's home and the national treasures that we believe we should hold close to our hearts as we move toward the millennium. And just a thousand other things. And she has done it under circumstances I think are probably more difficult than anyone who has ever done it before. I love her for it, but our country should love her for it as well. It's been remarkable.

You know, I keep hearing that books and books and books will be written on how we won seats in the midterm election in 1998. Since the Civil War, the President's party has only won midterm elections under Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, each in their first midterm election—and, as you heard, not since 1822, in the sixth year. And I can save you a lot of reading—it is not complicated. We showed up for work every day, and we remembered who we were working for. And we wanted power not to just have it and exercise it against anybody but just to use it for a little while to advance the American people's dreams.

It is not complicated. And we had people like you who helped us raise enough money that even though we were outspent by $100 million, we at least had enough to get our message out. And we said, ''Look, we work for you. Here's where our country is; here's where we're going; here's what we'd like to do.'' It was not complicated.

We're proud to be members of our party, but we believe progress should take precedence over partisanship. We believe unity should take precedence over division. We believe political power should be used with purpose to advance the lives of people only. And if you give us a little help, we will, now that the country is working again—and the economy is perhaps the best in history and the welfare rolls are the lowest in 29 years, and the crime rate is the lowest in 28 years, and we've got the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957—now that the country is working again, we would like to look to the long-term challenges of America.

We would like to deal with the aging of America by saving Social Security and Medicare and thinking about other things so that we baby boomers don't have to burden our children and our grandchildren when we retire. We would like to look to the flowering of our children, the largest and most diverse group of schoolchildren we've ever had, and make sure that every one of them has a chance to have a world-class education.

We would like to look to the strength of our families and make sure that they have health care that is adequate, affordable, and quality health care, which is why we want this Patients' Bill of Rights. We would like to continue to grow the economy under increasingly competitive and difficult conditions. We would like to remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And we think we have the obligation to do that, which is what our efforts in the Middle East and Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Kosovo and other places in the world are all about.

And if that's what you want us to do, we're ready to try harder, but we need a little help. That's what we said.

Now, on Tuesday night I will be given the great honor that comes to the President once a year to report on the State of the Union, and then to amplify in greater detail what this agenda means and what I hope we can accomplish in a bipartisan manner in the Congress in the coming years. But when you go home tonight and you ask yourselves why you came and what you believe in, I hope—whether it was worth your time and your money—I hope you will be proud of what has happened in these last 6 years. But I hope you'll also be determined to make the most of the days ahead.

This 6-year thing is arbitrary. It gets in people's minds, gets in administrations' minds, and they think, ''Oh, well, I'm 75 percent through.'' I think there's still 25 percent of the time left. Just a question of how you look at it. And in the rhythm of life, it seems to me that you get hired to show up every day. And I get the same daily wage now I did on the first day I was President, so it seems to me I ought to put in the same level of effort.

But if I could say in a more serious vein in closing, there are many reasons that I am a member of this party, besides the fact that my granddaddy would turn over in his grave if I weren't. [*Laughter*] And we could talk about that all night. But on the eve of the new millennium, when we're living in a new world economy and an increasingly new world society, when you are communicating with each other in different ways and people are living and working in different ways, when there are vast prospects for us coming together with different kinds of people, and also new threats because of our increasing openness and interconnection with the rest of the world, there are three basic things I'd like for you to remember, because I hope it says what we're about.

One is, we honestly believe that no person is better than any other, and that every child in this country, without regard to race or religion or station in life or circumstance, ought to have the chance to live up to his or her God-given abilities. And the role of government should be to create the conditions and give them the tools, and give their parents the support, so that they have a chance to do it.

Two is, we honestly believe that none of those individuals can make the most of their lives alone, and that our membership in a community will enrich our own lives as it enriches others.

Today was Martin Luther King's 70th birthday. Some of the most brilliant things he ever said were about the importance of community; about how, no matter how brilliant you are, no matter how strong you are, no matter how rich you are, no matter how whatever you are, your life can only take on full meaning and texture if you are part of a community. And that's why I have worked so hard against all the divisions of the country to make us one America.

And number three is that the essence of our democracy is that the people rule, and those of us who are elected are literally representatives of them—whether in a representative branch of Congress or in the executive branch of the President, the power we exercise every day is not ours. We exercise it on behalf of the country as a whole. And its only legitimate purpose is to advance all those little children out there and living up to their God-given abilities, and advance our efforts to come together as one America, and to advance our efforts to meeting the challenges and seize the opportunities of our time.

Our administration has been about that. Every day has been a joy. Even the bad days have been an honor. And I believe America is better off. And Tuesday night I'm going to ask the country to go back to work, because we've still got a lot to do.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the foyer at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. In his remarks, he referred to event hosts Robert Altman and his wife, Lynda Carter; Steve Grossman, national chair, Leonard Barrack, national finance chair, and Carol Pensky, treasurer, Democratic National Committee; Deborah Dingell, wife of Congressman John D. Dingell; former Gov. Ann Richards of Texas; and musician Sheryl Crow. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

January 16, 1999

Good morning. On Monday America will celebrate the birth of one of our greatest heroes, Dr. Martin Luther King. This morning I'd like to talk to you about how we can honor his legacy on that day, and all throughout the year, by rising to the call of citizen service.

This morning I'm joined by Harris Wofford, the CEO of our Corporation for National Service, a former United States Senator and, long before that, a close friend and adviser to Dr. King. Five years ago, then Senator Wofford and Congressman John Lewis of Georgia cosponsored a bill to encourage Americans to devote Martin Luther King Day to serving in their communities. And I was proud to sign it into law. We believe that this national holiday should be a day on, not a day off, for as Dr. King once said, ''Life's most persistent and urgent question is, what are you going to do for others?''

On Monday more than 100,000 Americans, including students, soldiers, ministers, seniors, and members of the AmeriCorps national service program, will fan out all across their communities to paint schools, clean neighborhoods, read to children. There's still time for you to sign up. You can do so at www.AmeriCorps.org.

Now, in 1993 we created AmeriCorps to give young people a chance to serve in their communities and, in the process, to earn some money for college. We gave them a chance to serve not just for a day but all year round. And since then, 100,000 young people have taken the AmeriCorps pledge. They've done remarkable things. Since Dr. King's last birthday, they've rehabilitated thousands of homes, immunized tens of thousands of children, tutored hundreds of thousands of students, performed millions of hours of service.

Just as important, our diverse AmeriCorps members are learning lessons that will last a lifetime. In the words of one member, ''It's unity, people working together. You don't see color. You see people who have come together with just one purpose.'' For all these reasons, I will ask Congress to increase its support for AmeriCorps this year.

There are many other ways citizens can honor Dr. King. For one thing, you can give the gift of life by donating blood. America's blood supplies are now critically low because severe winter weather has hindered blood drives in several regions. I urge every American to find out where you can donate blood by calling 1–800–GIVE LIFE.

We can also honor Dr. King by working in our own neighborhoods to promote racial reconciliation. Today I am proud to release a report growing out of our Presidential Initiative on Race. It's called, ''Pathways To One America in the 21st Century,'' and it's a guide to some of our communities' best ways of building that elusive one America, one neighborhood, one school system, one workplace at a time.

For example, thanks to a creative initiative in greater Philadelphia, students from different parts of town have formed teams to design and then conduct projects such as food drives or after-school programs for younger kids. In the beginning, suburban students and city students tended to stick to themselves. But gradually, the students discovered the things they had in common, and by the end, the barriers had broken down. It has been a stunning success.

To learn more about this promising practice and more than 100 others, please visit the White House website. We want every community in America to get involved in projects such as these.

Until all children of all backgrounds have the chance to live up to their God-given potential, free from want, in a world at peace, Dr. King's work, and our work, will not be complete. To honor what would have been Dr. King's 70th birthday, I urge all Americans to rise to the highest calling in our land: the calling of active citizenship. For if we work together as true neighbors, we can realize Dr. King's most enduring dream.

Thanks for listening.

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

Statement on the Situation in Kosovo

January 16, 1999

I condemn in the strongest possible terms the massacre of civilians by Serb security forces that took place last night in the village of Racak in Kosovo. This was a deliberate and indiscriminate act of murder designed to sow fear among the people of Kosovo. It is a clear violation of the commitments Serbian authorities have made to NATO. There can be no justification for it.

The perpetrators must be brought to justice. The Serb authorities must act immediately to identify those responsible. They must cooperate with the Kosovo Verification Mission and the International War Crime Tribunal. They must withdraw security forces, carry out all the commitments they have made to NATO, and cease their repression.

We are in close contact with Secretary-General Solana and our NATO allies. Together, we will work to stop the repression and prevent an escalation of fighting.

It is urgent that these murders not trigger a spiral of reprisals. Both sides have a responsibility to work towards a peaceful resolution of this crisis and for a settlement that allows the people of Kosovo the self-government they so clearly deserve.

Remarks to AmeriCorps Volunteers

January 18, 1999

The President. Thank you very much. Good afternoon, everyone.

Audience members. Good afternoon.

The President. First of all, I'd like to say that I am very grateful to be here at Regency House with all of you. I want to thank the residency council for making us feel welcome—Sarah Beaner, Kenneth Brown and others.

I want to say to the members of the press here—you know, the press, they all think that we're all on automatic, because they give us little notes here to read about every place we go. But I think it would be interesting for you to know the note I got on Regency House here: Sarah Beaner is the president of the residency council; Kenneth Brown is the past president and is now serving as the vice president, not such a bad idea. [*Laughter*] Regency House has 157 tenants. The tenant population is made up of seniors and the disabled. They are all current in their rent. [*Laughter*] Good for you; that's great.

Let me say to the mayor and Councilmember Patterson and Delegate Norton, I am honored to be here to participate in Martin Luther King Day as a day of service, as provided by law and in the spirit of what Dr. King said. And I am proud that I live in a city with truly outstanding leadership. Eleanor Holmes Norton has been my friend for a very long time and is one of the most remarkable women in any leadership capacity of any kind in the United States. DC is fortunate to have her.

The mayor, in his former life, was actually a member of our administration in the Agriculture Department. And you know, it didn't really offend me that we'd already torn the wall down by the time he showed up today—[*laughter*]—because he's working hard, and he's got a lot of things to do. And I feel good about what he's going to achieve. And, Mr. Mayor, you just stay on the job, and I'll tear a wall down for you any day your want, any time, anywhere, and I thank you.

I want to thank David Gilmore of the DC Housing Authority and my great member of the White House staff Ben Johnson who did used to be a former director of DC Public Housing. The others whom the Vice President mentioned with AmeriCorps—Deb Jospin, John Gomperts. But mostly I want to thank these young volunteers behind me.

Near the end of Dr. King's life, he envisioned a partnership in America across racial lines. He could never have imagined that America would become so diverse as it is today. But AmeriCorps, it seems to me, is the living, breathing embodiment of the way Martin Luther King thought all of America ought to work. And that's what I wanted to do when we established it.

You might be interested to know that in only 4 years, since we set AmeriCorps up and got it going, more than 100,000 volunteers have joined AmeriCorps. It took the Peace Corps 20 years to reach that milestone. And they have done unbelievable things to make America a better place: helping to deal

with natural emergencies, helping to build houses, helping to tutor children, helping to immunize children, working in a thousand communities across this country.

And if you just look at these young people standing behind me, you know they come from all different parts of America; they come from all different backgrounds; they had different kind of reasons for joining AmeriCorps. They came here after different points of experience in their lives. And I'm very, very proud of them, and I thank them.

You should know that today more than 100,000 volunteers are out there keeping Dr. King's dream alive. AmeriCorps members, seniors, students, soldiers are rehabilitating buildings, painting schools, cleaning neighborhoods, reading to children. They are doing what Dr. King would want us to do.

I also want to mention one other thing. The Vice President talked about the need to continue to fight discrimination. Dr. King believed that every American, regardless of race, religion, or background should be able to live in a home without discrimination. Today, on this Martin Luther King Day, I am pleased to announce the largest settlement in history in a lending discrimination for home lending.

Let me tell you about it; it will affect a lot of people's lives. Thanks to the efforts of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the leadership of Secretary Cuomo, the Columbia National Mortgage Company will offer—listen to this—$6.5 billion in home mortgages and extra effort to help 78,000 minority and low and moderate income families unlock the door to homeownership. This settlement was made under the Fair Housing Act which Congress passed just 6 days—just 6 days—after Dr. King was killed. He had worked for years to outlaw discrimination in housing. And many who voted for the measure said they did it in tribute to him. So here all these years later—31 years later, to be exact—we're proud that it's happened on Dr. King's national holiday.

Now let me just say one final thing. Yesterday, in the church that Hillary and I attend, they observed Dr. King's birthday with some special music. They had a wonderful singer from the Army Chorus, they did a lot—but one of the songs they sang that I love so well was one of Martin Luther King's favorite hymns, and it embodies what we are doing here today. The first line of the hymn is, "If I can help somebody," and the last line is, "then my living will not be in vain."

All these people are here not only because they want to help you, but because their lives are richer because of it. And we're all learning and growing. And besides that, as the press pointed out, it did the Vice President and me a lot of good to pick up those hammers and crowbars and tear something down. [*Laughter*] You know, we do this desk work all the time and we do this word work all the time, and there's not always a beginning, a middle, and an end. There was a beginning to that wall, a middle, and it is no longer; it is over. [*Laughter*] So we are very grateful that you gave us the chance to be part of this today, and we thank you.

