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001. schedule	Schedule of the President for Thursday January 11 2001; RE: phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	01/10/2001	P6/b(6)

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Domestic Travel Week of January 8th, 2001

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- 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]

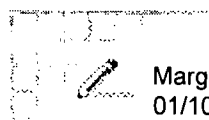
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Margaret M. Suntum
01/10/2001 11:47:19 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: telephone briefing with Gene Sperling and Bruce Reed on Dover, NH speech

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 10, 2001

PRESS BRIEFING BY TELEPHONE
WITH GENE SPERLING AND BRUCE REED
TO PREVIEW THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
IN DOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

10:37 A.M. EST

Q Basically, what is the President going to be talking about in Dover?

MR. REED: He is going to Dover to give the third in a series of speeches that he has been giving over the past month to sum up what he's done and what challenges are left to do. The reason he's going to Dover is that it's where he gave his famous speech nine years ago saying that, I'll be there for you until the last dog dies.

And the speech is going to be on social progress, and Gene and I will go through some of that for you. It's worth taking a look at that speech, if you haven't looked at it lately. That is the --

Q Is it on the website, the Archives?

MR. REED: I don't think so. I think you can --

Q Do you know the date of it?

MR. REED: It was February of '92, at the Dover Elks Club. And if you can't find a transcript, then we can help you track one down. And I can read you a couple parts of it just for fun.

Q What is that "last dog" doing now, Bruce?
(Laughter.)

MR. REED: Well, he has a new dog --

Q Oh, that's right, he's giving away Socks.
(Laughter.)

MR. SPERLING: And also, on tax issues, as we've heard, that dog doesn't hunt. (Laughter.)

MR. REED: But basically, what he talked about in that speech is that the real character issue is who cares about you, who is really trying to say what he would do specifically if he were elected President, who is determined to change your life rather than to just get or keep power. And it was a defiant speech about what really mattered was rolling up our sleeves and getting to work for the people of New Hampshire and the rest of the country.

* The major points the President is going to make tomorrow are, first, that the people were right and the pundits were wrong, that what matters isn't who is up or down in Washington, it's who is up or down in Dover and places like it. And second, that the reason that we have made such progress over the last eight years is that we put in place a new approach to social problems that rejected the old labels and false choices of what he called in that speech, the brain-dead politics of both parties, and that we have sought at every turn to expand opportunity and demand responsibility in return, and that we did this -- that this Third Way, as he's called it, has been even more effective as a governing philosophy than as a political one, that the only way -- it was the only way we could solve the problems that we inherited. The only way to turn around the welfare system was to reward and demand work at the same time. The only way to make crime go down was to put more police on the street and do more prevention. The only way to build the new economy was to balance the budget and increase investment at the same time, and so on.

And he believes that this approach to social policy will endure; that the new synthesis of helping those who are willing to help themselves forms a lasting basis for activist government that wasn't there before; that in the wake of the -- solutions of the '60s and the failed attempts of the '70s and '80s had dramatically undermined confidence in government's ability to solve problems, and that confidence has now been restored.

And I think he will talk tomorrow, the major point he'll make is that the strategy worked -- that crime is down to a 25-year low, that welfare rolls are the lowest in 30 years, and just as important, people on welfare are five times more likely to be working than they were when he took office -- that we've lifted 7 million Americans out of poverty; that we've doubled spending on education and put standards in place in every state at the same time; and that because of that, that America has a whole new confidence in its ability to solve social problems.

strategy worked

The very notion of social progress was in some ways unthinkable eight years ago. The problems that we inherited of rising deficits, rising rates of crime, welfare, illegitimacy, the decay of the inner city were widely regarded as intractable problems that nobody could do anything about. And now, happily, that has changed, not just because of what we've done, but because of what many have done around the country. And we've restored the faith that policy matters, that the approach government takes matters, and as the President said in his first Inaugural, everything wrong with America can be fixed with what's right with America.

Gene, do you want to say anything more?

MR. SPERLING: I guess that I'd just add is that we have seen, over the eight years, as he promised during the campaign, a focus on the economy, like a laser beam in the cause of empowering families. And I think what you've seen over this time period is an extremely -- as he promised, an extremely focused eight-year commitment to turning our fiscal situation around and, as Bruce said, investing in people at the same time.

And I think what was very distinctive about this period was that in the campaign in '92, the President -- then Governor Clinton -- promised to do deficit reduction in a progressive way, in a way that still invests in people and protected the poor. I think there was great skepticism at that time that that was possible and that was just a -- to promise both deficit reduction and progressive investments was a political statement, that you couldn't do both at the same time.

Yet, when you look at how the Deficit Reduction Act of '93 was put together -- with spending cuts, but also tax increases on the top 1.5 percent, with tax cuts during the earned income tax credit on the bottom 25 percent, and major increase in Head Start and WIC, you could see right from the start that he kept to that commitment. He kept to that commitment in fighting the Contract With America in '95; he kept that commitment in signing the progressive Balanced Budget Agreement in '97; and he kept to that commitment in saving the surplus for future generations, as opposed to letting it go to regressive tax cut over the last few years.

You also saw that this kind of sustained recovery,

Deficit Reduction Act '93
Contract w/ America '95

BBA '97

together with a focus on more investments in education and training, higher earned income tax credit, taking away the shields to barriers going to work has helped ensure that this recovery has benefitted all people.

And there's a very consistent thread running through this. When you look at the minimum wage, when you look at the Earned Income Tax Credit, when you look at the focus on child care, on not having people lose their Medicaid when they go to work on the welfare reform, all of it is a consistent pattern on addressing problems of the poor through taking away barriers to work, and rewarding work. And as a result -- and this is really quite worth focusing on -- in the 12 years before we came into office, the top 20 percent had seen their incomes go up 26.4 percent, but you had no income growth for the bottom 60 percent during that 12-year period.

Q Could you repeat that again -- I'm sorry.

MR. SPERLING: During the 1981-to-1983 period, that 12-year period, the highest quintile, the top 20 percent, saw their income grow 26.4 percent. But the bottom 20 percent actually saw their income fall. During a 12-year period their incomes actually fell by 4.4 percent. And then in the second and third quintiles, you had virtually flat -- virtually zero growth. So for the bottom 60 percent of American income workers in the 12 preceding years, they had zero income growth, though the top 20 percent had 26.4 percent.

Since 1993, all five quintiles have seen significant income growth, even in a shorter time period. The highest income growth has been, we're proud to say, in the bottom 20 percent. Their income is up 16.3 percent. This is the Census numbers, the annual Census poverty numbers.

Q I'm sorry, that is bottom 20 percent?

MR. SPERLING: The bottom 20 percent have seen their income go up 16.3 percent. The highest quintile is up 16 percent. And then the second quintile is up 13.6 percent; the middle quintile is up 13.4 percent; and the fourth quintile is up 13.4 percent.

So when you talk about that there was a commitment to make sure not just that we had growth, but that we grew together, that all votes were brought up together, that commitment is manifested in the numbers. And I do think there's no question that it was affected by the policies and the values in which deficit reduction was conducted.

Unlike the '80s, where many people were driven -- fell through the cracks -- lost housing, lost some of their social safety nets -- this was a period where the fiscal situation was turned around while actually taking significant steps to empower people with the Earned Income Tax Credit, with the education and

training. And so you've seen that all five quintiles -- and those are -- that's inflation adjusted growth, have seen more than double digit income growth in that time period, with the greatest income growth being at the bottom 20 percent.

Q Gene, is the increase in the bottom 20 attributable largely to the Earned Income Tax Credit?

MR. SPERLING: I think it's to a couple of things. One is that -- it's interesting. The Census, the poverty numbers do things where they include the Earned Income Tax Credit and then they show measures when they don't. Overall, there are 7 million less people in poverty today than when the President took office. That is a fall from -- where is it -- the Earned Income Tax Credit pulls out generally about 4 million people out of poverty, about 2 million more than when we took office.

But in terms of what is credited with that, I would say two things. I wouldn't credit just one specific thing. I would say that there was a very conscious effort for eight years to not let the burden of turning our fiscal situation around fall on the poor. And I think you saw in 1995, when deficit reduction was going to be done by undermining the safety net, the President was willing to face even a government shut-down to prevent that. He was willing to take the significant political hit of raising taxes on the most well off in '93 to prevent that.

And he was, at this time, very much increasing funding. Head Start funding more than doubled during this period, more than doubled. Dislocated worker training more than tripled. As Bruce said, when you take all of the key education -- I mean, education as a whole more than doubled during this period, with significant amount going to low income.

The other thing, though, which I think goes to the general economic view, is that strong fiscal policy certainly gave the Federal Reserve more flexibility. It helped the management of a very long expansion. And as that expansion got longer and longer, the private sector had to reach out more and more to people who had been on the fringes of the work force. And so you saw a very nice coming together of a long expansion, a smart welfare reform plan, and pro-work programs like the Earned Income Tax Credit.

And, together, you had both economic -- a long expansion, and economic and social policy all helping encourage more people who had been on the fringes of the labor force moving into the work force. That's just a dramatic improvement. It's stunning to see the unemployment rate fall during the last -- during this period among where Hispanic unemployment has gone from over 11 percent to 5.5 percent.

Consider that when we came into office, unemployment was 7.4 percent for the country as a whole. And -- I'm sorry,

unemployment
rate

Hispanic unemployment went from 11.3 percent to 5.7 percent. African American employment went from 14.1 percent to 7.6 percent. So imagine that we came into office, the general unemployment rate for the economy was 7.3 percent. Consider that Hispanic employment now is lower than it was for the general unemployment picture as a whole. And remember also in December of that year, people forget unemployment in California in '92 was 9.7 percent. It was nearly 10 percent in our largest state in --

Q I'm sorry, what was that average again for all Americans at that time?

MR. SPERLING: It was 7.3 percent in January of '93 when we came into office.

Q Okay. And then, is the President going to address the fact that obviously there's going to be sort of a change of mentality and viewpoint in Washington with the Bush administration? Is he going to address that at all?

MR. SPERLING: Well, I think that he will talk about some of the work that lies ahead on education, on health care, on maintaining the prosperity. I think that as he said yesterday in Chicago, we hope that on some of these issues, the country can continue to make bipartisan progress. We think it would be good for the country if education reform becomes a bipartisan issue.

Q True, but getting away sort of from the specific issues and getting more into the mentality that's going to be driving those changes like you were discussing earlier between -- the mentality that President Clinton brought that was successful in bringing about certain changes, there's obviously going to be a change in that driving mentality. Is he going to address that at all?

MR. REED: I don't think he'll get a critique of the Bush agenda. I think that there are some important issues he'll talk about that he hopes will remain at the center of the national debate, like education, health care, the economy. And I think it's too early to tell whether the new administration will govern from the center, in a practical way, as he has, or make false choices and wrong choices as he tried not to do.

Q Can you guys talk at all about any sense within the White House about him going back there? I mean, this was a state that was almost the end of the political road for him, and now he's going back there 10 days before he leaves his second term. Is there any sort of sense of nostalgia, or is there a specialness to going back to New Hampshire at all?

MR. REED: Oh, absolutely. He has always felt a special bond with the people of New Hampshire. And he went back there early -- I guess about two years ago, at this time, to say thank you. But he wanted to go back one more time and talk about

what it all has meant. And New Hampshire certainly has gone through a stunning transformation over the last eight years. The recession in the early '90s hit there harder than almost anywhere else.

Gene, do you know off the top of your head what the unemployment rate is down to now in New Hampshire?

MR. SPERLING: The unemployment rate -- I need to find out what it was in '92. By '93, January '93, it had gone down to 7.6. It was still above the national average. It's a remarkably low 1.8 percent now, if you can believe that.

So, Bruce, we ought to think about that. (Laughter.) Bruce, we ought to think about that. They're looking for people there. (Laughter.)

MR. REED: Find ourselves a Dunkin' Doughnut. (Laughter.)

Q Manchester Holiday Inn.

Q Donuts and domestic policy. (Laughter.)

Q Would you guys know off the top of your head, too, about this stop in Manchester, what's going on there? I guess it's a closed event, but do you know what it is?

MR. REED: Oh, is there a closed event?

MS. GEGENHEIMER: I can chime in. The President is just going to go to a private reception. If you have more questions, just contact the press office.

Q Is that going to be a private reception with the Governor or other --

MS. GEGENHEIMER: We can check on that. If you want to check in with the press office, we can get you some more details.

Q And are there future subjects coming up in any of the other stops he's going to make, as he closes out his tenure here? He's got a trip to Arkansas, but you said that he'd talk about a couple different subjects over the last week or so. This one is going to be social progress; are there other subjects to come?

MR. REED: I hesitate to say that this is the last. But I don't think there are any other policy speeches scheduled in the same way. He's done one on foreign policy, one on economic, and this one's on domestic.

Q Bruce, what's been decided about a possible state of the union? Is one going to be given? Is there going to be a

written state of the union, or do you know if any decision's been made on that?

MR. REED: I don't know, Mark.

Q Have you guys decided what he's going to do on the 20th, in terms of, is he going to go up to Chappaqua once he's done, or what's going to happen that day? Do you know yet?

MR. REED: I've heard that he's leaving for New York, but I don't know the schedule for exactly what he's doing or -- I assume he's spending the night in Chappaqua, but I don't know for a fact.

Q Is the speech in Boston going to mirror the one in Dover?

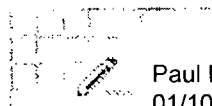
MR. REED: Yes, although I think that's more -- that is a big crowd event, as I understand it. So more of a rally than a policy speech.

Thanks a lot.

END

11:05 A.M. EST

Message Sent To: _____



Paul D. Glastris
01/10/2001 10:04:20 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: FINAL--Social Progress Remarks.

Final 1/10/01 10:05 pm
Glastris/Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON SOCIAL PROGRESS
DOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
January 11, 2001**

Acknowledgments: Gov. Shaheen. Ron Machos. Staff and friends who were here with me in 1992.

When I came here eight years ago, it was a tough time for me, and for the country. I was taking a whipping in the press, and dropping in the polls. But that was nothing compared to the punishment that people like Ron Machos were taking every day. I remember walking down Elm Street in Manchester where half the stores were vacant and no one could find a job. I remember a man in Merrimack who told me he had lost his job, 30 days before his pension vested.

Across America, ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work, and most of those with jobs were working harder for less. Interest rates were high. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising. And the federal debt had quadrupled in the previous 12 years, imposing a crushing burden on our economy and on our children.

We weren't just in the ditch economically, but as a society. Welfare rolls, crime, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, income inequality -- all had been skyrocketing. And experts were saying there was nothing we could do about it. I didn't believe that.

As I traveled around this state and this country, I saw plenty of determination and hope; heard plenty of good ideas for solving problems. I knew the American people could turn this country around. All they needed was a government that was on their side.

That night here in Dover, I said we needed a new kind of government that was less bureaucratic, but more active... a new kind of politics that treated issues not as a means to divide people but as problems to be solved together. I said we needed new, common-sense

ideas—for the economy, for education, for crime. Ideas tied together by a simple philosophy: opportunity for every American responsible enough to work for it.

I said we might not solve all our problems, but I promised that if you supported me, “When you got up in the morning you wouldn’t have to worry about whether your president cared if your business is failing, if you were losing your home, or if you couldn’t get a good education for your children.” I promised that I would work my heart out for you, in every way, every day, “till the last dog dies.”

Well, that dog is still barking.

For eight years now, I’ve worked to make good on the promises I made to you that night. For eight years, I have acted on the faith that if government can create the conditions and provide the tools, there is nothing the American people can’t do. Just look how far we’ve come. Right here in Dover, the unemployment rate was nearly 8 percent in 1993. Today it’s 1.7 percent—the lowest rate in the city’s history.

