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Representative Sandlin Dinner
3/12/99

21

Rep. Sandlin Dinner 3/12/99

Rep. Max Sandlin; Sen. Daschle; Rep. Marion Berry; fmr. Rep. Beryl Anthony; Rep. Martin Frost (who couldn't be here, broken ankle); State Chair Molly Beth Malcolm, husband Bruce; fmr. TX Comptroller John Sharp; fmr. TX Treasurer Martha Whitehead, husband Laughton ; Host Committee mbrs.; Truman and Anita Arnold (hosts, owners); Leslie Howell Sandlin (wife) and family -- Hillary, Trey, Emily, Christian; Danny Maxie Band

I'm happy to be here to support Rep. Max Sandlin for re-election to Congress-- to keep fighting for AK.

Sandlin is committed to:

- **Education** -- class size, construction, accountability
- **Healthcare Reform** -- PBOR
- **Protecting Soc Sec/Medicare**

• **1992: New Dir, old values:** op,resp,com

• **Results:** \$290B def⇒\$70B surp. Longst peacetime exp, unempl lwst/1957. 30 yr crime, 30-Welf (cut in ½); 32-Infl; record home ownership. College opp: HOPE, Pell, work-study. Child health: 5M, highest immun

changed a
little to
fit 3 pages -

pls. look
carefully
throughout

Arkansas State Party Dinner, 3/13/99

Sens. Pryor, Lincoln, Bumpers (wife Betty);
Reps. Snyder, Berry; Sec. Slater; state &
local elected ~~offcs~~ ^{off}; AR St. Dem Chr. Vaughn
McQuary; Mack McLarty; Skip Rutherford

- I'm happy to be here to pay tribute to my good friend of 25 years, Sen. Dale Bumpers.
- After I became President, ~~just to make sure that I didn't get a big head~~ Dale went around Washington introducing me to people as the second-best Governor Arkansas ever had.
- In 1974, Dale and I were on the ballot together -- ~~but~~ ^{I w} as the one who lost. It's a good thing, too. If I had won, I would have gone to Congress and most likely never become President.
- Dale has been an inspiration to me since he ~~first~~ ^{won} ran for Governor in 1970. He has pushed for reform of natural resource laws, and stood up for the welfare of our children, and for the future of America. He has always tried to build bridges to tomorrow over the fears, ~~and~~ ignorance and conflicts of today.
- On Dale's last official visit to the White House, I signed legislation designating Little Rock Central High School ~~an~~ ^{as} historic site. It was a milestone on the long march toward justice and equality, and Dale led the way.

- **Aging of 21st C America**

Save Soc Sec -- 1st Priority- 62% surplus/15 yrs (2055); work towards 75 yrs (2075)

Medicare 15%⇒2020. Reform/prescr drugs

USA Accounts 12% surpl for tax relief

Pay Down Debt - cut debt 2/3, lowest level publicly held debt since 1917

Targeted Tax Cuts - Long term, child care

- **21st Century Schools**

Class Size--100K new tchrs. School

modernization. Computers in Classrooms.

Now, Education Accountability Act: Social

Promotion/after school (3x); turn round

failing schools; trained teachers; discipline;

parent accountability

- **Strengthen Families**

Child care \$2B; PBOR; FMLA -- extend 10M; Equal Pay for Equal Work

- **21st Century Economy**

New Markets -- \$15B jobs in inner-cities

Expand Trade -- freer & fairer trade

- **Crime Bill II**

Guns: Brady ⇒ juveniles; restore 5day wait
50K+ police; drug testing prisoners/parolees

- **Enviro livability/lands legacy**

- **One America - AmeriCorps, CFR, ENDA**

Rep. Sandlin Dinner 3/12/99

Sen. Daschle; Rep. Berry; Rep. Anthony;
Rep. Frost (not attend, broken ankle); state &
local elected officials; State Chair Molly
Beth Malcolm; Hosts: Truman and Anita
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**America working again. But can't let
prosperity lull us into complacency. Meet
responsibility to 21st Century.**

Rep. Sandlin Reception 3/12/99
Judge Ed Miller
Rep.

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America working again. But can't let prosperity lull us into complacency. Meet responsibility to 21st Century.

- ^{Dale}
- We owe ^{Dale}him an enormous debt of gratitude for nearly five decades of courageous, caring public service to Arkansas and America, including his service as Governor and the 9,477 votes he cast in the U.S. Senate.

~~We are committed to:~~

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- ~~- Healthcare Reform -- PBOR~~
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bold → note?

[remarks followed by video, "Country Roads
to Capitol Corridors"]

four

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can I keep?

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 8, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT PEACE LINKS "PEACE ON EARTH" GALA
HONORING DALE AND BETTY BUMPERS

Capital Hilton Hotel
Washington. D.C.

8:36 P.M. EST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Ladies and gentlemen, Hillary began by saying this was a bittersweet moment for us, and indeed it is. Nonetheless, I do want to thank all of you for making it possible. I thank Joan Baker, Deba Leach and all the Peace Link folks. I thank our good friend, Reverend Wogaman, for praying over us. God knows we need it. I thank my friend, Peter Duchen, for being here and for playing.