Again, I want to say I hope all across America people will hear this. Look at these young people—they're here with you; they're getting something out of this, too. Their lives will be richer and better. They will be wiser sooner. They will be more sensitive and more understanding more quickly in their lives because of the experience they've had here and the other experiences in AmeriCorps. Every American needs to serve. And remember what Dr. King said: Everyone can be great because everyone can serve.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Now, I know we're done, but I want to say a special word of recognition to Melody Scales and Beth McCarthy of AmeriCorps who work with me, and to Donald Stokes, who is a resident here. I'd like for them to come up and be recognized, since they worked with the Vice President and me. Come on up here. [*Applause*] This is our crew, and if you need a wall torn down, you couldn't do better than this.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:53 p.m. at Regency House. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Anthony A. Williams and Ward 3 Councilmember Kathy Patterson of Washington, DC.

Address on the Observance of Id al-Fítr

January 19, 1999

On behalf of Muslim Americans and, indeed, all Americans, I would like to send my best wishes to the Islamic world as the holy month of Ramadan draws to a close, and you celebrate the festival of Id al-Fítr. The month of fasting you have completed demands sacrifice and discipline. But it delivers a profound reward, the chance to teach people of every faith what is precious about Islam: its charity, its generosity, its essential humanity. All people in the world are moved by the observance of Ramadan, by the devotion and dignity that makes Islam one of the world's great religions.

I fervently hope that the new Moon will stand for a rising tide of peace on Earth, in the Middle East, Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, Africa, every place where devoted people aspire and deserve to lead lives of fulfillment and self-respect. I especially hope we will see the lives of the Iraqi people improve. They have suffered for too long from oppression and war.

One of the central challenges of our time is to build greater understanding among people who practice different forms of worship. As the leader of a nation of many, many faiths, I pledge that we will do all we can to strengthen relations with the Islamic community around the world in the year ahead. In the United States, we deeply respect the Muslim Americans who observe Ramadan. And we look forward to working with Muslims everywhere, everywhere in the world, to build a world where faith and friendship can truly flourish.

As-salaamu alaykum.

NOTE: The address was videotaped at approximately 5:10 p.m. in Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building on January 12 for later broadcast on the U.S. Information Agency Worldnet, and it was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 19.

Message on the Observance of Id al-Fítr

January 19, 1999

Warm greetings to Muslims across America and around the world as you mark the end of the holy month of Ramadan and celebrate the festival of Id al-Fitr.

The month of fasting that you have just completed demands discipline and a spirit of sacrifice. But it also delivers a profound reward: the opportunity to show people of every faith what is precious about Islam—its charity, its generosity, and its essential humanity. All people in the world are moved by your observance of Ramadan and by the devotion and dignity that make Islam one of the world's great religions.

As you welcome the appearance of the new moon and the close of Ramadan, Hillary joins me in extending best wishes for a memorable celebration and for peace, health, and prosperity in the year to come.

Bill Clinton

Statement on the Proposed "Affordable Child Care for Early Success and Security Act"

January 19, 1999

Tonight, in my State of the Union Address, I will outline my agenda to help parents struggling to meet their responsibilities at work and at home. This agenda includes an ambitious initiative to make child care safer, better, and more affordable for America's working families. Today Senator Christopher J. Dodd (D–CT) and many of his Democratic colleagues in the Senate have taken an important step toward reaching that goal by introducing the ''Affordable Child Care for Early Success and Security Act'' (A.C.C.E.S.S.).

This proposal, like mine, significantly increases child care subsidies for poor children, provides greater tax relief to help low- and middle-income families pay for child care and to support parents who chose to stay at home to care for their young children. This

plan dramatically increases after-school opportunities, encourages businesses to provide child care for their employees, promotes early learning and school readiness, and improves child care quality.

The child care ''A.C.C.E.S.S. Act'' builds on the longstanding commitment of Senator Dodd and the cosponsors of this legislation to improving child care for our Nation's children. I look forward to working with Members of Congress in both parties to enact child care legislation this year that will help Americans fulfill their responsibilities as workers and, even more importantly, as parents.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Deployment of Military Forces for Stabilization of Areas of the Former Yugoslavia

January 19, 1999

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

In my report to the Congress of June 19, 1998, I provided further information on the deployment of combat-equipped U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia and other states in the region in order to participate in and support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led Stabilization Force (SFOR), which began its mission and assumed authority from the NATO-led Implementation Force on December 20, 1996. I am providing this supplemental report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to help ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed on continued U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council authorized member states to continue SFOR in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1174 of June 15, 1998. The mission of SFOR is to provide a continued military presence in order to deter renewed hostilities, stabilize and consolidate the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and contribute to a secure environment to facilitate the civilian implementation process to which SFOR provides broad support within its means and capabilities.

The U.S. force contribution to SFOR in Bosnia is approximately 6,900. In the last half of 1998, all NATO nations and 19 others, including Russia and Ukraine, have provided military personnel or other support to SFOR. Most U.S. military personnel are assigned to Multinational Division, North, centered around the city of Tuzla. In addition, approximately 2,300 U.S. military personnel are deployed to Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and other states in the region in order to provide logistical and other support to SFOR. The U.S. forces continue to support SFOR in efforts to apprehend persons indicted for war crimes. In the last 6 months, U.S. forces have sustained no fatalities.

A U.S. Army contingent remains deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) as part of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP). This U.N. peacekeeping force, which includes some 350 U.S. military personnel, observes and monitors conditions along the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The UNPREDEP continues to play a key role in preventing the spillover of ethnic conflict from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) into FYROM and the region. In doing so, it has helped FYROM become a bulwark against the southward spread of the conflict in the FRY. Several U.S. Army support helicopters and approximately 24 personnel are also deployed to provide support to U.S. forces and may provide emergency support to UNPREDEP as required. The U.N. Security Council voted July 21, 1998, to authorize an extension of the UNPREDEP mandate through February 28, 1999. To help maintain stability in the region in light of the situation in Kosovo, we are currently considering the extension of UNPREDEP's mandate.

I have directed the participation of U.S. Armed Forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, and in accordance with various statutory authorities. I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in Bosnia and other states in the region. I will continue to consult closely with the Congress regarding our efforts to

foster peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Iraqi Democratic Opposition Organizations

January 19, 1999

Dear _____:

Pursuant to section 5(a) of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338; October 31, 1998), the enclosed report notifies the Congress of Iraqi democratic opposition organizations I intend to designate under the Act.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, and Joseph R. Biden, Jr., ranking member, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, and Sam Gejdenson, ranking member, House Committee on International Relations; Ted Stevens, chairman, and Robert C. Byrd, ranking member, Senate Committee on Appropriations; and C.W. Bill Young, chairman, and David R. Obey, ranking member, House Committee on Appropriations.

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 19, 1999

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: Tonight, I have the honor of reporting to you on the State of the Union.

Let me begin by saluting the new Speaker of the House, and thanking him, especially tonight, for extending an invitation to two guests sitting in the gallery with Mrs. Hastert: Lyn Gibson and Wenling Chestnut are the widows of the two brave Capitol Hill police officers who gave their lives to defend freedom's house.

Mr. Speaker, at your swearing-in, you asked us all to work together in a spirit of civility and bipartisanship. Mr. Speaker, let's do exactly that.

Tonight, I stand before you to report that America has created the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history with nearly 18 million new jobs, wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation, the highest homeownership in history, the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years, and the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957.

For the first time in three decades, the budget is balanced. From a deficit of $290 billion in 1992, we had a surplus of $70 billion last year. And now we are on course for budget surpluses for the next 25 years.

Thanks to the pioneering leadership of all of you, we have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century and the cleanest environment in a quarter century. America is a strong force for peace from Northern Ireland to Bosnia to the Middle East.

Thanks to the leadership of Vice President Gore, we have a Government for the information age. Once again, a Government that is a progressive instrument of the common good, rooted in our oldest values of opportunity, responsibility, and community; devoted to fiscal responsibility; determined to give our people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives in the 21st century; a 21st century Government for 21st century America.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our Union is strong.

Now, America is working again. The promise of our future is limitless. But we cannot realize that promise if we allow the hum of our prosperity to lull us into complacency. How we fare as a nation far into the 21st century depends upon what we do as a nation today. So with our budget surplus growing, our economy expanding, our confidence rising, now is the moment for this generation to meet our historic responsibility to the 21st century.

Our fiscal discipline gives us an unsurpassed opportunity to address a remarkable new challenge, the aging of America. With the number of elderly Americans set to double by 2030, the baby boom will become a

senior boom. So first, and above all, we must save Social Security for the 21st century.

Early in this century, being old meant being poor. When President Roosevelt created Social Security, thousands wrote to thank him for eliminating what one woman called ''the stark terror of penniless, helpless old age.'' Even today, without Social Security, half our Nation's elderly would be forced into poverty.

Today, Social Security is strong. But by 2013, payroll taxes will no longer be sufficient to cover monthly payments. By 2032, the Trust Fund will be exhausted and Social Security will be unable to pay the full benefits older Americans have been promised.

The best way to keep Social Security a rock-solid guarantee is not to make drastic cuts in benefits, not to raise payroll tax rates, not to drain resources from Social Security in the name of saving it. Instead, I propose that we make the historic decision to invest the surplus to save Social Security.

Specifically, I propose that we commit 60 percent of the budget surplus for the next 15 years to Social Security, investing a small portion in the private sector, just as any private or State Government pension would do. This will earn a higher return and keep Social Security sound for 55 years.

But we must aim higher. We should put Social Security on a sound footing for the next 75 years. We should reduce poverty among elderly women, who are nearly twice as likely to be poor as our other seniors. And we should eliminate the limits on what seniors on Social Security can earn.

Now, these changes will require difficult but fully achievable choices over and above the dedication of the surplus. They must be made on a bipartisan basis. They should be made this year. So let me say to you tonight, I reach out my hand to all of you in both Houses, in both parties, and ask that we join together in saying to the American people: We will save Social Security now.

Now, last year we wisely reserved all of the surplus until we knew what it would take to save Social Security. Again, I say, we shouldn't spend any of it, not any of it, until after Social Security is truly saved. First things first.

Second, once we have saved Social Security, we must fulfill our obligation to save and improve Medicare. Already, we have extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund by 10 years, but we should extend it for at least another decade. Tonight, I propose that we use one out of every $6 in the surplus for the next 15 years to guarantee the soundness of Medicare until the year 2020.

But again, we should aim higher. We must be willing to work in a bipartisan way and look at new ideas, including the upcoming report of the bipartisan Medicare Commission. If we work together, we can secure Medicare for the next two decades and cover the greatest growing need of seniors, affordable prescription drugs.

Third, we must help all Americans, from their first day on the job to save, to invest, to create wealth. From its beginning, Americans have supplemented Social Security with private pensions and savings. Yet, today, millions of people retire with little to live on other than Social Security. Americans living longer than ever simply must save more than ever.

Therefore, in addition to saving Social Security and Medicare, I propose a new pension initiative for retirement security in the 21st century. I propose that we use a little over 11 percent of the surplus to establish universal savings accounts—USA accounts—to give all Americans the means to save. With these new accounts Americans can invest as they choose and receive funds to match a portion of their savings, with extra help for those least able to save. USA accounts will help all Americans to share in our Nation's wealth and to enjoy a more secure retirement. I ask you to support them.

Fourth, we must invest in long-term care. I propose a tax credit of $1,000 for the aged, ailing or disabled, and the families who care for them. Long-term care will become a bigger and bigger challenge with the aging of America, and we must do more to help our families deal with it.

I was born in 1946, the first year of the baby boom. I can tell you that one of the greatest concerns of our generation is our absolute determination not to let our growing

old place an intolerable burden on our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. Our economic success and our fiscal discipline now give us an opportunity to lift that burden from their shoulders, and we should take it.

Saving Social Security, Medicare, creating USA accounts: This is the right way to use the surplus. If we do so—if we do so—we will still have resources to meet critical needs in education and defense. And I want to point out that this proposal is fiscally sound. Listen to this: If we set aside 60 percent of the surplus for Social Security and 16 percent for Medicare, over the next 15 years, that saving will achieve the lowest level of publicly held debt since right before World War I, in 1917.

So with these four measures—saving Social Security, strengthening Medicare, establishing the USA accounts, supporting long-term care—we can begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to establish true security for 21st century seniors.

Now, there are more children from more diverse backgrounds in our public schools than at any time in our history. Their education must provide the knowledge and nurture the creativity that will allow our entire Nation to thrive in the new economy.

Today we can say something we couldn't say 6 years ago: With tax credits and more affordable student loans, with more work-study grants and more Pell grants, with education IRA's and the new HOPE scholarship tax cut that more than 5 million Americans will receive this year, we have finally opened the doors of college to all Americans.

With our support, nearly every State has set higher academic standards for public schools, and a voluntary national test is being developed to measure the progress of our students. With over $1 billion in discounts available this year, we are well on our way to our goal of connecting every classroom and library to the Internet.

Last fall, you passed our proposal to start hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now I ask you to finish the job.

You know, our children are doing better. SAT scores are up; math scores have risen in nearly all grades. But there's a problem. While our fourth graders outperform their peers in other countries in math and science, our eighth graders are around average, and our twelfth graders rank near the bottom. We must do better. Now, each year the National Government invests more than $15 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, to support what works and to stop supporting what does not work.

First, later this year, I will send to Congress a plan that, for the first time, holds States and school districts accountable for progress and rewards them for results. My ''Education Accountability Act'' will require every school district receiving Federal help to take the following five steps.

First, all schools must end social promotion. No child should graduate from high school with a diploma he or she can't read. We do our children no favors when we allow them to pass from grade to grade without mastering the material. But we can't just hold students back because the system fails them. So my balanced budget triples the funding for summer school and after-school programs, to keep a million children learning.

Now, if you doubt this will work, just look at Chicago, which ended social promotion and made summer school mandatory for those who don't master the basics. Math and reading scores are up 3 years running with some of the biggest gains in some of the poorest neighborhoods. It will work, and we should do it.