But our turnaround is not just here in Dover. Nationwide the unemployment rate has dropped from 7.5 percent in 1992 to 4 percent today -- the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We’re enjoying the longest economic expansion in our history, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment on record, and the highest homeownership ever. And we’re well on our way to making America debt-free by the end of this decade. Since 1993, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300 and hourly wages are up by more than 9 percent. The rising tide of our economy really is lifting all boats.

We’re not just better off -- we’re a better country. Crime is down. Drug abuse is down. The welfare rolls have been cut by nearly 60 percent. As a people, we are growing more diverse, and more united.

I am grateful that the people of New Hampshire made me the Comeback Kid. But I am even more grateful that together we made America the Comeback Country.

We’ve had our share of ups and downs in the last eight years. But the reason I’m standing here today is because I remember the lesson I learned the night I spoke here in 1992: that what’s important is not who’s up or who’s down in Washington – but who’s up and who’s down in Dover.

Our nation has turned around not because we got lucky -- but because we got smart. We abandoned the old false choices that had dominated the political debate in Washington for too many years. We replaced them with new ideas that were right for a new age. We called it the Third Way.

In the past, nobody believed you could reduce the deficit and increase investment in people at the same time. We said that was a false choice. Not only could you do both, but you had to do both if you want the nation to prosper in the new global information economy.

So we cut the deficit, which led to lower interest rates, more business investment, lower mortgage payments, car payments, student loan payments, and more growth. At the same time we invested more in education, health care, research and technology, to build the capacity of our people to take advantage of the opportunities of this new economy.

In the past, you supported either welfare or personal responsibility. We proved that was a false choice by replacing welfare as we knew it with a new system in which work is required--and rewarded. We've cut the welfare rolls by nearly 60 percent, and millions have moved from welfare to work. But we've also insisted that those who go to work get the job training, child care and transportation they need, and that their children don't go hungry or lose their health insurance when they do. And we've rewarded work by raising the minimum wage and nearly doubling the number of families lifted out of poverty by the Earned Income Tax Credit. Today, we have the lowest poverty rate in two decades.

We also made sure that people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health coverage. And that people who switch jobs can do so without losing their coverage. We created our Children's Health Insurance Program, which has provided health coverage to 3.3 million previously uninsured children of low-income parents. Now, for the first time in 12 years, the number of Americans without health insurance is going down.

In the past, crime went up while everybody argued whether it was better to prosecute crime or prevent it. We said that was a false choice, we needed policies that do both. So we put more police on the street, and got guns off the street, with the Brady Bill, the assault weapons ban, and tougher enforcement. And now crime has gone down every year for eight years--to its lowest level in 25 years.

In the past, you were for either economic growth or a clean environment. We said that was a false choice, because new technology could both protect our environment and grow the economy. Today our air is cleaner, our water is cleaner, our food is safer, and our economy is stronger. And we've set aside more land than any administration since Theodore Roosevelt, saving national treasures such as Yellowstone, the California Redwoods, the Florida Everglades, and the great roadless tracts of our national forests.

In the past, one side of the political debate argued that money would solve all the problems in education, and that setting high standards and holding schools accountable would only hold poor children back. The other side fundamentally did not think the public schools we're fixable, certainly didn't think the federal government had a role, and didn't want to spend much money trying. That's what I used to call the "brain-dead politics of both sides." In fact, both sides were wrong, and I said that we could turn our schools around by investing more in them and also demanding more from them. In 1992, there were 14 states with core academic standards. We passed legislation to encourage and support states in setting those standards, and today, 49 states have them.

But we also more than doubled investment in our schools, to give children the help they need to meet those standards. We've expanded and improved Head Start, provided

afterschool and summer school to 1.3 million children, and helped schools hire more highly-trained teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now, reading and math scores are going up, with some of the biggest gains in some of our most disadvantaged schools. SAT scores are rising even as more students from more diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And more high school graduates are going to college than ever before, thanks to the biggest increase in college aid since the GI bill.

In the past, there was a debate between those who wanted to save the cities with vast government programs, and those who just wanted to write our cities off. We said that cities could come back if we could drive crime out and get private sector investment in. We brought in more capital through empowerment zones, community development banks and by strengthening the Community Reinvestment Act. That street in Manchester I mentioned, where half the store fronts were vacant in 1993, is today filled with bustling businesses – from banks to Internet cafes. We're seeing that kind of turnaround across the country. Poverty in inner cities has fallen more than 23 percent since 1993, and wages have grown even faster there than in the suburbs. And our New Markets initiative will bring more investment and jobs to areas of our country that have not felt our prosperity.

In the past, we were told that pro-family workplace policies like family and medical leave would cost jobs and hurt the economy. We believed the opposite was true: That if we found ways to help people succeed at home and at work, we'd have more growth, not less. So the first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act, and now, 22.5 million jobs later, more than 35 million Americans have been able to take a little time off to care for a newborn child or sick relative.

When I spoke here in Dover that evening in 1992, I said that throughout history, America has gotten in trouble when we have permitted ourselves to be divided, to fight against one another, and to believe the worst about one another. But whenever we've come together in all our diversity as One America, we've been unstoppable. For all the economic and social progress we've made in the last eight years – the rising incomes, the falling crime rates, the rising test scores – what I am most proud of about this country is that even as we've become more diverse, we've come closer together. And we've shown that by coming together, we can solve problems that many once saw as intractable. This gives me enormous hope for the future. One of the fundamental facts of the modern world is that we are growing more and more interdependent within our communities, our nation and beyond our borders. Winning, for communities, nations, and the world is becoming a team sport. In basketball, it doesn't matter how good a star you are. If the other four walk off the court, the game is over.

Right now, America is at the top of its game. We mustn't walk off the court. I think it would be a grave mistake to think the progress and prosperity we've achieved over the last eight years will continue if we abandon the common sense ideas that got us here. If we continue our policy of fiscal responsibility and investing in our people, we can keep this amazing prosperity going. If we continue to put more police on the street and get guns off the streets, we can make our country the safest big nation on Earth. If we continue to invest in our schools and demand more from them, we can give every child in America a 21st Century

education. If we continue to require work and reward it, we expand the circle of prosperity to include everyone.

We now have eight years of evidence to show that these ideas are the right ideas to govern our country in the new century. The vital center that the American people chose eight years ago, but that seemed so foreign in Washington, is now the new consensus in Washington. Because of that, the possibility to get things done is limitless.

I've come back here today not only say thank you for giving me the chance to serve, but to tell you that hardly a day has gone by that I don't think of that night here in Dover. For eight years, you have been my guide. Everything I've tried to do has been done with the idea of whether or not it would help people like you to improve your lives. But that's what you should expect from any President; it's what you hire us to do. Now, I'm going to take on the office that President Harry Truman said was the most important in the land – that of citizen. And I do so convinced that America's best days lie ahead.

Thank you and God bless you.

Message Sent To: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 2001

SOCIAL PROGRESS SPEECH

DATE:	January 11, 2001
LOCATION:	Dover High School Dover, New Hampshire
EVENT TIME:	11:30 am – 12:50 pm
FROM:	Bruce Reed

I. PURPOSE

To highlight America's domestic economic and social accomplishments over the last eight years and the challenges that lie ahead.

II. BACKGROUND

Today you will deliver the final in a series of three policy speeches to a crowd of approximately 2,000 New Hampshire residents. You will celebrate the historic social progress and economic growth that has helped restore communities in New Hampshire and around the country, and will highlight that your strategy of investing in people while maintaining fiscal discipline has proven successful. Your approach to expand opportunity while demanding responsibility has resulted in the lowest crime rates in a generation, the lowest welfare rolls and unemployment rate in thirty years, highest home ownership on record, and 7 million fewer Americans living in poverty. You will also highlight that education spending has doubled under your Administration and that 3.3 million more children have health insurance than in 1992 as a result of the State Children's Health Insurance Plan. Finally, you will point out that despite these significant transformations, many challenges lie ahead, and we must continue on this path to ensure that all Americans have the opportunity to enter the circle of prosperity.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Greeters:

Armand LaSelva, Superintendent of Schools, Dover, NH
Bob Pederson, Principal, Dover High School
Thom Forbes, Staff, Dover High School

Stage Participants:

Approximately 15 people from the Dover community

Program Participants:

Governor Shaheen

Ron Machos, Jr.

Ron Machos, of Dover, NH is a married father of three sons who you met in 1991 at a breakfast in Dover. At the time, as Ron puts it, he was "at the bottom of the barrel": he had been laid off from his job, the health insurance he thought he was still paying for had been cancelled, his five month old-son was diagnosed with a heart defect, and he was forced to file for bankruptcy due to overwhelming medical bills incurred from his son's surgery and treatments. He became involved in your 1992 Presidential campaign, even appearing via satellite at the national convention. Since you took office, Ron's life has been transformed. He runs his family's thriving small business, has purchased a home, has health insurance for his entire family, and lives in a community with safer streets and a revitalized economy. He credits your Administration and policies for turning around the lives of both his family and the people of his community.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- **YOU** will be announced on stage accompanied by Governor Shaheen and Ron Machos, Jr.
- Governor Shaheen will make remarks and introduce Ron Machos, Jr.
- Ron Machos Jr. will make remarks and introduce **YOU**.
- **YOU** make remarks, work a ropeline, and depart.
- **YOU** will proceed to the overflow room to greet the crowd and depart.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriting.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule of the President for Thursday January 11 2001; RE: phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	01/10/2001	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Anna Richter
OA/Box Number: 23736

FOLDER TITLE:

Domestic Travel Week of January 8th, 2001

2011-0638-S
ms146

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- 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.

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

- 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]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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]

[001]

Thursday, January 11, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 2001

Final Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME:

P6/(b)(6)

OFFICE:

202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER:

4824

PRESS DESK:

HELEN LANGAN

HOME:

P6/(b)(6)

OFFICE:

202-456-7465

WHCA PAGER:

4617

EVENT COORDINATOR:

STEPHEN LAMB

HOME:

P6/(b)(6)

OFFICE:

202-456-7184

WHCA PAGER:

4207

ADVANCE LEAD:
(DOVER)

DAVID NESLEN

CELL:

P6/(b)(6)

STAFF OFFICE:

43-220

WHCA PAGER:

5752

ADVANCE LEAD:
(MANCHESTER)

DOUG SMITH

CELL:

P6/(b)(6)

STAFF OFFICE:

42-220

WHCA PAGER:

5202

ADVANCE LEAD:
(BOSTON)

IAN ALBERG

CELL:

P6/(b)(6)

STAFF OFFICE:

45-220

WHCA PAGER:

3392

WEATHER:
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Partly cloudy. Highs near 50.

DOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Increasing clouds with isolated snow showers overnight. Winds west to northwest at 8 to 12 knots. Low 03°F. High 34°F.

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Partly sunny. High in the lower and mid 30s. Northwest wind 10 to 20 mph.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Partly cloudy. Winds west to northwest at 8 to 12 knots. Low 19°F. High 38°F.

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 2001
Final Schedule

DOWN UNTIL 9:00 A.M.

9:00	am-	UNIFORMED DIVISION USSS STAFF PHOTO
9:05	am	SOUTH PORTICO Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY
		Note: This will be a group photo with 65 staff members.
9:10	am-	MEETING
9:25	am	MAP ROOM Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich
9:30	am	THE PRESIDENT departs The White House via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 10 minutes]
9:40	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
9:55	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route Pease International Tradeport, Portsmouth, New Hampshire [flight time: 1 hour]

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

10:55 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Pease International Tradeport

Greeters: Governor Jeanne Shaheen
 Mayor Wil Boc
 State Senator Burt Cohen
 State Senator Katie Wheeler
 State Senator Beverly Hollingsworth
 State Representative Gary Gilmore
 State Representative William Knowles
 State Representative Kathleen Taylor
 State Representative Raymond Proulx
 State Representative Chris Reid
 Elizabeth Parker, City Council Member
 Matt Mayberry, City Council Member
 Jason Hindle, City Council Member
 Peter Schmidt, City Council Member
 Robert Berry, City Council Member
 Thomas Dunnington, City Council Member
 Colonel Kenneth Clark, National Guard,
 157th Air Fueling Wing
 Renee Crouch, Technical Sergeant
 Michael Davis, Master Sergeant
 Anita Freedman
 Debra Crapo
 Jim Demers
 Nancy Alcorn
 Theodore Kyrios
 Lisa Mead
 Dorothy LaFrance
 Robert LaFrance

Note: P.F. Bentley, Newsweek photographer, will be taking "Behind the Scene" photographs throughout the day.
--

11:10 am THE PRESIDENT departs Pease International Tradeport via motorcade
 en route Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
 [drive time: 15 minutes]

11:25 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Dover High School and Regional Vocational
 School

Greeters: Armand LaSelva, Superintendent
 Bob Pederson, Principal
 Thom Forbes

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

11:30 am- SOCIAL PROGRESS SPEECH
12:30 pm GYMNASIUM
Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
Remarks: Josh Gottheimer, Paul Glastris
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
OPEN PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 2,000 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of the President, Governor Shaheen and Ron Machos, Jr.
- Governor Shaheen makes brief remarks and introduces Ron Machos, Jr.
- Ron Machos, Jr. makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

12:35 pm- REMARKS TO OVERFLOW CROWD
12:50 pm AUDITORIUM
Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
Remarks: Josh Gottheimer, Paul Glastris
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
POOL PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 800 guests in attendance.

12:50 pm- POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS
12:55 pm BACKSTAGE
Dover High School and Regional Vocational School

12:55 pm- PHOTO RECEIVING LINE
1:25 pm MUSIC ROOM
Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 115 guests in attendance.

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

1:30	pm-	HOLD FOR BRIEFING
1:45	pm	PRESIDENTIAL HOLD
		Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
		Staff Contact: Jake Siewert
		Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
1:45	pm-	HOLD FOR INTERVIEW WITH MARK KNOLLER OF <i>CBS RADIO</i>
2:00	pm	COACH'S ROOM
		Dover High School and Regional Vocational School
		Staff Contact: Jake Siewert
		Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
2:05	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Dover High School and Regional Vocational School via motorcade en route Dover Landing Zone [drive time: 5 minutes]
2:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Dover Landing Zone
2:20	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Dover Landing Zone via Marine One en route Manchester Airport Landing Zone, Manchester, New Hampshire [flight time: 25 minutes]
2:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Manchester Airport Landing Zone
2:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Manchester Airport Landing Zone via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: 15 minutes]
3:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Location TBD
		Greeter: Mayor Bob Baines
3:15	pm-	OTR
4:10	pm	LOCATION TBD
4:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Holiday Inn [drive time: 5 minutes]
4:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Holiday Inn
		Greeter: Sean O'Kane, General Manager

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

4:20 pm- FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS RECEPTION
5:20 pm SALON A
Holiday Inn
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 200-250 guests in attendance.

