

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	re: political (4 pages)	06/02/1999	Personal Misfile
002. speech	re: political (8 pages)	06/02/1999	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Christine Macy
OA/Box Number: 17209

FOLDER TITLE:

Labor/HRC

2013-0936-S

rc1351

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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TRANSCRIPT IN PROGRESS

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Remarks by First Lady Hilary Rodham Clinton
Washington, D.C.
March 15, 1999

Thank you, Sonny, for that introduction. I've heard a lot about you. That as the son of a bus driver, and a bus driver yourself -- you've never forgotten your roots -- and you've always given back to your community. That when the rank and file members call you -- you always return their calls; and answer every single letter -- even when that means coming in on weekends. Given your history of commitment to your fellow workers -- it doesn't surprise me that you've chosen as your personal motto "we shall overcome." That spirit of determination and courage has always fueled America's labor movement. And it's that spirit that brings us here this morning.

(Where tape began)

Those are the issues we should be talking about. It's not just issues for the union or for the labor movement--these are issues for America. And I came here in part to thank you, to thank you because if I look back on the six years that I have lived here in Washington now--the lives of working families and communities across America are better. And they are better because of the partnership that has been forged between the White House, to our friends and allies in Congress, to friends and allies in the labor movement and throughout our country. And so first of all let me thank you. I want to thank you for your leadership and I also want to thank two individuals in particular, John Kerrigan and Peggy Olstein for their hard work and their commitment. And we as set these legislative priorities, which are not only yours, but I hope are the country's as well, that each of us has something we need to do.

You know I have been told also that this month marks the 60th anniversary of TWU's founding -- when a small group of New York City transit workers met secretly on Manhattan's west side to form a union. Well, we've come a long way in 60 years, too. No more are we meeting secretly but right here in the nation's capitol and we're right here in front of the cameras and the press talking about the legitimate rights and needs of working Americans. And as we look at the history of the twentieth century now that it is drawing to a close one of the great advances that we have to protect and that we have to further is what has been done for working families. So, as you celebrate the passion and courage of your legendary

founder, Michael Quills, and the many struggles and victories that you've had over the years, let's think about what we've done the last six years, what we need to do the next two years, and what we need to do into the 21st century.

I want to thank you also for the support that you've given to my husband and the administration, and the Democratic Party -- especially for our victories in 1998. That took a lot of grassroots hard work and Peggy was telling me before I came in that the increase in intensity and support for political activity for members of this union began to grow in 1994 when we saw that if we didn't participate in politics, people who shared our views about what should happen in our country, we stood in danger of losing a lot of the rights and having this country go backwards. So starting in 1994, building in 1996, and really reaching a peak of positive activity in 1998, we have a lot to show for the changes that are occurring on the political scene. We've also a lot to show on the front of issues and not just electing candidates who are pro-worker and pro-family but electing people and then working with them to make sure that agenda gets enacted.

I'm proud that the President stood with you in the defeat of the anti-union "Paycheck Protection Act" in California. You know, that was a very sweet victory, wasn't it? Because when you think about the millions and millions of dollars and the organized interests that were against that right it is a great tribute, not only to the unions and working people of California that it was defeated but because it was an incredibly cohesive effort around the country. It showed what can happen when labor really does put its mind to a particular issue and we could then build from that. So I'm very pleased that that was not only a good victory on behalf of an issue that was important, that it could stop that movement in its tracks, and it also created a lot more strength in the labor movement to go forward on behalf of issues that we're also concerned about. I know that I am also grateful that you stood with the President and we stood with you to strengthen collective bargaining for all transit workers. And I know how hard the President and the Secretary Slater worked with you to defeat those who wanted to eliminate 13C from the Transportation bill of 1995.

I'm also very proud to be a rider, whenever I can, of Amtrak. I love to ride on Amtrak and again all of you worked side by side with the administration in averting an Amtrak strike in 1997. And also with the Administration to make sure that we improved Amtrak's financial situation -- which has benefitted all transit workers -- and again strengthened collective bargaining.

~~I'm also very grateful and proud of the work that was done together,~~ with you, with the Administration on ICTEA's predecessor, the landmark Transportation Equity Act of the 21st century, actually the successor, known as TEA 21, which affirms this President's commitment, not only to invest \$198 billion in highway and transit programs over the next five years. But to improve safety, protect public

health, and the environment as well as creating more jobs for all Americans. And there is a lot of good that will come from T21. It will help create more jobs in minority and women owned businesses. There's also some money in there to help provide transportation to get to jobs for people coming off of welfare because we want to make sure that they have to get to the jobs that we're trying to make for them so that they can support themselves and become independent. It's important that all these enterprises succeed because that will continue to fuel the economic boom that we've enjoyed.

Now it also means though that we have to make sure that nothing is done in this Congress or the next Congress or any future Congresses to weaken worker's bargaining rights. That is a constant theme as you know, and it's a theme that we have to be very conscious of all the time because there's always an effort underway to do away with you know, the forty hour week, these basic kinds of rights, do away with overtime, do away with all kinds of benefits. Now together with you, the President, the Administration and our allies in Congress, have said no to those who wanted to undermine safe pensions and safe working conditions. But we have to remain vigilant.

Toward that end -- Secretary Slater and the Administration have just announced plans to commit \$196 million in federal grants to build new transit systems in six American cities -- including San Diego, Memphis, and Ft. Lauderdale. Now this will mean better transportation, it will also mean more jobs and more good jobs, jobs that are (INAUDIBLE) believed should happen by collective bargaining rights and benefits that really give people a decent income to support themselves and their families. So year after year we've seen some real progress haven't we? We've seen some positive things happen through this Administration and your partnership with it. We've seen some positive legislation because of the work that has been done in Congress. So we are at this point not only on the large issues but on the issues that are of particular concern to you where we can say you know, we really made progress. But I am one who believes that progress always has to be protected and you always have to be vigilant and you have to keep working to make sure that you maintain the progress that you have already made but continue to build on it.

Now it would be easy in these times for people to say well you know my job looks pretty secure, I have good benefits, we have equal pay for equal work if we're working women because I'm in a union that guarantees that, we have health care, we have pensions. But I don't think that anyone who comes out of the labor movement and knows the history of the 20th century can rest easy until all Americans have the same right to say, "I have a secure job, my children have health care, I have a secure pension". So the agenda that we have worked on together and that has made such a difference in the lives of you and all the members you represent, that is an agenda we have to continue to work on for all



Americans.

Now we're clear that when a union such as yours meets to talk about legislative issues I know you have to focus on issues that are important to your workers and to the issue of transportation, transit and other things that are directly related to what you do every day. But what I am particularly grateful for is that you have stood with this Administration as we have tried to give benefits to families whether or not they were unionized, trying to give help to working men and women who may never have the opportunity to join a union. Millions of working families today have been lifted out of poverty because we expanded the earned income tax credit together, we raised the minimum wage and by the way we should raise it again to make sure that families are taken care of.

We also, in the last six years, have seen crime go down for five years in a row throughout our country because we worked hard not just to talk about crime but to develop strategies around our nation with communities so that we could get assault weapons off the street, we could do background checks on people with mental illnesses or records who might show up to buy a handgun, we could put 100,000 more police on the streets. All of those were part of the President's strategy that we have seen deployed around the United States with very good results. But we have to keep working on that. We should try to make our cities even safer. There is even more work that we could do.

And, remember back in 1992, when other countries were lecturing our country about our economic house. I can remember that memorable terrible meeting in Japan before the '92 election when, you know, the Japanese were talking about how we were a declining power and we had such deficits and we would never be able to get back the position of leadership we had enjoyed. Well, who would have imagined that when my husband came before groups of Americans in 1992 and said if you elect me we'll create 8 million new jobs. But today I stand before you saying we've created 18 million new jobs. In the last three years wages have risen at twice the rate of inflation. Now those achievements are not the province of any one person or any part of government they're really an American achievement. But if we hadn't had the changes in leadership at the top, if we hadn't had millions of Americans really rolling up their sleeves to get to work, we couldn't stand here and say look at the economic progress that we've enjoyed. And we wouldn't be able to challenge ourselves about what we're going to do with that economic progress going forward. So we can look back and say thank goodness that we had good strong leadership when our country needed it. And now we can say what else do we need to do. How do we look toward the future?

Well, let me just make just a couple of suggestions that I know you are already concerned about. We have to be sure that we do what is necessary to

keep this economic expansion going. Now some people claim that well you know how can that happen because there are cycles in the economy, we all know that. But we have defied predictions and we have defied cycles for the last six years. But what we haven't done is to give every working American the sense that this prosperity also belongs to them, that everybody has a chance to share in the American dream and to feel that they are going to be taken care of if they work hard, if they play by the rules, if they get a job, they keep a job, they show up every day.

You know one goal we haven't yet been able to achieve and this is something I feel very strongly about is that I don't believe any American who works full time, 40 hours a week, should bring home a wage that puts that American below the poverty level. That is just not right. And what are the things that contribute to that? Well, we know that when somebody brings home minimum wage or even a couple dollars above minimum wage, by the time you pay for everything you have to pay for there's not very much left, and sometimes the things that are left out are really important to a family.

I was in Brooklyn recently at a YMCA talking with a group of women, working women, and I was listening to their stories. I met a woman who has worked her way up and has really just made a great success of her life. A divorced mom, raising her son, she makes \$30,000 a year now but she can't afford child care because she makes too much money to get subsidized child care and she can't afford the child care that's not subsidized. So for her every day is a disaster waiting to happen. She never knows whether these make shift arrangements that she's put together with an aunt here, a friend there, a neighbor here, are going to hold. And she's scared to death every single day that something is going to happen, that she's not going to be able to get to her job, or she's going to feel really insecure about her son and she may lose that job.