And I want to thank Alan Simpson for destroying all the stereotypes that we Democrats like to have about Republicans. (Laughter.) He's tall and funny. (Laughter and applause.) And, as you know, he has finally destroyed the myth that Harvard is an elitist institution. (Laughter.) And maybe even that it's an elite institution.

I thank Ann Bingaman for her wonderful remarks, and all the members of the Senate, the diplomatic corps, and others who are here tonight; and our wonderful friends, David and Barbara Pryor, for being here.

You know, the six of us -- we three couples -- we've been together a long time. I met David Pryor when he was running for Congress in 1976. I voted for Dale Bumpers when he ran for governor the first time, in 1970. We were all on the ballot in 1974 and I was the only one that lost. (Laughter.) And -- it's a good thing, I could have -- if I had won, I'd have gone to Congress, been infected by people like Simpson, and never become President. (Laughter.)

But over these last more than 20 years now, we've been together on countless occasions. When we were all in public office -- when I was governor and they were our senators, we did all those parades that David talked about. We did countless toasts and roasts. We even crashed in a plane together once, nearly made every other politician in Arkansas ecstatic all at one time -- we opened all the jobs at once. (Laughter.) But we walked away from it.

We've borrowed each other's stories mercilessly -- then I became President and they said it wasn't presidential for me to tell jokes, so I had to stop. I wish I had a nickel for every time Dale Bumpers has called me and said, "Now, tell me that joke one more time." (Laughter.) And I'd get halfway through the joke and he'd remember it, and remember the punchline and start laughing -- I could just hear the tears rolling down his cheeks, he'd laugh so much.

This would be a better place if we had more people who

laugh like that. This would be a stronger national capital if we had more people like Alan Simpson and Dale Bumpers and David Pryor that could tell these stories and reach across party lines. (Applause).

You know, Betty and Dale were raised in a tradition in Arkansas -- a little town in western Arkansas where, if you took yourself too seriously, you were deflated quickly. And people knew about you, all about you. And they loved you anyway. It's easy to get away from that, the more distance you get from real life in this business. So I have to tell you that one of the things that I am most grateful to both of them for is remaining real people in every way, throughout all these years -- the laughter, the tears; the drama, the struggles; real flesh and blood, patriotic, wonderful human beings. It means a lot, and more every passing day.

I thank Betty for her vision. We've made a lot of fun of all the things she's done with Peace Links, but if you think about it, it's a truly astonishing thing. It proves, really, that there is such a thing as citizen empowerment. And one person with vision and enough people, like Ann, ready to be dragooned into service, can change the course of history.

Think about what we're discussing today. Today we're impatient because the Russians haven't ratified the START II treaty, so we can negotiate another treaty, so we can dramatically slash our nuclear arsenals further. And when we do, it still won't be enough to suit Betty, but it will be partly because she has been pushing us all this time, and all the other Peace Links members. (Applause.)

I want to thank Betty for something else too: that she and Dale pioneered this whole business of immunizing our children. Last night we had a Christmas party at the White House, Betty, and I thought about you, because a young, handsome man came through the line and shook hands with Hillary and me and he said -- he looked at us and he said, I want you to know, for the last three years, I have run your immunization program. And it's been the proudest experience of my life.

He said, We've gotten tens of thousands of volunteers all across America and, for the first time in our history, we've got over 90 percent of our children immunized, and all these kids are going to live that would not have lived -- they'll be normal, and would not have had normal lives before. And you were the first person that sensitized me to that issue. And I thank you for that and I hope you're proud of that achievement for your country. (Applause.)

I want to say just a word about Dale. I have to forgive him, for one thing -- I'm in this sort of forgiveness mode. (Laughter.) Dale Bumpers never fails to introduce me and David Pryor as the second best governors Arkansas ever had. (Laughter.) And I forgive him because it's probably true.

He was an inspiration to David and me, as David said. And as I look back on his long public career, including his service as governor and the 9,447 votes he cast in the United States Senate, votes for energy conservation, votes to preserve the ozone layer -- people used to make fun of Dale Bumpers about the ozone layer, the way they used to make fun of Betty about Peace Links. Two days ago I got a report on the hole in the ozone over the South Pole; it's the biggest it has ever been and its duration is longer than any we've ever measured. And we have

at least made some progress on it because he started griping about it so long ago.

He stood up for reform of our laws on natural resources and he got some things done, and we didn't get everything we wanted to do done because there were too many people like Simpson stopping us, but -- (laughter) -- eventually we'll get it done.

He stood up for the Constitution of the United States, for the welfare of our children, for the future of America. In his own way, just as Betty did in Peace Links, he was always trying to build bridges to tomorrow over the fears and ignorance and conflicts of today. Always trying to bring out the best.

And I was sitting here looking at David and Barbara and Betty and Dale, and I was thinking, it does not take long to live a life. Time passes quickly. And all we can do is make the most of every day God gives us. I think that my days have been richer, and I know that Hillary's have, and I believe our public service has been better because very early on we met, came to know, love, admire and learn from Dale and Betty Bumpers. We will love them always.