5:20 pm- POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS
5:25 pm ARMORY
Holiday Inn

5:25 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holiday Inn via motorcade en route
Manchester Airport Landing Zone
[drive time: 10 minutes]

5:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Manchester Airport Landing Zone

5:45 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Manchester Airport Landing Zone via Marine
One en route Boston Medical Center Landing Zone, Boston,
Massachusetts
[flight time: 30 minutes]

6:15 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Boston Medical Center Landing Zone

6:25 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Boston Medical Center Landing Zone via
motorcade en route Northeastern University
[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Northeastern University

Greeters: Richard Freeland, President, Northeastern University
(curbside)

(inside) Senator Edward Kennedy
Representative Michael Capuano
Mayor Thomas Menino
David Hall, Provost, Northeastern University

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

6:40 pm-
7:50 pm CROWD EVENT
MATTHEWS ARENA
Northeastern University
Remarks: Josh Gottheimer, Paul Glastri
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
OPEN PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 7,000 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of the President, accompanied by Senator Edward Kennedy, Representative Michael Capuano, Mayor Thomas Menino, and Richard Freeland, President, Northeastern University.
- Richard Freeland makes brief remarks and introduces Representative Michael Capuano.
- Representative Michael Capuano makes brief remarks and introduces Mayor Thomas Menino.
- Mayor Thomas Menino makes brief remarks and introduces Senator Edward Kennedy.
- Senator Edward Kennedy makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

7:50 pm-
7:55 pm POLICE/DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS
HALLWAY, MATTHEWS ARENA
Northeastern University

7:55 pm THE PRESIDENT proceeds to New England Conservatory

8:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives New England Conservatory

8:05 pm-
9:05 pm MIX AND MINGLE
BROWN HALL
New England Conservatory
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Stephen Lamb
CLOSED PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 200-250 guests in attendance.

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

Thursday, January 11, 2001

9:10	pm-	BRIEFING AND FOREIGN POLICY PHONE CALL
9:40	pm	PRESIDENTIAL HOLD New England Conservatory Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
9:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs New England Conservatory via motorcade en route Boston Logan International Airport [drive time: 20 minutes]
10:05	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Boston Logan International Airport Greeters: Jeff Hagmeier Mark Phillips Colleen Brown Mary Kates
10:20	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Boston Logan International Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 1 hour, 15 minutes]
TBD		HOLD 15 MINUTES FOR BRIEFING AND 15 MINUTES FOR INTERVIEW WITH STEVE HOLLAND AND DEBBIE CHARLES OF <i>REUTERS</i> ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE Staff Contact: Jake Siewert
11:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
11:50	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route The White House [flight time: 10 minutes]
12:00	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
BC/HRC RON		THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 10, 2001 (7:41 PM)

 Karin Kullman

01/10/2001 05:54:11 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: First draft of Thursday NH social progress remarks

Here is a draft of the President's social progress speech for New Hampshire tomorrow. There are several missing numbers that speechwriting would like our assistance in filling in. Please get this info. to Josh Gottheimer as soon as possible. Thank you!

----- Forwarded by Karin Kullman/OPD/EOP on 01/10/2001 05:53 PM -----



Paul D. Glastris
01/10/2001 03:50:47 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: First draft of Thursday NH social progress remarks

Please send responses ASAP to Glastris/Gottheimer 62777

Draft 1/10/01 3:45 pm

Glastris/Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON SOCIAL PROGRESS
DOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
January 11, 2001**

Acknowledgments: TK

When I came here eight years ago, it was a tough time for me, and for the country. I was taking a whipping in the press, and dropping in the polls. But that was nothing compared to the punishment the American people were taking every day. I remember walking down Elm Street in Manchester where half the stores were vacant and no one could find a job. I remember a man in Merrimack who told me he had lost his job, 30 days before his pension vested.

Nationwide, ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work, and most of those with jobs were working harder for less. Interest rates were high. The deficit was \$290 billion

and rising. And the federal debt had quadrupled in the previous 12 years, imposing a crushing burden on our economy and on our children.

We weren't just in the ditch economically, but as a society. Welfare rolls, crime, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, income inequality -- all had been skyrocketing. And experts were saying there was nothing we could do about it. I didn't believe that.

As I traveled around this state and this country, I saw plenty of determination and hope; heard plenty of good ideas for solving problems. I knew the American people could turn this country around. All they needed was a government that was on their side. That's what I pledged to give them that night here in Dover.

I said we needed a new kind of government that was less bureaucratic, but more active... a new kind of politics that treated issues not as a means to divide people but as problems to be solved together. And we needed new, common-sense ideas—for the economy, for education, for crime. Ideas tied together by a simple philosophy: opportunity for every American responsible enough to work for it.

I set out the specifics of what I would do. But most of all I promised the people of Dover that if they supported me, I would work my heart out for you, in every way, every day, "till the last dog dies."

Well, that dog is still barking.

For eight years now, I've worked to make good on the promises I made to you that night. For eight years now I have acted on the faith that if government can create the conditions and provide the tools, there nothing the American people can't do. Just look how far you've come. Right here in Dover, the unemployment rate was nearly 8 percent in 1993. Today it's 1.7 percent—the lowest rate in the city's history. But our turnaround is not just here. Nationwide the unemployment rate has dropped from 7.3 percent in 1993 to 4.1 percent today -- the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We're enjoying the longest economic expansion in our history, with the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment on record, and the highest homeownership ever. And we're well on our way to making America debt free by the end of this decade. Since 1993, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300 and hourly wages are up by more than 9 percent. The rising tide of our economy really is lifting all boats.

We're not just better off -- we're a better country. Crime is down. Drug abuse is down. The welfare rolls have been cut by more than half. As a people, we are growing more diverse, and more united.

You might say that America is the Comeback Country.

Our nation achieved all this not because we got lucky but because we got smart. We got away from the old false choices that had dominated political debate in Washington for too

many years. We replaced them with new ideas that were right for a new age. We called it a Third Way.

In the past, nobody believed you could increase investment in people and reduce the deficit at the same time. We said that was a false choice. Not only could you do both, but you had to do both if you want the nation to prosper in the new global information economy. So we cut the deficit, which led to lower interest rates, more business investment, lower mortgage payments, car payments, student loan payments, and more growth. At the same time we invested more in education, health care, research and technology, to build the capacity of our people to take advantage of the opportunities of this new economy.

In the past, you either supported welfare or personal responsibility. We made that a false choice by replacing welfare as we knew it with a new system in which work is required, and rewarded. We've cut the welfare rolls by more than half, and millions have moved from welfare to work. But we've also made sure that they get the job training, child care and transportation they need to go to work and that their children don't go hungry or lose their health insurance when they do. And we've increased the rewards of working by raising the minimum wage and doubling the Earned Income Tax Credit that together have lifted tk-million working families out of poverty. Today, we have the lowest poverty rate in tk years.

We also made sure that people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health coverage. And that people who switch jobs can do so without losing their coverage. We created our Children's Health Insurance Program, which has provided health coverage to 3.3 million previously uninsured children of low-income working parents. Now, for the first time in 12 years, the number of Americans without health insurance is going down.

In the past, crime went up while everybody engaged in a stale debate about whether it was better to prosecute crime or prevent it. We said that's a false choice, we need policies that do both. So we put more police on the street, and got guns off the street, with the Brady Bill, the assault weapons ban, and tougher enforcement. And now crime has gone down every year for eight years, to its lowest level in 25 years.

In the past, you were either for economic growth or for a clean environment. We said that was a false choice, and that with the help of new technology, we could both protect our environment and grow the economy. Today our air is cleaner, our water is cleaner, our food is safer, and our economy is stronger. And we've set aside more land than any administration since Teddy Roosevelt, saving national treasures such as Yellowstone, the California Redwoods, the Florida Everglades, and the great roadless tracts of our national forests.

In the past, one side of the political debate argued that money would solve all the problems in education, and that setting high standards and holding schools accountable would only hold poor children back. The other side fundamentally did not think the public schools we're fixable, certainly didn't think the federal government had a role, and therefore didn't want to spend much money trying. We said that both sides were wrong, and that we could turn our schools around by investing more in them and also demanding more from them. In

1992, there were 14 states with core academic standards. We passed legislation to encourage and support states in setting those standards, and today, 49 states have them.

But we also dramatically increased investment in our schools, to give children the help they need to meet those standards. We've expanded and improved Head Start, provided afterschool and summer school to tk-million children, and helped schools hire more highly-trained teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now, reading and math scores are going up, with some of the biggest gains in some of our most disadvantaged schools. SAT scores are rising even as more students from more diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And the number of high school graduates going to college is up 10 percent since 1993, thanks to the biggest increase in college aid since the GI bill.

In the past, there was a debate between those who wanted to save the cities with vast government programs, and those who just wanted to write our cities off. We said that cities could come back if we could drive crime out and get the private sector investment in. We brought in more capital through empowerment zones, community development banks and by strengthening the Community Reinvestment Act. Now, that street in Manchester where I said half the store fronts were vacant in 1993, is filled with bustling businesses – from banks to Internet cafes. We're seeing that kind of turnaround in cities across the country. Poverty in inner cities has fallen more than 23 percent since 1993, and wages have grown even faster there than in the suburbs. And our New Markets initiative will bring more private sector investment and jobs to areas of our country that have not felt our prosperity.

In the past, we were told that pro-family workplace policies like family and medical leave would cost jobs and hurt the economy. We believed the opposite was true: That if we found ways to help people succeed at home and at work, we'd have more growth, not less. So the first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act, and now, more than 22 million jobs later, over 20 million Americans have been able to take a little time off to care for a newborn child or sick relative.

When I spoke here in Dover that evening in 1992, I said that throughout history, America has gotten in trouble when we have permitted ourselves to be divided, to fight against one another, and to believe the worst about one another. But that whenever we've come together in all our diversity as One America, we've been unstoppable. For all the economic and social progress we've made in the last eight years – the rising incomes, the falling crime rates, the rising test scores – what I am most proud of about this country is that even as we've become more diverse, we've come closer together. And as we have we've shown that we can solve problems that many once saw as intractable. This gives me enormous hope for the future. One of the fundamental facts of the modern world is that we are growing more and more interdependent within our communities, our nation and beyond our borders. Winning, for communities, nations, and the world is becoming a team sport. In basketball, it doesn't matter how good a star you are. If the other four walk off the court, the game is over.

Right now, America is at the top of its game. We mustn't walk off the court. I think it would be a grave mistake to think the progress and prosperity we've achieved over the last

eight years will continue if we abandon the common sense ideas that got us here. If we continue our policy of fiscal responsibility and investing in our people, we can keep this amazing prosperity going. If we continue to put more police on the street and get guns off the streets, we can make our country the safest big nation on Earth. If we continue to invest in our schools and demand more from them, we can give every child in America a 21st Century education. If we continue to require work and reward it, we expand the circle of prosperity to include everyone.

We now have eight years of evidence to show that these ideas are the right ideas to govern our country in the new century.

I've come back here today not only say thank you for giving me the chance to serve, but to tell you that hardly a day has gone by that I don't think of that night here in Dover. For eight years, you have been my guide. Everything I've tried to do has been done with the idea of whether or not it would help you to improve your lives. But that's what you should expect from any President; it's what you hire us to do. Now, I'm going to take on the office that President Harry Truman said was the most important in the land – that of citizen. And I do so convinced that America's best lie ahead.

Thank you and God bless you.

Message Sent To:

Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
James R. Kvaal/OPD/EOP@EOP
Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP
Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP
Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP
Patrick M. Dorton/OPD/EOP@EOP
Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP@EOP
Christopher C. Jennings/OPD/EOP@EOP
Karin Kullman/OPD/EOP@EOP
Devorah R. Adler/OPD/EOP@EOP
Christopher M. Wanken/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Gene B. Sperling/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Deanne E. Benos/OPD/EOP@EOP
Sarah C. Lucas/OPD/EOP@EOP
Kendra L. Brooks/OPD/EOP@EOP
Heather H. Howard/OPD/EOP@EOP
Sonia G. Chesson/OPD/EOP@EOP
Nicholas J. Lewin/OPD/EOP@EOP
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Caroline S. Chang/OPD/EOP@EOP
David G. Sewell/OPD/EOP@EOP
David F. Lussier/OPD/EOP@EOP
Jose Cerda/OPD/EOP@EOP
Jennifer A. Housell/OPD/EOP@EOP

FOCUS - 3 OF 4 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

May 22, 1993

CITE: 29 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 932

LENGTH: 3566 words

HEADLINE: Remarks at the New Hampshire Technical College Commencement Ceremony in Stratham, New Hampshire

BODY:

Thank you very much, Madam President, members of the faculty and staff, distinguished Members of Congress and other platform guests, and ladies and gentlemen, and most importantly, the members of this graduating class. To answer the president's question, I came here to address this class because you were the people that I ran for President to serve. It was your America that I hope to make better. I'm proud to come back to the State that 15 months ago made me the "comeback kid" in this country. [Laughter] On February 7, 1992, when I came to this college, the people I met here asked me about things that matter to mainstream Americans, about jobs and health care and getting the economy moving again and whether the future for our young people would be better than the present. After I finished speaking, one of your students, Greg Fuller, then asked me to come back and speak at this graduation. Stand up, Greg. And then he wrote me a letter to confirm his request. That itself was miracle enough. In 3 months and 2 weeks we had received more mail at the White House than had come in, in all of 1992. There may be another letter from Greg somewhere we haven't found yet. [Laughter] But I'm delighted to be here. This is the first graduation ceremony I have addressed as President, and I am -- [applause]. I don't know, but it may be the first time a President has ever addressed a graduation of a technical college. But I will say this: More colleges like yours should have visits from the President because people who work hard and study hard and who have to raise children and go to work while they go to school and who are really on the cutting edge, up and down, of this economy, you are the heart and soul of our present and our future. The world in which you -- [applause] -- your families are clapping for you. The world in which you live, to be sure, has been full of bad news here in New Hampshire for the last few years, but it's also a very exciting and challenging place. And it will be different from the world in which I grew up in two very important ways. First of all, more than ever before, America will be captured by the reality of the global economy. More and more of our jobs will depend on trade. And more and more of our future will depend on not only how well we are doing but how well our trading partners are doing. One of our problems today is that Europe and Japan's economies are down, so it's hard for ours to go up. More and more, our national security will depend not just on military power but on our renewal of economic strength. More and more, we'll have to find ways to cooperate as well as to compete with other countries. We'll have to find ways to preserve the global environment and still make it possible for the economies of our world to grow. That's the first thing. The second thing is something you already know, or you wouldn't be here. We are moving very rapidly in all forms of production and service to a knowledge-based economy in which what you earn depends on what you can learn, not only what you know today but what you're capable of learning

tomorrow, and in which every graduate of high school needs at least to go on to 2 years of further education and training. You know that, or you wouldn't be here. All of you have invested your money, your time, your energy to take personal responsibility for your own lives, developing your own skills and in recognition of this new world reality. Your investment in a way is an act of faith. You know the world is knowledgebase& you know you have to do this. Now having done it, you have to have faith that there will be opportunities for you, that if you have worked hard and played by the rules, you will be rewarded. As President I share that faith. I believe we can make our system work I believe we can see our country once again reflect the values with which all of us were raised. I don't think any of us can ever lose sight of that. Its appropriate that I'm at this graduation, because New Hampshire aught me all these things once again. In the fall and winter of 1991 and 1992, when I spent so much time here, I literally, as we say in my part of the country, went to school with you. Two winters ago I came face to face with middle class people who had lost their jobs and their homes and their health care. I met people whose business loan had been canceled, even though they had never missed a payment in their lives. I saw people who went down to the public assistance office and began to draw welfare checks just to make their home payments to keep from putting their kids in the street, middle class people who had had jobs and never thought they would be unemployed. Every day when I get up in the White House and go to the Oval Office to work. I think about the people I met here and people like them all over America whose quiet courage and determination inspires me to keep fighting to restore the middle class and the fundamental strength and purpose of this country. I'll never forget people like Ron Macos, Jr., who couldn't get a job with health insurance because his little boy, had open heart surgery. And when the Fixst Lady's health care task force presents the national health ere proposal in the next few weeks to the Congress, if that proposal passes, the Ron Macoses of this world will be able to keep working and raising their children in the future. I'll never forget a young woman I met named Emily Teabold, who was a senior in high school when I met her. Her father lost his job in New Hampshire, and he spent her entire senior year in North Carolina, because that's the closest place he could find a job. I met a man here named David Springs, who was a month away from having his pension vested when he was fired from his company because people who owned his company sold it out in one of these leverage deals. And they bailed out with a golden parachute to a happy life and left their employees on the rocks. I remember some stories of courage, too. I went to Clairmont and met the people who were working in the American Brush Company, trying to help revive that community. And I tried to help them find some customers for their products. I remember going to Manchester and visiting a company called Envirotote that made bags that we wound up buying all during the campaign and giving out with our little Clinton-Core stickers on, all across the country. I saw people who were trying to make this country work again and trying to make New Hampshire a beacon of opportunity again. Most of the people I saw, for all their hurts, never lost their hopes. And I'm here today to thank you for not losing yours, for going through this program and believing in it. Your president said something I want to reiterate. For most of the 20th century there's been a big division in our minds about what kind of learning counts and what kind of learning doesn't count as much, the big division between what is vocational and what is academic, between what is practical and what is intellectual. In the last few years really smart people realize that that's a bogus distinction and that we have seen all over the world, and especially here in America, the line drawn down between the vocational and the academic, between the practical and the intellectual. All