Second, all States and school districts must turn around their worst-performing schools or shut them down. That's the policy established in North Carolina by Governor Jim Hunt. North Carolina made the biggest gains in test scores in the Nation last year. Our budget includes $200 million to help States turn around their own failing schools.

Third, all States and school districts must be held responsible for the quality of their teachers. The great majority of our teachers do a fine job. But in too many schools, teachers don't have college majors—or even minors—in the subjects they teach. New teachers should be required to pass performance exams, and all teachers should know the subjects they're teaching. This year's balanced

budget contains resources to help them reach higher standards.

And to attract talented young teachers to the toughest assignments, I recommend a six-fold increase in our program for college scholarships for students who commit to teach in the inner cities and isolated rural areas and in Indian communities. Let us bring excellence in every part of America.

Fourth, we must empower parents with more information and more choices. In too many communities, it's easier to get information on the quality of the local restaurants than on the quality of the local schools. Every school district should issue report cards on every school. And parents should be given more choices in selecting their public school.

When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. With our support, on a bipartisan basis, today there are 1,100. My budget assures that early in the next century, there will be 3,000.

Fifth, to assure that our classrooms are truly places of learning and to respond to what teachers have been asking us to do for years, we should say that all States and school districts must both adopt and implement sensible discipline policies.

Now, let's do one more thing for our children. Today, too many schools are so old they're falling apart, or so over-crowded students are learning in trailers. Last fall, Congress missed the opportunity to change that. This year, with 53 million children in our schools, Congress must not miss that opportunity again. I ask you to help our communities build or modernize 5,000 schools.

If we do these things—end social promotion; turn around failing schools; build modern ones; support qualified teachers; promote innovation, competition and discipline—then we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to create 21st century schools.

Now, we also have to do more to support the millions of parents who give their all every day at home and at work. The most basic tool of all is a decent income. So let's raise the minimum wage by a dollar an hour over the next 2 years. And let's make sure that women and men get equal pay for equal work by strengthening enforcement of equal pay laws.

That was encouraging, you know. [*Laughter*] There was more balance on the seesaw. I like that. Let's give them a hand. That's great. [*Applause*]

Working parents also need quality child care. So again this year, I ask Congress to support our plan for tax credits and subsidies for working families, for improved safety and quality, for expanded after-school programs. And our plan also includes a new tax credit for stay-at-home parents, too. They need support, as well.

Parents should never have to worry about choosing between their children and their work. Now, the Family and Medical Leave Act, the very first bill I signed into law, has now, since 1993, helped millions and millions of Americans to care for a newborn baby or an ailing relative without risking their jobs. I think it's time, with all the evidence that it has been so little burdensome to employers, to extend family leave to 10 million more Americans working for smaller companies. And I hope you will support it.

Finally on the matter of work, parents should never have to face discrimination in the workplace. So I want to ask Congress to prohibit companies from refusing to hire or promote workers simply because they have children. That is not right.

America's families deserve the world's best medical care. Thanks to bipartisan Federal support for medical research, we are now on the verge of new treatments to prevent or delay diseases from Parkinson's to Alzheimer's, to arthritis to cancer. But as we continue our advances in medical science, we can't let our medical system lag behind. Managed care has literally transformed medicine in America, driving down costs but threatening to drive down quality as well.

I think we ought to say to every American: You should have the right to know all your medical options, not just the cheapest. If you need a specialist, you should have a right to see one. You have a right to the nearest emergency care if you're in an accident. These are things that we ought to say. And I think we ought to say: You should have a right to keep your doctor during a period of treatment, whether it's a pregnancy or a

chemotherapy treatment, or anything else. I believe this.

Now, I've ordered these rights to be extended to the 85 million Americans served by Medicare, Medicaid, and other Federal health programs. But only Congress can pass a Patients' Bill of Rights for all Americans. Now, last year, Congress missed that opportunity, and we must not miss that opportunity again. For the sake of our families, I ask us to join together across party lines and pass a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights.

As more of our medical records are stored electronically, the threats to all our privacy increase. Because Congress has given me the authority to act if it does not do so by August, one way or another, we can all say to the American people, "We will protect the privacy of medical records, and we will do it this year."

Now 2 years ago, the Congress extended health coverage to up to 5 million children. Now we should go beyond that. We should make it easier for small businesses to offer health insurance. We should give people between the ages of 55 and 65 who lose their health insurance the chance to buy into Medicare. And we should continue to ensure access to family planning.

No one should have to choose between keeping health care and taking a job. And therefore, I especially ask you tonight to join hands to pass the landmark bipartisan legislation, proposed by Senators Kennedy and Jeffords, Roth, and Moynihan to allow people with disabilities to keep their health insurance when they go to work.

We need to enable our public hospitals, our community, our university health centers to provide basic, affordable care for all the millions of working families who don't have any insurance. They do a lot of that today, but much more can be done. And my balanced budget makes a good down payment toward that goal. I hope you will think about them and support that provision.

Let me say we must step up our efforts to treat and prevent mental illness. No American should ever be afraid—ever—to address this disease. This year, we will host a White House Conference on Mental Health. With sensitivity, commitment, and passion, Tipper Gore is leading our efforts here, and I'd like to thank her for what she's done. Thank you. [*Applause*] Thank you.

As everyone knows, our children are targets of a massive media campaign to hook them on cigarettes. Now, I ask this Congress to resist the tobacco lobby, to reaffirm the FDA's authority to protect our children from tobacco, and to hold tobacco companies accountable while protecting tobacco farmers.

Smoking has cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars under Medicare and other programs. You know, the States have been right about this: Taxpayers shouldn't pay for the cost of lung cancer, emphysema, and other smoking-related illnesses; the tobacco companies should. So tonight I announce that the Justice Department is preparing a litigation plan to take the tobacco companies to court and, with the funds we recover, to strengthen Medicare.

Now, if we act in these areas—minimum wage, family leave, child care, health care, the safety of our children—then we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibilities to strengthen our families for the 21st century.

Today, America is the most dynamic, competitive, job-creating economy in history. But we can do even better in building a 21st century economy that embraces all Americans.

Today's income gap is largely a skills gap. Last year, the Congress passed a law enabling workers to get a skills grant to choose the training they need. And I applaud all of you here who were part of that. This year, I recommend a 5-year commitment to the new system so that we can provide, over the next 5 years, appropriate training opportunities for all Americans who lose their jobs and expand rapid response teams to help all towns which have been really hurt when businesses close. I hope you will support this.

Also, I ask your support for a dramatic increase in Federal support for adult literacy, to mount a national campaign aimed at helping the millions and millions of working people who still read at less than a fifth grade level. We need to do this.

Here's some good news: In the past 6 years, we have cut the welfare rolls nearly in half. You can all be proud of that. Two years ago, from this podium, I asked five companies to lead a national effort to hire

people off welfare. Tonight, our Welfare to Work Partnership includes 10,000 companies who have hired hundreds of thousands of people. And our balanced budget will help another 200,000 people move to the dignity and pride of work. I hope you will support it.

We must do more to bring the spark of private enterprise to every corner of America, to build a bridge from Wall Street to Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to our Native American communities, with more support for community development banks, for empowerment zones, for 100,000 more vouchers for affordable housing. And I ask Congress to support our bold new plan to help businesses raise up to $15 billion in private sector capital to bring jobs and opportunities to our inner cities and rural areas with tax credits, loan guarantees, including the new ''American Private Investment Company,'' modeled on the Overseas Private Investment Company.

For years and years and years, we've had this OPIC, this Overseas Private Investment Corporation, because we knew we had untapped markets overseas. But our greatest untapped markets are not overseas; they are right here at home. And we should go after them.

We must work hard to help bring prosperity back to the family farm. As this Congress knows very well, dropping prices and the loss of foreign markets have devastated too many family farms. Last year, the Congress provided substantial assistance to help stave off a disaster in American agriculture. And I am ready to work with lawmakers of both parties to create a farm safety net that will include crop insurance reform and farm income assistance. I ask you to join with me and do this. This should not be a political issue. Everyone knows what an economic problem is going on out there in rural America today, and we need an appropriate means to address it.

We must strengthen our lead in technology. It was Government investment that led to the creation of the Internet. I propose a 28-percent increase in long-term computing research. We also must be ready for the 21st century from its very first moment, by solving the so-called Y2K computer problem.

We had one Member of Congress stand up and applaud. [*Laughter*] And we may have about that ratio out there applauding at home, in front of their television sets. But remember, this is a big, big problem. And we've been working hard on it. Already, we've made sure that the Social Security checks will come on time. But I want all the folks at home listening to this to know that we need every State and local government, every business, large and small, to work with us to make sure that this Y2K computer bug will be remembered as the last headache of the 20th century, not the first crisis of the 21st.

For our own prosperity, we must support economic growth abroad. You know, until recently, a third of our economic growth came from exports. But over the past year and a half, financial turmoil overseas has put that growth at risk. Today, much of the world is in recession, with Asia hit especially hard. This is the most serious financial crisis in half a century. To meet it, the United States and other nations have reduced interest rates and strengthened the International Monetary Fund. And while the turmoil is not over, we have worked very hard with other nations to contain it.

At the same time, we have to continue to work on the long-term project, building a global financial system for the 21st century that promotes prosperity and tames the cycle of boom and bust that has engulfed so much of Asia. This June I will meet with other world leaders to advance this historic purpose, and I ask all of you to support our endeavors.

I also ask you to support creating a freer and fairer trading system for 21st century America. I'd like to say something really serious to everyone in this Chamber in both parties. I think trade has divided us, and divided Americans outside this Chamber, for too long. Somehow we have to find a common ground on which business and workers and environmentalists and farmers and Government can stand together. I believe these are the things we ought to all agree on. So let me try.

First, we ought to tear down barriers, open markets, and expand trade. But at the same time, we must ensure that ordinary citizens

in all countries actually benefit from trade, a trade that promotes the dignity of work and the rights of workers and protects the environment. We must insist that international trade organizations be more open to public scrutiny, instead of mysterious, secret things subject to wild criticism.

When you come right down to it, now that the world economy is becoming more and more integrated, we have to do in the world what we spent the better part of this century doing here at home. We have got to put a human face on the global economy.

We must enforce our trade laws when imports unlawfully flood our Nation. I have already informed the Government of Japan that if that nation's sudden surge of steel imports into our country is not reversed, America will respond.

We must help all manufacturers hit hard by the present crisis with loan guarantees and other incentives to increase American exports by nearly $2 billion. I'd like to believe we can achieve a new consensus on trade, based on these principles. And I ask the Congress again to join me in this common approach and to give the President the trade authority long used and now overdue and necessary to advance our prosperity in the 21st century.

Tonight I issue a call to the nations of the world to join the United States in a new round of global trade negotiations to expand exports of services, manufactures, and farm products. Tonight I say we will work with the International Labor Organization on a new initiative to raise labor standards around the world. And this year, we will lead the international community to conclude a treaty to ban abusive child labor everywhere in the world.

If we do these things—invest in our people, our communities, our technology, and lead in the global economy—then we will begin to meet our historic responsibility to build a 21st century prosperity for America.

You know, no nation in history has had the opportunity and the responsibility we now have to shape a world that is more peaceful, more secure, more free. All Americans can be proud that our leadership helped to bring peace in Northern Ireland. All Americans can be proud that our leadership has put Bosnia on the path to peace. And with our NATO allies, we are pressing the Serbian Government to stop its brutal repression in Kosovo, to bring those responsible to justice, and to give the people of Kosovo the self-government they deserve.

All Americans can be proud that our leadership renewed hope for lasting peace in the Middle East. Some of you were with me last December as we watched the Palestinian National Council completely renounce its call for the destruction of Israel. Now I ask Congress to provide resources so that all parties can implement the Wye agreement to protect Israel's security, to stimulate the Palestinian economy, to support our friends in Jordan. We must not—we dare not—let them down. I hope you will help.

As we work for peace, we must also meet threats to our Nation's security, including increased dangers from outlaw nations and terrorism. We will defend our security wherever we are threatened, as we did this summer when we struck at Usama bin Ladin's network of terror. The bombing of our Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania reminds us again of the risks faced every day by those who represent America to the world. So let's give them the support they need, the safest possible workplaces, and the resources they must have so America can continue to lead.

We must work to keep terrorists from disrupting computer networks. We must work to prepare local communities for biological and chemical emergenices, to support research into vaccines and treatments.

We must increase our efforts to restrain the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles, from Korea to India and Pakistan. We must expand our work with Russia, Ukraine, and other former Soviet nations to safeguard nuclear materials and technology so they never fall into the wrong hands. Our balanced budget will increase funding for these critical efforts by almost two-thirds over the next 5 years.

With Russia, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. The START II treaty and the framework we have already agreed to for START III could cut them by 80 percent from their cold war height.

It's been 2 years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't do

the right thing, other nations won't either. I ask the Senate to take this vital step: Approve the treaty now, to make it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms, and to make sure we can end nuclear testing forever.

For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligations to destroy its weapons of terror and the missiles to deliver them. America will continue to contain Saddam, and we will work for the day when Iraq has a Government worthy of its people.

Now, last month, in our action over Iraq, our troops were superb. Their mission was so flawlessly executed that we risk taking for granted the bravery and the skill it required. Captain Jeff Taliaferro, a 10-year veteran of the Air Force, flew a B–1B bomber over Iraq as we attacked Saddam's war machine. He's here with us tonight. I'd like to ask you to honor him and all the 33,000 men and women of Operation Desert Fox.