On Dale Bumpers' last official visit to the White House, not very long ago, a couple of weeks ago, we had this huge gathering under a tent of every soul we could find in Washington connected to Arkansas. And I signed legislation making Little Rock Central High School an historic site, a companion to a bill that will award Congressional Gold Medals to all the Little Rock Nine who integrated that high school so long ago, a real milestone on America's long march towards justice and equality and reconciliation.

At this time, when the world needs so much from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to the Balkans to Central Africa to our own meanest streets, a remembrance of what is basic and good and fundamental about our national life -- when we need so badly to be reconciled one to another and to reach out to those around the world, the enduring legacy of Betty Bumpers and Peace Links, and Dale Bumpers' entire career as a public official, to me was somehow crystallized on that magic day when we celebrated a seminal event in all of our lives, and his commemorating it for all time to come.

We will remember them for all of our days with gratitude, thanks and laughter. God bless you both, and congratulations on your award. (Applause.)

This magnificent and beautiful award is richly deserved. It's also very heavy. (Laughter.) But, what the heck. If John Glenn can go into space, they can hold this award. God bless you. Congratulations. (Applause.)

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70TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Time Inc. Magazine Company
Life

November, 1995

SECTION: THE BIG PICTURE; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 150 words

HEADLINE: PRIMING FOR PEACE

BODY:

The East Room was abuzz with reporters anxious to capture the next milestone in the Middle East peace process: the signing of an accord that would remove Israeli troops from much of the West Bank. A small dispute over a few lines in the 400-page agreement held up the ceremonies. Handwritten amendments were added. Then the principals (Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, far left, and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, far right) and the witnesses (President Clinton, Jordan's King Hussein, center, and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak) initialed 26 maps of the region. Finally, on their way to the East Room, where the wives must have been wondering what was keeping their husbands, an aide advised Mr. Clinton to straighten his tie. This set off a domino effect of last-minute cravat tune-ups. Excluding, of course, Mr. Arafat, who was, on this historic day, enjoying freedom from neckwear.

GRAPHIC: B/W PHOTO: PHOTOGRAPHED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. BY BARBARA KINNEY THE WHITE HOUSE, [Yitzhak Rabin, Hosni Mubarak, King Hussein and Bill Clinton adjusting their ties in front of Yasir Arafat]

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 18, 1995

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DEVELOPMENT
ACCTS.

45TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Time

December 25, 1995

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL EDITION; EUROPE; IMAGES '95; SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE; Pg. 52

LENGTH: 10 words

BODY:

[This article consists of photographs--see below]

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: CHARLES H. PORTER IV--SYGMA, STILL IN PAIN, Amateur photographer Charles H. Porter IV snapped the image of fire fighter Chris Fields holding one-year-old Baylee Almon--already dead--after the explosion at Oklahoma City's federal building drew Porter from his job at a nearby bank. "Fate and the Lord put me in that place," he says. Eight months later, he still has nightmares. The photo at right was taken by Steve Liss at a memorial service in Stillwater, Oklahoma, for the 169 who died. [Chris Fields holding Baylee Almon]; COLOR PHOTO: STEVE LISS FOR TIME, [See caption above--boy holding American flag and candle at memorial service in Stillwater, Oklahoma]; B/W PHOTO: BARBARA KINNEY--THE WHITE HOUSE, READY FOR HISTORY'S CLOSE-UP, In September White House photographer Barbara Kinney caught Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, King Hussein of Jordan, Bill Clinton and the P.L.O.'s Yasser Arafat as they were about to enter the East Room for the signing of an accord to expand Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank. Kinney: "An aide said, 'Oh, Mr. Clinton, your tie's a little crooked, you might want to fix that.' He did, and out of the corner of my eye, I realized they were all doing it, out of instinct." Five weeks later, Rabin was assassinated for his efforts by Yigal Amir, photographed at his first court appearance by Ziv Koren. [Yitzhak Rabin, Hosni Mubarak, King Hussein of Jordan, Bill Clinton and Yasser Arafat adjusting ties]; COLOR PHOTO: ZIV KOREN--SYGMA, [See caption above--Yigal Amir]; COLOR PHOTO: JACQUES LANGEVIN--SYGMA, THE HEIGHTS OF VICTORY, Sygma photographer Jacques Langevin was in the mob of journalists who on May 7 stood below a jubilant Jacques Chirac at his Paris campaign headquarters after his triumph in the French presidential election. Langevin says he was surprised to see him come out on the balcony: "For a minute there, I was afraid he might fall down." On Sept. 9, photographer Patrick Durand was in a different crowd in the French capital; he took the photo above of protesters opposed to Chirac's Pacific nuclear-testing policy. [Jacques Chirac and others on balconies]; COLOR PHOTO: PATRICK DURAND--SYGMA, [See caption above--protester with stickers on sunglasses and forehead]; COLOR PHOTO: MYUNG J. CHUN--POOL, IF THE GLOVE FITS..., It was luck that led Myung J. Chun to catch the image of O.J. Simpson at the moment of his acquittal: Chun was the pool photographer chosen by lot to be on duty that day. Like almost everyone else associated with the Simpson trial, he too is a minor celebrity, having been interviewed by Entertainment Tonight, the BBC and now TIME. Tracy Wilcox, a recent college graduate working at her first job for the Panama City News Herald in Florida, didn't expect much from a tip that Simpson was playing golf on a local course. What she got was the first photo, of many, of the ex-defendant on the links. A golfer herself, she was unimpressed: "I saw him hit a ball in the water a couple of times." [F. Lee Bailey, O.J.