work requires knowledge, and it's not so bad if it has a practical application. That is what you have proved here. So here we are with you. You have done our job. You have done anything that could be asked of you. Many of you have done this at great personal sacrifice. I wonder how many of you have gotten up in the morning wondering about what you were going to do for child care that day, wondering about whether you should keep doing this given the fact that it costs money and the unemployment rate in the State is above the national average, wondering about all kinds of uncertainties. You have done it. You have done your job. You have now a right to ask what is our job. What can you expect of your country? What can you expect of your Government? What is our job? If you have been responsible, what opportunities should you be able to claim? Our job is to try to put your values and your dreams into law and into facts. It means we have to have a new economic policy that recognizes that for 20 years, through the administrations of Democrats and Republicans alike, most working people have been working harder for lower hourly pay, one that recognizes that for a long time we have been the only advanced industrial country that didn't provide basic health care to all of our citizens, the only one that puts people in the trap of not being able to change jobs if anybody in their family has ever been sick, because they've got a preexisting condition that will cost them their health insurance if they change jobs. That's a huge handicap in a world where the average 18-year-old will change work eight times in a lifetime. And where, because of global competition, most new jobs are created by small businesses that are coming into existence and going out of existence all the time. And then, for 12 years we have seen our national debt go from \$ 1 trillion to \$ 4 trillion and our national investment in many things that are critical to our future go down. So we're spending less on what we should be spending money on, and costs are exploding. You have a right to better than that. You have a right to an economic policy that puts our people first, our jobs, policy that brings this deficit down so that we are not crushed and paralyzed with it into your children's children's lifetime with high interest rates and a mortgaged future. You have a right to be treated fairly and to be given a chance to make it. You have a right to live in a country where everybody is given a chance to make it, which is not prejudiced against the wealthy -- we don't like to be that way -- but gives those who aren't, a fair chance to earn their due. That is what you have a right to, And that is what you do not have today. We are doing our best in Washington to turn that around, to get control of the deficit, to bring it down, to invest in those things that will create more jobs, and to guarantee over the longrun that we'll have jobs and incomes and health care that will justify the efforts you have made by going through this program. That is our responsibility. I've asked the United States Congress to adopt a program that begins with spending cuts, starting with a reduction in my own staff, a reduction in the size of the Federal Government by 150,000 over the next 4 years, big cuts in the administrative budgets, and asking the Federal employees to accept a wage freeze and lower increases in later years so that we can bring the deficit down. I have asked also that more than 200 other spending programs be cut, including the entitlements that have so much special-interest support. Second it is clear to anyone who studies this problem that we need new revenues also to bring the deficit down. I've asked those who can best afford to pay, whose taxes went down in the 1980's, the wealthiest Americans, to pay most of what we need to raise. Over 74 percent of my tax program comes from the top 6 percent of income earners. I also have proposed an energy tax which most Americans will pay. It is one that's called a BTU tax which will help promote conservation and the use of the most clean and fuel efficient fuels. But listen to the way it works: Because we offer income tax cuts to working families with

incomes under \$ 30,000, those will offset the impact of the energy tax. And for larger families under \$ 25,000, there will even be a relief in the tax burden. For people with incomes above \$ 30,000, at \$ 40,000 and \$ 50,000 and \$ 60,000, here's what it costs. You're entitled to know in plain language. Next year it costs a dollar a month per family. The next year after that, \$ 7 a month; and the next year after that, depending on the size of your family, between \$ 14 and \$ 17 a month. You have to decide if it's worth it to bring the deficit down. But let me tell you, as the tax increases and the spending cuts will be put in a trim fund so that they can't be used to do anything but bring the deficit down. And we can't have the taxes without the spending cuts. That's what the budget resolution that was adopted a few weeks ago means. We must cut spending. So we're going to do that, both things. Now, is it worth it? You have to be the judge. But let me ask you just to consider this. Since November, since we made it clear that we were going to try to attack this deficit and after the announcement had been made after the election that the deficit over the next 4 years would be over \$ 160 billion bigger than we were told before the election. Since November, long-term interest rates have dropped. Millions of Americans have already benefited by refinancing their home mortgages, refinancing business loans. Many others will benefit by lower interest rates on car loans or consumer loans or student loans. If just someone here has refinanced a home loan since November, in all probability, depending on the size of the mortgage, you will save more in 1 year than you will pay in 4 years in the energy tax. I think it is worth it to keep the interest rates down and to drive the deficit down. But you have to decide that. There's a third way that we're trying to make some fundamental changes. Just as we stop spending money on things we don't need, I think we do have to invest some in what we do need. A lot of you, just in order to get through this program, had to cut back on some of the things that you would like to have spent money on. A lot of you made meaningful financial sacrifices in your own family life just to get here today so you could wear the cap and gown. I know that. But you've been wise to make that decision. Because of the investments you've made in education and training, in the years ahead you'll be able to do more of the things that you gave up doing in the -- last 2 years. You'll be able to provide more opportunities for your children. You'll be able to build a stronger family unit with a stronger family future. That's what we're also trying to do. This program offers dramatic increases in incentives for small businesses to invest money, to become more productive and hire new people, to invest in research and development, to find new products. It offers dramatic incentives to people to try to end the real estate depression that has gripped New England and southern Florida and California and many other places. It offers real incentives for people to invest in new businesses, the biggest in the history of America, for people to try their hand in starting new businesses. It offers an investment in new technologies, in defense conversion for all these people around America who have lost their jobs because of defense cutbacks. And it attempts to establish a transition from school to work so that everybody, by the time we finish this program, who graduates from high school, who doesn't go to a 4-year college, would at least have the clear opportunity to move right into a 2-year program like this one so they don't lose time becoming productive and able to earn the best wages they can earn. I think that is a good investment in our future. In other words, what I think our Government owes you is to move beyond the two dichotomies that have argued so long in Washington, in what I think is a very stale way. One says, "Well, you're out there on your own and all we've got to do is make sure we don't spend a nickel to see the cow jump over the moon." The other says, "We'll take care of you. We can do things for you. Don't you worry

about it." Neither one of those approaches is fight. We can't entitle people to something that they won't work for. But neither can we turn our back on the plain responsibility of the United States to provide opportunity for people who will work for it. We have to empower people to seize what they are willing to seize. You have done your part; now we have to do ours. I want to emphasize again for the majority of people who do not go on to a 4-year college, it is imperative that we join the ranks of the other high-wage countries and provide a system by which 100 percent of them at least know they have the opportunity to move into a program like the one that you have been a part of. It is imperative. Why? Because just as what you earn depends on what you can learn, what America does in terms of growing jobs depends on how functional all the people in this country are. We don't have a person to waste. There ought to be twice as many people here today as there are at this graduation ceremony. And if there were, the economy of New Hampshire and the United States would be stronger as a result. I also believe very strongly that the United States ought to make available on terms everybody can afford the funds that people need to borrow to finance their education to 9 or 4-year schools. And we have proposed to change the whole basis of the way the student loan program works: to lower interest rates, number one; and number two, to make available loans and then let people pay them back after they go to work and as a percentage of their income, so that people not be discouraged from borrowing money today with the fear that they won't be able to pay it back if they get a job, especially if they get a job with a modest wage. You ought to be able to pay it back as a limited percentage of your income. It will make a huge difference. Now, I believe these policies together will restore the sense of optimism to middle class America that we need. The idea that we can create jobs. that people who work at jobs can raise their incomes over time if they continue to improve their education and their productivity. And if we can do that and deal with the health care issue, we can restore a sense of possibility to America. I don't pretend that this will be easy, that the progress will be uninterrupted, that nothing bad will happen. As I said at the beginning, some of what happens to us economically here in this country depends on what is happening to all these other countries around the world. A big percentage of the new jobs we've gotten in the last 5 years have come from trade. We won't get many if Europe and Japan are flat on their back. But a lot of what happens to us depends upon what we do here. And you're entitled, having done your part. to know that your Government has done its part. It may not happen overnight. A lot of these economic trends have been developing for 20 years. The political policies that we seek to change have been developing for a dozen years. And I must say, it is much easier to tell people that I'm going to cut your taxes and spend more money on everything than to say we're going to have to raise some money and spend less money on most things. A lot of the easy things have been done, but I want you to believe that we can do it. We have made a good beginning. Here's something that can affect you. After years of arguing, we finally passed the family leave bill that says you can get some time off when a baby is born or somebody's sick without losing your job. I signed last week the motor voter bill, which opens up the political process to easier registration, because another young student from New Hampshire got me to sign a card when I was here saying that I'd do my best to pass it if I got elected President. But changing this economy is a hard job. It requires a lot of discipline, and it requires our patience and concentrated effort, yours and mine, over a long period of time. But we can do it. We can do it. The work of change is never easy. But you have proved you weren't afraid to change. The average student here is 30 years old. I can remember when I was your age. A lot of people would have been embarrassed to go

back to school when they're 30. Now we've got people going back to school when they're 70. And let me tell you something: You must remain unafraid to change. You must remain unafraid to change. Many of you will have to go through retraining programs when you're in your mid- to late fifties. You should look at that as a great opportunity to live a rich and diverse and interesting life. If we can do what we should do at the national level to reward the efforts you are making, then change can be your friend and not your enemy. The heartbreaking thing I saw in New Hampshire all during the primary season last year and in 1001 was how many people had been victimized by change. I cannot repeal the laws of change. No person can. Our common challenge is to preserve the values of work and family and community and reward for effort in the midst of all this change. You have done your part You should be proud of yourselves today, and you should commit yourselves to continue to work to make sure that change is your friend and that you are rewarded for the extraordinary and courageous efforts you have made. God bless you, and good luck.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to college president Jane Power Kilcoyne. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

LOAD-DATE: February 18, 1994

POINTS ON DOMESTIC TRAVEL

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During the last weeks of the Administration, the President will return to several cities of symbolic importance to his presidency to highlight the enormous prosperity America enjoys today as a result of the Clinton Administration – specifically how the progress of the last eight years has impacted the lives of the American people. Each of the cities the President will travel to are historically significant to the President as cities he visited on the campaign trail and throughout his presidency and as examples of the progress the nation has enjoyed under his leadership -- historic economic growth, expanded education opportunities and social progress.

MIDWEST TRAVEL, TUESDAY, JANUARY 9

East Lansing, Michigan

On Tuesday, the President will travel to East Lansing, Michigan to give a speech on the economic transformation of America – showcasing America's historic economic growth over the last eight years as a result of the President's strategy of fiscal discipline and paying down the debt.

The final presidential debate of the 1992 campaign was held at Michigan State University East Lansing on October 19, 1992. In that debate he promised to work from day one "to deal with the critical issues that America is crying out for leadership on -- jobs, incomes, the health care crisis, the need to control the economy." He also visited Michigan State University on September 23, 1992.

Chicago, Illinois

Also on Tuesday, the President will travel to Chicago to visit a school and highlight how education and the quality of schools across America have improved, particularly in the nation's cities. Chicago leads the nation in improving education and serves as a strong example of how the President's education initiatives can help America's children reach a brighter future.

The President visited Chicago for a huge rally in Daley Plaza the day after the East Lansing debate – October 20. News reports said it was the most people in the Plaza since the Bears' Super Bowl Championship Celebration in 1986. Clinton also visited Chicago on September 21, 1992, when he was endorsed by a group of 400 business leaders. He also appeared at a voter registration rally targeting blacks, jogged a few miles along the lakefront, visited with three of the four members of the rock band U2, and watched the Bears play the Giants at Soldier Field. President Clinton went on to become the first Democratic Presidential candidate to win Illinois since 1964.

NEW ENGLAND TRAVEL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 11

Dover, New Hampshire

On Thursday, January 11, the President will visit Dover New, Hampshire to deliver a major speech to the nation on social progress in America. As a result of the President's leadership, today, the circle of opportunity has widened in America and Americans are better for it. We've had historic economic growth, expanded educational opportunities and the lowest crime rates in a generation.

Dover, NH was the sight of Clinton's "till the last dog dies" speech during the 1992 campaign-- Feb. 13, 1992. He had become an underdog in New Hampshire, and promised supporters that he would not forget them if they gave him a chance, saying "I'll be here for you until the last dog dies."

Manchester, New Hampshire

Also on Thursday, January 11, the President will travel to Manchester, New Hampshire to visit the people of New Hampshire who have supported him throughout his presidency. While in Manchester, the President will visit Elm Street, a street that has enjoyed great revitalization during the last eight years – representing the transformation of America.

President Clinton visited Manchester, NH during the primary campaign and promised to return during the general election. He made his return trip on September 26, 1992 and spoke in a junior high school gym before a roaring crowd of 300, saying that he felt like he had come back home. He thanked New Hampshire residents for making him the "Comeback Kid," said he had learned about the heart and soul of America during the primary, and again vowed never to take the Granite State for granted. After the speech, he stopped at a local Dunkin' Donuts he had visited during the primary -- papers described it as a "mob scene."

Boston, Massachusetts

The President will return to Boston to participate in a Rally with the people of Boston and showcase the transformation of America, specifically highlighting the city's achievements in reducing crime and making the streets a safer place for families.

On September 25, 1992, the President spoke to a crowd of 12,000 in a packed Faneuil Hall. He was introduced by former Sen. Paul Tsongas and Mayor Raymond Flynn. Clinton called himself a different kind of Democrat and told the crowd, "If and when Mr. Bush does actually debate, he'll find he is running against a different challenger, a different kind of Democrat who understands that the premier issue of our time is how we can help America in a global economy to build a society where the power of government is used to help people and to help the private sector create jobs and increase incomes,"

Boston is symbolic of the progress made across the nation to reduce crime. In the early 1990's, Boston was faced with a surge in homicides, gang-related crime, and youth violence. Over the past seven years, the Clinton-Gore administration has been a consistent and important partner in

Boston's collaborative efforts to reduce and prevent crime. To assist in Boston efforts, the COPS Office has awarded over \$14 million in grants to hire or redeploy 148 officers and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms designated Boston as one of its first Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative cities to help trace its illegal guns. Additionally, the city has received a Department of Justice grant to create a Domestic Violence Court, and a \$24 million, five-year Department of Labor investment in the Youth Opportunity Center in the city's Enterprise Zone neighborhoods. The comprehensive crime-fighting approach taken in Boston, in which Federal authorities were key partners, has led to fast-track prosecution and incarceration, stronger undercover narcotics operations, better tracking of gangs, guns, and violence and increased probation compliance among juveniles.