Captain Taliaferro. [*Applause*]

It is time to reverse the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. Since April, together we have added nearly $6 billion to maintain our military readiness. My balanced budget calls for a sustained increase over the next 6 years for readiness, for modernization, and for pay and benefits for our troops and their families.

We are the heirs of a legacy of bravery represented in every community in America by millions of our veterans. America's defenders today still stand ready at a moment's notice to go where comforts are few and dangers are many, to do what needs to be done as no one else can. They always come through for America. We must come through for them.

The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security. The United Nations plays a crucial role, with allies sharing burdens America might otherwise bear alone. America needs a strong and effective U.N. I want to work with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts.

We must continue to support security and stability in Europe and Asia, expanding NATO and defining its new missions, maintaining our alliance with Japan, with Korea, with our other Asian allies, and engaging China.

In China, last year, I said to the leaders and the people what I'd like to say again tonight: Stability can no longer be bought at the expense of liberty. But I'd also like to say again to the American people: It's important not to isolate China. The more we bring China into the world, the more the world will bring change and freedom to China.

Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa, where I saw democracy and reform rising but still held back by violence and disease. We must fortify African democracy and peace by launching Radio Democracy for Africa, supporting the transition to democracy now beginning to take place in Nigeria, and passing the ''African Trade and Development Act.''

We must continue to deepen our ties to the Americas and the Caribbean, our common work to educate children, fight drugs, strengthen democracy and increase trade. In this hemisphere, every government but one is freely chosen by its people. We are determined that Cuba, too, will know the blessings of liberty.

The American people have opened their hearts and their arms to our Central American and Caribbean neighbors who have been so devastated by the recent hurricanes. Working with Congress, I am committed to help them rebuild. When the First Lady and Tipper Gore visited the region, they saw thousands of our troops and thousands of American volunteers. In the Dominican Republic, Hillary helped to rededicate a hospital that had been rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans, working side-by-side. With her was someone else who has been very important to the relief efforts.

You know, sports records are made and, sooner or later, they're broken. But making other people's lives better, and showing our children the true meaning of brotherhood—that lasts forever. So, for far more than baseball, Sammy Sosa, you're a hero in two countries tonight. [*Applause*] Thank you.

So I say to all of you, if we do these things—if we pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, renew our alliances—we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st century America in a freer, more peaceful world.

As the world has changed, so have our own communities. We must make them safer, more livable, and more united. This year, we will reach our goal of 100,000 community police officers ahead of schedule and under budget. The Brady bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying handguns. And now, the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years and the crime rate has dropped for 6 straight years.

Tonight I propose a 21st century crime bill to deploy the latest technologies and tactics to make our communities even safer. Our balanced budget will help put up to 50,000 more police on the street in the areas hardest hit by crime and then to equip them with new tools, from crime-mapping computers to digital mug shots.

We must break the deadly cycle of drugs and crime. Our budget expands support for drug testing and treatment, saying to prisoners: If you stay on drugs, you have to stay behind bars; and to those on parole: If you want to keep your freedom, you must stay free of drugs.

I ask Congress to restore the 5-day waiting period for buying a handgun and extend the Brady bill to prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from buying a gun.

We must do more to keep our schools the safest places in our communities. Last year, every American was horrified and heartbroken by the tragic killings in Jonesboro, Paducah, Pearl, Edinboro, Springfield. We were deeply moved by the courageous parents now working to keep guns out of the hands of children and to make other efforts so that other parents don't have to live through their loss.

After she lost her daughter, Suzann Wilson of Jonesboro, Arkansas, came here to the White House with a powerful plea. She said, "Please, please, for the sake of your children, lock up your guns. Don't let what happened in Jonesboro happen in your town." It's a message she is passionately advocating every day. Suzann is here with us tonight, with the First Lady. I'd like to thank her for her courage and her commitment. [*Applause*] Thank you.

In memory of all the children who lost their lives to school violence, I ask you to strengthen the Safe and Drug-Free School Act, to pass legislation to require child trigger locks, to do everything possible to keep our children safe.

A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt defined our "great, central task" as "leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." Today, we're restoring the Florida Everglades, saving Yellowstone, preserving the red rock canyons of Utah, protecting California's redwoods and our precious coasts. But our most fateful new challenge is the threat of global warming; 1998 was the warmest year ever recorded. Last year's heat waves, floods, and storms are but a hint of what future generations may endure if we do not act now.

Tonight I propose a new clean air fund to help communities reduce greenhouse and other pollution, and tax incentives and investments to spur clean energy technology. And I want to work with Members of Congress in both parties to reward companies that take early, voluntary action to reduce greenhouse gases.

All our communities face a preservation challenge, as they grow and green space shrinks. Seven thousand acres of farmland and open space are lost every day. In response, I propose two major initiatives: First, a $1-billion livability agenda to help communities save open space, ease traffic congestion, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life; and second, a $1-billion lands legacy initiative to preserve places of natural beauty all across America from the most remote wilderness to the nearest city park.

These are truly landmark initiatives, which could not have been developed without the visionary leadership of the Vice President, and I want to thank him very much for his commitment here.

Now, to get the most out of your community, you have to give something back. That's why we created AmeriCorps, our national service program that gives today's generation a chance to serve their communities and earn money for college.

So far, in just 4 years, 100,000 young Americans have built low-income homes with Habitat for Humanity, helped to tutor children with churches, worked with FEMA to

ease the burden of natural disasters, and performed countless other acts of service that have made America better. I ask Congress to give more young Americans the chance to follow their lead and serve America in AmeriCorps.

Now, we must work to renew our national community as well for the 21st century. Last year the House passed the bipartisan campaign finance reform legislation sponsored by Representatives Shays and Meehan and Senators McCain and Feingold. But a partisan minority in the Senate blocked reform. So I'd like to say to the House: Pass it again, quickly. And I'd like to say to the Senate: I hope you will say yes to a stronger American democracy in the year 2000.

Since 1997, our initiative on race has sought to bridge the divides between and among our people. In its report last fall, the initiative's advisory board found that Americans really do want to bring our people together across racial lines.

We know it's been a long journey. For some, it goes back to before the beginning of our Republic; for others, back since the Civil War; for others, throughout the 20th century. But for most of us alive today, in a very real sense, this journey began 43 years ago, when a woman named Rosa Parks sat down on a bus in Alabama and wouldn't get up. She's sitting down with the First Lady tonight, and she may get up or not, as she chooses. We thank her. [*Applause*] Thank you, Rosa.

We know that our continuing racial problems are aggravated, as the Presidential initiative said, by opportunity gaps. The initiative I've outlined tonight will help to close them. But we know that the discrimination gap has not been fully closed either. Discrimination or violence because of race or religion, ancestry or gender, disability or sexual orientation, is wrong, and it ought to be illegal. Therefore, I ask Congress to make the ''Employment Non-Discrimination Act'' and the ''Hate Crimes Prevention Act'' the law of the land.

Now, since every person in America counts, every American ought to be counted. We need a census that uses modern scientific methods to do that.

Our new immigrants must be part of our One America. After all, they're revitalizing our cities; they're energizing our culture; they're building up our economy. We have a responsibility to make them welcome here, and they have a responsibility to enter the mainstream of American life. That means learning English and learning about our democratic system of government. There are now long waiting lines of immigrants that are trying to do just that. Therefore, our budget significantly expands our efforts to help them meet their responsibility. I hope you will support it.

Whether our ancestors came here on the *Mayflower*, on slave ships, whether they came to Ellis Island or LAX in Los Angeles, whether they came yesterday or walked this land a thousand years ago, our great challenge for the 21st century is to find a way to be one America. We can meet all the other challenges if we can go forward as one America.

You know, barely more than 300 days from now, we will cross that bridge into the new millennium. This is a moment, as the First Lady has said, ''to honor the past and imagine the future.''

I'd like to take just a minute to honor her. For leading our Millennium Project, for all she's done for our children, for all she has done in her historic role to serve our Nation and our best ideals at home and abroad, I honor her. [*Applause*]

Last year, I called on Congress and every citizen to mark the millennium by saving America's treasures. Hillary has traveled all across the country to inspire recognition and support for saving places like Thomas Edison's invention factory or Harriet Tubman's home. Now we have to preserve our treasures in every community. And tonight, before I close, I want to invite every town, every city, every community to become a nationally recognized ''millennium community,'' by launching projects that save our history, promote our arts and humanities, prepare our children for the 21st century.

Already, the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to Members in Congress of both parties for their support. Just one example: Because of

you, the Star-Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages. In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium we are keeping alive what George Washington called ''the sacred fire of liberty.''

Six years ago, I came to office in a time of doubt for America, with our economy troubled, our deficit high, our people divided. Some even wondered whether our best days were behind us. But across this country, in a thousand neighborhoods, I have seen, even amidst the pain and uncertainty of recession, the real heart and character of America. I knew then that we Americans could renew this country.

Tonight, as I deliver the last State of the Union Address of the 20th century, no one anywhere in the world can doubt the enduring resolve and boundless capacity of the American people to work toward that ''more perfect Union'' of our Founders' dream.

We're now at the end of a century when generation after generation of Americans answered the call to greatness, overcoming depression, lifting up the disposed, bringing down barriers to racial prejudice, building the largest middle class in history, winning two World Wars and the long twilight struggle of the cold war. We must all be profoundly grateful for the magnificent achievement of our forebears in this century. Yet, perhaps, in the daily press of events, in the clash of controversy, we don't see our own time for what it truly is, a new dawn for America.

A hundred years from tonight, another American President will stand in this place and report on the state of the Union. He—or she—he or she will look back on a 21st century shaped in so many ways by the decisions we make here and now. So let it be said of us then that we were thinking not only of our time but of their time, that we reached as high as our ideals, that we put aside our divisions and found a new hour of healing and hopefulness, that we joined together to serve and strengthen the land we love.

My fellow Americans, this is our moment. Let us lift our eyes as one Nation, and from the mountaintop of this American Century, look ahead to the next one, asking God's blessing on our endeavors and on our beloved country.

Thank you, and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol. In his remarks, he referred to Jean Hastert, wife of Speaker J. Dennis Hastert; Evelyn M. (Lyn) Gibson, widow of Detective John M. Gibson, and Wenling Chestnut, widow of Officer Jacob J. Chestnut, whose husbands died as a result of gunshot wounds suffered during an attack at the Capitol on July 24, 1998; terrorist Usama bin Ladin, who allegedly sponsored bombing attacks on the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Capt. Jeffrey B. Taliaferro, USAF, Chief, Wing Weapons, 28th Operations Support Squadron, 28th Bomb Wing; and Sammy Sosa, National League Most Valuable Player in 1998.

Remarks to an Overflow Crowd in Buffalo, New York

January 20, 1999

Thank you. Wow! Good morning. Good afternoon. [*Laughter*] I want to say, first of all, how very grateful that Hillary and Al and Tipper and I are that you all came out to see us today to make us feel so welcome. I want to thank your mayor, your county executive, Mrs. Eve, and especially Congressman John LaFalce for being here with us. He is a great man.

You know, we don't want to put you through the speeches and everything because you have the monitors here, and you're going to see them. But let me say that Buffalo has been wonderful to me and to Hillary, to Al and Tipper. We are so grateful. We remember when we came here together in 1992. And I'm always glad to come back, even in the snow. Yes, that's right. This guy says, ''This ain't nothing.'' [*Laughter*] And we had some buffalo wings in the holding room.

And we just want you to know how much we appreciate you, how much we appreciate the support that you've given us in two elections, how grateful we are for the chance to serve, and how committed we are to the agenda that I outlined last night. Let me also—we want you to be committed to it, too.

We want to get out here and shake a few hands, and we don't want to keep those other 20,000 people waiting. And you'll see the movie. And thank you very much. We're glad to be here.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in the Harbor Room. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Anthony M. Masiello; Erie County Executive Dennis T. Gorski; and Constance B. Eve, chairperson and founder, Women for Human Rights and Dignity, Inc. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Vice President Al Gore.

Remarks to the Western New York Community in Buffalo

January 20, 1999

Thank you very much. I think you got so excited that you melted the snow for a mile around this arena. Let me ask you, have you ever seen the Vice President so fired up in your life? [*Laughter*] I want you to know that just before we came in here, we went off into a little room, and he had a quick hit of buffalo wings and Flutie Flakes; that's what he did.

I want to thank the Mayor and Dennis Gorski and Connie Eve and the whole Eve family. Eric worked for us for a long time, then decided to go out and get rich. We forgive him. I want to thank all the community heroes who are here. I want to thank Reverend Smith for that magnificent invocation, which I will remember all my life. I want to thank our wonderful friend, Congressman John LaFalce, one of the most outstanding Members in the House of Representatives, a truly wonderful human being. And I am delighted that Pat and his son, Martin, are here with us today.

I think you could see that Tipper and Al and Hillary and I, we're sort of like a big family. We like going places together. And I love it, because now I don't have to talk about 90 percent of the issues anymore because they already covered them, which was really good. We work together. And we have tried to model what we want America to do.

You know, no one has ever spoken as passionately and consistently for the cause of mental health as well as Tipper Gore has done. I think it's fair to say that at least no one since Eleanor Roosevelt has done as much with the Office of First Lady as Hillary has done. And I am grateful for that. And I am quite confident that in the entire history of the United States no Vice President has had remotely the responsibility and had the positive impact on the people of the United States that Al Gore has had. And I am very grateful to him.

Now, we are here today in this magnificent arena—and I've just got to say one thing about that Vice President. He compared me to the goalie for the Sabres. I was flattered, but I thought—you know, he kept talking about how I was swatting away those flying hockey pucks in Washington. I was flattered, but I thought, I just wish one day they would give me a mask and a few pads when I dodge that stuff.