Time, December 25, 1995

Simpson, Johnnie Cochran Jr., Robert Shapiro, and others]; COLOR PHOTO: TRACY WILCOX--PANAMA CITY NEWS HERALD/AP, [See caption above--O.J. Simpson playing golf]; COLOR PHOTO: JAMES NACHTWEY FOR TIME, UPROOTED BY WAR, As Croatian troops retook the country's Krajina region from Bosnian Serb forces last summer, James Nachtwey met up with these Serbian women who were fleeing the area. Though the Croatian army wasn't allowing journalists into Krajina, Nachtwey had slipped past a roadblock by joining a U.N. convoy. Above: Oleg Stjepanovic was there for the first wave of NATO bombing in Serb-held Bosnian territory last August. [Serbian women]; COLOR PHOTO: OLEG STJEPANOVIC--AP, [See caption above--Aerial view of bombing]; B/W PHOTO: ANTHONY SUAU FOR TIME, UNDER FIRE, Russian troops and Chechen rebels were still battling in the capital city of Grozny when Anthony Suau took the photograph at left (which makes quite clear the effectiveness of Russian artillery). "It was really suicidal for [the old man] to be walking down the street that way," says Suau. "I believe he wasn't shot because he was old and walking slowly with a cane. Had I walked out there, I'm sure it would've been different." The photo above, taken by Christopher Morris, shows a Chechen soldier running from the Presidential Palace shortly before it was captured by the Russians. [Old man walking down street during gun battle]; B/W PHOTO: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS FOR TIME, [See caption above--Chechen soldier running]; COLOR PHOTO: PATRICK ROBERT--SYGMA, ON THE RICHTER SCALE, Patrick Robert took the photograph at right from a rooftop in Kobe, Japan, shortly after the city was devastated by an earthquake on Jan. 17. Robert got around town on a child's bicycle he found in front of a flattened house. Kaku Kurita was able to get the aerial view of the tortured city's burning skyline, above. [Wrecked train in Kobe, Japan]; COLOR PHOTO: KAKU KURITA--GAMMA LIAISON, [See caption above--aerial view of skyline of fires in Kobe, Japan, after earthquake]; TWO COLOR PHOTOS: LIZ GILBERT--SYGMA, IN THE HOUSE OF DEATH, Sygma photographer Liz Gilbert captured the full horror of warfare between the Tutsi and Hutu in central Africa. In late March she spotted government troops escorting Tutsi militiamen away from an ethnically mixed suburb of Burundi's capital city of Bujumbura. They had left behind a charnel house. Gilbert took pictures for two hours of victims like those depicted above. "There were no family members left to take care of the bodies," she says. At left is Gilbert's photo of Hutu captives at the central prison in Butare, Rwanda. [Three dead Rwandans lying on bloody ground; Hutu prisoners in Butare, Rwanda]; COLOR PHOTO: CHIEN-CHI CHANG--MAGNUM, ONE IN A MILLION, Taiwanese-born photographer Chien-Chi Chang didn't appreciate the irony in this image of a lone boy at Washington's Million Man March of African Americans until after the film was processed and a friend explained the backdrop--a Civil War memorial. Says Chang: "I just saw him standing there. There was a sense of visual completeness. It was beautiful, actually." The photo of almost a million men was taken by P.F. Bentley from Newt Gingrich's office. [Boy in front of Civil War Memorial]; COLOR PHOTO: P.F. BENTLEY FOR TIME, [See caption above--Crowd in front of Washington Memorial]

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 29, 1995

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
Jewish Telegraphic Agency

October 26, 1995

SECTION: Pg. 1

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HEADLINE: Rabin gives award to Clinton, then praises UJA's top donors

BYLINE: Dorf, Matthew

BODY:

Rabin gives award to Clinton, then praises UJA's top donors.

After thanking Congress for passing legislation requiring the United States to move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin presented an award to one of the move's loudest critics - President Clinton.

Rabin presented the United Jewish Appeal's Isaiah Award to Clinton for his efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. The presentation was made at the concluding gathering of 200 of the UJA's biggest donors, who earlier in the day had pledged a total of \$32 million.

The Capitol Hill gathering, which also featured Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert and a rousing rendition of "Hatikvah," was largely ceremonial, but was well-attended by dozens of members of Congress as well as the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk.

But the four-hour stretch - from the time Rabin took the stage earlier in the day to kick off the U.S. celebration of Jerusalem 3000 at a Capitol Hill ceremony to his exit from the black-tie State Department reception for the UJA donors - was marked by a diplomatic blunder and protocol gaffes.