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BODY:

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Audience member. Nice tie! [Laughter]

The President. Thank you. I sort of like this tie myself. Thank you. It was given to me just this morning. [Laughter]

A couple of weeks ago we were trying to plan how we would end this campaign -- I hope I can say this without cracking up. [Laughter] And I said I would like to begin the last day of my last campaign in New Hampshire.

Five years and one month ago today I came to New Hampshire saying that the world was changing, America was changing, and that we couldn't stay with the old politics, that our country was being paralyzed by all this name-calling and rhetoric out of Washington, dividing us when we needed to be pulling together, and thinking about all the incredible opportunities as well as the stiff challenges we faced. And I believed that if we changed the nature of politics in our Nation's Capital we could change America and we could come together and move forward, that we could create more opportunity and have more responsibility and we could come together in an American community. That's what I believed.

Four years ago, all over this State, all kinds of people took me on faith. You heard what Dick Swett said, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction because of what he did. And a different kind of tone has overtaken the politics of New Hampshire. I was so happy and proud when I stood here on this stage this morning and I listened to Arnie and Joe and Dick and Jeanne Shaheen talk about what they wanted to do and why they were running and what they represented.

And I heard, I guess it was Joe who said Warren Rudman said that the Democrats had become the moderate party. I think the Democrats have become the modern party as well, the party of the future. America has always needed at times of great changes in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world a modern moderate party, a commonsense but vital, vigorous centrist party moving this country forward. That's what you see on this stage.

And I was so proud -- I heard Arnie speaking and she reminded me this morning

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that I first met her in an elevator here before the Democratic Convention in the '92 campaign and she didn't know me, but then no one else did either. [Laughter] And I was thinking how far Joe Keefe has come, how greatly he's matured, what a terrific speech he made. And they're going to be terrific Members of the Congress if you'll stick with them tomorrow and help them.

I was thinking that the first time I ever met Jeanne Shaheen I thought she was a diamond waiting to be discovered, that if the people ever really got a good look at her, they would want her to serve in higher office. You have given her that chance, and tomorrow you're going to make her your Governor. And it will be a good time for New Hampshire.

First time I met Dick Swett and Katrina and their children -- you have to come to New Hampshire every 9 months if you want to meet all their children. [Laughter] I thought -- somebody asked me today, "You know, you're the first President in history ever to come to New Hampshire eight times in your term of office." I said, "Well, I've got to keep up with Dick's family." [Laughter] I thought to myself, this man is the walking embodiment of family values.

You remember back in '92 we had a toast and roast to raise money for the party, and you all virtually extorted all this money out of those of us who were running for President; you knew we'd show up and say nice things about Dick Swett. He knew that he could do very well in his campaign, raising money with all the candidates, showing up at the toast and roast. I stood up and said that I didn't come here to heap praise on him like all these panderers did who were running against me for President. I came up here to wipe his windshield on his car. [Laughter]

I want to say to you that Dick Swett stood for reducing the deficit, reducing the crime rate, for making Congress live under the same laws it imposes on the American people before it was the popular thing to do -- before it was the popular thing to do. He would be a positive, uniting force in Congress, not a divisive, rancorous force. He would be a force for generosity, for the better part of the spirit of the people of New Hampshire, for the better part of your future, not a force telling you how bad this person or the other one or the other one is, but a person who would be bringing us together. I'm telling you, that's what we need more than anything in America today. We need to stop the insults and get on the issues and building our future and going forward, and that's what Dick Swett would be.

Now, you know that compared to 4 years ago, in terms of the economy, the lowest crime rate in 10 years, declining welfare rolls, rising child support collection, in almost every way of indicating the character of American life, we are moving forward into the 21st century.

You don't have to take me on faith anymore; you don't have to say, well, that sounds like a good approach. We tried our approach, and they have fought it every step of the way. And you know which one works. And New Hampshire is now a living example of what happens when we work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. And make no mistake about it, that is what is at issue here. With all these big, big issues we fought about -- when you hear us talking about the budget or education or the environment, the fundamental core issue is whether there are some things on the edge of this great new century and new millennium we must do together. If we want every American to have a chance to

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live up to his or her God-given ability, if we want America to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world, if we want America to be a community that's growing together and going forward together, there are some things we must do together.

One thing we have, I hope, dispelled in New Hampshire and throughout America is that this has nothing to do with liberal and conservative. It is our administration that has reduced the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time in the 20th century. The Government is the smallest it's been since John Kennedy came to New Hampshire as the President of the United States. We have reduced more programs and regulations and privatized more Government services than our Republican predecessors. But we believe there are some things we must do together. They say, "You're on your own." We say, "Let's build a bridge to the 21st century together that we can all walk across together." All of these issues are in that one choice.

And let me say this goes beyond party, too. At every point of great change in the history of this Nation someone has to step up and say we're going to meet this challenge and we're going to go forward together. And when we do we will be living closer to our ideals. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party; Abraham Lincoln gave his life to save the Union and end slavery. Theodore Roosevelt devoted his Presidency to making America change in a way that would help to preserve and enhance our values in the face of the industrial revolution. It was Roosevelt who said it's wrong for these children to be working 70 hours a week in factories when they ought to be in school; that it's wrong to tear up all of our natural resources; it's wrong to let monopolies destroy every small-business person in the country and end the free enterprise system. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party.

But you remember what they did on the other side when they had the majority in Congress. They passed a budget that was divisive, destructive, and would have taken us back to the past. It is now our responsibility to keep on this path that I charted with you in New Hampshire in 1992 because we are the only people who are out there advocating that. That's why we need Arnie Arnesen; that's why we need Joe Keefe; that's why we need Dick Swett and Jeanne Shaheen in the Governor's office. That's why we need them.

Your vote is going to decide whether you return to the Congress the majority of people who were prepared to shut the Government down unless we agreed to dismantle the Medicaid program, to revoke the national standards -- even the standards on the quality of nursing home care -- revoke the commitment we've had for 30 years to provide health care to families with members with severe disabilities so they could continue to live middle class lifestyles as they worked hard. Your vote will decide that.

They voted for a budget that cut education -- student loans to Head Start -- for the first time in modern history, that for the first time in 25 years abandoned our national bipartisan commitment to preserving the environment and instead put shackles on our ability to preserve clean air and clean water. And when we wouldn't accept it, they shut the Government down twice. Now, that was their approach. They said my approach was wrong, but you see what the results are.

You know now what our approach is. You know now what their approach is. The choice is there for you. Are we going to finish the job of balancing the budget

while investing in our children and protecting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, or blow a hole in the deficit? Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we will let the family leave law wither on the vine because they oppose it, or expand it and say, you know, you ought to be able to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs to go see your children's teacher twice a year and take your family members to the doctor.

Your vote will decide whether we continue our work of putting 100,000 police on the street. Remember when I was here in Manchester not very long ago, visiting the neighborhood where the crime rate had been lowered because there were more police on the street? They opposed us in putting 100,000 police on the street. Then they said it would never happen. Well, we've now funded about half of them. They voted against it. Then they eliminated it in their budget. Then they tried to shrink it again. They do not believe that we should work together. I can't think of anything more important than to make our children and our families safe on their streets, in their schools, in their homes, in their neighborhoods, reclaiming our streets for law-abiding citizens.

Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program. The only indicator in this country right now, social indicator that's not going in the right direction, with welfare down and crime down and out-of-wedlock pregnancy down for the first time in 20 years and child support collections up and drug use overall down and cocaine use down 30 percent -- the only indicator that's not going in the right direction is drug use by young people under 18. I have done my best to dramatically increase the programs at the grassroots level helping people to tell our kids drugs are illegal, drugs are wrong, drugs will kill you. The safe and drug-free schools program is putting people in uniforms before young children at early ages to give them a chance to stay out of trouble in the first place. But they cut the program dramatically. I will expand it. I believe we have a common interest in helping schools all over America to reach our children at an early age, to support the values we should all be communicating and keeping our kids out of trouble. Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide whether we or they are right when I supported and initiated and they opposed the first effort ever by our National Government to tell the big tobacco companies they had to stop advertising, marketing, and distributing cigarettes illegally to children because 3,000 a day start smoking and 1,000 will die soon because of it. Your vote will decide.

[At this point, an audience member required medical attention.]

Yes, we need a doctor here. My medical team's here. We'll be right there.

You will have to decide that. And folks -- yes, here they are. You will have to decide that. And I want you, when you walk out of here today, to remember everything that's happened in this country since I first came here in 1992. Remember that and think about it tomorrow when you get up. And think about these four fine people behind me and think about what your responsibilities are. You have a chance to seize the most brilliant future in American history. The best days of this country are still to be lived. But we have to make the right decisions. And you have to make the right decisions.

In what I suppose has become the most famous of my political speeches, I said

in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1992 that if you would give me a chance to be President, I would be with you until the last dog dies. Now, folks, there's a lot of life in this old dog. And I want you to seize this day for our children, for our future, for the right sort of policies especially in education. We're going to open the doors of college education to all. We're going to hook up all these classrooms to the Internet. We're going to teach all of our young children to read. We're going to continue to reform health care so that more and more and more Americans can afford it and don't lose it when they're in difficult circumstances. We're going to continue to grow this economy while we balance the budget and protect the environment.

These are the things we can do together. We're going to continue to make our streets safe and our children's future brighter if you will seize the day and help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

God bless you, New Hampshire. Thank you. I'll see you tomorrow. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 a.m. outside the Merrimack Restaurant. In his remarks, he referred to Dick Swett, senatorial candidate from New Hampshire; Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen, candidate for New Hampshire's Second Congressional District; Joseph F. Keefe, candidate for New Hampshire's First Congressional District; Jeanne Shaheen, gubernatorial candidate; and former Senator Warren Rudman.

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HEADLINE: Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals

BODY:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the House and the Senate, distinguished Americans here as visitors in this Chamber, as am I. It is nice to have a fresh excuse for giving a long speech. [Laughter]

When Presidents speak to Congress and the Nation from this podium, typically they comment on the full range and challenges and opportunities that face the United States. But this is not an ordinary time, and for all the many tasks that require our attention, I believe tonight one calls on us to focus, to united, and to act. And that is our economy. For more than anything else, our task tonight as Americans is to make our economy thrive again.

Let me begin by saying that it has been too long, at least three decades, since a President has come and challenged Americans to join him on a great national journey, not merely to consume the bounty of today but to invest for a much greater one tomorrow.

✓ Like individuals, nations must ultimately decide how they wish to conduct themselves, how they wish to be thought of by those with whom they live, and later, how they wish to be judged by history. Like every individual, man and woman, nations must decide whether they are prepared to rise to the occasions history presents them.

We have always been a people of youthful energy and daring spirit. And at this historic moment, as communism has fallen, as freedom is spreading around the world, as a global economy is taking shape before our eyes, Americans have called for change. And now it is up to those of us in this room to deliver for them.

Our Nation needs a new direction. Tonight I present to you a comprehensive plan to set our Nation on that new course. I believe we will find our new direction in the basic old values that brought us here over the last two centuries: a commitment to opportunity, to individual responsibility, to community, to work, to family, and to faith. We must now break the habits of both political parties and say there can be no more something for nothing and admit frankly that we are all in this together.

The conditions which brought us as a Nation to this point are well-known: two decades of low productivity, growth, and stagnant wages; persistent unemployment and underemployment; years of huge Government deficits and declining investment in our future; exploding health care costs and lack of coverage for millions of Americans; legions of poor children; education and job training opportunities

inadequate to the demand of this tough, global economy. For too long we have drifted without a strong sense of purpose or responsibility or community.

And our political system so often has seemed paralyzed by special interest groups, by partisan bickering, and by the sheer complexity of our problems. I believe we can do better because we remain the greatest nation on Earth, the world's strongest economy, the world's only military superpower. If we have the vision, the will, and the heart to make the changes we must, we can still enter the 21st century with possibilities our parents could not even have imagined and enter it having secured the American dream for ourselves and for future generations.

I well remember 12 years ago President Reagan stood at this very podium and told you and the American people that if our national debt were stacked in thousand-dollar bills, the stack would reach 67 miles into space. Well, today that stack would reach 267 miles. I tell you this not to assign blame for this problem. There is plenty of blame to go around in both branches of the Government and both parties. The time has come for the blame to end. I did not seek this office to place blame. I come here tonight to accept responsibility, and I want you to accept responsibility with me. And if we do right by this country, I do not care who gets the credit for it.

The plan I offer you has four fundamental components. First, it shifts our emphasis in public and private spending from consumption to investment, initially by jump-starting the economy in the short term and investing in our people, their jobs, and their incomes over the long run. Second, it changes the rhetoric of the past into the actions of the present by honoring work and families in every part of our public decisionmaking. Third, it substantially reduces the Federal deficit honestly and credibly by using in the beginning the most conservative estimates of Government revenues, not, as the executive branch has done so often in the past, using the most optimistic ones. And finally, it seeks to earn the trust of the American people by paying for these plans first with cuts in Government waste and inefficiency; second, with cuts, not gimmicks, in Government spending; and by fairness, for a change, in the way additional burdens are borne.

Tonight I want to talk with you about what Government can do because I believe Government must do more. But let me say first that the real engine of economic growth in this country is the private sector, and second, that each of us must be an engine of growth and change. The truth is that as Government creates more opportunity in this new and different time, we must also demand more responsibility in turn.

Our immediate priority must be to create jobs, create jobs now. Some people say, "Well, we're in a recovery, and we don't have to do that." Well, we all hope we're in a recovery, but we're sure not creating new jobs. And there's no recovery worth its salt that doesn't put the American people back to work.

To create jobs and guarantee a strong recovery, I call on Congress to enact an immediate package of jobs investments of over \$ 30 billion to put people to work now, to create a half a million jobs: jobs to rebuild our highways and airports, to renovate housing, to bring new life to rural communities, and spread hope and opportunity among our Nation's youth. Especially I want to emphasize, after the events of last year in Los Angeles and the countless stories of despair in our cities and in our poor rural communities, this

proposal will create almost 700,000 new summer jobs for displaced, unemployed young people alone this summer. And tonight I invite America's business leaders to join us in this effort so that together we can provide over one million summer jobs in cities and poor rural areas for our young people.

Second, our plan looks beyond today's business cycle because our aspirations extend into the next century. The heart of this plan deals with the long term. It is an investment program designed to increase public and private investment in areas critical to our economic future. And it has a deficit reduction program that will increase the savings available for the private sector to invest, will lower interest rates, will decrease the percentage of the Federal budget claimed by interest payments, and decrease the risk of financial market disruptions that could adversely affect our economy.

Over the long run, all this will bring us a higher rate of economic growth, improved productivity, more high-quality jobs, and an improved economic competitive position in the world. In order to accomplish both increased investment and deficit reduction, something no American Government has even been called upon to do at the same time before, spending must be cut, and taxes must be raised.

The spending cuts I recommend were carefully thought through in a way to minimize any adverse economic impact, to capture the peace dividend for investment purposes, and to switch the balance in the budget from consumption to more investment. The tax increases and the spending cuts were both designed to assure that the cost of this historic program to face and deal with our problems will be borne by those who could readily afford it the most. Our plan is designed, furthermore, and perhaps in some ways most importantly, to improve the health of American business through lower interest rates, more incentives to invest, and better trained workers.

Because small business has created such a high percentage of all the new jobs in our Nation over the last 10 or 15 years, our plan includes the boldest targeted incentives for small business in history. We propose a permanent investment tax credit for the smallest firms in this country, with revenues of under \$ 5 million. That's about 90 percent of the firms in America, employing about 40 percent of the work force but creating a big majority of the net new jobs for more than a decade. And we propose new rewards for entrepreneurs who take new risks. We propose to give small business access to all the new technologies of our time. And we propose to attack this credit crunch which has denied small business the credit they need to flourish and prosper.