Anyway, we're delighted to be here. We're here because we are grateful to New York, to western New York, to Erie County, to Buffalo, grateful for the support we received in 1992, grateful for the support we received in 1996, and even more grateful for the fact that this community every day is trying to live and work in the way we want America to live and work in the 21st century.

I know that many of you heard my speech last night. I know that you have listened to the previous speakers. I only want to speak to you about one of the issues, and that is how we're going to meet the challenge of the aging of America, because that affects all of us, not just the old but the very young as well. And I want everyone to understand exactly what I was trying to say last night and why.

But let me make the bigger point. It was, as has already been said, 6 years ago today at noon that I took the oath of office as President. And it seems impossible to me that those 6 years have flown by. They have been, to put it mildly, quite eventful. But I am very, very grateful that we had the chance to serve, grateful for your support, grateful the state of the Union is strong.

But I want you to focus on this: You know as well as I do the world is changing rapidly. You know this community and its economic base and the nature of its society bears not

all that much resemblance to the way it looked 30 years ago in terms of how people make a living, what the diversity of the population is, how we relate to each other, and where we imagine we're going in the future.

So I believe that we can't afford just to sit around and pat ourselves on the back and say, ''Isn't it great? We've got the longest peacetime expansion in history. Isn't it great? We've got the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957. Isn't it great that we've got the lowest welfare rolls in 29 years, that all the social problems, all of them, virtually, are getting better?'' That's fine.

But the real issue is, what are we going to do with this? Do we seriously believe the crime rate is low enough? Do we believe the schools are good enough? Do we believe all our kids are getting an education? Do we really believe that the rate of drug use among our young people is low enough? Do we believe all these things? I don't think so.

So what I want to say to you is, we ought to be focused on two big things. Number one, bringing the opportunities that the last 3 years have brought to most of America to the rest of America. Just like, last night, I said—we put before the American people last night a plan to develop more communities by putting more private capital in the neighborhoods that haven't received it.

Now, let me ask you something. If we've got the lowest unemployment rate in 29 years, and the lowest in peacetime in 41 years, how are we supposed to keep growing the economy without inflation? We have to find new markets. Now, if a lot of the world beyond our borders is in recession, where are we going to find the new markets? I'll tell you where. In the urban neighborhoods and the rural counties where the unemployment rate is still twice the national average.

And I want to emphasize just one of the suggestions I made last night, that we ought to have an American private investment company or a series of them, that would provide guarantees from the National Government to get private capital into urban and rural areas where there has been underinvestment—$15 billion of it.

You know we have today—we have an Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Why shouldn't we have an ''American Private Investment Corporation,'' when our most important markets are here at home?

I want to say just this one thing about Senator Schumer. The Vice President mentioned him, but before I came here he reminded me. He said, ''When you go to Buffalo, you have got to tell the people that I pledged to them I would bring more jobs and more opportunity to western New York. And you tell them I'm going to be your very best partner.'' So I have kept my word to Senator Schumer.

Now, let me give you some other examples, though. There are people in our midst who have not fully participated, even in areas which are doing well. And I'll just give you a couple of examples; one of them has been mentioned already. We have millions of Americans in the work force that do not read very well. Many of them are first-generation immigrants, and their first language is not English.

I know Mrs. LaFalce has been very involved in the adult literacy program. I asked last night for a huge increase in Federal support to have a national campaign for adult literacy, to make sure all of our workers can read well enough to keep the jobs they've got, get better jobs, and if they lose their jobs, get new jobs. And I think that's very, very important.

Now, your other Senator, Senator Moynihan, is the cosponsor of a bill that is very important to me because I have worked hard, since I was a young Governor, to try to give people with disabilities the ability to live up to the maximum amount of independence and self-fulfillment that was possible. And one of the problems we have today is that people with disabilities that have high medical bills cannot afford to go to work, even if they are capable of working, because under the present law you lose the Government support for your medical insurance if you take a job. So Senator Moynihan is one of the cosponsors of a bill that says, if a disabled person is able to go to work, we will let them keep their health insurance so they can be healthy and at work. And that's good for us. So that's the first thing we need to do.

The second thing we need to do is to deal with the large long-term challenges of America. The previous members of our team have

talked about the long-term environmental challenges, the long-term health care challenges, the long-term education challenges, the long-term community development challenges. I want to talk about the aging of America. And I was pleased when I read a lot of the stories today about my speech last night. I thought they were very good stories, but the implication was that I was speaking to the seniors. That's not true. The aging of America affects everybody.

Why? First of all, the seniors today, by and large, have no sweat unless they live to be 120 years, because—old—because Social Security is fine now, and we have the system that we need. But when we baby boomers retire, there will be a senior boom. In 30 years, the number of senior citizens, people over 65, in America is going to double. Now, that just doesn't affect those of us who hope to live that long. That affects all of our children and all of our grandchildren and society at large.

How will we manage this? We have a lot of responsibilities. We've got to work harder to stay in better shape and be healthier so we try to minimize the burden of our health care bills on the rest of you. It will be very important. There are a lot of implications to this.

But I want you to know that—I grew up in a middle class home in a middle class community where half of my high school classmates, or more, didn't go on to college. And I still keep up with a lot of them, and most of them have very modest incomes. But every single one of us, without regard to our income or background, are obsessed with the notion that our aging should not put an unbearable burden on our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. This is an issue for all Americans.

Now, here's the problem. Social Security alone keeps half the seniors in America today out of poverty. So it's real important. But Social Security is not enough for the vast majority of our seniors to have a comfortable life and maintain the lifestyle they had before they started drawing Social Security.

Medicare is subject to the same pressures that Social Security is and its cost as more and more people retire, live longer, and use more medical care. So the trick is, how do you preserve Social Security; how do you preserve Medicare; how do you give seniors the ability to have other sources of income; and how do you do it in a way that's fair to their kids and their grandkids; and how do we get it done by the time the baby boomers start retiring? That is the issue. So, you see, it's not just a seniors issue. It's an issue for all Americans.

Now, we're going to have a big argument about this. And we should, and I hope it will be a good debate. But I believe, since we have—as the Vice President said—this $70 billion surplus from last year and a bigger one coming this year, since it's projected that over a 25-year period we will average substantial surpluses on an annual basis—now, they'll go up and down with the economy, but the point is we have no permanent deficit anymore, the natural condition is a surplus, okay—so the question is, what do we do with it?

We could give it all back to you and hope you spend it right. But I think—here's the problem. If you don't spend it right, here's what's going to happen. In 2013—that's just 14 years away—the taxes people pay on their payroll for Social Security will no longer cover the monthly checks. So we have to get into the Social Security Trust Fund, the savings account. By 2032, it will be gone. After that, if we haven't done something, we can only pay a little over 70 percent of the benefits. By then, the cost of living will be higher and it will be devastating.

Even before that, by 2010, the Medicare fund will run out of money. Why? Because the fastest growing group of people—this is a high-class problem; this is a high-class problem; we should be so lucky to have only problems like this—the fastest growing group of people in America are people over 80. And I hope to be one some day, and so do you, right? And so does—I hope, every child in this audience will live to be over 80. The kids in this audience actually will have a life expectancy of about 85 years if medical science keeps advancing.

But the older you get, the more you need a doctor, or the more you need drugs or the more you need something just to kind of get through the day. I'm finding that out already. [*Laughter*] Everything kind of hurts when it's

cold, and you've got to stretch your legs more. So that's going to happen by 2010.

So what I said last night is not as popular as what others can tell you. Others can say, "We've got this surplus now. I just want a big tax cut. I'll give it back to you. You'll figure out what to do with it." But I believe if we save 60 percent of this surplus for Social Security, here's what we can do. We can make the Trust Fund all right to 2055. We can protect Social Security for 55 years. We have a list of other options that are all a little controversial, but if we can get the Republicans and Democrats to hold hands, we could do it. It wouldn't hurt anybody very much. They're really good things for the program over the long run.

And if we did that, we could protect Social Security for 75 years, and we could reduce the poverty rate among elderly women on Social Security. They're twice as likely to be poor. And we could remove the earnings test which now limits what seniors on Social Security can earn for themselves. So I think that's a good use of the surplus that will help our parents, our children, our grandchildren.

Now, same thing with Medicare. If we just save one-sixth—one in very $6 of this surplus—for 15 years, and set it aside for Medicare, then we save Medicare to 2020. Then if we can get the Republicans and Democrats together—and in March we're going to have a report from a bipartisan commission that will start the debate—we can make a few other changes, save it till 2020, and begin to provide for prescription drugs. It's the single, biggest need that senior citizens on Medicare have.

Now, let me tell you what else you'll get. You're going to have everybody say that Government doesn't know how to spend this money. Look, folks, Social Security and Medicare work. I'm not talking about spending this money, I'm talking about saving it.

Now, here's what I think about it. This is the other thing I want you to understand. If we save three-quarters of this surplus for 15 years only, to solve Social Security and solve Medicare well into the 21st century, what else will happen? We will, by holding this money—we've got to do something with it. What do you do with this money? You buy back the privately held debt. We will be reducing the debt of the country. We will take the debt of America in relationship to the size of our economy, the level of debt held by the public, to its lowest level since before World War I in 1917.

Now, why should that matter to you? You say, "Fine, Mr. President, give me the money, I'd rather have a new car. I don't care about World War I. Why does that matter?" Here's why it should matter to you. If we keep driving the debt down, then you will keep interest rates down; you will keep home mortgage rates low; you will keep credit card interest rates low; you will keep the interest rates that you pay on your car payments low; you will keep more investment coming in to Buffalo and Erie County; you will have more jobs here. And that's something we have to do together. It will protect us.

You see all this financial upheaval around the world. That's because these countries, their budgets are out of balance, and if people run off with their money, they have to put their interest rates through the roof just to get the money to come back. If we start paying down on our debt a little bit—which I remind you, we quadrupled the debt, quadrupled the debt between 1981 and 1993—if we just started paying down on it a little bit, saving this money, protecting Social Security and Medicare, then you would be somewhat more protected from these global economic events, and long after I'm gone from the White House, you would have stable interest rates, affordable lives, and the knowledge that investment would come into Buffalo and Erie County to build a better future. So I hope you will support what I have advocated last night.

Now, let me just say two other things I think we ought to do to deal with the aging of America that help not just the elderly but the rest of us. Number one, Social Security was never intended to be the sole source of income. Even when President Roosevelt signed it, he said we need more pensions; we need more private savings. But a lot of people retire today and don't have any.

And a lot of you young people today—I don't know how many people—young people I talk to, in their twenties or late teens or even up to their early thirties, who say, "You know, this is not going to be enough." Last

night, I proposed setting aside more than 10 percent of the surplus to actually give people an incentive to save, a targeted tax cut to say, if you will set up this universal savings account, a USA account, the Government will give you, in effect, a tax cut; we will match the money in your savings account; and you can invest it however you want for your own retirement.

And if you have—now, this is very important. And very low income, working people who have great difficulty saving, it takes every penny they've got to put clothes on their kids' back and pay the utility bills and the rent and make the car payment. We have a provision in our plan to give extra help for those least able to save. I want every American to have a savings account and to have a part of this country's wealth. If everybody was a part of the wealth, you would see the income gap shrinking instead of growing, and that's what this is about. This is a good way to have a tax cut because it's a tax cut that benefits you today and tomorrow and 10 years from now and 30 years from now.

So let me also say, when you hear the tax cut debate, remember, we've got tax cuts in our plan, a $1,000 tax credit—that's a $1,000 tax cut for long-term care for seniors, for disabled people, for ailing people, or the families that care for them. That's one of the biggest problems families have today. And with the aging of America, it will get bigger and bigger. We ought to support and give people a tax cut for long-term care.

We ought to have tax cuts for child care including, as was said earlier, for people who provide care by being stay-at-home parents for very young children. We ought to have these tax cuts. We ought to give people tax incentives to deal with our environmental problems. Every one of the tax cuts that are in my budget we have paid for so we can keep the budget balanced, keep the surplus coming, and deal with the long-term problems.

So I'm sorry if I made the atmosphere too serious. We've had a lot of fun today. But I want you to think about this. We cannot afford to squander this moment. When have we ever had this many resources, this many things going right at one time in this country? It has been a long, long time. We have to make the most of it. We have to look at the long-term challenges facing America.

So I ask you to think about this. I ask you to talk to your friends and neighbors about it. When people come out and disagree with my approach, listen to them and sit down and have a discussion about it. But you just remember this: We've been in debt for 30 years. And for the 12 years before I became President, we were so deep in debt, we couldn't even think about the kind of money we've invested in Buffalo for police on the streets, to help more housing projects, people have houses, to deal—all the things that have been done. And we are out of debt now, but we have a big responsibility now to think about the long-term challenges.

This country is going to change in a breathtaking way. We're on the verge of finding cures or preventions for diseases from Alzheimer's to Parkinson's to arthritis to all kinds of cancers. I think it will happen, probably in my lifetime. There are children here in this audience who either they or their contemporaries will be walking not on the Moon but on Mars. This world is going to change.

And we have to do our very best to prepare. So I will say again, it may sound good if somebody says, ''This is your surplus, and we ought to give it back to you.'' But you ought to ask yourself, what's America going to look like 10, 20, 30 years from now? How are all the families going to deal with the retirement of the baby boom generation? How are we going to deal with our responsibilities for the medical care of our parents through Medicare? And can we keep interest rates low and the economy going?

If you like this improving economy, what I'm trying to do is to give you a way that will maximize the chances that we will have a strong economy for the next 10 to 15 to 20 years and prepare for the aging of the baby boomers. I hope you will support it.