Now we should be doing more to help working moms and dads. This is not a woman's issue, this is a family issue. I believe that fathers care just as much about their children as mothers do. So how can we give that woman and every woman and man the security they need to know that when they go to work they have affordable, quality child care nearby? Now some people say that is not a big issue, but as those of you who work with anybody besides people who don't have children, you know it is. And what we would like to see happen is that the Congress would support the President's plan to provide more working families with the means to have the child care that they deserve to have. We also have to worry about our children after school don't we?--and we have made some real progress on that front because the way life is today, a lot of parents work until late, they have commutes that they can't get back home until even later, and we have too many children still who are latch-key kids. You know they get home by themselves and they pull that dead bolt and they lock those doors and they call mom or dad and say okay I'm home. And then mom or dad take a deep breath and says okay,

stay there and don't go outside. That's no way for a young child to spend his or her time--they should be outside, they should be playing, they should be with other kids, but it's too scary in a lot of our communities to let that happen. What we need is more good quality, adult supervised after school programs that children can go to and be taken care of until their parents get home. These are part of a working families agenda--child care, after school care, that I think if we begin to address can really make it possible for us to say at the end of this century that we've created job opportunities and an economic climate that truly will enable those who are willing to work hard to make it in America.

Another issue that is a real working family's issue is the Family Medical Leave Act. We did a wonderful thing together in 1993, when finally after it had been vetoed twice, the Congress passed and the President signed the Family Medical Leave Act.

Again in Brooklyn I met a woman whose daughter, 17 year old daughter, she brought a picture of her, in fact she was sitting in the front row so that we could all meet her, had been in a serious car accident the year before and needed not only intensive hospitalization but then when released from the hospital needed a lot of rehabilitation. Now luckily for that family that mom had a job that was covered by the Family Medical Leave Act. And so she could take the unpaid leave, because she wasn't unionized, she could take an unpaid leave for twelve weeks to take care of her daughter and help with the physical rehabilitation while her husband kept working. And she could have a job waiting for her when she returned and so she was very grateful for that unpaid leave. But think of the millions of working families who don't have that opportunity. I think it's time to expand family and medical leave so that it reaches even more working families. That we ought to lower the employer limit from 50 workers down to at least cover another 100 million workers so that they can too have the peace of mind that comes when a child is sick, a spouse is sick, or an older relative is sick and not have to worry about losing their jobs.

Another issue that is not so much an issue for the Labor Movement but it is a real problem in America is pay equity. Women are still not being paid on an equitable basis with men. And the AFL-CIO just published a report about what that means to families. Not just comparing men and women, which I think we do too much of. It shouldn't be a contest or a competition--we ought to be thinking of how the pie gets bigger for everybody. And everybody can enjoy higher incomes and a more secure economic opportunity. Well the FL-CIO's report shows that the average working family losses more than \$4,000 a year because of the wage gap between women and men. Now that hurts women, that hurts single mothers, it hurts working couples, it hurts families. And it hurts our economy. So we need to enforce pay equity at every level of government throughout the United States. That \$4,000 could go a long way in the pocketbooks of most women and families

that are now being deprived of pay equity. So one of the real challenges is let's make sure work pays fairly and equitably for everyone who does it.



Sonny mentioned my commitment to health care and I know it's your commitment as well. And I do think that we have to continue working to make sure that health care is affordable and available to every American. That means we have to pass the Patient's Bill of Rights that's in the Congress. We should not turn over decision making in health care matters, the most personal matters that we know of, should not be turned over to accountants and bureaucrats, and bookkeepers and HMO's. They should be decided by you and your doctor, your nurse, whoever your health care professional is. And we should be sure that if there are disputes with your HMO or your health care provider, you have a right and a way of resolving those disputes before it's too late. There are many stories, and I bet if I asked I could see hands go up all over this room of people who know first hand someone being denied a treatment or being only given a treatment after weeks and months of arguing. And sometimes it comes too late. So we have to pass the Patient's Bill of Rights. But we also have to continue to expand coverage for Americans. And that is something that we are going to have to address together. We tried in 1994, and that didn't work. And we won't try that way again, we'll try a better and a different way. But we have to continue to look for ways to make sure every American has health security as well as economic security. We also have a great opportunity now to take care of Social Security and Medicare for the future. Now the President has laid out his core principles about taking care of those two fundamental programs that really are the building blocks of economic and health security as we age. But it's not just our older parents, it's not just my mother who is on both Social Security and Medicare. Think about what it would mean in our lives as the children of aging parents if they didn't have that kind of support. I've met so many families who without Medicare and Social Security would do the right thing as I hope all of us would. We would take care of our parents, but that might mean not sending a child to college, that might mean not being able to afford that house that you need because you are bursting at the seams where you are now, that might mean as one woman told me again at the Brooklyn Roundtable she had to quit her job to take care of her mother which she gladly did because she remembered all the times as we can when we were taken care of. But it meant then that she had to give up the car that she and her husband shared between them because they couldn't make the payments anymore. So not only do we have to think about what we do that is right for older Americans, we have to think of the impact that these programs have on all of us.

You know Social Security is a family protection system. If you have ever met a young person, as I have, who has been disabled by a stroke or an accident, maybe in his twenties or his thirties--he never thought about Social Security for a minute, but all of a sudden he has disability insurance through the Social Security system that enables his children to live better than they could because he can't

work anymore. So don't think of Social Security as just something we have to worry about when we are 65 or older--think about the impact this decision will have on our lives together and on the lives of our families.

Medicare is the same kind of issue. There is going to be a lot of debate about what should be done with the Medicare system. You know the President has been very clear--let's take this surplus that we have built up because of good fiscal management over the last six and a half years and let's use it to take care of Social Security for many years into the future and let's use it to help take care of Medicare for many years into the future as well.

So there are so many issues that we could talk about--public education which is a key issue in everybody's mind and everybody's community that we need to address and many others that I know you are going to be talking about in the days ahead. Not only during this COPE Convention but I hope in the weeks and months that this Congress deliberates on all of them.

But let me come back to where I started. What you have been able to do both individually through this particular union and collectively through the labor movement is to help build and shape the kind of economic security that many millions and millions of Americans enjoy. There are a lot of people whose parents and grandparents were in the Labor Movement, they are not any longer and they may not remember that they are where they are because they stood on the shoulders of the people in the Labor Movement who helped them get to where they are. And there are many Americans who may not appreciate what this movement has done in the last 60 or so years. To change working conditions and to protect working people. So you have a wonderful legacy that needs to be honored and as we move toward the Millennium we've adopted a slogan at the White House "Honor the Past and Imagine the Future."

Well let us honor the past, all of you who have helped to build this union and build the American Labor Movement. But let us not rest there. Let's continue to imagine a better future. A future where every working man and woman has the respect and the dignity they deserve for doing the work that this society needs, that they have the pay and the benefits they deserve because they put in that hard work all week, every week. And where every child is given the support that child needs to get a good education and to grow up and feel that he or she can do whatever their dreams might lead them to. That's the kind of America that we need to imagine together, and if we work together--that's the kind of America that I think we can build for the 21st century. Thank you all very much.

WHO ARE WE?

Long Island Women's Agenda (LIWA) is a not-for-profit coalition of diverse women's groups and individuals on Long Island that plans to take leadership positions on issues important to women: family, health, environment, business, economic development, education, arts and culture. When we stand together as women collectively, we empower ourselves and make it easier for others to respond to our needs.

WHY FORM ANOTHER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION?

The expansive geography of Long Island makes it difficult to know what the many fragments of women's groups are initiating throughout both counties. Many times, unaware of each other's efforts, we reinvent the wheel, duplicate our efforts. Yet, if we banded together on important issues, we could have an impact as a larger group of women. LIWA would be able to help your organization with its efforts by reaching a wider audience of interested contacts for you. LIWA members would be able to interact, share knowledge and experience, and work collaboratively with each other.

OUR IMMEDIATE GOALS

LIWA has an ambitious agenda of events and plans for the future. We need your participation to implement them.

- Prepare, print, and distribute a directory that lists every women's organization on Long Island
- Produce a calendar that would coordinate the activities of its many members and serve as a clearinghouse to avoid conflicts of events
- Plan a networking dinner to help women forge new business alliances
- Help your organization connect with the leadership, goals, and activities of other Long Island organizations

HOW CAN YOU HELP?

By becoming a charter member, you can lend your support, knowledge and leadership advice to the organization, helping it grow as a voice to serve all Long Island women. Together, we can make a difference in the new millennium, for the Long Island Women's Agenda is more than the sum of its partners. We will have the power and clout to accomplish wonderful things for women because we will resonate with the voices of women across the Island.

LIWA MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

- ☐ **YES!** I would like to be a charter member of LIWA.
Make checks payable to LIWA and mail to
PO Box 271, Greenvale, NY 11548.

Membership Classification (Please check only one)

- ☐ Individual or Associate Member--\$35
☐ Organization or Associate Organization--\$100

Reference Information (For organizations only)

Name of Organization _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Email _____

Phone _____ Fax _____

Number of Members in Organization _____

Mission statement (35 words or less) _____

Identification for all members

Your Name _____

Title (if applicable) _____

Expiration of Your Term of Office _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Email _____

Phone _____ Fax _____

Check one: ☐ Business Address ☐ Home Address

Committee Selection: I am interested in working on the following committees and issues:

- ☐ Arts and Culture ☐ Family/Work Issues
☐ Business and Economic Development ☐ Health
☐ Communications ☐ Legislative Affairs
☐ Education ☐ Environment ☐ Miscellaneous

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Erica Garay

Nancy Bell

Paul 516-366-0100

Linda Shapiro 516 329-5480

1300+ people
Grand Ballroom

Nassau + Suffolk Counties ^{→ first ladies of}
Libby Pataki

Erica Garay will serve as MC +
introducing HRC

For 6 pres. of 7 groups got together -

Joint Networking Dinner - 300-400

ppk came to the dinner through:
word of mouth - no budget for advertising.