With a new network of community development banks and \$ 1 billion to make the dream of enterprise zones real, we propose to bring new hope and new jobs to store-fronts and factories from south Boston to south Texas to south central Los Angeles. This plan invests in our roads, our bridges, our transit systems, in high-speed railways, and high-tech information systems. And it provides the most ambitious environmental cleanup in partnership with State and local government of our time, to put people to work and to preserve the environment for our future.

Standing as we are on the edge of a new century, we know that economic growth depends as never before on opening up new markets overseas and expanding the volume of world trade. And so, we will insist on fair trade rules in

international markets as a part of a national economic strategy to expand trade, including the successful completion of the latest round of world trade talks and the successful completion of a North American Free Trade Agreement, with appropriate safeguards for our workers and for the environment.

At the same time -- and I say this to you in both parties and across America tonight, all the people who are listening -- it is not enough to pass a budget or even to have a trade agreement. This world is changing so fast that we must have aggressive, targeted attempts to create the high-wage jobs of the future. That's what all our competitors are doing. We must give special attention to those critical industries that are going to explode in the 21st century but that are in trouble in America today, like aerospace. We must provide special assistance to areas and to workers displaced by cuts in the defense budget and by other unavoidable economic dislocations.

And again I will say we must do this together. I pledge to you that I will do my best to see that business and labor and Government work together for a change.

But all of our efforts to strengthen the economy will fail -- let me say this again; I feel so strongly about this -- all of our efforts to strengthen the economy will fail unless we also take this year, not next year, not 5 years from now but this year, bold steps to reform our health care system.

In 1992, we spent 14 percent of our income on health care, more than 30 percent more than any other country in the world, and yet we were the only advanced nation that did not provide a basic package of health care benefits to all of its citizens. Unless we change the present pattern, 50 percent of the growth in the deficit between now and the year 2000 will be in health care costs. By the year 2000 almost 20 percent of our income will be in health care. Our families will never be secure, our businesses will never be strong, and our Government will never again be fully solvent until we tackle the health care crisis. We must do it this year.

The combination of the rising cost of care and the lack of care and the fear of losing care are endangering the security and the very lives of millions of our people. And they are weakening our economy every day. Reducing health care costs can liberate literally hundreds of billions of dollars for new investment in growth and jobs. Bringing health costs in line with inflation would do more for the private sector in this country than any tax cut we could give and any spending program we could promote. Reforming health care over the long run is critically essential to reducing not only our deficit but to expanding investment in America.

Later this spring, after the First Lady and the many good people who are helping her all across the country complete their work, I will deliver to Congress a comprehensive plan for health care reform that finally will bring costs under control and provide security to all of our families, so that no one will be denied the coverage they need but so that our economic future will not be compromised either. We'll have to root out fraud and overcharges and make sure that paperwork no longer chokes your doctor. We'll have to maintain the highest American standards and the right to choose in a system that is the world's finest for all those who can access it. But first we must make choices. We must choose to give the American people the quality they demand and deserve

with a system that will not bankrupt the country or further drive more Americans into agony.

Let me further say that I want to work with all of you on this. I realize this is a complicated issue. But we must address it. And I believe if there is any chance that Republicans and Democrats who disagree on taxes and spending or anything else could agree on one thing, surely we can all look at these numbers and go home and tell our people the truth. We cannot continue these spending patterns in public or private dollars for health care for less and less and less every year. We can do better. And I will work to do better.

Perhaps the most fundamental change the new direction I propose offers is its focus on the future and its investment which I seek in our children. Each day we delay really making a commitment to our children carries a dear cost. Half of the 2-year-olds in this country today don't receive the immunizations they need against deadly diseases. Our plan will provide them for every eligible child. And we know now that we will save \$ 10 later for every \$ 1 spend by eliminating preventable childhood diseases. That's a good investment no matter how you measure it.

I recommend that the women, infants, and children's nutrition program be expanded so that every expectant mother who needs the help gets it. We all know that Head Start, a program that prepares children for school, is a success story. We all know that it saves money, but today it just reaches barely over one-third of all the eligible children. Under this plan, every eligible child will be able to get a head start. This is not just the right thing to do; it is the smart thing to do. For every dollar we invest today we'll save \$ 3 tomorrow. We have to start thinking about tomorrow. I've heard that somewhere before. [Laughter]

We have to ask more in our schools of our students, our teachers, our principals, our parents. Yes, we must give them the resources they need to meet high standards, but we must also use the authority and the influence and the funding of the Education Department to promote strategies that really work in learning. Money alone is not enough. We have to do what really works to increase learning in our schools.

We have to recognize that all of our high school graduates need some further education in order to be competitive in this global economy. So we have to establish a partnership between businesses and education and the Government for apprenticeship programs in every State in this country to give our people the skills they need. Lifelong learning must benefit not just young high school graduates but workers too, throughout their career. The average 18-year-old today will change jobs seven times in a lifetime. We have done a lot in this country on worker training in the last few years, but the system is too fractured. We must develop a unified, simplified, sensible, streamlined worker-training program so that workers receive the training they need regardless of why they lost their jobs or whether they simply need to learn something new to keep them. We have got to do better on this.

And finally, I propose a program that got a great response from the American people all across this country last year: a program of national service to make college loans available to all American and to challenge them at the same time to give something back to their country as teachers or police officers or

community service workers; to give them the option to pay the loans back, but at tax time so they can't beat the bill, but to encourage them instead to pay it back by making their country stronger and making their country better and giving us the benefit of their knowledge.

A generation ago when President Kennedy proposed and the United States Congress embraced the Peace Corps, it defined the character of a whole generation of Americans committed to serving people around the world. In this national service program, we will provide more than twice as many slots for people before they go to college to be in national service than ever served in the Peace Corps. This program could do for this generation of Members of Congress what the land grant college act did and what the GI bill did for former Congressmen. In the future, historians who got their education through the national service loan will look back on you and thank you for giving America a new lease on life, if you meet this challenge.

If we believe in jobs and we believe in learning, we must believe in rewarding work. If we believe in restoring the values that make America special, we must believe that there is dignity in all work, and there must be dignity for all workers. To those who care for our sick, who tend our children, who do our most difficult and tiring jobs, the new direction I propose will make this solemn, simple commitment: By expanding the refundable earned income tax credit, we will make history. We will reward the work of millions of working poor Americans by realizing the principle that if you work 40 hours a week and you've got a child in the house, you will no longer be in poverty.

Later this year, we will offer a plan to end welfare as we know it. I have worked on this issue for the better part of a decade. And I know from personal conversations with many people that no one, no one wants to change the welfare system as badly as those who are trapped in it. I want to offer the people on welfare the education, the training, the child care, the health care they need to get back on their feet, but say after 2 years they must get back to work, too, in private business if possible, in public service if necessary. We have to end welfare as a way of life and make it a path to independence and dignity.

Our next great goal should be to strengthen our families. I compliment the Congress for passing the Family and Medical Leave Act as a good first step, but it is time to do more. This plan will give this country the toughest child support enforcement system it has ever had. It is time to demand that people take responsibility for the children they bring in this world.

And I ask you to help to protect our families against the violent crime which terrorizes our people and which tears our communities apart. We must pass a tough crime bill. I support not only the bill which didn't quite make it to the President's desk last year but also an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street, to provide bootcamps for first-time nonviolent offenders for more space for the hardened criminals in jail, and I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. Let me say this. I will make you this bargain: If you will pass the Brady bill, I'll sure sign it.

Let me say now, we should move to the harder parts.

I think it is clear to every American, including every Member of Congress of

both parties, that the confidence of the people who pay our bills in our institutions in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make Government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups. And that beginning must start with real political reform. I am asking the United States Congress to pass a real campaign finance reform bill this year. I ask you to increase the participation of the American people by passing the motor voter bill promptly. I ask you to deal with the undue influence of special interest by passing a bill to end the tax deduction for lobbying and to act quickly to require all the people who lobby you to register as lobbyists by passing the lobbying registration bill.

Believe me, they were cheering that last section at home. I believe lobby reform and campaign finance reform are a sure path to increased popularity for Republicans and Democrats alike because it says to the voters back home, "This is your House. This is your Senate. We're your hired hands, and every penny we draw is your money."

Next, to revolutionize Government we have to ensure that we live within our means, and that should start at the top and with the White House. In the last few days I have announced a cut in the White House staff of 25 percent, saving approximately \$ 10 million. I have ordered administrative cuts in budgets of Agencies and Departments. I have cut the Federal bureaucracy, or will over the next 4 years, by approximately 100,000 positions, for a combined savings of \$ 9 billion. It is time for Government to demonstrate, in the condition we're in, that we can be as frugal as any household in America.

And that's why I also want to congratulate the Congress. I noticed the announcement of the leadership today that Congress is taking similar steps to cut its costs. I think that is important. I think it will send a very clear signal to the American people.

But if we really want to cut spending, we're going to have to do more, and some of it will be difficult. Tonight I call for an across-the-board freeze in Federal Government salaries for one year. And thereafter, during this 4-year period, I recommend that salaries rise at one point lower than the cost of living allowance normally involved in Federal pay increases.

Next, I recommend that we make 150 specific budget cuts, as you know, and that all those who say we should cut more be as specific as I have been.

Finally, let me say to my friends on both sides of the aisle, it is not enough simply to cut Government; we have to rethink the whole way it works. When I became President I was amazed at just the way the White House worked, in ways that added lots of money to what taxpayers had to pay, outmoded ways that didn't take maximum advantage of technology and didn't do things that any business would have done years ago to save taxpayers' money.

So I want to bring a new spirit of innovation into every Government Department. I want to push education reform, as I said, not just to spend more money but to really improve learning. Some things work, and some things don't. I'd like to use that Superfund to clean up pollution for a change and not just pay lawyers.

In the aftermath of all the difficulties with the savings and loans, we must

use Federal bank regulators to protect the security and safety of our financial institutions, but they should not be used to continue the credit crunch and to stop people from making sensible loans.

I'd like for us to not only have welfare reform but to reexamine the whole focus of all of our programs that help people, to shift them from entitlement programs to empowerment programs. In the end we want people not to need us anymore. I think that's important.

But in the end we have to get back to the deficit. For years there's been a lot of talk about it but very few credible efforts to deal with it. And now I understand why, having dealt with the real numbers for 4 weeks. But I believe this plan does; it tackles the budget deficit seriously and over the long term. It puts in place one of the biggest deficit reductions and one of the biggest changes in Federal priorities, from consumption to investment, in the history of this country at the same time over the next 4 years.

Let me say to all the people watching us tonight who will ask me these questions beginning tomorrow as I go around the country and who've asked it in the past: We're not cutting the deficit just because experts say it's the thing to do or because it has some intrinsic merit. We have to cut the deficit because the more we spend paying off the debt, the less tax dollars we have to invest in jobs and education and the future of this country. And the more money we take out of the pool of available savings, the harder it is for people in the private sector to borrow money at affordable interest rates for a college loan for their children, for a home mortgage, or to start a new business.

That's why we've got to reduce the debt, because it is crowding out other activities that we ought to be engaged in and that the American people ought to be engaged in. We cut the deficit so that our children will be able to buy a home, so that our companies can invest in the future and in retraining their workers, so that our Government can make the kinds of investments we need to be a stronger and smarter and safer nation.

If we don't act now, you and I might not even recognize this Government 10 years from now. If we just stay with the same trends of the last 4 years, by the end of the decade the deficit will be \$ 635 billion a year, almost 80 percent of our gross domestic product. And paying interest on that debt will be the costliest Government program of all. We'll still be the world's largest debtor. And when Members of Congress come here, they'll be devoting over 20 cents on the dollar to interest payments, more than half of the budget to health care and to other entitlements. And you'll come here and deliberate and argue over 6 or 7 cents on the dollar, no matter what America's problems are. We will not be able to have the independence we need to chart the future that we must. And we'll be terribly dependent on foreign funds for a large portion of our investment.

This budget plan, by contrast, will by 1997 cut \$ 140 billion in that year alone from the deficit, a real spending cut, a real revenue increase, a real deficit reduction, using the independent numbers of the Congressional Budget Office. [Laughter] Well you can laugh, my fellow Republicans, but I'll point out that the Congressional Budget Office was normally more conservative in what was going to happen and closer to right than previous Presidents have been.

I did this so that we could argue about priorities with the same set of

numbers. I did this so that no one could say I was estimating my way out of this difficulty. I did this because if we can agree together on the most prudent revenues we're likely to get if the recovery stays and we do right things economically, then it will turn out better for the American people than we say. In the last 12 years, because there were differences over the revenue estimates, you and I know that both parties were given greater elbow room for irresponsibility. This is tightening the rein on the Democrats as well as the Republicans. Let's at least argue about the same set of numbers so the American people will think we're shooting straight with them.

As I said earlier, my recommendation makes more than 150 difficult reductions to cut the Federal spending by a total of \$ 246 billion. We are eliminating programs that are no longer needed, such as nuclear power research and development. We're slashing subsidies and canceling wasteful projects. But many of these programs were justified in their time, and a lot of them are difficult for me to recommend reductions in, some really tough ones for me personally. I recommend that we reduce interest subsidies to the Rural Electric Administration. That's a difficult thing for me to recommend. But I think that I cannot exempt the things that exist in my State or in my experience, if I ask you to deal with. We're going to have to have no sacred cows except the fundamental abiding interest of the American people.

I have to say that we all know our Government has been just great at building programs. The time has come to show the American people that we can limit them too; that we can not only start things, that we can actually stop things.

About the defense budget, I raise a hope and a caution. As we restructure our military forces to meet the new threats of the post-cold-war world, it is true that we can responsibly reduce our defense budget. And we may all doubt what that range of reductions is, but let me say that as long as I am President, I will do everything I can to make sure that the men and women who serve under the American flag will remain the best trained, the best prepared, the best equipped fighting force in the world. And every one of you should make that solemn pledge. We still have responsibilities around the world. We are the world's only superpower. This is still a dangerous and uncertain time, and we owe it to the people in uniform to make sure that we adequately provide for the national defense and for their interests and needs. Backed by an effective national defense and a stronger economy, our Nation will be prepared to lead a world challenged as it is everywhere by ethnic conflict, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, by the global democratic revolution, and by challenges to the health of our global environment.

I know this economic plan is ambitious, but I honestly believe it is necessary for the continued greatness of the United States. And I think it is paid for fairly, first by cutting Government, then by asking the most of those who benefited the most in the past, and by asking more Americans to contribute today so that all of us can prosper tomorrow.

For the wealthiest, those earning more than \$ 180,000 per year, I ask you all who are listening tonight to support a raise in the top rate for Federal income taxes from 31 to 36 percent. We recommend a 10-percent surtax on incomes over \$ 250,000 a year, and we recommend closing some loopholes that let some people get away without paying any tax at all.

For businesses with taxable incomes in excess of \$ 10 million we recommend a raise in the corporate tax rate, also to 36 percent, as well as a cut in the deduction for business entertainment expenses. Our plan seeks to attack tax subsidies that actually reward companies more for shutting their operations down here and moving them overseas than for staying here and reinvesting in America. I say that as someone who believes that American companies should be free to invest around the world and as a former Governor who actively sought investment of foreign companies in my State. But the Tax Code should not express a preference to American companies for moving somewhere else, and it does in particular cases today.

We will seek to ensure that, through effective tax enforcement, foreign corporations who do make money in America simply pay the same taxes that American companies make on the same income.