I thank you for one of the great days of my Presidency here. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:04 p.m. at the Marine Midland Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Anthony M. Masiello; Erie County Executive Dennis T. Gorski; Constance Eve, chairperson and founder, Women for Human Rights and Dignity, Inc., and her son, Eric; Rev. Bennett W. Smith, who delivered the invocation;

and Patricia LaFalce, wife of Representative John J. LaFalce, and their son, Martin. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Vice President Al Gore.

Notice—Continuation of Emergency Regarding Terrorists Who Threaten To Disrupt the Middle East Peace Process

January 20, 1999

On January 23, 1995, by Executive Order 12947, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process. By Executive Order 12947 of January 23, 1995, I blocked the assets in the United States, or in the control of United States persons, of foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. I also prohibited transactions or dealings by United States persons in such property. On August 20, 1998, by Executive Order 13099, I identified four additional persons, including Usama bin Ladin, that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. I have annually transmitted notices of the continuation of this national emergency to the Congress and the *Federal Register*. Last year's notice of continuation was published in the *Federal Register* on January 22, 1998. Because terrorist activities continue to threaten the Middle East peace process and vital interests of the United States in the Middle East, the national emergency declared on January 23, 1995, and the measures that took effect on January 24, 1995, to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond January 23, 1999. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to foreign terrorists who threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
January 20, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., January 21, 1999]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on January 22.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of the National Emergency Regarding Terrorists Who Threaten To Disrupt the Middle East Peace Process

January 20, 1999

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

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared with respect to grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that disrupt the Middle East peace process is to continue in effect beyond January 23, 1999, to the *Federal Register* for publication. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the *Federal Register* on January 22, 1998.

The crisis with respect to the grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process that led to the declaration on January 23, 1995, of a national emergency has not been resolved. Terrorist groups continue to engage in activities with the purpose or effect of threatening the Middle East peace process, and which are hostile to United States interests in the region.

Such actions threaten vital interests of the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. On August 20, 1998, I identified four additional persons, including Usama bin Ladin, that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to deny any financial support from the United States for foreign terrorists that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Russia-United States Mutual Fisheries Agreement Extension

January 20, 1999

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

In accordance with the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith an Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation extending the Agreement on Mutual Fisheries Relations of May 31, 1988, with annex, as amended and extended (the ''Mutual Fisheries Agreement''). The present Agreement, which was effected by an exchange of notes in Moscow on July 28 and November 23, 1998, extends the Mutual Fisheries Agreement to December 31, 2003.

In light of the importance of our fisheries relationship with the Russian Federation, I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration to this Agreement at an early date.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

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

Remarks to the Montgomery County Community in Norristown, Pennsylvania

January 20, 1999

Thank you very much. First, let me say to all of you that when we came in here tonight, I think it's fair to say that Hillary and Al and Tipper and I were literally overwhelmed by this reception. And I knew that this was a wonderful community; I knew this was a wonderful school. I knew there was a lot of enthusiasm, but it didn't all quite add up until I realized that we had caused your exams to be delayed. And I want you to know that we're having such a good time, we'd be delighted to come back about this time next term if you want. We can make this a regular thing. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank Dr. Williams for his magnificent invocation. I thank Dr. Woodall for the remarks he made, for making us welcome here, and for the example that he and Mr. Spencer, the principal here, all the teachers here, and all the students and teachers from this school and the other schools here represented. I thank you for what you're doing and for the example you're setting for America.

I'd like to thank all of our musicians and the choir for playing and singing for us. I thought they were great. And I want to thank Melissa for speaking so well. Weren't you proud of her? Did she do a great job, or what? [*Applause*] I'm glad I never had to run against her for anything. [*Laughter*]

I also want to thank all these wonderful people from Pennsylvania who have come here, all the officials and citizens from this area and from Philadelphia and nearby areas. Let me say, there was a lot of talk tonight keying off Reverend Williams' invocation about vision.

I'd like to say something else, if I might, out of respect to others. It is a good thing to have a vision, because otherwise you never know where you're going. So you have to have one. I ran for President, beginning in 1991, because I thought our country was drifting and because I believed that if you look at these young people here—one elementary school in this area has kids from 50 countries speaking 13 languages—and if you

look at all these young people and their parents and everybody in this room, and you imagine what the world is going to be like, and you know it's going to get smaller and smaller, and we're going to have more and more relationships, and the borders will become more and more open, it's hard to imagine any country in the world that is remotely as well positioned as America to give people the chance to make the most of their own lives.

But we had to have a vision. My vision for the 21st century was pretty simple. I wanted us to have a country for the children of the Gores and the Clintons and all the other kids in our country where every person who was a responsible citizen would have a genuine opportunity to live out their dreams. I wanted us to have a country where over all the differences between us—we would relish those differences, our racial, our religious, our cultural differences; our serious differences we would debate seriously. But we would honor our common humanity and our shared values as Americans enough to say what unites us is so much more important than what divides us. We will build one America in the 21st century.

And I wanted us to continue to be the country, as we grew more diverse and, therefore, had deeper and deeper ties with more and more other people around the world. I wanted America to recognize that because of our wealth and position, we have not only the opportunity but a responsibility to continue to be the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity for others. It is good for ourselves to do the right thing in trying to build the rest of the world and build closer ties.

Now, it is a good thing to have a vision; you can't get started without it. Otherwise you don't know where you're going. The Vice President talked about Tommy Lasorda and Mike Piazza. My favorite baseball player of all time, because he was such a wonderful speaker, was Yogi Berra. You know, Yogi Berra said, ''We don't know where we're going, but we're making good time.'' [*Laughter*] So you have to have a vision. But you have to have something else, too. You have to have people who are willing to act on it.

I hope you could see with the four of us up here, we like being together. We've worked closely together. We see ourselves as a family, and we see our allies as a family. When I came to Washington, I wanted to do something about homelessness, but Tipper Gore helped me do it. I wanted to raise the consciousness of America about all kinds of things that we sort of kept hidden under the rug but were hurting people. Mental health was one of the most important. Tipper Gore helped me do it.

I wanted to prove that we could have a smaller Government—we now have the smallest Federal Government since 1962—but I wanted to do it in a way that wouldn't just throw good Federal employees in the street and that would enable us to do more. The Vice President made it possible for us to do that; he led that effort.

I wanted to prove that we could grow the economy and improve the environment by doing things like building new cars that would triple gas mileage. The Vice President has led our efforts there and in dealing with all the promise of new technology in trying to hook up all our schools and libraries to the Internet and in managing a big portion of our relations with Russia, South Africa, and other countries. I can say without qualification that no Vice President in history has had so much responsibility or done so much good. So the vision requires an action.

And if it hadn't been for Hillary, for all the good intentions in the world, we wouldn't have done nearly as much to advance the cause of health care or child care or education or to observe the millennium. We wouldn't have been able to do it.

When I see Joe Hoeffel standing up here talking—and I know he's going to be a strong force on the committees that he's gotten. I see another new Congressman out there, my longtime friend Bob Brady from Philadelphia. I know that they will be implementors of a vision. Or Chaka Fattah, who got you all worked up, up there, when he stood up; do you know what he did? He passed a bill in the Congress last year that I was for, but I could not have passed it. I'll tell you the truth, I could not have done it. But he went around to Republicans and Democrats alike

and said, ''You know, I come from Philadelphia. There are a lot of poor kids there that have never had a real chance. They come from poor families. They live in tough neighborhoods, but they've got good minds. Will you help me pass a bill that will provide the necessary financial support for college students to come in and mentor these kids in middle schools so they'll go on to college?'' And we did it because of that.

Now, I'll give you one other example. Last time I came here as President was in 1993, to a conference on entitlement reform. Entitlement reform is a fancy way of saying with everybody living longer and the baby boomers about to retire, all the rest of you aren't going to be able to afford to pay our medical and retirement bills unless we do something. That's what entitlement reform means.

And I knew the first thing we had to do was to get the economy going. And I said, ''You know, I've got this economic plan, and it's not going to be very popular with a lot of people because it has a lot of tough decisions. We're asking people who are the wealthiest people in America to pay a little more in income taxes, sometimes a lot more if they were really well off. We're asking people who are used to getting Government programs to do without a few hundred of them until we get this budget in balance. But if we do it, we'll lower interest rates, cutting home mortgages and the interest rates on car payments and credit cards, and we'll get investment back in the country. We'll have jobs coming back in the country. And the money you will save on the stock market going up and the interest rates going down will be far greater than the money those of us who are well off had to pay in a little more taxes.'' It was very controversial and people said, ''Oh, it will bring an end to the economy. It will end the American economy as we know it. It will drive us into recession.''

Well, you heard what the Vice President said about the country with the longest peacetime expansion in history, the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957, and all of that. What you should know is that this county, this county has had, since that economic program passed and the interest rates started going down, 1,800 new businesses and 44,000 new jobs, the highest growth in the State of Pennsylvania.

The decisive vote that made all that possible was cast in Congress by Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky. We won by one vote in the House, and it was tied in the Senate. The decisive vote in the Senate was cast by Al Gore. And as he says, since he gets to vote whenever there's a tie, whenever he votes, we win. [*Laughter*]

Now, the point I'm trying to make is we had a good vision, but somebody has got to carry the water; somebody has to make the decisions; somebody has to push the rocks up the hill; somebody has to take that step and jump off the diving board; someone has to move. People have to act on their vision. That's why I said last night and that's why that sign says, ''Let's get to work. We have a good vision, but we must act.''

And for all of you, I thank you. I wanted to come here to this school because this school district represents what I think America ought to do. I know not every school district has the resources. So if we want everybody to end social promotion but have summer school and after-school programs, we have to provide the funds from Washington to help the school districts do it. If we want to turn around schools that aren't working, we have to provide help from Washington. And we're doing that.

But I want people to see this school district all over America, on the news tonight, in the articles tomorrow. I want people to know we came here to a place that has done important things, to give kids who need it extra help, to have high standards, to do things that will create a vision that people will want to act on. I think, to have a motto like ''learn and live to serve'' is a stunning thing, and I hope you will live by it all your lives.

Most of you here know this, but for the benefit of the press, I want to say this: Every high school graduate in this school district gets a license, a driver's license-sized copy of the diploma, and on the back it has the computer skills the graduate has mastered. That's a driver's license to the future. I would like to see that modeled in other places all across America, as well.

So you've already heard what we have to say, but it's plain that America is working

again. But every one of you knows—if we had time to do it, I'd give everybody a piece of paper, and I'd ask you to write down—you might do this when you go home tonight. I'd ask you to write down somewhere between three and six things—no more than six—that you believe are the long-term challenges that will face you young people in the 21st century and what is it that we could do now that would pave the way to a better future for you.

I can tell you that I did my best in the State of the Union last night to say, "Okay, we've got America working again, but what are the long-term challenges?" And you've heard them talked about tonight, and I won't belabor them. But let me say, we have to build strong communities in the 21st century that gives everyone a chance at opportunity. That means we have to do more to have the kind of economic opportunity in places where unemployment is high and people make low wages that you have here. That means putting more money in there. It means teaching adults better skills. It means teaching those who are first-generation Americans to read better if that is what it takes. It means doing whatever is necessary to get these economies going. It means continuing to drive the crime rate down. It means making all communities livable communities, to set aside the land that we need to set aside, to have the green space, to manage the traffic, to do the things that will make people free and happy if they live anywhere in America.

These are the kinds of things we have to do. It means reconciling work and family. One of the best things that the Gores have done is, for the last 7 years, they have had a conference in Tennessee every year on the challenges modern families face. And most all of them relate somehow or other to the need to balance work and family, a challenge that faces Americans in all income groups. I'll bet there is not a family here that has not at some point in the last couple of years faced some sort of challenge of balancing your responsibilities to your children to your responsibilities to your work.

That's why we want a child care plan that includes help for stay-at-home parents when the children are very young but real help for working people that can't afford quality child care on their own, because in America, when I look at all of you, I want you to be free and confident, when you start your families, that you can do what you want in your work life, but you know that your first responsibility is to raise your children, and you're going to be able to succeed at that responsibility.

The Vice President told you that rather gripping story about the HMO's. The truth is we have to manage the health care system; it's like any other system. We have to keep the costs as low as possible. But the quality of our people's health counts most. That's why we say you ought to be able to see a specialist if you need one. You ought to be able to go to the nearest emergency room. You ought to be able to have your medical records private and all of the other things in our Patients' Bill of Rights, because we've got to balance the need to save money with the fundamental necessity of providing quality health care to all Americans.

And I'd just like to say one other thing. We've said a lot about education tonight, but I would like to say something about the very first subject I talked about last night in the State of the Union, and that is the aging of America. And again I want to say this is an issue that should be of primary importance, not to today's retirees but to tomorrow's retirees, their children, and their grandchildren yet unborn. Because when the baby boomers retire—and that includes the parents of just about all of the students here; people between the ages of 34 and 52 were the people born in the generation after World War II, the largest group of people in history in America, young people, until the present class of students, which numbers over 53 million—now, when we retire, we're going to double the number of seniors by the year 2030. There will be two people working for every one person drawing Social Security. And what we've got—and the average life expectancy is already 76 years old plus; for the young people here, it's probably about 83 years. This is a high-class problem. The older you get, the more you'll be glad that that's going up. [*Laughter*] This is a high-class problem. But we do not want to get into a position where our retirement is a financial

burden to our children and undermines our children's ability to raise our grandchildren.

So when I tell you that we ought to set aside roughly 75 percent of this surplus we've got for the next 15 years to save Social Security and to save Medicare, and in the process, since we'll be saving the money, we'll be paying down the national debt, giving us the lowest level of debt we've had as a nation since before World War I in 1917, keeping interest rates down, investment high, jobs creation going, and incomes rising—I say that not just for those of us who will be older but for our kids and our grandkids. And I hope you will see it that way.