Unaware that the UJA evening reception in the elegant Ben Franklin room on the eighth floor of the State Department was black tie, Rabin arrived in a navy single-breasted suit with a light blue straight-collared shirt.

Realizing his fashion faux pas, Rabin asked a member of the White House advance team whether he could borrow his bow tie. Unfortunately for the prime minister, the aide had a genuine bow tie - one that has to be tied. A second aide rushed to the prime minister's rescue, offering the clip-on variety.

Rabin proceeded to a half-hour meeting with Clinton and then to the UJA reception, where he gave an emotional speech thanking "President Nixon."

Rabin quickly recovered from the blunder and presented the award to Clinton to the rousing cheers of those gathered in the room.

Clinton, in brief remarks, praised Rabin for his "courageous leadership and vision" before moving on to his next reception.

The Ethnic NewsWatch, October 26, 1995

But Rabin stayed to address the donors. The prime minister, who had recently criticized American Jews for not contributing enough money to the Jewish state, thanked the UJA donors, who were attending an International Leadership Reunion, for their contributions and urged them to serve as an example to their Jewish brethren.

"You should serve as a model, an example to many more in the Jewish community all over the world," Rabin told the donors who had gathered in Washington for three days of meetings.

ETHNIC-GROUP: Jewish

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: January 22, 1996

Georgia Tech Hands Maryland First Loss, 31-3 — D1

The Washington Post

FINAL

Inside: Weekend
Today's Contents on Page A2

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1995

Prices May Vary in Areas Outside
Metropolitan Washington (See Post on A1)

25¢

Arafat, Rabin Sign West Bank Accord

*As Israel Withdraws,
Palestinians to Expand
Rule in Gaza, Jericho*

By Ann Devroy

Washington Post Staff Writer



In the East Room signing ceremony at the White House, President Clinton is flanked by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, left, and

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, standing at left, is among the witnesses to the event.

Clinton Continues Building Case For His Foreign Policy Successes

Achievements Are Often Partial, but Criticism Softens

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

There is democracy in Haiti, although it is fragile. There is a new chance for ending the war in Bosnia, although it could slip away in an instant. And now there is a settlement for the West Bank, although everyone agrees that peace on paper is not the same as peace in people's hearts.

As a foreign policy record, the Clinton administration argues, that's not half bad.

The question, politically speaking, is whether not bad will be good enough. With next year's election looming, President Clinton and his aides have embarked in recent days on a campaign to shoo away his reputation as a foreign policy fumbler in

different to global affairs when there's not a crisis, uncertain and timid when there is.

That has been a consistent accusation by Republicans and numerous critics of various ideological stripes in Washington's foreign policy establishment. The complaints took deep root in the administration's first year. The most memorable failure was the Somalia intervention, which Clinton inherited from George Bush, expanded broadly, and then halted abruptly after the deaths of 18 Army Rangers on a mission that military experts condemned as naively planned and poorly equipped.

Regardless of the political equation, events abroad lately have been breaking Clinton's way. The administration also has taken a more active role in some areas, es-

See POLICY, A20, Col. 4



Arafat walks with Rabin to the signing ceremony.

Israel and the Palestinians formally moved a step closer toward peace in the Middle East yesterday, signing an accord to extend Palestinian rule on the West Bank during a ceremony awash with symbols of peace and denunciations of violence.

After a last-minute glitch that forced a handwritten amendment in the 400-page agreement, 200 guests gathered in the White House East Room to watch President Clinton declare "a new chapter" in Middle East peace. At the same table used two years ago to sign the pact that officially ended nearly five decades of hostility between Israel and the Palestinians, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat signed the agreement for the staged withdrawal of Israeli troops from most Palestinian-occupied areas on the West Bank.

The pact is the first to deal with the West Bank, the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It builds on the Cairo agreement of May 1994, which established a bridgehead for Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

"Just two years ago, only poets dreamt of it," said Rabin, his exultation mixed with warnings to Arafat to join forces with Israel in stopping opponents who may use violence to thwart the peace process. "... If all the partners to peace-making do not unite against the evil angels of death by terrorism, all that will remain of this ceremony are color snapshots, empty mementos. Rivers of hatred will overflow again and swamp the Middle East."

Arafat, for his part, said the signing demonstrated "the irreversibility of the peace process" and said, "We must condemn and forswear violence totally. Enough killing and enough killing of innocent people."

With a smiling Clinton standing between them, the two leaders replicated the handshake on the White House lawn two years ago that sealed the signing of principles of peace and launched the inch-by-inch talks that produced yesterday's pact.

The signing of the tortuously negotiated accords sets in motion a timetable and rules under which Israeli troops begin withdrawing within 10 days from their 28-year occu-

See SIGNING, A21, Col. 1

Increase Cancer Risk in Some Jewish Women

to offer widespread genetic testing for a predisposition to cancer.