Pple kept coming over to see what would
happen next - and they didn't mean
next year.

Steering Committee founded + 5
months they were incorporated.

Hasper to

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES

LIWA membership is structured on both an organizational as well as individual basis.

Organizational Membership is open to any not-for-profit entity on Long Island whose own membership is primarily comprised of women. One representative from each organizational member shall have full voting rights and be eligible to hold any elective or appointed office. Each organization has all the rights and privileges of membership.

Associate Organizational Membership is open to any entity on Long Island that supports LIWA's mission. One representative from each associate organizational member shall have voting rights and privileges of full membership. Associate organizational members do not have the right to hold any elective or appointed office.

Individual Membership is open to any woman residing or working on Long Island and who belongs to any organizational group that is a LIWA member. Individual members have the voting rights and privileges of full membership and have the right to hold any elective or appointed office.

Associate Individual Membership is open to any woman residing or working on Long Island who is not a member of any organizational LIWA member. Associate members have the voting rights and privileges of full membership, but they cannot hold any elective or appointed office.



Long Island Women's Agenda
PO Box 271 • Greenvale, New York 11548



Long Island Women's Agenda

The Voice Of Long Island Women

SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR BREAKFAST SPONSORS



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The Flowering Edge

LONG ISLAND WOMEN, UNITE!



HAT COULD WELL BE the rallying cry of the Long Island Women's Agenda (LIWA), a new not-for-profit, non-partisan women's organization founded last year and similar to the New York Women's Agenda which represents close to eighty women's organizations. There are over 150 women's groups on Long Island, ranging from the high-profile Long Island Center for Business and Professional Women, to the more obscure Lady Reelers Fishing Club. What makes LIWA different is that it is to act as a coalition for groups and individuals wishing to take active roles in issues that directly affect them — the mother ship, so to speak, of all other women's organizations

LIWA OFFICERS:

President, Erica B. Garay, Esq.,
Partner, Rivkin Radler & Kremer

Executive Vice President, Judith K. Beckman, CFP,
Managing Director, Financial Solutions

Secretary, Karen L. Lutz,
Executive Vice President, EAB

Treasurer, Paula Atlas
CFO, Dynatech

VICE PRESIDENTS:

Arts and Culture, Dorothy Tripp,
Director of Tourism, Town of Hempstead

Business and Economic Development,
Roslyn D. Goldmacher, Esq.
Executive Director, Long Island Development Corporation

Communications, Jane S. Gitlin
President, Jane S. Gitlin Communications

Fund Raising, Judith McEvoy,
Director, Small Business Development Center,
SUNY Stony Brook

Health and Education, Roslyn Muraskin, Ph.D.,
Director, Long Island Women's Institute, C.W. Post

Issues, Patricia Hill Williams, Ph.D.,
Assistant to the President, SUNY Farmingdale

Legislative Affairs, Martha A. Parry,
President, Martha A. Parry Insurance Agency

Membership, Bonnie Gelback,
President, The Flowering Edge

"We're an umbrella organization for the many diverse women's organizations that exist on Long Island," said LIWA's first president, Erica B. Garay, a partner in the law firm Rivkin, Radler & Kremer in Uniondale. "Our purpose is to provide a framework to be able to work together, to the extent that we can speak as one voice. We all know that when you speak for many people, you have a louder voice, a clearer voice and can be heard more easily."

What that voice will actually say is yet to be clearly defined. So far, LIWA is preparing a comprehensive directory listing every women's organization on Long Island. A calendar listing and coordinating member activities is also in the works. Networking dinners are being arranged. As for key issues that affect women on an everyday basis, "We're at the very early stages [of development]," Garay explained. "In general, what we've spoken of has been the need for economic development, business-related issues for women-owned businesses or women in business on Long Island. We've spoken generally of the issues covering elder care; we certainly have spoken of breast cancer and other health issues. But we are just in the process of assembling and getting the whole structure working."

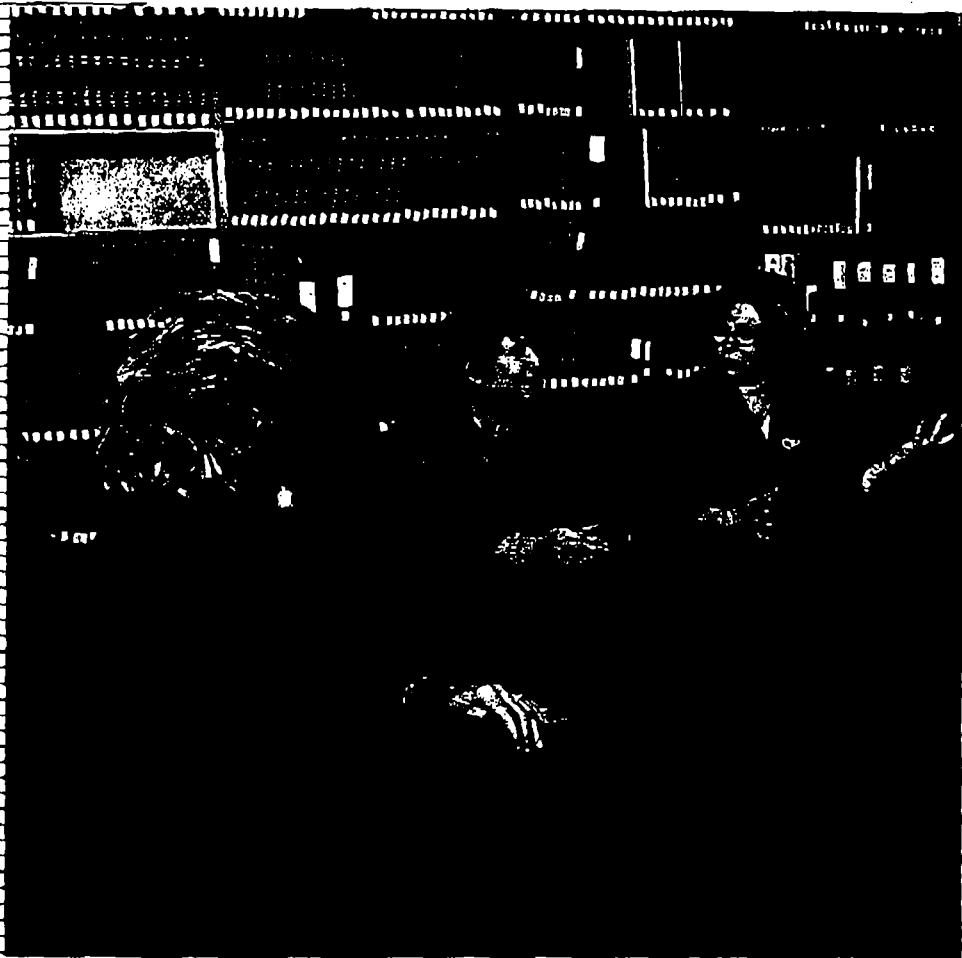
The LONG ISLAND WOMEN'S Agenda

Now is the prime time for recruiting and joining. Committees upon committees are being formulated, among them: arts and culture, family/work issues, business and economic development, legislative affairs, education and environment committees.

"I think women's issues are always important in terms of the fact that women still don't have equal status in the world. The issues affecting women will only move forward if women stand strong behind those issues to make sure that they are dealt with," said Eileen Wild, Ph.D., executive director of the Nurses Association of the Counties of Long Island. Wild has vaguely heard of LIWA but has not yet attended any meetings.

The essence of LIWA, explained Roslyn Muraskin, Ph.D., a criminal justice professor and director of the Long Island Women's Institute at C.W. Post, is to "disseminate information, educate on what the issues are and empower women to take action." As one of the individuals who helped draft LIWA's mission statement, Muraskin is also the organization's vice president of health and education.

"The corporate structure consists of specific vice presidents — a vice president for fundraising, a vice president for environment," explained Garay, adding, "What we have created through this structure is that, as organizations join us, they can sign up to be on a particular committee." Individual or associate membership costs \$35, while organization or associate organization membership runs \$100 in annual dues.