This is a big test for us. We haven't had this kind of situation in a long, long time. And very rarely do societies have the luxury of being financially strong enough, militarily secure enough, and having enough information about the future to make the kind of decisions that I asked the American people to make last night. Yes, we ought to give some tax cuts, but they ought to be the right kind. They ought to be for child care. They ought to be for helping us to deal with our environmental challenges. They ought to be for people saving for their own retirement, because Social Security will never be enough for that. They ought to be for raising children.

But we can save this money now and lift a burden from the young people here. I want every parent here to look at the young people here and ask yourselves: Do you really want to run the risk of squandering this surplus that we have worked so hard for until we know for sure that our retirement will not compromise the integrity of their lives and their ability to raise their children as we have tried to raise them?

Now, the young people here are going to have a fascinating time. The Internet is already growing by, you know, millions and millions of new pages every week. It's the fastest growing communication mechanism in human history. People are able to move around as never before, and even if you can't leave town now, you've got people from all over the world right next door.

We are learning things that we have never imagined before. We are on the verge of not only unlocking the mysteries of the human gene but actually finding medical treatments to cure or even prevent things from Alzheimer's to arthritis to all kinds of cancers. This is a stunning time.

I went to the auto show in Detroit the other day, and one thing I'm looking forward to—I love this job, and I'm not looking forward to 2 years from now being barred from being President by the Constitution's two-term limit. But one thing I am looking forward to, now that I've been to the Detroit auto show is getting back in those cars, because the cars of the future are going to be environmentally sound and hilariously fun to drive and safer.

This is going to be an interesting time for you to live in. But we have to do our best in this time to, first of all, make it safe, dealing with the challenges of nuclear and chemical and biological weapons, to give you the strongest communities possible, to build one America across our lines of diversity, and to think about the future.

When I ran for President in 1992, before I ever made the decision to run, a young man who is now not quite so young, he's a graduate student, named Sean Landris was driving me around Los Angeles. I was an anonymous, virtually anonymous Governor of Arkansas. But Sean Landris knew something about me and the speeches I had made and the things I was interested in, and he said, ''Are you going to run for President?'' And I said, ''Well, I haven't decided yet, but I might.'' He said, ''Well, if you do, here's what I think your theme song ought to be.'' And he had a little tape deck in his car, and he put this tape deck in and this old Fleetwood Mac song, ''Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow,'' which was made before he was born. So we made it our theme song.

And I believe that those of us in positions of responsibility have no higher responsibility than to think about your tomorrows. And when you reach our age, you will want more and more to think about the tomorrows of your children and your grandchildren.

What I tried to say last night is, there's never been a time when we had brighter tomorrows. All we have to do is act on our vision. Let's get to work.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the gymnasium at Norristown Area High School. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Charles D. Williams, pastor, Mt. Zion AME Church, who gave the invocation; Dr. Michael V. Woodall, superintendent, Norristown Area School District; Barry E. Spencer, principal, Norristown Area High School; Melissa Ghoston, president, Norristown Area School Student Council; Tommy Lasorda, former Dodgers manager and member of the Baseball Hall of Fame; Mike Piazza, catcher, New York Mets; and Yogi Berra, former Yankee manager and player and member of the Baseball Hall of Fame. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Vice President Al Gore.

Remarks to an Overflow Crowd in Norristown, Pennsylvania

January 20, 1999

Thank you very much. You know, I felt, even when I thought there were just a couple of hundred people here, I felt so badly for you having to wait and wait and wait.

But let me tell you, you should know at least it is a lot cooler in here than it is in there. We have had a wonderful, wonderful time here. We are very grateful to all of you for coming out, for supporting your schools, supporting your communities, supporting your country, and we thank you so much. And of course, just personally, it's meant a great deal to Al and Tipper and to Hillary and me to see you here and see you so enthusiastic about the future.

I want you to remember how you feel tonight, and I want you to keep it with you all year long. We've got a lot to do, and it's going to be good for America.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:58 p.m. in the auditorium at the Norristown Area High School. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Vice President Al Gore and Representative Joseph M. Hoeffel.

Remarks on the Initiative To Provide a Qualified Teacher in Every Classroom

January 21, 1999

Well, Sergeant, I don't think I need to say anything else. [*Laughter*]

Let me thank all of you for coming today and welcome you here. This is the 21st year of a partnership in education that involves Hillary and me and Secretary Riley. We all started working together in 1979, and we've been at it a good while now. Few things that I have ever been a part of have given—sort of thrilled me more than just listening to Arthur Moore talk. And I'm sure all of you felt the same way.

I thank the Members of Congress who are here and all the other distinguished guests. I would like to recognize just three: first, we have here the President of the Navaho Nation, Kelsey Begaye; and Samuel Penney, the chairman of the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee; and Arthur Moore's daughter, Andrea, is here, and she must have been awful proud of her father today, and I know he's proud of her. So we welcome all of them.

After the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik* in October of 1957, President Eisenhower asked the Congress to rise to the challenge of the times and proposed a new Federal program to help public school teachers improve their math and science instruction. He understood that teaching is an important part of our national security. And I think, therefore, that President Eisenhower—and General Eisenhower—would have been very pleased to see Arthur Moore as a soldier-turned-teacher.

Two days ago, in the State of the Union Address, I asked Congress to rise to the demands of this time, to pass an ''Education Accountability Act'' that would offer more investment, demand more accountability, and not as some have implied, have the Federal Government try to run more of our day-to-day activities in our public schools but simply have the Federal Government respond to what the teachers of this country and the

principals and the educators have been telling us, and invest in what works. We now have an opportunity to do that. With the strength of our economy and with the size of our surplus, we have an opportunity. We also have an obligation.

Research confirms what most of us know from our own experience: What most determines whether students learn is not family background or even dollars spent per pupil but the talent, the ability, and the dedication of their teachers.

Every adult in this room, I know, can recall the names of teachers who deeply affected our own lives and helped us to get where we are today. I was thinking this morning about my high school band teacher. And you say, you wouldn't think that the band teacher would have a lot to do with a person becoming President, but he instilled not only in me a love of music but also a reminder that I could never manifest that love unless I worked like crazy, that I had to learn to work in a team. I couldn't play too loud just because I liked the part. [*Laughter*] And because we ran the statewide music festival every year, he taught me how to organize and how to manage people and time, all kinds of things that teachers teach children that stay with them for a lifetime.

There are an awful lot of teachers like that in America. But we have to face the fact that because our classrooms are bursting with 53 million children because, frankly, we still don't pay our teachers as much as we should in most places, a quarter—listen to this—a quarter of all secondary school teachers don't have college majors or even minors in the subjects they are teaching. And the deficit is greatest where the need is greatest.

Schools with the highest minority enrollment, for example, have less than a 50–50 chance—now, think about this—less than a 50–50 chance of having a math or science teacher with a license or degree in the field.

I don't know if you remember what I said in the State of the Union the other night about what the international test scores show, but basically our fourth graders rank near the top of all industrialized countries in performance in math and science. Our eighth graders drop to the middle; our 12th graders are near the bottom. No one can doubt, surely, that one reason is the absence of a pool of teachers who have been trained in the subjects they are teaching.

Now, we have a real opportunity to get more good teachers in general, more good education practice, and more properly, specifically trained teachers, in particular this year, because every 5 years, the Federal Government revisits the terms on which it invests $15 billion in our Nation's schools; 1999 is the 5th year. We have to do it again. It gives us a golden opportunity and a solemn responsibility to change the way we invest the money to invest in what works and to stop investing in what doesn't.

So I intend to send Congress a plan that will, among other things, require States receiving Federal funds to end social promotion but will also provide them the funds for summer school, after-school, and other support for children who need it—if you look at what I just said about the progression of the test, it is not the students who are failing; it is the system that is failing the students, and we need to respond accordingly—second, to adopt and enforce strict discipline codes, something teachers in the teachers' organizations have asked us to support more vigorously; third, to give parents report cards on their children's school; fourth, to turn around the worst-performing schools or close them, and we will provide funds to help States do that; and finally, to be accountable for the quality of their teachers, with new teachers passing performance exams, all teachers knowing the subjects they're teaching; and we will provide support for that.

We also should build or modernize 5,000 schools, continue our work to hook every classroom and library up to the Internet. But I want to focus for a moment on the teaching. How can we get more Arthur Moores out there? And I'd like to mention just four things that will be in the balanced budget I will submit to Congress early next month.

First, I will call on Congress to invest $1.4 billion to hire new, better-trained teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. This is the next big installment on our goal to hire 100,000 new teachers, and it's a 17-percent increase over the very large downpayment we made last year.

Second, I will ask Congress to invest $35 million to provide 7,000 college scholarships for our brightest young people who commit to teaching where they can do the most good, in the poorest inner-city and rural schools. This is over 5 times the investment Congress made last year, and I think it is a wonderful idea. We came up with this idea because it's modeled, basically, on the National Medical Service Corps. Some of you may have once lived in rural America. When I was Governor, sometimes the only way we could get doctors to go into rural areas is that they had taken funds to go to medical school, and they realized in return for which they would need to go out into rural areas and practice medicine, and they got to pay off a certain amount of their loan every year.

It's also the way the national defense loans worked. I actually had one of them in law school. If you taught school for a certain number of years, a certain percentage of your loan would be forgiven. And I can't think of a better way to give some of the most gifted young people in this country a chance to do something they might like to do anyway, in ways that would, in effect, work out to supplement the salary they would otherwise be earning.

Third, I will ask Congress to invest $10 million to train 1,000 Native Americans to teach on Indian reservations and in other public schools with large Native American populations.

Fourth, I will call on Congress to invest $18 million to recruit and train retired members of the military to become teachers. Since 1994—you heard Arthur say this is his 5th year of teaching—our Troops for Teachers Program has helped 3,000 active-duty soldiers who were planning to leave the military and find rewarding second careers in teaching. That experience has shown that people like Mr. Moore make great teachers and great role models.

I again want to thank all the Members of Congress—Secretary Riley mentioned them; one of them, Chet Edwards, is here—for the work that they have done in this regard. Congresswoman Mink and I were recently together in Korea visiting our troops. And I met a senior master sergeant who was about to retire after 29 years in the military. He was 49 years old; he could still run a 6-minute mile. [*Laughter*] And he was going home to Kentucky to teach children. He said, ''I think I can do those kids some good.''

There are a lot of people like this. You go out into—if you visit with the people in the military, that make the military their career, you just can't fail to be impressed with the accumulated weight of experience. They've dealt with every kind of human problem you can imagine. They understand, increasingly—and I must say, in the last several years, more and more—the importance of balancing discipline and creativity, letting people think for themselves but also reminding that they have to play on the team and with certain rules. And they understand how to manage people and resources—and limited resources—to do a job of limitless importance. They tend to have math and science backgrounds. And they have shown a remarkable willingness to teach in inner-city and rural schools that have difficulty recruiting teachers.

So these 25 million veterans—and there will be more as time goes on, obviously, more and more every year—are an incredible pool of potential teacher talent. The Secretary of Education always tells me that we're going to have to hire 2 million more teachers in the next few years, because of the growth of the student population and the retirement of the existing teacher corps.

So I think we should do more, and this is a big downpayment on it. And I must say, Members of Congress, if you think that we ought to spend even more money on it, I'll support you. [*Laughter*] I think we should make it easier for people who have kept our Nation strong to provide for a strong American future in the 21st century.

Now let me just mention one other program that is very important to me, and that's the master teacher program. The National Board for Professional Teacher Certification has received almost unanimous support from teachers and other educators throughout our country. We are trying to get 100,000 certified master teachers, enough so that we'll have at least one in every school building in America. And when we do that, we know

they will have a dramatic impact on improving the quality of the existing teacher corps. So I hope we will have support for that.

And if we do these things, in addition to the other proposals, I think that we will be doing our part to ensure that we'll have the kind of schools our children need and our country needs, in the 21st century, because it all starts with a teacher like Mr. Moore.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Sgt. Arthur Moore, USA (Ret.), teacher, Harlem Park Community School, who introduced the President.

Excerpt From an Interview With Judith Miller and William Broad of the New York Times

January 21, 1999

Senator Dale Bumpers' Senate Impeachment Trial Presentation

Q. We're about to go. Did you have a chance to watch any of Senator Bumpers' presentation today?

The President. I did. It's the only thing I've watched. I watched that.

Q. He said—he criticized the House managers for lacking compassion for your family. He described your family as a family that has been ''about as decimated as a family can get. The relationship between husband and wife, father and child, has been incredibly strained if not destroyed.'' Is that an accurate representation?

The President. Well, it's been—I would say it has been a strain for my family. But we have worked very hard, and I think we have come through the worst. We love each other very much, and we've worked on it very hard. But I think he was showing—you know, he knows me and Hillary and Chelsea, and we've all been friends, as he said, for 25 years. I think he was just trying to inject a human element into what he was saying.

NOTE: The interview began an approximately 6:30 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House on January 21 and was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 22. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks at the National Academy of Science

January 22, 1999

Thank you very much. Jamie, Dr. Lederberg, I'd like to thank you for your service in this and so many other ways. I would like to thank Sandy Berger for many things, including indulging my nagging on this subject for the better part of 6 years now.