But the researchers also warned that they do not know how much of an added cancer risk the mutation confers. Until that critical question is answered, they said, gene tests

Jewish leaders in the District, Virginia and Maryland. Maryland has high cancer rates, with breast cancer incidence particularly high in Montgomery County. Starting at the end of October, researchers will ask thousands of local Ashkenazi Jews to donate a few drops of

even if women know they are at especially high risk. The scientists said Jewish women as a group may be at somewhat higher risk of breast cancer than women of other ethnic backgrounds, but the question has not been carefully studied.

Retarded Man Is Freed in D.C. Slaying City Law Forbids

Walking from the Oval Office to the East Room for the signing are, from left, Jordan's King Hussein, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Clinton, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Israel and Palestinians Sign West Bank Accord

SIGNING, From A1

pation of the West Bank. U.S. officials said the Israelis have pledged to conclude the withdrawal in December, four months before the six-month deadline.

The agreement outlines each step of the withdrawal of Israeli forces and how governing authority will be transferred to Palestinians in just under a third of the West Bank that is home to most of its Arab population. The accord also allows for Palestinian elections. About 1 million Palestinians will get greater legal control over their lives in the region but the agreement still leaves in place up to 140,000 Jewish settlers whose fate will be decided during a round of talks to begin next spring.

Arafat yesterday admonished Israel that it was fueling tensions by allowing a Jewish settlement in the West Bank city of Hebron and in other areas, and by holding Palestinians prisoners.

Showing just a hint of the significant issues ahead, Arafat, in an Oval Office meeting with Clinton that preceded the signing ceremony, said the pact would "definitely" lead to a Palestinian state. Clinton avoided the question of whether U.S. policy would shift to support Palestinian statehood. "We're not moving anywhere," he said. "We're supporting the peace process."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein, who both have made

peace with Israel, witnessed the accord. All five leaders in a joint statement called on Syria and Lebanon to join the peace process.

Although the day held little of the dramatic sense of history the original handshake for peace did, the White House was awash in foreign ministers, foreign delegations, Oval Office photo sessions and last-minute breathless negotiation.

Officials said one glitch—which they described as minor, and related to the language

The future of Jewish settlers is left for the next round of talks.

of the agreement rather than the substance—held up the ceremonies for 20 minutes as the guests sweltered under television lights in the stately East Room. A senior official said that as Clinton was holding an Oval-Office meeting with Rabin, Arafat, Hussein and Mubarak, U.S. negotiator Dennis Ross broke in to tell Clinton a separate set of talks putting the final touches on the language had broken down and needed help from the leaders.

The issue, officials said, was related to the timing of the redeployment of the Israel Defense Forces around Hebron and how it

would be described in the documents. Clinton took Arafat and Rabin into his private dining room off the Oval Office and asked them to get the problem settled and about 10 minutes later they did, requiring pen-and-ink changes to the agreement.

The leaders later went into the White House Cabinet Room to initial each of 26 maps outlining in intricate detail the land division. The final settlement details reflected in the maps were so sensitive they were not made public.

Later, a stage crowded with foreign ministers, prime ministers, presidents and a king was the setting for the formal signing and a string of speeches that stretched for two hours on recurring themes of the fragility of peace and the need for a concerted effort to sustain and expand it.

"Today we make a great stride toward the fulfillment of a vision toward the day when two peoples divided by generations, by conflict, are bound now by peace," Clinton said at the end. "Finally, the time is approaching when there will be safety in Israel's house, when the Palestinian people will write their own destiny, when the clash of arms will be banished from God's holy land."

After the signing, international donors met to discuss how to speed up disbursing the \$2.4 billion pledged to the Palestinians over five years. In another development, as an incentive to Israel, Clinton pledged to work with Congress for what one official called a "substantial reduction" in the penalties it is being charged against its U.S. loan guarantees for what the United States considers illegal settlements.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To read or download the full text of the agreement, see *Digital Ink*, The Post's on-line service. To learn about *Digital Ink*, call 1-800-510-5104, Ext. 9000.

'The Landscape And the Chasm'

Associated Press

Following are excerpts of remarks made by President Clinton, Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the peace accord signing ceremony yesterday at the White House.

President Clinton

Today we make a great stride toward the fulfillment of a vision toward the day when two peoples divided by generations, by conflict, are bound now by peace. Finally, the time is approaching when there will be safety in Israel's house, when the Palestinian people will write their own destiny, when the clash of arms will be banished from God's holy land.

Two years ago, on another brilliant September day here at the White House, two men reached across one of history's widest chasms with a simple handshake. That moment is etched forever in our memory.

With the eyes of the world upon you, Mr. Prime Minister, you declared your wish to live side by side with the Palestinian people in dignity, in empathy, as human beings, as free men.

And you, Mr. Chairman, vowed to wage what you called the most difficult battle of our lives, the battle for peace.

In the days of labor that have followed, you have both shown profound courage in bringing us to this moment, and you have kept your word. The enemies of peace have fought the tide of history with terror and violence. We grieve for their victims, and we renew our vow to redeem the sacrifice of those victims.

We will defeat those who resort to terror, and we revere the determination of these leaders who chose peace, who rejected the old habits of hatred and revenge. Because they broke so bravely with the past, the bridges have multiplied: bridges of communication, of commerce, of understanding. Today the landscape changes and the chasm narrows.