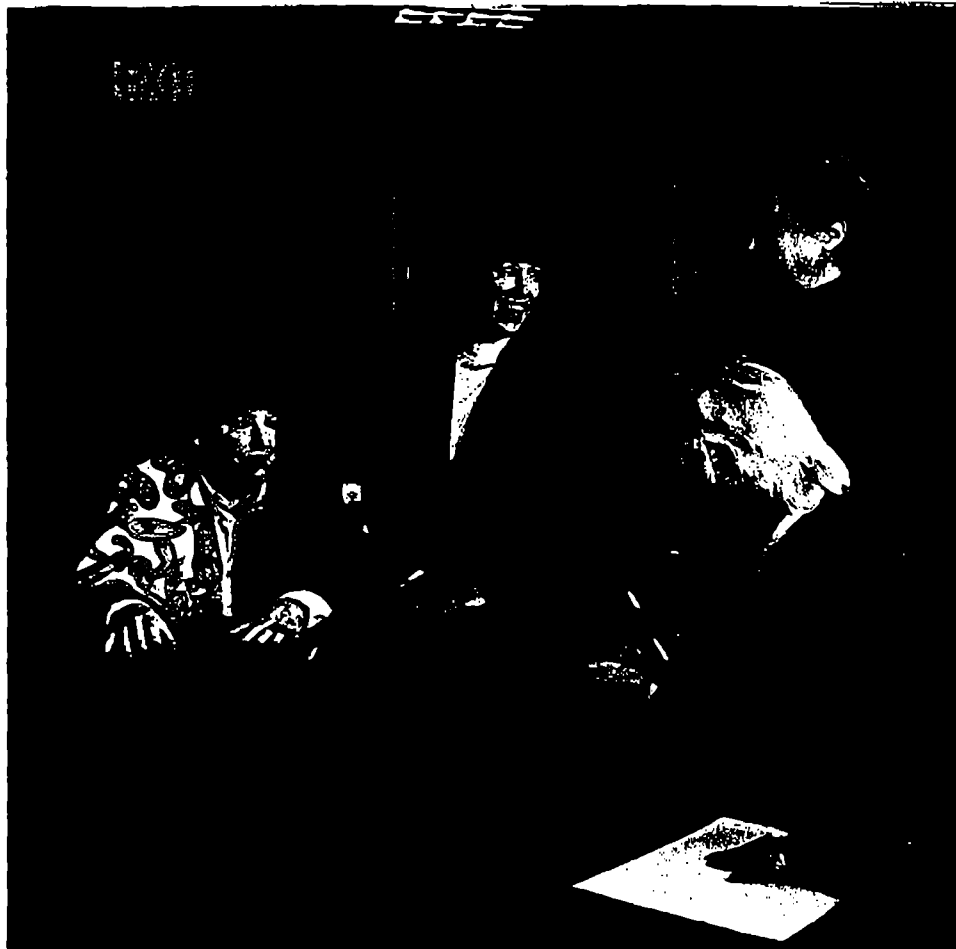
Lively discussions are the rule as leaders of Long Island's women's organizations meet to forge a new entity — The Long Island Women's Agenda. Here (from left to right) Mary Ann Boerner and Judith Beckman listen as Arlene K. Heims makes a point.

LIWA will actively take a role in a particular issue as long as the issue is brought to the table — the Board of Director's table — by one of its committees. "Let's suppose the breast cancer groups are looking for more funding," Garay said to illustrate how LIWA will function. "Instead of speaking individually as a small group, they could ask LIWA. The individual committee will raise an issue, bring it to the vice president of issues and she will present it to the Board." If the Board approves involvement with that issue, LIWA and its (potential) thousands of members, will stand behind the proposed funding. Added Garay, "There is power in numbers; clout in being a coalition and speaking for thousands of women."

And some men, as well. "We are not exclusively for women," Garay pointed out, as there are male members of the various organizations that have already joined LIWA. Among those already on the membership roster are The Long Island Center for Business and Professional Women, Community Development Corp. of Long Island, Inc., 100 Black Women, Women on the Job, Women Economic Developers of Long Island, Girl Scouts of Nassau County and a handful of others.

"I'd be interested in joining. You could do a lot of networking that way," said Ann Galante, former mayor of Mineola and current president of Soroptimist International of Nassau County, an 80-year-old women's organization dedicated to promoting health, education and welfare of women at the local level. "But I don't like to belong to too many things I can't be active in," she added.

The LONG ISLAND WOMEN'S Agenda



Left to right, planning their strategy for LIWA are Roslyn D. Goldmacher, Erica B. Garay, Mindy G. Butler and Martha A. Parry.

WOMEN'S Agenda

Eileen Wild of the Nurses Association agrees with that sentiment. As a member of the National League for Nursing, the Association of Nurse Executives, the Health Financial Management Association and the National Association of Female Executives, there is only so much time in the day, she said. "Your job and position are priorities and have to come first. I certainly would be interested in joining, if information comes to my desk and the ability to attend meetings and become active doesn't conflict with other things."



Arlene K. Haims and Jane Gitlin give careful thought to the discussion.

It is fortunate that the presidents of some of the larger women's groups on Long Island had the ability to attend meetings in September of 1997, because one such networking meeting sparked the genesis for LIWA. The inspiration came after a dinner meeting attended by about 400 women from various business and professional organizations across the Island, according to Erica Garay. "We did not advertise for this meeting, but when other women's organizations heard about the event, many asked if they could come as well . . . We were thrilled with the enthusiasm." One attendee after another spoke at that meeting, followed by a collective, "What are we going to do next?"

Another meeting was held in February of 1998. Then in April, "I invited the [organization] presidents as well as many other women of prominence on Long Island to come to a meeting that would be a steering committee to create the Long Island Women's Agenda," Garay said.

"I think our time has long been past due, when women of all economic strata get together for a common theme," said Roslyn

Muraskin of the Long Island Women's Institute. "Women standing together, speaking as one."

LIWA's first words — the call for unity — have not fallen on deaf ears. What it will voice next depends on the agenda.



Claudia Gryvatz Copquin of East Northport is assistant editor of Distinction and a freelance writer.

TO FIND OUT MORE ABOUT LIWA, CONTACT THE ORGANIZATION AT:

Long Island Women's Agenda
998C Old Country Road
Suite 174
Plainview, NY 11803
Tel: 357-3058

ABOUT 20 LONG ISLAND WOMEN'S GROUPS HAVE ALREADY SIGNED ON AS PART OF LIWA. AMONG THEM ARE:

Long Island Center for Business and Professional Women
165 Pidgeon Hill Road
Huntington Station, NY 11746
Tel: 673-0209

Long Island Women's Network
2661 Park Avenue
Baldwin, NY 11510
Tel: 546-2083

Women Economic Developers of Long Island
395 N. Service Road
Suite 302
Melville, NY 11747
Tel: 755-5152

National Association of Women Business Owners
401 Great Neck Road
Great Neck, NY 11021
Tel: 466-3470

Women on the Job
382 Main Street
Port Washington, NY 11050
Tel: 883-1691



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Event: 2 nd annual joint dinner for the Long Island Women's Agenda	
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Contact: Erica B. Garay	
Recommended By:	

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The Voice of Long Island Women

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Executive Vice President
Judith Beckman

Secretary
Karen L. Lutz

Treasurer
Paula Atlas

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Arts & Culture
Dorothy Tripp

Business & Economic
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Communications
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erica.garay@rivkin.com

January 25, 1999

To: Ms. Patty Salese Doyle

Telecopied herewith please find the letter we forwarded to Ms. Clinton on November 20, 1998.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,

Erica B. Garay
President

EBG:sr
Enclosure

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Founding Organizations: Long Island Center for Business and Professional Women; Long Island Women's Network;
National Association of Women Business Owners, Long Island Chapter; Women Economic Developers of Long Island



THE LONG ISLAND WOMEN'S AGENDA
A Not-For-Profit Corporation
THE VOICE OF WOMEN ON LONG ISLAND

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November 20, 1998

The First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the recently incorporated Long Island Women's Agenda, we cordially extend to you an invitation to be our keynote speaker at our second annual Joint Dinner. This year's dinner will be held on Monday, March 22, 1999 at the Crest Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, Long Island, New York. We would be honored if you could join us that evening to help us celebrate Women's History Month.

The Long Island Women's Agenda (LIWA) is a not-for-profit coalition of diverse women's groups and individuals on Long Island that was formed to take leadership positions on issues important to women: family, health, environment, business, economic development, education, arts and culture. When we stand together, we empower ourselves and make it easier for others to respond to our needs. Enclosed is a recent article about our organization and other informational material.

Last year's dinner was a gathering of nearly 400 women who were members of several of Long Island's prominent women's organizations including our founding organizations, Women Economic Developers of Long Island, The Long Island Center for Business & Professional Women, The National Association of Women Business Owners, and Long Island Women's Network. The dinner was so successful that it culminated in the formation of the Long Island Women's Agenda (which is modeled after the New York Women's Agenda, which I understand you will be attending later this year). This year we have expanded our outreach to over 160 of Long Island's women's organizations, and their thousands of individual members. Accordingly, we expect that this year's dinner will again be a prominent event. Due to the recent "birth" of our organization (and the enthusiasm this event has caused), we believe that we will have an even greater turnout than last year. We also believe that your presence as our Keynote Speaker would be instrumental to securing our future success. There is also a great deal of corporate support for LIWA. We also expect wide media attention.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

The First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton
November 6, 1998
Page 2

We would be thrilled if you are able to join us and help us celebrate our mission: to assure that women's voices are heard.

If you have any questions or comments, please feel free to contact me at your convenience. Please let me know at your earliest convenience if you are able to attend.

Very truly yours


Erica B. Garay
President

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**FIRST LADY HILARY RODHAM CLINTON
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 15, 1999**

Thank you, Sonny, for that introduction. I've heard a lot about you. That as the son of a bus driver, and a bus driver yourself -- you've never forgotten your roots -- and you've always given back to your community. That when the rank and file members call you -- you always return their calls; and answer every single letter -- even when that means coming in on weekends. Given your history of commitment to your fellow workers -- it doesn't surprise me that you've chosen as your personal motto "we shall overcome." That spirit of determination and courage has always fueled America's labor movement. And it's that spirit that brings us here this morning.

Today, the lives of working families in communities across the country are improving -- thanks to your leadership, and the hard work and commitment of TWU's John Kerrigan, Peggy Olstein, and so many of you here today. Thank you for inviting me to join you -- as you set your legislative priorities for the year ahead.

I'm told that this month marks the 60th anniversary of TWU's founding -- when a small group of New York city transit workers met secretly on Manhattan's west side to form a union.

Today, as you celebrate the passion and courage of your legendary founder, Michael Quills, and the many struggles and victories over the years -- you have much to be proud of. Sixty years of speaking out and standing up for the rights of working families. Sixty years of expansion and progress.

For the last six years -- we've been on that journey together. I want to thank all of you for support you've given to my husband and his administration, and to the Democratic Party -- especially our victories in 1998. [John Sweeney was in the White House that election night -- and as my husband reminded him -- this was the first time since 1822 that the President's party had won seats in the House in the sixth year of an Administration]. Labor -- all of you -- helped us win those crucial seats. And your contributions will never be forgotten.