I was so relieved that Dr. Lederberg, not very long ago—well, last year—brought a distinguished panel of experts together to discuss this bioterrorism threat, because I then had experts to cite for my concern and nobody thought I was just reading too many novels late at night. [*Laughter*]

Madame Attorney General, Secretary Shalala, Secretary Richardson, Director Witt, Deputy Secretary Hamre, Commandant of the Coast Guard and our other military leaders who are here, Mr. Clarke, ladies and gentlemen. I'm delighted to be here to discuss this subject. With some trepidation, Sandy Berger noted that Dr. Lederberg won a Nobel Prize at 33, and I was Governor; you can infer from that that I was not very good at chemistry and biology. [*Laughter*]

But any democracy is imbued with the responsibility of ordinary citizens who do not have extraordinary expertise to meet the challenges of each new age. And that is what we are all trying to do. Our country has always met the challenges of those who would do us harm. At the heart of our national defense I have always believed is our attempt to live by our values, democracy, freedom, equal opportunity. We are working hard to fulfill these values at home. And we are working with nations around the world to advance them, to build a new era of interdependence where nations work together, not simply for peace and security but also for better schools and health care, broader prosperity, a cleaner environment, and a greater involvement by citizens everywhere in shaping their own future.

In the struggle to defend our people and values and to advance them wherever possible, we confront threats both old and new:

open borders and revolutions in technology have spread the message and the gifts of freedom but have also given new opportunities to freedom's enemies; scientific advances have opened the possibility of longer, better lives; they have also given the enemies of freedom new opportunities.

Last August, at Andrews Air Force Base, I grieved with the families of the brave Americans who lost their lives at our Embassy in Kenya. They were in Africa to promote the values America shares with friends of freedom everywhere and for that they were murdered by terrorists. So, too, were men and women in Oklahoma City, at the World Trade Center, Khobar Towers, on Pan Am 103.

The United States has mounted an aggressive response to terrorism, tightening security for our diplomats, our troops, our air travelers, improving our ability to track terrorist activity, enhancing cooperation with other countries, strengthening sanctions on nations that support terrorists.

Since 1993, we have tripled funding for FBI anti-terrorist efforts. Our agents and prosecutors, with excellent support from our intelligence agencies, have done extraordinary work in tracking down perpetrators of terrorist acts and bringing them to justice. And as our airstrikes against Afghanistan—or against the terrorist camps in Afghanistan—last summer showed, we are prepared to use military force against terrorists who harm our citizens. But all of you know the fight against terrorism is far from over. And now, terrorists seek new tools of destruction.

Last May, at the Naval Academy commencement, I said terrorist and outlaw states are extending the world's fields of battle, from physical space to cyberspace, from our Earth's vast bodies of water to the complex workings of our own human bodies. The enemies of peace realize they cannot defeat us with traditional military means. So they are working on two new forms of assault, which you've heard about today: cyber attacks on our critical computer systems, and attacks with weapons of mass destruction, chemical, biological, potentially even nuclear weapons. We must be ready—ready if our adversaries try to use computers to disable power grids, banking, communications and transportation networks, police, fire, and health services, or military assets.

More and more, these critical systems are driven by, and linked together with, computers, making them more vulnerable to disruption. Last spring, we saw the enormous impact of a single failed electronic link, when a satellite malfunctioned—disabled pagers, ATM's, credit card systems, and television networks all around the world. And we already are seeing the first wave of deliberate cyber attacks, hackers break into Government and business computers, stealing and destroying information, raiding bank accounts, running up credit card charges, extorting money by threats to unleash computer viruses.

The potential for harm is clear. Earlier this month, an ice storm in this area crippled power systems, plunging whole communities into darkness and disrupting daily lives. We have to be ready for adversaries to launch attacks that could paralyze utilities and services across entire regions. We must be ready if adversaries seek to attack with weapons of mass destruction, as well. Armed with these weapons, which can be compact and inexpensive, a small band of terrorists could inflict tremendous harm.

Four years ago, the world received a wake-up call when a group unleashed a deadly chemical weapon, nerve gas, in the Tokyo subway. We have to be ready for the possibility that such a group will obtain biological weapons. We have to be ready to detect and address a biological attack promptly, before the disease spreads. If we prepare to defend against these emerging threats we will show terrorists that assaults on America will accomplish nothing but their own downfall.

Let me say first what we have done so far to meet this challenge. We've been working to create and strengthen the agreement to keep nations from acquiring weapons of mass destruction, because this can help keep these weapons away from terrorists, as well. We're working to ensure the effective implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention,

to obtain an accord that will strengthen compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention, to end production of nuclear weapons material. We must ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to end nuclear tests once and for all.

As I proposed Tuesday in the State of the Union Address, we should substantially increase our efforts to help Russia and other former Soviet nations prevent weapons material and knowledge from failing into the hands of terrorists and outlaw states. In no small measure we should do this by continuing to expand our cooperative work with the thousands of Russian scientists who can be used to advance the causes of world peace and health and well-being but who, if they are not paid, remain a fertile field for the designs of terrorists.

But we cannot rely solely on our efforts to keep weapons from spreading. We have to be ready to act if they do spread. Last year, I obtained from Congress a 39 percent budget increase for chemical and biological weapons preparedness. This is helping to accelerate our ongoing effort to train and equip fire, police, and public health personnel all across our country to deal with chemical and biological emergencies. It is helping us to ready Armed Forces and National Guard units in every region to meet this challenge and to improve our capacity to detect an outbreak of disease and save lives, to create the first ever civilian stockpile of medicines to treat people exposed to biological and chemical hazards, to increase research and development on new medicines and vaccines to deal with new threats.

Our commitment to give local communities the necessary tools already goes beyond paper and plans. For example, parked just outside this building is a newly designed truck we have provided to the Arlington, Virginia, Fire Department. It can rapidly assist and prevent harm to people exposed to chemical and biological dangers.

Our commitment on the cyber front has been strong, as well. We've created special offices within the FBI and the Commerce Department to protect critical systems against cyber attack. We're building partnerships with the private sector to find and reduce vulnerabilities, to improve warning systems, to rapidly recover if attacks occur. We have an outstanding public servant in Richard Clarke, who is coordinating all these efforts across our Government.

Today I want to announce the new initiatives we will take, to take us to the next level in preparing for these emerging threats. In my budget, I will ask Congress for $10 billion to address terrorism and terrorist-emerging tools. This will include nearly $1.4 billion to protect citizens against chemical and biological terror, more than double what we spent on such programs only 2 years ago.

We will speed and broaden our efforts, creating new local emergency medical teams, deploying in the field portable detection units the size of a shoe box to rapidly identify hazards, tying regional laboratories together for prompt analysis of biological threats. We will greatly accelerate research and development, centered in the Department of Health and Human Services, for new vaccines, medicines, and diagnostic tools.

I should say here that I know everybody in this crowd understands this, but every one in America must understand this: the Government has got to fund this. There is no market for the kinds of things we need to develop, and if we are successful, there never will be a market for them. But we have got to do our best to develop them. These cutting-edge efforts will address not only the threat of weapons of mass destruction but also the equally serious danger of emerging infectious diseases. So we will benefit even if we are successful in avoiding these attacks.

The budget proposal will also include $1.46 billion to protect critical systems from cyber and other attacks. That's 40 percent more than we were spending 2 years ago. Among other things, it will help to fund four new initiatives: first, an intensive research effort to detect intruders trying to break into critical computer systems; second, crime—excuse me—detection networks, first for our Defense Department, and later for other key agencies so when one critical computer system is invaded, others will be alerted instantly, and we will urge the private sector to create similar structures; third, the creation of information centers in the private sector so that our industries can work together and with Government to address

cyber threats; finally, we'll ask for funding to bolster the Government's ranks of highly skilled computer experts, people capable of preventing and responding to computer crises.

To implement this proposal, the Cyber Corps program, we will encourage Federal agencies to train and retrain computer specialists, as well as recruiting gifted young people out of college.

In all our battles, we will be aggressive. At the same time I want you to know that we will remain committed to uphold privacy rights and other constitutional protections, as well as the proprietary rights of American businesses. It is essential that we do not undermine liberty in the name of liberty. We can prevail over terrorism by drawing on the very best in our free society, the skill and courage of our troops, the genius of our scientists and engineers, the strength of our factory workers, the determination and talent of our public servants, the vision of leaders in every vital sector.

I have tried as hard as I can to create the right frame of mind in America for dealing with this. For too long the problem has been that not enough has been done to recognize the threat and deal with it. And we in government, frankly, weren't as well organized as we should have been for too long. I do not want the pendulum to swing the other way now and for people to believe that every incident they read about in a novel or every incident they see in a thrilling movie is about to happen to them within the next 24 hours.

What we are seeing here, as any military person in the audience can tell you, is nothing more than a repetition of weapons systems that goes back to the beginning of time. An offensive weapons system is developed, and it takes time to develop the defense. And then another offensive weapon is developed that overcomes that defense, and then another defense is built up, as surely as castles and moats held off people with spears and bows and arrows and riding horses, and the catapult was developed to overcome the castle and the moat.

But because of the speed with which change is occurring in our society—in computing technology, and particularly in the biological sciences—we have got to do everything we can to make sure that we close the gap between offense and defense to nothing, if possible. That is the challenge here.

We are doing everything we can, in ways that I can and in ways that I cannot discuss, to try to stop people who would misuse chemical and biological capacity from getting that capacity. This is not a cause for panic. It is a cause for serious, deliberate, disciplined, long-term concern. And I am absolutely convinced that if we maintain our clear purpose and our strength of will, we will prevail here. And thanks to so many of you in this audience and your colleagues throughout the United States and like-minded people throughout the world, we have better than a good chance of success. But we must be deliberate, and we must be aggressive.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at the National Academy of Sciences. In his remarks, he referred to Jamie Gorelick, vice chair, Fannie Mae; Dr. Joshua Lederberg, Nobel Laureate and Sackler Foundation scholar; and Richard A. Clarke Senior Director for Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs, National Security Counsel.

Remarks on Arrival at the White House

January 22, 1999

Tornado Damage in Arkansas

Good morning. I was very sad to learn of the terrible losses suffered by the people of Arkansas as tornadoes swept through Little Rock, North Little Rock, and 16 other counties in my home state last night.

As you know, there has been considerable loss of life, and we are still getting reports. The fact that the Governor's Mansion, where Hillary and I raised Chelsea for 12 years, was actually in the path of the storm made it all the more real to me.

Director Witt has just briefed me on the damage. He and I have faced challenges like this before at home because Arkansas gets so very many tornadoes. And we are deeply committed to doing everything we can to help the people there recover.

I have been in touch with the mayor of Little Rock this morning and expect to talk to more of the officials as the day goes on.

We will be working with them to get whatever appropriate assistance is required. And our thoughts and prayers are with them. And I expect to get further briefing from Mr. Witt to determine what, if anything else, we should do.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock, AR. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Conflict

January 22, 1999

The United States remains deeply concerned about the risk of armed conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia and strongly committed to help find a peaceful resolution to their border dispute.

As part of this effort, I asked former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to return to Eritrea and Ethiopia during the last week. This was his fourth visit since October. During his visit, Mr. Lake met with Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary Salim Ahmed Salim, Eriteran President Isaias Afworki, and Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.

In their meetings with Mr. Lake, the leaders of Eritrea and Ethiopia reaffirmed their engagement with the OAU's peace process, which the United States strongly supports. In this context, the United States urges both parties to accept the OAU's Framework Agreement and its agreed implementation in order to achieve a peaceful resolution of the dispute. Ethiopia has accepted the OAU Framework, and Eritrea awaits certain clarifications from the OAU.

The United States remains deeply concerned, however, about the continuing military build-up along the common border between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and about the implications of this build-up for renewed hostilities. We call on both parties to exercise reason and restraint and to maintain their commitment to the peaceful solution that we are convinced is within reach.

Ethiopia and Eritrea have made remarkable strides in the last few years in overcoming a past of repression, famine, and war. Both nations have promising futures. Both are good friends of the United States. We ask them not to risk what they have gained in a conflict that cannot possibly benefit the people of either side. We pledge our own best efforts, in partnership with Ethiopia and Eritrea, to avert a tragedy and to advance the interest that continue to unite the people of both nations.

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.

January 17

The President met with his lawyers to discuss the Senate impeachment trial.

January 19

The President declared a major disaster in Tennessee and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by the severe storms, tornadoes, and high winds on January 17 and continuing.

January 20

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Buffalo, NY, and in the afternoon, they traveled to Norristown, PA. In the evening, they returned to Washington, DC.

January 21

In an evening ceremony in the Oval Office, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Yvonne A-Baki of Ecuador, Anton Buteiko of Ukraine, Hassaballah Abdelhadi Ahmat Soubiane of Chad, Ceslav Ciobanu of Moldova, Thomas Ndikumana of Burundi, Zina Andrianarivelo-Razafy of Madagascar, Archbishop Gabriel Montalvo of the Holy See, and Yuri Viktorovich Ushakov of Russia.

The President announced his intention to appoint Travis C. Johnson and Leo Victor Valdez as members of the Advisory Council of the Border Environment Cooperation Commission.

The President announced his intention to appoint Larry Brummett to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Trust.

The President declared a major disaster in Maine and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, heavy rains, high winds, and inland and coastal flooding and erosion on October 8–11, 1998.

The President declared a major disaster in Louisiana and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by a severe ice storm on December 22–28, 1998.

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 January 19

Cheryl Shavers,
of California, to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Technology, vice Mary Lowe Good.

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 January 16

Advance text of a statement by Special Counsel Gregory Craig on the Senate impeachment trial

Released January 18

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Education Secretary Richard Riley and Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Planning Bruce Reed on the State of the Union Address

Released January 19

Transcript of a press briefing by Counselor to the President Doug Sosnik, National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, and Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Planning Bruce Reed on the State of the Union Address

Released January 21

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by NSC Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control Robert Bell on a limited national missile defense system

Released January 22

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Attorney General Janet Reno, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, and National Coordinator for Infrastructure Protection and Counterterrorism Richard A. Clarke on the administration's efforts to combat biological, chemical, and cyber terrorism

Acts Approved by the President

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.