The agreement that now will be signed means that Israel's mothers and fathers need no longer worry that their sons will face the dangers of patrolling Nablus or confronting the hostile streets of Ramallah. And it means that Palestinians will be able to decide for themselves what their schools teach, how their houses should be built, and who they will choose to govern.

Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. Chairman, you are showing that it is not by weapons but by will and by word that dreams best become reality. Your achievement shines as an inspiration to others all around this world who seek to overcome their own conflicts and to secure for themselves the blessings of peace.

All those who doubt the spirit of peace should remember this day and this extraordinary array of leaders who have joined together to bring a new era of hope to the Middle East. The United States is proud to stand with all of them. Much remains to be done, but we will continue to walk each step of the way with those who work and risk for peace.

Yasser Arafat

(through an interpreter):

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Accord Stirs Few Protests In West Bank

Associated Press

HEBRON, West Bank, Sept. 28—As Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization sealed a West Bank autonomy accord today, Israelis opposed to the agreement marched here to accuse their government of treason and anti-Israel protests erupted in a Palestinian refugee camp.

Still, most Israelis and Palestinians appeared indifferent to the long-awaited accord.

The White House signing ceremony, broadcast live in the West Bank, set off protests at the Dheishe refugee camp, home to 15,000 Palestinians. Hundreds of residents tore down sections of a chain-link fence the Israeli army erected around the shantytown to prevent stones from being thrown at Israeli cars. Troops fired stun grenades to disperse the protesters.

Daniella Novis, 21, watched the signing in a Tel Aviv suburb just a few miles from a West Bank town that is to come under Palestinian control by spring. "I'm happy because it gives me hope for a new future," said Novis, an Israeli Jew. "I hope I can trust the Palestinians, but that's something I'll only know tomorrow."

Ibrahim Abdeen, 38, a Hebron Islamic preacher, said he backed the agreement but had reservations because it permitted 450 Jewish settlers and some Israeli soldiers to remain in Hebron, a city of 120,000 Palestinians. "I have supported Yasser Arafat from the beginning of the process, but I am against the part about Hebron," he said.

About 2,000 Israelis opposed to the agreement converged on Hebron for a protest timed to coincide with the White House ceremony. They carried posters branding Israel



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Title: FOREIGN AFFAIRS; YITZHAK, BIBI AND BILL
Authors: THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Source: The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date: Sunday Nov 12, 1995 Sec: 4 Editorial Desk p: 15
Length: Long (720 words) Type: OP-ED
Subjects: ASSASSINATIONS & ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATIONS;
UNITED STATES POLITICS & GOVERNMENT; MIDDLE
EAST; ISRAEL

Names: RABIN, YITZHAK; CLINTON, BILL (PRES)

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Title: ASSASINATION IN ISRAEL; WORDS OF GRIEF AND
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Date: Tuesday Nov 7, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
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Subjects: ASSASSINATIONS & ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATIONS;
MIDDLE EAST; ISRAEL

Names: CLINTON, BILL (PRES); RABIN, YITZHAK (PRIME MIN);
PERES, SHIMON (MIN); HUSSEIN I (KING OF HASHEMITE
JORDAN); MUBARAK, HOSNI (PRES)

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EAST; ISRAEL

Names: RABIN, YITZHAK; CLINTON, BILL (PRES)

Abstract: Thomas L. Friedman discusses the leadership of slain Israeli
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, saying he possessed the quality
of authenticity, which is lacking in many other world leaders.

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Article Text:

WASHINGTON -- When I last interviewed Yitzhak Rabin in his office a couple of weeks ago, I was in the middle of asking him a question when he suddenly looked past me through his open door and called out to his secretary to bring him a beer. I couldn't help but laugh, because I couldn't imagine any other world leader who would so matter-of-factly interrupt an interview to order a Bud.

But that was the secret of Yitzhak Rabin's political success, and it is a secret President Clinton and other politicians would do well to contemplate. Mr. Rabin had the most important attribute of leadership -- authenticity. He put on no airs, he wore no masks, what you saw was what you got, and what you got was a man who barely knew how to tie a tie, whose pants were always two inches too long, who blew cigarette smoke in your face while you were paying him a compliment and who often stammered in ungrammatical Hebrew.

He spoke his mind with such bluntness, particularly after taking the historic decision to make peace with Yasir Arafat, that one of his aides told me last month: 'We estimate that Rabin has personally insulted at least two million Israelis in the last year.' The aide went on to say that he expected that all two million would vote for Mr. Rabin, because Israelis loved it when he talked to them that way.

What that aide was saying was that Mr. Rabin did not need a Dick Morris to tell him who he was, and he certainly wasn't trying to 'triangulate,' or position himself in the middle of the Israeli political spectrum, the way Mr. Clinton is between Democrats and Republicans. He knew where he was going and didn't much care what anyone else thought, which is why he got his opponents so angry. But it also explains why so many Israelis trusted him, even if they never adored him. They could see the real person right before their eyes. Because Israeli politics is about existence and existence is a

serious matter, Israelis always want to be sure that they really know, in some gut way, the man or woman at the top in order to be confident in their leader's judgment.