So I want to thank you for the progress we've made together to advance the issues and candidates that are pro-worker, and pro-family -- and to stand up to those in Congress who wanted to strip away the victories, and undermine the rights, of America's working people.

I'm proud that my husband's administration stood with you as we defeated the anti-union "Paycheck Protection Act" in California [known as 226]. I'm proud that we stood with you to strengthen collective bargaining for all transit workers. [I know how hard the President and Secretary Slater worked with you to defeat those who wanted to eliminate 13C from the Transportation bill of 1995.]

I'm proud of the progress we've all made with Amtrak. We worked side by side in averting an Amtrak strike in 1997. And this Administration has a solid record on improving Amtrak's financial situation -- which has benefitted all transit workers -- and strengthened collective bargaining practices.

I'm particularly proud of the work we did on ISTEA's predecessor -- the landmark Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century [known as TEA-21] which affirms this President's commitment not only to invest \$198 billion in highway and transit programs over the next five years. But to improve safety, protect public health and the environment, and create jobs for all Americans -- including transportation assistance to those moving from welfare to work.

The simple truth is — people can't go to work if they can't get to work. Many of the jobs that TEA-21 will help create will be in minority-and women-owned small businesses. And we all know it's important that these enterprises succeed -- because they generate even more employment and economic growth in our communities..

As you know so well -- if we are to improve the quality of life in this country — then we all have to move forward together. That means working families — women and minorities; and those struggling to get their first jobs.

So together -- we've said no to those who wanted to weaken worker's bargaining rights. Together -- we've said no to those who wanted to undermine safe pensions and safe working conditions. And together -- we're saying yes to more jobs; a stronger economy; and a better future for America's working families. And toward that end -- Secretary Slater and the Administration have just announced plans to commit \$196 million in federal grants to build new transit systems in six American cities -- including San Diego, Memphis, and Ft. Lauderdale. Better public transportation. More jobs. Another win-win for America.

As I stand before you, I am truly impressed by the contributions you have made -- year after year, election after election. I'm impressed by all you've accomplished -- not only for transportation workers, but for all of America's workers. You didn't say, "Well we have equal pay. We have pensions. We have health care." You know that we can never rest until every single working American has the support he or she needs to succeed at home and on the job.

Now, there have been those who think that government can solve any problem. And there are those who claim that government is the only problem. But we all know that there are specific ways -- important ways -- that government can help people as they go about doing their jobs, raising their families, and just living their lives.

So, when people ask why you're involved, why some of you traveled across the country to be here, I hope you will think about what we've been able to accomplish over the last six years -- and how it made a difference.

Today, millions of working families and their children have been lifted out of poverty. Why? Because we expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit. Because we raised the minimum wage to help make it a living wage. And because, in doing so, we sent a message to people who struggle to make ends meet that you're work will be rewarded, not penalized.

Our streets are safer in city after city and in neighborhood after neighborhood. During the 1980s, we heard a lot of talk about fighting crime. We saw a lot of finger-pointing. But, all the while, we watched the crime rate go up and up. But, when this Administration came into office, there was a different attitude. We wanted to do something to take assault weapons off the streets -- so that children can walk to school in safety and police officers are never again outarmed by criminals. We wanted to put more police officers on the street. And, as a result, crime has decreased for five years in a row.

And, remember back in 1992, when other countries were lecturing us about our economic house not being in order. Back then, who would have imagined that our economy would be so strong today?

Who would have imagined that we'd have the longest peacetime expansion in history -- and the lowest peacetime unemployment? Who would have imagined that we'd create nearly 18 million new jobs? Or that, in the last three years, wages would rise at twice the rate of inflation? We can celebrate these achievements because of some tough decisions and some tough votes that cost a lot of good people there jobs.

I'm sure many of you remember back when the President's deficit reduction package was being voted on. Many members on the other side of the aisle predicted that it's passage would mean doom and gloom for our nation. It won by one vote in the House and one vote in the Senate - - thankfully the Vice President's vote. In the House, Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky, came from a district where she knew it would be a tough sell. And when she walked down the aisle to cast her deciding vote, Republicans were waving at her "goodbye, Marjorie." She knew she was putting her seat at risk and she did it anyway because it was the right thing to do.

And now we can look back at that historic vote...we can thank her and other brave members of Congress...we can thank all of you and other citizens who made their voices heard....we can thank everyone who stood with the President to improve our nation's economy and the lives of the American people.

But, in these good times, we have to ask ourselves, "Is now the time to retreat into our own worlds, where we say, "I'm fine, my family is fine, my job is fine, I don't have to worry about anybody else." Or do we take these good times that we've brought about -- and continue to make progress in this country. Well now, obviously, I believe, and you believe that it's time to deal with the remaining problems that we confront. Because what draws us here is the belief that our nation cannot move forward, if any of our people are left behind.

Last Thursday, the *Washington Post* ran an article. And it spotlighted issues like the Family and Medical Leave Act, the assault weapons ban, Social Security, Medicare, and education -- and talked about them as part of a trend that's sometimes been labeled "the feminization of politics."

It's a term that's always amused me. Partly because I'm never sure if it's an insult or not. And also because I've never considered issues like health care, education, and child care as women's issues -- or small issues, as they are sometimes also called.

I've never met a father who isn't just as concerned as his wife about whether their children are learning enough in school. I've never met a parent who thinks that their worries about getting health insurance for their kids are "small" or "insignificant" or "marginal." To the contrary. These are the challenges that determine the way we live our lives and the kind of country we are going to be.

And so the point is that we are trying not to feminize politics, but to humanize it. To give people the belief that the political system can actually work for them, that it can actually address the issues they care about. For the past six years, I've had the honor of traveling around our country, and what I've enjoyed more than anything is just sitting and listening, talking about what we all want for our futures, what we care about for our children, what kind of America we want to contribute to.

I met a woman recently in Brooklyn who is making \$30,000 a year -- but she doesn't know where to leave her son while she goes to work. All working families need safe, affordable child care that they can rely upon. I hope members of Congress will keep those families in mind -- and adopt the President's plan to provide more working families with affordable, quality child care. And I hope that instead of just worrying about children who have no place to go after school, we will heed the President's call and provide them with more after school programs -- safe places to go where they can learn, and grow, and where they can have something to "yes" to in their lives.

I met a woman whose daughter was in a very serious automobile accident last spring. And if it were not for the Family and Medical Leave Act -- she doesn't know what she would have done. She was able to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave -- and have a job waiting for her when she went back. Every worker needs that protection, so I hope we can expand the provisions of the FMLA to 100 million more working Americans.

I've talked to countless women and men who are struggling against all odds just to make ends meet. I believe it is time, once again, to raise the minimum wage. And it's time, once and for all, to make the goal of pay equity a reality for all American women. As some of you know -- the AFL-CIO just published a report on the critical importance of ensuring equal pay -- and the high price we incur when that equity is denied. According to the study, an average working family loses more than \$4,000 a year because of the wage gap between men and women. That hurts women. It hurts single mothers. It hurts families. It hurts the economy. And it surely hurts our nation's commitment to equal justice. In 1999, 76 cents on every man's dollar is far from enough.

Recently I met a family at the White House. Both parents are working -- but for three long years, their two children had no health insurance. And every single day, particularly in the afternoons, when she knew her sons were out playing sports -- she said she felt like she was walking on eggshells. Hoping and praying that nothing would happen to her boys. We've come a long way. But we cannot rest until we dramatically reduce the number of uninsured children in this country. And this President is committed to that goal.

We are also confronting some very big issues when it comes to Social Security and Medicare. And again, these are not just concerns for a certain group of Americans -- older Americans -- but should be concerns for all of us. I remember hearing about one young man who had an incapacitating stroke in his early 30s -- something we don't imagine happening to young people.

His health problems left his wife and children to fend for themselves. But because of Social Security, he was able to have disability insurance for the children -- and to give them some measure of financial security.

Social Security is a truly a family protection system for America's families. It's also the single reason why half of all American women over 65 are not living in poverty. So this debate about Social Security is important to every American -- young and old; retired or working. And it's important that we take the budget surplus that we have -- and save Social Security not only for our grandparents -- but for our grandchildren as well.

We must save and strengthen Medicare as well -- because retirement security and health security must go hand in hand. This is not just a problem for older Americans but for those of us who have older relatives, or feel responsible for someone over 65. And again, I hope that Congress -- and the American people -- can make a bipartisan commitment to save Social Security and Medicare for future generations -- and to do it the right way.

And there's no more important issue for America's working families than the education of our children. We must get more qualified teachers into our classrooms; raise standards; renovate old school buildings -- and built new schools. We can't compete in the 21st century if our children don't have world class educations.

I know that this is an ambitious agenda for America's working families. But I know it is within our grasp, because we've all seen what can be accomplished when we work together toward a common goal.

I've heard that Sonny Hall claims he had a lot more hair before he took the presidency of this union. And frankly, I can think of others who could say the same thing. But what's important is that no matter what we're working to accomplish -- whether it's safe, affordable child care; better working wages and benefits; or more jobs -- that we still stand together. That we still speak in one voice. We should be proud of what we've been able to do to expand opportunity to all Americans, and to ensure that every citizen has a fair chance to live up to his or her God-given promise. I believe -- as I'm sure you do -- that we can look toward the 21st century with confidence. Because what we've shown over the years of working and building together -- is that our best days are yet to come.

Thank you.



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 23, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO AFSCME BIENNIAL CONVENTION

Omni Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.

12:10 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I ought to be late more often.
(Laughter.) Well, let me thank you for the wonderful welcome. And Gerry, Bill, Glenn, Charles, Carol, ladies and gentlemen, it was -- it's hard to believe, it's been seven years ago when I first began talking to Gerry and Bill and other members of your union. I spent about five minutes with Gerry McEntee, and I thought, boy, this is going to be a hard sell. (Laughter.) But I also thought to myself, I believe this guy would be for me, he'd stick. And boy does he stick. (Laughter and applause.) I tell you.