To middle class Americans who have paid a great deal for the last 12 years and from whom I ask a contribution tonight, I will say again as I did on Monday night: You're not going alone any more, you're certainly not going first, and you're not going to pay more for less as you have too often in the past. I want to emphasize the facts about this plan: 98.8 percent of America's families will have no increase in their income tax rates, only 1.2 percent at the top.

Let me be clear: There will also be no new cuts in benefits for Medicare. As we move toward the 4th year, with the explosion in health care costs, as I said, projected to account for 50 percent of the growth of the deficit between now and the year 2000, there must be planned cuts in payments to providers, to doctors, to hospitals, to labs, as a way of controlling health care costs. But I see these only as a stopgap until we can reform the entire health care system. If you'll help me do that, we can be fair to the providers and to the consumers of health care. Let me repeat this, because I know it matters to a lot of you on both sides of the aisle. This plan does not make a recommendation for new cuts in Medicare benefits for any beneficiary.

Secondly, the only change we are making in Social Security is one that has already been publicized. The plan does ask older Americans with higher incomes, who do not rely solely on Social Security to get by, to contribute more. This plan will not affect the 80 percent of Social Security recipients who do not pay taxes on Social Security now. Those who do not pay tax on Social Security now will not be affected by this plan.

Our plan does include a broad-based tax on energy, and I want to tell you why I selected this and why I think it's a good idea. I recommend that we adopt a BTU tax on the heat content of energy as the best way to provide us with revenue to lower the deficit because it also combats pollution, promotes energy efficiency, promotes the independence, economically, of this country as well as helping to reduce the debt, and because it does not discriminate against any area. Unlike a carbon tax, that's not too hard on the coal States; unlike a gas tax, that's not too tough on people who drive a long way to work; unlike an ad valorem tax, it doesn't increase just when the price of an energy source goes up. And it is environmentally responsible. It will help us in the future as well as in the present with the deficit.

Taken together these measures will cost an American family with an income of about \$ 40,000 a year less than \$ 17 a month. It will cost American families with incomes under \$ 30,000 nothing because of other programs we propose,

principally those raising the earned income tax credit.

Because of our publicly stated determination to reduce the deficit, if we do these things, we will see the continuation of what's happened just since the election. Just since the election, since the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and others who have begun to speak out publicly in favor of a tough deficit reduction plan, interest rates have continued to fall long-term. That means that for the middle class, who will pay something more each month, if they had any credit needs or demands, their increased energy costs will be more than offset by lower interest costs for mortgages, consumer loans, credit cards. This can be a wise investment for them and their country now.

I would also point out what the American people already know, and that is because we're a big, vast country where we drive long distances, we have maintained far lower burdens on energy than any other advanced country. We will still have far lower burdens on energy than any other advanced country. And these will be spread fairly, with real attempts to make sure that no cost is imposed on families with incomes under \$ 30,000 and that the costs are very modest until you get into the higher income groups where the income taxes trigger in.

Now, I ask all of you to consider this: Whatever you think of the tax program, whatever you think of the spending cuts, consider the cost of not changing. Remember the numbers that you all know. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, by the end of the decade we'll have a \$ 650-billion-a-year deficit. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, by the end of the decade 20 percent of our national income will go to health care every year, twice as much as any other country on the face of the globe. If we just keep on doing what we're doing, over 20 cents on the dollar will have to go to service the debt.

Unless we have the courage now to start building our future and stop borrowing from it, we're condemning ourselves to years of stagnation interrupted by occasional recessions, to slow growth in jobs, to no more growth in income, to more debt, to more disappointment. Worse, unless we change, unless we increase investment and reduce the debt to raise productivity so that we can generate both jobs and incomes, we will be condemning our children and our children's children to a less life than we enjoyed. Once Americans looked forward to doubling their living standards every 25 years. At present productivity rates, it will take 100 years to double living standards, until our grandchildren's grandchildren are born. I say that is too long to wait.

Tonight the American people know we have to change. But they're also likely to ask me tomorrow and all of you for the weeks and months ahead whether we have the fortitude to make the changes happen in the right way. They know that as soon as I leave this Chamber and you go home, various interest groups will be out in force lobbying against this or that piece of this plan, and that the forces of conventional wisdom will offer a thousand reasons why we well ought to do this but we just can't do it.

Our people will be watching and wondering, not to see whether you disagree with me on a particular issue but just to see whether this is going to be business as usual or a real new day, whether we're all going to conduct ourselves as if we know we're working for them. We must scale the walls of the people's

skepticisms, not with our words but with our deeds. After so many years of gridlock and indecision, after so many hopeful beginnings and so few promising results, the American people are going to be harsh in their judgments of all of us if we fail to seize this moment.

This economic plan can't please everybody. If the package is picked apart, there will be something that will anger each of us, won't please anybody. But if it is taken as a whole, it will help all of us. So I ask you all to begin by resisting the temptation to focus only on a particular spending cut you don't like or some particular investment that wasn't made. And nobody likes the tax increases, but let's just face facts. For 20 years, through administrations of both parties, incomes have stalled and debt has exploded and productivity has not grown as it should. We cannot deny the reality of our condition. We have to go to play the hand we were dealt and play it as best we can.

My fellow Americans, the test of this plan cannot be what is in it for me. It has got to be what is in it for us. If we work hard and if we work together, if we rededicate ourselves to creating jobs, to rewarding work, to strengthening our families, to reinventing our Government, we can lift our country's fortunes again.

Tonight, I ask everyone in this Chamber and every American to look simply into your heart, to spark your own hopes, to fire your own imagination. There is so much good, so much possibility, so much excitement in this country now that if we act boldly and honestly, as leaders should, our legacy will be one of prosperity and progress. This must be America's new direction. Let us summon the courage to seize it.

Thank you. God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

August 29, 1996

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HEADLINE: Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago

BODY:

The President. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, my fellow Democrats, and my fellow Americans: thank you for your nomination. I don't know if I can find a fancy way to say this, but I accept.

So many have contributed to the record we have made for the American people, but one above all, my partner, my friend, and the best Vice President in our history, Al Gore.

Tonight I thank the city of Chicago, its great mayor, and its wonderful people for this magnificent convention. I love Chicago for many reasons, for your powerful spirit, your sports teams, your lively politics, but most of all for the love and light of my life, Chicago's daughter Hillary.

Four years ago, you and I set forth on a journey to bring our vision to our country, to keep the American dream alive for all who were willing to work for it, to make our American community stronger, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

Four years ago, with high unemployment, stagnant wages, crime, welfare, and the deficit on the rise, with a host of unmet challenges and a rising tide of cynicism, I told you about a place I was born, and I told you that I still believed in a place called Hope.

Well, for 4 years now, to realize our vision we have pursued a simple but profound strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a strong united American community.

Four days ago, as you were making your way here, I began a train ride to make my way to Chicago through America's heartland. I wanted to see the faces, I wanted to hear the voices of the people for whom I have worked and fought these last 4 years. And did I ever see them.

I met an ingenious business woman who was once on welfare in West Virginia; a brave police officer, shot and paralyzed, now a civic leader in Kentucky; an autoworker in Ohio, once unemployed, now proud to be working in the oldest auto plant in America to help make America number one in auto production again for the first time in 20 years. I met a grandmother fighting for her grandson's environment in Michigan. And I stood with two wonderful little children proudly reading from their favorite book, "The Little Engine That Could."

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At every stop, large and exuberant crowds greeted me. And maybe more important, when we just rolled through little towns there were always schoolchildren there waving their American flags, all of them believing in America and its future. I would not have missed that trip for all the world, for that trip showed me that hope is back in America. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

Look at the facts, just look at the facts: 4.4 million Americans now living in a home of their own for the first time; hundreds of thousands of women have started their own new businesses; more minorities own businesses than ever before; record numbers of new small businesses and exports.

Look at what's happened. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years. Look at what happened: 10 million new jobs, over half of them high-wage jobs; 10 million workers getting the raise they deserve with the minimum wage law; 25 million people now having protection in their health insurance because the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill says you can't lose your insurance anymore when you change jobs, even if somebody in your family has been sick; 40 million Americans with more pension security; a tax cut for 15 million of our hardest working, hardest pressed Americans, and all small businesses; 12 million Americans -- 12 million of them -- taking advantage of the family and medical leave law so they can be good parents and good workers. Ten million students have saved money on their college loans. We are making our democracy work.

We have also passed political reform, the line-item veto, the motor voter bill, tougher registration laws for lobbyists, making Congress live under the laws they impose on the private sector, stopping unfounded mandates to State and local government. We've come a long way; we've got one more thing to do. Will you help me get campaign finance reform in the next 4 years? [Applause]

We have increased our investments in research and technology. We have increased investments in breast cancer research dramatically. We are developing a supercomputer -- a supercomputer that will do more calculating in a second than a person with a hand-held calculator can do in 30,000 years. More rapid development of drugs to deal with HIV and AIDS and moving them to the market quicker have almost doubled life expectancy in only 4 years. And we are looking at no limit in sight to that. We'll keep going until normal life is returned to people who deal with this.

Our country is still the strongest force for peace and freedom on Earth. On issues that once before tore us apart, we have changed the old politics of Washington. For too long, leaders in Washington asked, who's to blame? But we asked, what are we going to do?

On crime, we're putting 100,000 police on the streets. We made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. We stopped 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns under the Brady bill. We banned assault rifles. We supported tougher punishment and prevention programs to keep our children from drugs and gangs and violence. Four years now -- for four years now -- the crime rate in America has gone down.

On welfare, we worked with States to launch a quiet revolution. Today there are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took the oath

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of office. We are moving people from welfare to work.

We have increased child support collections by 40 percent. The Federal work force is the smallest it has been since John Kennedy. And the deficit has come down for 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War, down 60 percent on the way to zero. We will do it.

We are on the right track to the 21st century. We are on the right track. But our work is not finished. What should we do? First, let us consider how to proceed. Again I say, the question is no longer who's to blame but what to do.

I believe that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp and Ross Perot love our country, and they have worked hard to serve it. It is legitimate, even necessary, to compare our record with theirs, our proposals for the future with theirs. And I expect them to make a vigorous effort to do the same. But I will not attack. I will not attack them personally or permit others to do it in this party if I can prevent it. My fellow Americans, this must be -- this must be a campaign of ideas, not a campaign of insults. The American people deserve it.

Now, here's the main idea: I love and revere the rich and proud history of America. And I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past. We need to build a bridge to the future. And that is what I commit to you to do.

So tonight, tonight let us resolve to build that bridge to the 21st century, to meet our challenges and to protect our values. Let us build a bridge to help our parents raise their children, to help young people and adults to get the education and training they need, to make our streets safer, to help Americans succeed at home and at work, to break the cycle of poverty and dependence, to protect our environment for generations to come, and to maintain our world leadership for peace and freedom. Let us resolve to build that bridge.

Tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask all of our fellow citizens to join me and to join you in building that bridge to the 21st century. Four years from now, just 4 years from now -- think of it -- we begin a new century, full of enormous possibilities. We have to give the American people the tools they need to make the most of their God-given potential. We must make the basic bargain of opportunity and responsibility available to all Americans, not just a few. That is the promise of the Democratic Party. That is the promise of America.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we expand opportunity through education, where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our students, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say, "I can read it myself."

By the year 2000, the single most critical thing we can do is to give every single American who wants it the chance to go to college. We must make 2 years of college just as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today. And we can do it. We can do it, and we should cut taxes to do it.

I propose a \$ 1,500-a-year tuition tax credit for Americans, a HOPE Scholarship for the first 2 years of college to make the typical community college education available to every American. I believe every working family

ought also to be able to deduct up to \$ 10,000 in college tuition costs per year for education after that. I believe the families of this country ought to be able to save money for college in a tax-free IRA, save it year-in and year-out, withdraw it for college education without penalty. We should not tax middle-income Americans for the money they spend on college. We'll get the money back down the road many times over.

I want to say here, before I go further, that these tax cuts and every other one I mention tonight are fully paid for in my balanced budget plan, line-by-line, dime-by-dime, and they focus on education.

Now, one thing so many of our fellow Americans are learning is that education no longer stops on graduation day. I have proposed a new "GI bill" for American workers, a \$ 2,600 grant for unemployed and underemployed Americans so that they can get the training and the skills they need to go back to work at better paying jobs, good high-skilled jobs for a good future.

But we must demand excellence at every level of education. We must insist that our students learn the old basics we learned and the new basics they have to know for the next century. Tonight let us set a clear national goal: All children should be able to read on their own by the third grade. When 40 percent of our 8-year-olds cannot read as well as they should, we have to do something. I want to send 30,000 reading specialists and national service corps members to mobilize a voluntary army of one million reading tutors for third graders all across America. They will teach our young children to read.

Let me say to our parents: You have to lead the way. Every tired night you spend reading a book to your child will be worth it many times over. I know that Hillary and I still talk about the books we read to Chelsea when we were so tired we could hardly stay awake. We still remember them, and more important, so does she. But we're going to help the parents of this country make every child able to read for himself or herself by the age of 8, by the third grade. Do you believe we can do that? [Applause] Will you help us do that? [Applause]

We must give parents, all parents, the right to choose which public school their children will attend and to let teachers form new charter schools with a charter they can keep only if they do a good job. We must keep our schools open late so that young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to and stay off the street.

We must require that our students pass tough tests to keep moving up in school. A diploma has to mean something when they get out. We should reward teachers that are doing a good job, remove those who don't measure up. But in every case, never forget that none of us would be here tonight if it weren't for our teachers. I know I wouldn't. We ought to lift them up, not tear them down.

We need schools that will take our children into the next century. We need schools that are rebuilt and modernized with an unprecedented commitment from the National Government to increase school construction and with every single library and classroom in America connected to the information superhighway by the year 2000.

Now, folks, if we do these things, every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old will be able to log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old will

be able to go to college, and all Americans will have the knowledge they need to cross that bridge to the 21st century.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we create a strong and growing economy to preserve the legacy of opportunity for the next generation, by balancing our budget in a way that protects our values and ensuring that every family will be able to own and protect the value of their most important asset, their home.

Tonight let us proclaim to the American people we will balance the budget. And let us also proclaim, we will do it in a way that preserves Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, the integrity of our pensions, the strength of our people.

Now, last year when the Republican Congress sent me a budget that violated those values and principles, I vetoed it. And I would do it again tomorrow. I could never allow cuts that devastate education for our children, that pollute our environment, that end the guarantee of health care for those who are served under Medicaid, that end our duty or violate our duty to our parents through Medicare. I just couldn't do that. As long as I'm President, I'll never let it happen. And it doesn't matter if they try again, as they did before, to use the blackmail threat of a shutdown of the Federal Government to force these things on the American people. We didn't let it happen before. We won't let it happen again.

Of course, there is a better answer to this dilemma. We could have the right kind of balanced budget with a new Congress, a Democratic Congress.

I want to balance the budget with real cuts in Government, in waste. I want a plan that invests in education, as mine does, in technology, and yes, in research, as Christopher Reeve so powerfully reminded us we must do.

And my plan gives Americans tax cuts that will help our economy to grow. I want to expand IRA's so that young people can save tax-free to buy a first home. Tonight I propose a new tax cut for home-ownership that says to every middle-income working family in this country, if you sell your home you will not have to pay a capital gains tax on it ever, not ever. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words, "welcome home."

Let me say again, every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, it's responsible, and it is paid for within my balanced budget plan. My tax cuts will not undermine our economy, they will speed economic growth.

We should cut taxes for the family sending a child to college, for the worker returning to college, for the family saving to buy a home or for long-term health care, and a \$ 500-per-child credit for middle-income families raising their children who need help with child care and what the children will do after school. That is the right way to cut taxes, pro-family, pro-education, pro-economic growth.