Even though I was a dues paying member of AFSCME when I was governor -- (applause) -- I never -- therefore, I knew who Gerry McEntee was, you know, and I sort of felt like I was getting my money's worth. (Laughter.) There are a lot of things I didn't know. Like I never knew why green was the official color of AFSCME. (Laughter.) Until I saw the smile on McEntee's face on St. Patrick's Day. (Laughter.) And I realized that was not a democratically arrived at decision. (Laughter.) And being Irish, I liked it that way.

In a way, public employees and the Irish are a lot alike -- they're integral to everything that's really important in our

country; and both have had to fight real hard to get the necessary respect in the United States. (Applause.) And so I came here also to say thank you, thank you, thank you. I should be thanking you, not the other way around. All I did was what I told you I would do, but if you hadn't helped me I wouldn't have been here in the first place. And I thank you. (Applause.)

I would also like to remind you that we have almost 25 percent of the life of this administration still left, and it ought to be the best part for America if we do the right things.

Now, you all know why I'm late today. I've been in a meeting with a very large number of members of Congress in both Houses and both parties, including the leadership, to talk about the problem in Kosovo. And one of the members who was there, a man from my part of the country, he said, you know, Mr. President, I support your policy, but most of my folks couldn't find Kosovo on a map. They don't know where it is, and they never thought about it before it appeared on CNN. And you need to tell people what you're doing there and why -- why it's important to us.

So I need to talk about that today. But I also need to talk about the domestic issues that we're working on -- about Social Security, about Medicare, about education. And so I would like to begin by going back to 1992 and to try to ask you to do something that most of the time I can't persuade the American people to do, *which is to think about our foreign policy and our domestic policy as two sides of the same coin in a world that is growing smaller and smaller and more and more interconnected.*

Most Americans think about politics in terms of putting bread on the table, educating their children, owning a home, being able to have health care, looking forward to a secure retirement, dealing maybe with environmental issues that are immediate and real, like clean air and clean water. And we're all that way about everything, even our own jobs. The further something gets away from us, the harder it is for us to imagine that it is directly important to us.

But when I ran for President in 1992, one of the things I said over and over and over again was that in the 21st century the dividing line between foreign and domestic policy would blur. Now, I'd like to just take you back seven years to what ideas I brought to this job, talk a little bit about this matter in Kosovo and then move into the domestic issues that we're so concerned about that are being debated in the Congress now.

I ran for President in 1991 and 1992 because I believed our country lacked a unifying vision and strategy for 21st century America. And I knew what I wanted America to look like and to be like. I wanted an America where the American Dream was alive and

well for every citizen responsible enough to work for it.
(Applause.)

With all of our increasing diversity in America, I wanted an America that really reaffirmed the idea of community, of belonging; the idea that none of us can pursue our individual destinies as fully on our own as we can when we want our neighbors to do well, too; and that there is some concrete benefit to the idea of community that goes beyond just feeling good about living in a country where you're not discriminated against because of some predisposition or anything else that has nothing to do with the law, and nothing to do with how your neighbors live their lives; and that what we have in common is more important than what divides us.

I still believe that's going to be one of the major questions facing this country in the 21st century, which is why I devoted so much time to that initiative on race, and why I keep fighting for passage of the hate crimes legislation, the employment non-discrimination legislation -- all these things. Because I am telling you, you look all over the world -- that's what Kosovo's about -- look all over the world. People are still killing each other out of primitive urges because they think what is different about them is more important than what they have in common.
(Applause.)

So I wanted a country where opportunity was real for every responsible citizen. I wanted a country where community was real and we were growing closer together, not further apart. And I wanted America to be a leading force in the world for peace and freedom and prosperity, in a world that was becoming more of a community, where we were sharing more burdens and responsibilities.

And so I set to work. And, at home, I had an economic policy that was partly domestic and partly foreign. The economic policy was: fix the budget, get the deficit down, get interest rates down, get investment up, create jobs, grow the economic; invest in education and technology, so everybody could be a part of it. And, since we were only 4 percent of the world's population, with 22 percent of its income, we had to sell more around the world if we wanted to keep growing our economy.

And we worked hard at that for six years now, with, I think nearly everybody would admit, reasonably good results, although we have more to do. And I'll say more about that in a minute.

In foreign policy, what I wanted to do is to say, look,

okay the Cold War is over, but we're more interconnected with all parts of the world than ever before -- how are going to create a world that is more peaceful, prosperous, and free?

Now, one of the things that we've had to do was to look

at Europe. Why? Because the whole 20th century is, in large measure, the story of slaughter that started in Europe. World War I started in the Balkans -- in Bosnia, next door to Kosovo. World War II engulfed the Balkans. The Cold War saw the Balkans where Kosovo is, at the edge of the communist empire, and the clash of Slavic civilization with European Muslims and others. Now, if we have learned anything after the Cold War, and our memories of World War II, it is that if our country is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is safe, secure, free, united, a good partner with us for trading; they're wealthy enough to buy our products; and someone who will share the burdens of taking care of the problems of the world.

We're working hard to have that kind of Europe. I supported the union of the European countries, economically; the union of Germany. I supported very strongly the expansion of NATO. Next month we're going to have all these countries come here. We'll have the largest number of world leaders ever assembled in Washington, D.C., next month for the 50th anniversary of the NATO Summit. And we're bringing in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

And I supported the idea that the United States, Canada and our European allies had to take on the new security challenges of Europe of the 21st century, including all these ethnic upheavals on their border. Why? Because if this domestic policy is going to work, we have to be free to pursue it. And if we're going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key. And if we want people to share our burdens of leadership with all the problems that will inevitably crop up, Europe needs to be our partner.

Now, that's what this Kosovo thing is all about. And so I want to talk to you about Kosovo today, but just remember this -- it's about our values. What if someone had listened to Winston Churchill and stood up to Adolph Hitler earlier? How many people's lives might have been saved? And how many American lives might have been saved?

What if someone had been working on the powder keg that exploded World War I, which claimed more lives than World War II for most European countries, what would have happened? What if we had not been there in the Cold War, when it cost Americans a lot of money to go over there and to say, okay, we're not going to let communism go any further -- what do you think would have happened? And wouldn't we have been drawn into another war, that would have been a shooting war? And wouldn't more Americans have died? And wouldn't it have cost even more?

What I want you to think about, you may not know a great deal about Kosovo -- and I'll try to talk a little about that today -- but I want you to see this in terms of the big picture. I want our children to have a Europe -- I want this young girl here to grow

up in a world that is safer and more secure and more prosperous. To get that done we need a Europe that is undivided, democratic and free. I want us to live in a world where we get along with each other, with all of our differences, and where we don't have to worry about seeing scenes every night for the next 40 years of ethnic cleansing in some part of the world. (Applause.)

I have worked against ethnic and religious warfare in Africa, in Asia, in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland. But today its most virulent manifestation is right there in Europe. So that is what I am trying to do here. I don't ask you to agree with every decision I make. I am responsible for it; if I turn out to be wrong, I bear the responsibility for that. But you have to understand what the big picture here is.

There are three big obstacles to an undivided, democratic, free Europe, that is totally secure. One is, we've got to build the right kind of partnership with Russia, and we've got to help them come back economically. They have kept their democracy alive. They are suffering terribly economically. Some of it, of course, is like everybody else's problems, some of it's their own doing, some of it beyond their control. We've got a big stake in that. They've got 40,000 scientists that were part of their Cold War arsenal. We'd like them to be doing peaceful, good things, not bartering their services to other countries to cause trouble. So it's in our immediate interest, and they could be great partners for us, economically and otherwise.

The second is, the problem of Greece and Turkey. Why should that matter to you, unless you're Greek or Turk? Because Turkey has been a moderate Muslim state, a buffer between the West and radical, revolutionary -- and I think, perverted -- theories of Islam that are bubbling up in the Middle East, which is right next door. And we've got a lot of difficulties working all that out. We've got to keep working until we get it done.

And the third is all this turmoil in the Balkans, where all of it comes together. And I'll try to explain it, so you can understand what we're trying to do. But there is a humanitarian reason why I believe we need to take a stand there. There is a practical reason -- if we don't do it now, we'll have to do it later, more people will die, and it will cost more money. And there is a long-term, strategic reason for the United States -- our children need a stable, free Europe. (Applause.)

Okay. So let me just go through the facts. The leader of Serbia, after the Cold War ended and Yugoslavia began to break up -- keep in mind, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, all these places were part of Yugoslavia. Tito dies, the Cold War ends, Yugoslavia begins to break up. There are Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Albanians, Montenegrans and Hungarians, all kinds of different ethnic groups in what was the former Yugoslavia.

They also -- the Croats are basically Roman Catholic, predominantly. The Serbs are basically Orthodox Christian, they're

part of the Greek and Russian and other Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Bosnians have all three ethnic groups, but there are a lot of Muslims in Bosnia; and the Kosovar Albanians are predominantly Muslim. And so there was a religious and ethnic difference there.

Now, the source of the problem has been that the leader of Serbia has tried to dominate the former Yugoslavia by starting wars in Croatia and Bosnia in the last decade, and stripping from Kosovo, which is legally a part of Serbia, but constitutionally autonomous -- it means they're entitled to self-government -- and to preserve their culture, their religion, their institutions -- he sought to reassert his authority by starting wars in Croatia, wars with Bosnia, and repressing the autonomy of the Kosovars.

Now, you know we had a lot of problems there over the last year and there were all these refugees building up in Kosovo, just like you saw in Bosnia a few years ago -- ethnic cleansing, people being driven out of their villages and their homes. You've been seeing it on television, if you've been watching, the houses being burned and all that.

We negotiated a cease-fire last year -- late last year -- that saved thousands of people from starvation and freezing because they'd left their homes and they'd gone up into the mountains and the winter was coming. And we did it because we were not just the United States, it was we and our NATO allies, and Russia supported us. And we said, look, here's the deal. And NATO said, we'll use force if you don't do this. So they withdrew some of their security forces, and the thing calmed down and we got some folks back in their homes -- and we thought we were on the way to getting this solved.

Then the tensions flared again recently -- another 30,000 refugees, people being driven from their homes and villages. So we had this peace conference in Rambouillet in France just a few days ago, in March, that had the potential to end the fighting for good. But we had to get both sides to sign it. And like any fight, you know, nobody is totally pure and everybody has got their own axe to grind. But the Kosovar Albanians signed the agreement last week. They signed the agreement last week. Even though it doesn't give them everything they want -- they wanted a referendum on their own independence, as opposed to autonomy, I think largely because even though they are afraid they may be too small and economically weak to be an independent country, they're afraid that the Serbs will never honor their autonomy.

But they didn't get that. Even though their people are still being savaged, in violation of the agreement that Mr. Milosevic made, they still said a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war. Milosevic, on the other hand, President Milosevic refused even to discuss key elements of the agreement. The Kosovars said yes to peace; Serbia put 40,000 troops and 300 tanks in and around Kosovo.

Now, if you've been watching on the television you know they've now started rolling from village to village, predominantly in north central Kosovo, shelling civilians, torching their homes so they can't come back. In a number of villages Serbian police have dragged the male members of Kosovar families from their homes, lined up fathers with sons and shot them in cold blood.

This is not a traditional war. It is a conflict between artillery and heavy weapons on the one hand, against, essentially a guerrilla war for independence -- and when the guerrillas disappear, the Kosovar guerrillas, what the Serbian police and military do is come in and just take it out on defenseless people, whose representatives have already agreed to a peace. And let me say this: If we don't do something, they have 40,000 troops there, and a bigger offensive could start any moment.

This is not the first time -- let me remind you -- this is not the first time we've faced this kind of choice. When President Milosevic started the war in Bosnia seven years ago, the world did not act quickly enough to stop him. Let's don't forget what happened. Innocent people were herded into concentration camps. Children were gunned down by snipers on their way to school. Soccer fields and parks were turned into cemeteries. A quarter of a million people -- in a country with only 6 million population -- were killed. And a couple of million refugees were created -- not because of anything they had done, but because of who they were, and because of the thirst of Mr. Milosevic and his allies to dominate, indeed to crush people who were of different ethnic and religious affiliations.

Now, this was a genocide in the heart of Europe. It did not happen in 1945; it was going on in 1995.

Now, at the time, a lot of people said, well, there's nothing you can do about it, Mr. President. That's the way those people are. They've been fighting for hundreds of years. So I heard all that, and I actually started reading up on the history of that area. And I found out that in fact they had been fighting on and off for hundreds of years, but there was more off than on. And it was an insult to them to say that somehow they were intrinsically made to murder one another. That was the excuse used by countries and leaders for too long -- well, they're just that way.

Gerry and I, that's what they said about us, about the Irish in Northern Ireland. They said, oh, they've been arguing over things for 600 years. And they have, but they're not arguing all the time.

You just think about that. Every one of you who ever raised a child that misbehaved, think about if you just said, well, that's -- they're just that way. Right? (Laughter.) They're just that way. Well, if every parent said that, the jails would be five times as big as they are.

Q They already are. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: They're too big because some people think they're just that way. That's not true. I just don't believe that.

So you've got to decide what you believe. I don't believe that. And I know what happened in Bosnia. The United States and our allies, along with courageous people in Bosnia and in Croatia who refused to be subdued and fought back, found the unity and the will to stand up against the aggression, and we helped to end the war. And later, to make sure the peace would last, we agreed to send troops in, with our allies -- including the Russians, Ukrainians, others. We've got people from all over Europe and the United States and Canada in Bosnia.

And everybody said, oh, it was going to be just like Vietnam. It was going to be a bloody quagmire, even though there was a peace agreement. And now we've withdrawn 70 percent of our troops. And there are still difficulties, but we've preserved the peace, and the slaughter hasn't come back. And I think it was a good investment. And I hope the American people are proud of what they did to end the war in Bosnia. They should be. (Applause.)

So what do we learn from Bosnia? We learned that if you don't stand up to brutality and the killing of innocent people, you invite the people who do it to do more of it. We learned that firmness can save lives, and stop armies.

Now, we have a chance to take the lessons we learned in Bosnia, and put them to work in Kosovo before it's too late. But make no mistake about it, this is a country that already has a quarter of a million refugees. This is a country that's had 30,000 refugees since they stopped the peace talks, just a few weeks ago. One in eight of the people who lives in this little country have already been run out of their homes.

Now, I think if the American people don't know anything else about me, they know that I don't like to use military force, and I do everything I can to avoid it. But if we have to do it, then that's part of the job, and I will do it. (Applause.)

We have done everything we could do to solve this issue peacefully. Sunday, Secretary Albright dispatched Ambassador Dick Holbrooke to Belgrade to talk to President Milosevic one last time. I believe Mr. Holbrooke is on his way back because I can tell you as of last night, as of this morning, as of an hour ago, we got nowhere. He is still denying his responsibility for the crisis, defying the international community, and destroying the lives of more people. Not just the United States, but all our NATO allies have warned him that he will have to honor the commitments he has made one more time. All this stuff he's doing is in violation of commitments he made to

withdraw his forces.

And we said if he didn't do it we would have to take action. NATO is now united and prepared to carry out its warning. If President Milosevic is not willing to make peace, we are willing to limit his ability to make war on the Kosovars. (Applause.)

What we are trying to do is limit his ability to win a military victory and engage in ethnic cleansing and slaughter innocent people, and to do everything we can to induce him to take this peace agreement, which is the only way in the wide world over the long run he's going to be able to keep Kosovo as an independent part of this country, or an autonomous part of this country.

Now, I want to level with you. You've been very good. You've listened to me very closely. You've let me make my argument to you about why this is a humanitarian issue and why it is an issue that is in the personal interest of the United States.

Now, let me tell you that this is like any other military action -- there are risks in it, if we have to take this action. There are risks every time our young people get up and fly jet airplanes at very high speeds. Most of us could not begin to do that. Most of us don't even have the reflexes or the eyesight or the hearing, never mind the skills to do it. We lose a substantial number of our men and women in uniform every single year in training operations. It is inherently dangerous work. Plus, the Serbs have an air defense system and it has a considerable capacity. There are risks to our pilots and there are risks to people on the ground who, themselves, are innocent bystanders.

But the dangers of acting must be weighed against the dangers of inaction. If we don't do anything after all the to-and-fro that's been said here, it will be interpreted by Mr. Milosevic as a license to continue to kill. There will be more massacres, more refugees, more victims, more people crying out for revenge. And they'll be spreading out to these nearby countries, where they have their own ethnic tensions. So instead of just this problem in Kosovo, you'll have the same sort of instability and tension and the financial burden of refugees in the places around it.

The firmness of our allies and ourselves now, I believe, is the only hope the people of Kosovo have to be able to live in their own country without having fear for their own lives. We asked them to accept peace on terms that were less than perfect and they said, yes. We said if they would do it, we would stick by them -- not "we," the United States, "we" 19 countries in NATO. We cannot run away from that commitment now.

And we ought to consider what would happen if we and our allies were to stand aside and let innocent people be massacred at NATO's doorstep. That would discredit NATO because we didn't keep our word. But that's not important, except insofar as what it means to you. You've got to decide, my fellow Americans, if you agree with

me that in the 21st century, that America, as the world's superpower, ought to be standing up against ethnic cleansing if we have the means to do it and we have allies who will help us do it in their neighborhood. And you have to decide whether you agree with me that we have a clear interest, after what we saw in World War I, World War II, in the Cold War and all the people who died, in a Europe that is united, not divided; democratic, not dictatorial; and secure and at peace, not racked by ethnic cleansing -- and if you believe that's good for us economically and politically, over and above the humanitarian issue.

I do. I believe the case is clear. Especially when you remember -- let me say one more time -- if you go home and look at a map tonight you ought to get down and look at it -- this is a conflict with no natural boundaries. If it continues, it could spread to neighboring Albania, just to the south. Most of the Kosovars are Albanians. What if they flood Albania with refugees? Albania has a Greek minority -- what are they going to do? Are we going to recreate this all over again?

Then it could put massive numbers of refugees in Macedonia, where you have both a Slavic majority and a Muslim minority; a country now with a President and a Prime Minister that have worked with us and taken our NATO troops in and worked with us -- putting enormous pressure on them. Believe me, it could draw in even Greece and Turkey.

So, apart from the humanitarian issue and apart from our interest in Kosovo, this thing has no natural boundaries. The whole Balkans area have all these people of difference ethnic and religious groups, and if we just say, well, that's just the way they are, then that's they way they'll be. And there's a good chance when this young woman is an adult, voting citizen of this country, that she will have to be worried still about whether the politicians are going to deal with innocent people getting killed in that part of the world. I would like to lift that burden from their generation because I think it is morally right and in the vital interest of the United States. And I hope you will support me. (Applause.)

Now, I will say again, this is not a slam-dunk. This is a difficult issue. This is a difficult decision. I believe that the position I have taken is the best of a lot of bad alternatives. But you didn't just hire me to make the easy decisions. And so I just will say to you -- I ask you to talk to your friends and neighbors about this. I ask you literally to go get down an atlas and look at the map, pay a little closer attention to the news reports, think about the arguments that I've made. Think about whether you really agree with me, and say a prayer for the young men and women in uniform who are going to be there to do what I as their Commander-in-Chief order them to do.