Now, our opponents have put forward a very different plan, a risky \$ 550 billion tax scheme that will force them to ask for even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than they passed and I vetoed last year. But even then they will not cover the costs of their scheme, so that even

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then this plan will explode the deficit, which will increase interest rates by 2 percent, according to their own estimates last year. It will require huge cuts in the very investments we need to grow and to grow together and, at the same time, slow down the economy.

You know what higher interest rates mean? To you it means a higher mortgage payment, a higher car payment, a higher credit card payment. To our economy it means business people will not borrow as much money, invest as much money, create as many new jobs, create as much wealth, raise as many wages. Do we really want to make that same mistake all over again?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we really want to stop economic growth again?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we really want to start piling up another mountain of debt?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we want to bring back the recession of 1991 and '92?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we want to weaken our bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Of course we don't. We have an obligation, you and I, to leave our children a legacy of opportunity, not a legacy of debt. Our budget would be balanced today, we would have a surplus today, if we didn't have to make the interest payments on the debt run up in the 12 years before the Clinton/Gore administration took office.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. So let me say this is one of those areas in which I respectfully disagree with my opponent. I don't believe we should bet the farm, and I certainly don't believe we should bet the country. We should stay on the right track to the 21st century.

Opportunity alone is not enough. I want to build an America in the 21st century in which all Americans take personal responsibility for themselves, their families, their communities, and their country. I want our Nation to take responsibility to make sure that every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

We want these young people to know the thrill of the first paycheck, the challenge of starting that first business, the pride in following in a parent's footsteps. The welfare reform law I signed last week gives America a chance, but not a guarantee, to have that kind of new beginning, to have a new social bargain with the poor, guaranteeing health care, child care, and nutrition for the children but requiring able-bodied parents to work for the income.

Now I say to all of you, whether you supported the law or opposed it, but especially to those who supported it, we have a responsibility, we have a moral obligation to make sure the people who are being required to work have the opportunity to work. We must make sure the jobs are there. There should be one million new jobs for welfare recipients by the year 2000. States under this law can now take the money that was spent on the welfare check and use it to help businesses provide paychecks. I challenge every State to do it soon.

I propose also to give businesses a tax credit for every person hired off welfare and kept employed. I propose to offer private job placement firms a bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job who stays in it. And more important, I want to help communities put welfare recipients to work right now, without delay, repairing schools, making their neighborhoods clean and safe, making them shine again. There's lots of work to be done out there. Our cities can find ways to put people to work and bring dignity and strength back to these families.

My fellow Americans, I have spent an enormous amount of time with our dear friend the late Ron Brown and with Secretary Kantor and others opening markets for America around the world. And I'm proud of every one we opened. But let us never forget, the greatest untapped market for American enterprise is right here in America, in the inner cities, in the rural areas, who have not felt this recovery. With investment and business and jobs, they can become our partners in the future. And it's a great opportunity we ought not to pass up.

I propose more empowerment zones like the one we have right here in Chicago to draw business into poor neighborhoods. I propose more community development banks, like the South Shore Bank right here in Chicago, to help people in those neighborhoods start their own small businesses. More jobs, more incomes, new markets for America right here at home making welfare reform a reality.
[Applause]

Now, folks, you cheered -- and I thank you -- but the Government can only do so much. The private sector has to provide most of these jobs. So I want to say again, tonight I challenge every business person in America who has ever complained about the failure of the welfare system to try to hire somebody off welfare and try hard. [Applause] Thank you. After all, the welfare system you used to complain about is not here anymore. There is no more "who's to blame" on welfare. Now the only question is what to do. And we all have a responsibility, especially those who have criticized what was passed and who have asked for a change and who have the ability to give poor people a chance to grow and support their families. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that ends the permanent under class, that lifts up the poor and ends their isolation, their exile. And they're not forgotten anymore. [Applause] Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where our children are not killing other children anymore, where children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard, where a generation of young people are not left to raise themselves on the streets.

With more police and punishment and prevention, the crime rate has dropped for 4 years in a row now. But we cannot rest, because we know it's still too

high. We cannot rest until crime is a shocking exception to our daily lives, not news as usual. Will you stay with me until we reach that good day? [Applause]

My fellow Americans, we all owe a great debt to Sarah and Jim Brady, and I'm glad they took their wrong turn and wound up in Chicago. I was glad to see that. It is to them we owe the good news that 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill. But not a single hunter in Arkansas or New Hampshire or Illinois or anyplace else missed a hunting season.

But now I say we should extend the Brady bill, because anyone who has committed an act of domestic violence against a spouse or a child should not buy a gun. And we must ban those cop-killer bullets. They are designed for one reason only, to kill police officers. We ask the police to keep us safe. We owe it to them to help keep them safe while they do their job for us.

We should pass a victim's rights constitutional amendment because victims deserve to be heard; they need to know when an assailant is released. They need to know these things, and the only way to guarantee them is through a constitutional amendment.

We have made a great deal of progress. Even the crime rate among young people is finally coming down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man, and I hate them. He fought back. He's here tonight with his wife, his little boy is here, and I'm really proud of him. But I learned something -- I learned something in going through that long nightmare with our family. And I can tell you, something has happened to some of our young people; they simply don't think these drugs are dangerous anymore, or they think the risk is acceptable. So beginning with our parents, and without regard to our party, we have to renew our energy to teach this generation of young people the hard, cold truth: Drugs are deadly; drugs are wrong; drugs can cost you your life.

General Barry McCaffrey, the four-star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade against drugs at home: stopping more drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and most important of all, pursuing a national antidrug strategy whose primary aim is to turn our children away from drugs. I call on Congress to give him every cent of funding we have requested for this strategy and to do it now.

There is more we will do. We should say to parolees: We will test you for drugs; if you go back on them, we will send you back to jail. We will say to gangs: We will break you with the same antiracketeering law we used to put mob bosses in jail. You're not going to kill our kids anymore or turn them into murderers before they're teenagers.

My fellow Americans, if we're going to build that bridge to the 21st century we have to make our children free, free of the vise grip of guns and gangs and drugs, free to build lives of hope.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong American community, beginning with strong families, an America where all children are cherished and protected from destructive forces, where parents can succeed at home and at work. Everywhere I've gone in America, people come up and talk to me about their struggle with the demands of work and their desire to do a better job with their children. The very first person I ever saw fight that battle was

here with me 4 years ago, and tonight I miss her very, very much. My irrepressible, hard-working, always optimistic mother did the best she could for her brother and me, often against very stiff odds. I learned from her just how much love and determination can overcome. But from her and from our life, I also learned that no parent can do it alone. And no parent should have to. She had the kind of help every parent deserves, from our neighbors, our friends, our teachers, our pastors, our doctors, and so many more.

You know, when I started out in public life with a lot of my friends from the Arkansas delegation down here, there used to be a saying from time to time that every man who runs for public office will claim that he was born in a log cabin he built with his own hands. [Laughter] Well, my mother knew better. And she made sure I did, too. Long before she even met Hillary, my mother knew it takes a village, and she was grateful for the support she got.

As Tipper Gore and Hillary said on Tuesday, we have, all of us in our administration, worked hard to support families in raising their children and succeeding at work. But we must do more. We should extend the family and medical leave law to give parents some time off to take their children to regular doctor's appointments or attend those parent-teacher conferences at school. That is a key determination of their success. We should pass a flextime law that allows employees to take their overtime pay in money or in time off, depending on what's better for their family.

The FDA has adopted new measures to reduce advertising and sales of cigarettes to children. The Vice President spoke so movingly of it last night. But let me remind you, my fellow Americans, that is very much an issue in this election because that battle is far from over and the two candidates have different views. I pledge to America's parents that I will see this effort all the way through.

Working with the entertainment industry, we're giving parents the V-chip. TV shows are being rated for content so parents will be able to make a judgment about whether their small children should see them. And 3 hours of quality children's programming every week, on every network, are on the way.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum law says every American can keep his or her health insurance if they have to change jobs, even if someone in their family has been sick. That is a very important thing. But tonight we should spell out the next steps. The first thing we ought to do is to extend the benefits of health care to people who are unemployed. I propose in my balanced budget plan, paid for, to help unemployed families keep their health insurance for up to 6 months. A parent may be without a job, but no child should be without a doctor. And let me say again, as the First Lady did on Tuesday, we should protect mothers and newborn babies from being forced out of the hospital in less than 48 hours.

We respect the individual conscience of every American on the painful issue of abortion but believe as a matter of law that this decision should be left to a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her God. Abortion should not only be safe and legal, it should be rare. That's why I helped to establish and support a national effort to reduce out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy, and that is why we must promote adoption.

Last week the minimum wage bill I signed contained a \$ 5,000 credit to

families who adopt children, even more if the children have disabilities. It put an end to racial discrimination in the adoption process. It was a good thing for America. My fellow Americans, already there are tens of thousands of children out there who need a good home with loving parents. I hope more of them will find it now.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a clean and safe environment. We are making our food safer from pesticides. We're protecting our drinking water and our air from poisons. We saved Yellowstone from mining. We established the largest national park south of Alaska in the Mojave Desert in California. We are working to save the precious Florida Everglades. And when the leaders of this Congress invited the polluters into the back room to roll back 25 years of environmental protections that both parties had always supported, I said no.

But we must do more. Today, 10 million children live within just 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. We have cleaned up 197 of those dumps in the last 3 years, more than in the previous 12 years combined. In the next 4 years, we propose to clean up 500 more, two-thirds of all that are left and the most dangerous ones. Our children should grow up next to parks, not poison.

We should make it a crime even to attempt to pollute. We should freeze the serious polluter's property until they clean up the problems they create. We should make it easier for families to find out about toxic chemicals in their neighborhoods so they can do more to protect their own children. These are the things that we must do to build that bridge to the 21st century.

My fellow Americans, I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that makes sure we are still the nation with the world's strongest defense, that our foreign policy still advances the values of our American community in the community of nations. Our bridge to the future must include bridges to other nations, because we remain the world's indispensable nation to advance prosperity, peace, and freedom and to keep our own children safe from the dangers of terror and weapons of mass destruction.

We have helped to bring democracy to Haiti and peace to Bosnia. Now the peace signed on the White House lawn between the Israelis and the Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors. The deep desire for peace that Hillary and I felt when we walked the streets of Belfast and Derry must become real for all the people of Northern Ireland. And Cuba must finally join the community of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetime has been more heartening than when people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of communism. We have aided their progress, and I am proud of it. And I will continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And we will bring some of Central Europe's new democracies into NATO so that they will never question their own freedom in the future.

Our American exports are at record levels. In the next 4 years, we have to break down even more barriers to them, reaching out to Latin America, to Africa, to other countries in Asia, making sure that our workers and our products, the world's finest, have the benefit of free and fair trade.

In the last 4 years, we have frozen North Korea's nuclear weapons program. And I am proud to say that tonight there is not a single Russian nuclear missile pointed at an American child. Now we must enforce and ratify without delay measures that further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas, and ban nuclear tests once and for all.

We have made investments, new investments, in our most important defense asset, our magnificent men and women in uniform. By the year 2000 we also will have increased funding to modernize our weapons systems by 40 percent. These commitments will make sure that our military remains the best trained, best equipped fighting force in the entire world.

We are developing a sensible national missile defense, but we must not, not now, not by the year 2000, squander \$ 60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

We are fighting terrorism on all fronts with a three-pronged strategy. First, we are working to rally a world coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism. Just this month, I signed a law imposing harsh sanctions on foreign companies that invest in key sectors of the Iranian and Libyan economies. As long as Iran trains, supports, and protects terrorists, as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103, they will pay a price from the United States.

Second, we must give law enforcement the tools they need to take the fight to terrorists. We need new laws to crack down on money laundering and to prosecute and punish those who commit violent acts against American citizens abroad, to add chemical markers or taggants to gunpowder used in bombs so we can crack the bombmakers, to extend the same power police now have against organized crime to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use. Terrorists are as big a threat to our future, perhaps bigger, than organized crime. Why should we have two different standards for a common threat to the safety of America and our children? We need, in short, the laws that Congress refused to pass. And I ask them again, please, as an American, not a partisan matter, pass these laws now.

Third, we will improve airport and air travel security. I have asked the Vice President to establish a commission and report back to me on ways to do this. But now we will install the most sophisticated bomb-detection equipment in all our major airports. We will search every airplane flying to or from America from another nation, every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

My fellow Democrats and my fellow Americans, I know that in most election seasons foreign policy is not a matter of great interest in the debates in the barbershops and the cafes of America, on the plant floors and at the bowling alleys. But there are times, there are times when only America can make the difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between life and death. We cannot save all the world's children, but we can save many of them. We cannot become the world's policeman, but where our values and our interests are at stake and where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead. That is our job, and we are better, stronger, and safer because we are doing it.

My fellow Americans, let me say one last time, we can only build our bridge to the 21st century if we build it together and if we're willing to walk arm in arm across that bridge together. I have spent so much of your time that you gave

me these last 4 years to be your President worrying about the problems of Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi. What do these places have in common? People are killing each other and butchering children because they are different from one another. They share the same piece of land, but they are different from one another. They hate their race, their tribe, their ethnic group, their religion.

We have seen the terrible, terrible price that people pay when they insist on fighting and killing their neighbors over their differences. In our own country, we have seen America pay a terrible price for any form of discrimination. And we have seen us grow stronger as we have steadily let more and more of our hatreds and our fears go, as we have given more and more of our people the chance to live their dreams.

That is why the flame of our Statue of Liberty, like the Olympic flame carried all across America by thousands of citizen heroes, will always, always burn brighter than the fires that burn our churches, our synagogues, our mosques -- always.

Look around this hall tonight, and to our fellow Americans watching on television, you look around this hall tonight -- there is every conceivable difference here among the people who are gathered. If we want to build that bridge to the 21st century we have to be willing to say loud and clear: If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and play by the rules, you are part of our family and we're proud to be with you. [Applause] You cheer now, because you know this is true. You know this is true. When you walk out of this hall, think about it. Live by it.

We still have too many Americans who give in to their fears of those who are different from them. Not so long ago, swastikas were painted on the doors of some African-American members of our Special Forces at Fort Bragg. Folks, for those of you who don't know what they do, the Special Forces are just what the name says: they are special forces. If I walk off this stage tonight and call them on the telephone and tell them to go halfway around the world and risk their lives for you and be there by tomorrow at noon, they will do it. They do not deserve to have swastikas on their doors.

So look around here, look around here: Old or young, healthy as a horse or a person with a disability that hasn't kept you down, man or woman, Native American, native born, immigrant, straight or gay, whatever, the test ought to be I believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. I believe in religious liberty. I believe in freedom of speech. I believe in working hard and playing by the rules. I'm showing up for work tomorrow. I'm building that bridge to the 21st century. That ought to be the test.

My fellow Americans, 68 nights from tonight the American people will face once again a critical moment of decision. We're going to choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But the real choice is not that. The real choice is whether we will build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, about whether we believe our best days are still out there or our best days are behind us, about whether we want a country of people all working together or one where you're on your own.

Let us commit ourselves this night to rise up and build the bridge we know we ought to build all the way to the 21st century. Let us have faith, American faith that we are not leaving our greatness behind. We're going to carry it right on with us into that new century, a century of new challenge and unlimited promise. Let us, in short, do the work that is before us, so that when our time here is over, we will all watch the sun go down, as we all must, and say truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

My fellow Americans, after these 4 good, hard years, I still believe in a place called Hope, a place called America.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. at United Center. In his remarks, he referred to actor Christopher Reeve, who was paralyzed in a horse riding accident, and former White House Press Secretary James S. Brady, who was wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. His wife, Sarah, is head of Hand Gun Control, Inc. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

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