Now, let me go back to the point I started with and I'll get to the domestic issues. We're living in a global society where there is no easy dividing line between what is foreign and what is

domestic. I'll give you another issue -- Social Security. You think, what in the world could be more of a domestic issue than Social Security? But the truth is, every wealthy country in the world is suffering the challenge of an aging crisis. Japan is facing it even more than we are, because their life expectancy is higher, and their birthrate is lower, and their immigration rate is much lower. A lot of the European countries are facing it because their life expectancy is more or less the same, and their birthrate is lower.

So we're not the only country in the world facing this Social Security issue. And I would argue to you, my fellow Americans, that this is a high-class problem. I hear people wringing their hands about Social Security; I say, hallelujah, give me more of those problems. Why do we have this problem? Because we're living longer. The older I get, the better that looks. (Laughter and applause.)

This is a high-class problem. But by 2030, we'll only have two people working for every one person drawing Social Security. And so, we've either got to put more money in the system, cut benefits, increase the rate of return on the investment we're making in Social Security, or do a combination of all three, if we want to maintain a system that, today, keeps one-half of the people in this country over 65 out of poverty.

And I would argue that we ought to start, since we have reduced the deficit, and we now have a surplus, and we are projected to have surpluses for the indefinite future -- of course, it will go up or down with the condition of the economy, but the structural deficit has been eliminated. What I have said to the American people is that we ought to set aside the majority of this surplus, 62 percent of it, for the next 15 years to stabilize Social Security. We can extend the life of the trust fund to about 2050 if you do that.

If we invested just a small percentage of it in the stock market or other private sector options -- just a small percentage -- through a completely independent body, insulated from politics, you could put another five years on it. And I'll guarantee you, every state, county and local worker represented by AFSCME that has a retirement plan, that that pension fund is doing some investing in the private sector. They don't have it all in government securities, and they've probably invested a whole lot more than I have suggested in the private sector. And that's probably why your retirement funds are all in good shape, because the stock market has been doing well.

Now, the stock market doesn't always do well, historically, throughout the country, but over any 30-year period, it always out-performs just 100 percent-guaranteed government investments. So what I've tried to do is get a little bit of the best of both worlds.

Now, what we've tried to do with Social Security, historically, is to have 75 years of life in the trust fund, which is what I would like to do. I would also like to lift the earnings limitation because as people live longer, more and more people will want to work. If they pay in, they ought to be able to draw out, I think. But eventually that will bring money into Social Security. And I think we have got to provide greater benefits to elderly, single women who still have a poverty rate of over 18 percent -- almost twice the overall poverty rate of the senior population. That's very, very important. (Applause.)

So we need to get together in a decent, open, honest bipartisan fashion, and figure out what other steps we need to take to close that gap. But, believe me, you can't get there unless you first set aside 62 percent of the surplus to save Social Security.

The second thing I want to do is set aside 15 percent of the surplus for the next 15 years for Medicare. And again, there are a lot of those who don't want to do that. But keep in mind, you may not agree with everything I do, but at least I ought to have some credibility on this. We did have a \$290 billion deficit when I took office, and we do have a \$70 billion surplus now. (Applause).

You've got a big stake in this. A lot of the people that are members of your union deal with people who depend upon Medicare to survive. A lot of you have parents who depend upon Medicare to survive.

Now, again, Medicare is falling victim to the aging of America, because the older you get the more you need some kind of health care, right? I mean, I have to stretch for 20 minutes or more just to get up and get around anymore. (Laughter.) I mean, it's a big deal. The older you get -- you do. We know that. And also modern medicine and technology -- we're living longer. And if we really do finish this genome project by 2000, 2001, unlock all the secrets of the human gene, you're going to see life expectancy go up exponentially.

But anybody in this room today that's over 60 years old, is still in good health, and if you know that -- if you don't know of any health problem you have, you have a life expectancy right now of over 80 years. The life expectancy in America today is over 76 years, and that includes everybody that gets killed by accidents, violence, early childhood disease, everything else. So, again, this is a high-class problem, folks. this is not the end of the world. It's good news -- we're living longer and there are medical advances.

But we cannot sustain Medicare, it's going to run out of money in 2010 or a couple years after that -- two or three years after that. We've done our best to manage it. We've added years to it. But we need to take it out for another decade or so. And we need also to make some provision for seniors on Medicare to get some help to buy prescription drugs. (Applause.)

Now, again, that will be a costly program, although, you know, we have to ask people who can afford to pay to pay what they can afford to pay. But think about it over the long run. Over the long run, you can buy a lot of drugs in a year for what a week in a hospital costs you.

So if we get the right kind of system in place and we don't encourage over-utilization, and we ask people to pay what they can afford to pay, but we help them, you'll get out of these horror stories where you've got seniors in America still making a choice between the food they eat and the drugs they need, without bankrupting the system.

Now, there have been a lot of proposed reforms to Medicare. There was that commission, you know, and they had different approaches and they didn't -- issued a report -- Senator Breaux's commission. They had some pretty good ideas about making the system more competitive and all that. But my issue there is, I want a defined set of benefits, first of all. (Applause.) I want to make as much provision as we can for prescription drugs.

And, secondly, I don't want to do something that will, in effect, break down the system, because there is no set of reforms that will meet the financial needs of Medicare without putting some more money in it. I've not seen any; I have not seen any independent expert who says that. And since I don't think we should raise taxes when we have a surplus, we ought to dedicate 15 percent of the surplus to Medicare, and make some reforms which would enable us to *lengthen the life of Medicare and begin to deal with this* prescription drug issue. And so I ask you to work with me on that. (Applause.)

Now, there are some people who believe that these programs ought to be more privatized, who won't support the money for that reason. But there are some people -- most of them in our party -- who believe that since we've got this money, we don't have to make any changes in the program. Both sides are wrong. So we're going to have to work together -- and you all need to listen to me -- we're going to have to work closely together.

For example, I'm against raising the retirement age for Medicare to 67 because -- let me tell you why -- because the fastest-growing group of people without health insurance are people between 55 and 65. And so I can't imagine why we would want to have more elderly people without health insurance.

Now, I've offered Congress a proposal to help plug that gap a little bit, and I hope they'll take it this year. But that does not mean we can be against all reform. We have to be prepared to eat a few lemons, too. But we ought to do it with our goals in mind: preserving the integrity of Medicare, the guaranteed set of benefits; doing something on the prescription drugs that will really make a difference; and making sure that we have held together a program that has been a lifesaver for this country for 30 years.

So that's what we've got to do. Now, let me just say one third thing about this. Again -- and there's another -- this is why I tell you, all this foreign business and the domestic business are all related. If we put aside 62 percent for Social Security and 15 percent for Medicare, we can do it in a way that enables us to pay down the national debt for 15 years.

If we pay down the national debt, here's what will happen: interest rates will be lower, more investment will come, there will be more jobs created, incomes will stay up, it will protect us from bad things that happen overseas and it will make it more likely that good things will happen overseas -- because if we don't have to borrow this money for our own debt, then other people around the world will be able to get money at lower rate. They will grow more, they'll buy more of our products. And you'll be better off because all your states and cities, people will be earning more money, paying more taxes, more money for AFSCME employees who work for public -- all this stuff is connected. (Applause.)

All this is connected. You have to see the connection between what we do and how it impacts on us and how it impacts around the world. So I ask you to support that.

Finally, I believe we should have a tax cut, but I think it ought to be targeted to middle-income families and lower-income working families. (Applause.) In my balanced budget we've got tax cuts for child care -- very important -- substantial; for long-term care, to help people pay for long-term care expenses for their families, very important; for training costs and any number of other things. And then in this balanced budget I propose to set aside about 11 percent of the surplus to help people set up their own savings accounts so they can save for their retirement, and have the government take this money and give it back to people, so over and above their Social Security and their retirement plans and their pensions, they can save more money for their future. Now, I think this is a good idea.

Now, let me say we have some agreement and a lot of disagreement with the Republican majority on this. They have agreed we should invest more money in education, which I think is good, but we differ about how to spend it. They have agreed that they should set aside some money for Social Security, but they haven't agreed to do it in a way that will pay down the debt yet. They have not agreed to devote any of the surplus to Medicare, which I think is a terrible mistake.

Now, they say I'm going to use the surplus so we don't have to make any of the hard choices on Medicare. I will say again, that is not true. You heard me tell you, we're going to have to get together and make some changes in the Medicare program. But we could make every change they propose and the thing would still not last very long unless we put some more investment in it. And every expert knows that.

So, the third thing I want to say is, as usual, for the last, now more than 16 years, the bulwark of their plan is a large tax plan that disproportionately benefits people like me who don't need it, and that will explode, in the out-years -- the very years that I want us to be paying that debt down, keeping interest rates down.

You talk to any person who's made a lot of money in America in the last six years and they'll tell you that they'd a lot rather have a growing stock market and low interest rates than a tax cut, because we already -- not because everybody wouldn't like to have a tax cut. The people we ought to be focusing on cutting taxes for are the people that cannot pay their kid's way to college, and take care of their parents who are sick, and make ends meet. That's what we ought to be doing. (Applause.)

So I say again, I'm somewhat encouraged by where we are with the Congress now because there is a general feeling we're going to do something about Social Security. But we ought to do it in a way that brings the debt down. We've got to do something about Medicare. We ought to have the right kind of tax cut, and it shouldn't be so big it keeps us from making the economy strong.

I want to work with you on this. You've been good to me. You helped me get elected. We've done a lot of things together. And, believe me -- the 25 percent of our time we've got left together -- if we save Social Security and Medicare for the 21st century, if we agree to pay down the national debt, if we make a historic commitment to the education of our children, if we do something about long-term care, if we do something about child care -- the best is yet to come.

Thank you, and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

1:03 P.M. EST

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