Mr. Rabin also conveyed authenticity because his personality was forged in wars, where actions are everything and words are nothing, where you are judged by how you lead, not by whom you spin. Likud party leader Bibi Netanyahu is exactly the opposite. His persona was formed in media wars, on the battlefields of CNN, and there you are judged by whom you spin, not by how you lead -- there your inner reality is nothing and your mask is everything. That is why so many Israelis inherently trusted Mr. Rabin and distrust Mr. Netanyahu. Mr. Rabin you could see right into. Mr. Netanyahu you can see right through.

I think people instinctively measure the distance between what they believe is the real personality of a politician and his public mask. In Mr. Rabin's case there was no distance because there was no mask, and that is what gave him his credibility.

And here we come to Mr. Clinton. If he were able to demonstrate that his changes in political personality from New Democrat to old Democrat and back to New Democrat were all the result of real-life experiences, the public might buy it, and buy him. But one has the sense that all these shifts are the result of real-life consultants -- that he became a new man because he bought a new mask.

Mr. Clinton's problem is that he has too little authenticity because he has too much empathy. He is always hugging people, feeling their pain and taking on their political coloration. Yitzhak Rabin never hugged anyone outside his own family. He did not feel your pain. He gave you pain. Mr. Clinton wants everyone to like him. Mr. Rabin knew that in politics you have to make real enemies if you are going to pursue real change. Mr. Clinton changes political identities with each season. Mr. Rabin never knew how to be anyone other than himself so Israelis were never in doubt about who he was, and since many had confidence in who he was, they were ready to follow.

It is not too late for Mr. Clinton to learn from Mr. Rabin's political legacy. But first he must fire every political consultant and pollster in the White House, just clean out the place, and try, just once, to answer a question by himself: Who am I? What is that one simple and important thing for which I stand?

Access No:	9300053885 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc
Title:	ASSASSINATION IN ISRAEL; WORDS OF GRIEF AND RESOLVE FROM FRIENDS AND WORLD LEADERS
Source:	The New York Times, Late Edition - Final
Date:	Tuesday Nov 7, 1995 Sec: A Foreign Desk p: 10
	Length: Long (2901 words) Illus: Photo
Subjects:	ASSASSINATIONS & ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATIONS; MIDDLE EAST; ISRAEL
Names:	CLINTON, BILL (PRES); RABIN, YITZHAK (PRIME MIN); PERES, SHIMON (MIN); HUSSEIN I (KING OF HASHEMITE JORDAN); MUBARAK, HOSNI (PRES)
Abstract:	Excerpts are provided from remarks by foreign leaders and friends at Yitzhak Rabin's funeral in Jerusalem on Nov 6, 1995, including comments by President Clinton, King Hussein of

Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt.

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Article Text:

Following are excerpts from remarks by foreign leaders and friends at Yitzhak Rabin's funeral in Jerusalem yesterday, as recorded by The New York Times and the Federal Document Clearing House, a private transcription service. The speeches by Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Eitan Haber were translated from the Hebrew by The Times and by official translators.

PRESIDENT CLINTON

To all the people of Israel, the American people mourn with you in the loss of your leader. And I mourn with you, for he was my partner and friend.

Every moment we shared was a joy because he was a good man, and an inspiration because he was also a great man.

Leah, I know that too many times in the life of this country, you were called upon to comfort and console the mothers and the fathers, the husbands and the wives, the sons and the daughters who lost their loved ones to violence and vengeance. You gave them strength. Now, we here and millions of people all around the world, in all humility and honor, offer you our strength. May God comfort you among all the mourners of Zion and to Israel.

Yitzhak Rabin lived the history of Israel through every trial and triumph, the struggle for independence, the wars for survival, the pursuit of peace and all he served on the front lines. This son of David and of Solomon took up arms to defend Israel's freedom and laid down his life to secure Israel's future. He was a man completely without pretense, as all of his friends knew.

I read that in 1949, after the War of Independence, David Ben-Gurion sent him to represent Israel at the armistice talks at Rhodes, and he had never before worn a necktie and did not know how to tie the knot. So, the problem was solved by a friend who tied it for him before he left and showed him how to preserve the knot simply by loosening the tie and pullin it over his head.

Well, the last time we were together, not two weeks ago, he showed up for a black tie event on time, but without the black tie.

And so, he borrowed a tie. And I was privileged to straighten it for him. It is a moment I will cherish as long as I live.

To him, ceremonies and words were less important than actions and deeds. Six weeks ago, the King and President Mubarak will remember, we were at the White House for signing the Israel-Palestinian agreement and a lot of people spoke. I spoke. The King spoke. Chairman Arafat spoke. President Mubarak spoke. Our Foreign Ministers all spoke. And finally, Prime Minister Rabin gotup to speak and he said, 'First, the good news. I am the last speaker.'

But he also understood the power of words and symbolism. Take a look at the stage he set in Washington -- the King of Jordan, the President of Egypt, Chairman Arafat, and us, the Prime Minister, and Foreign Minister of Israel on one platform.

'Please take a good hard look. The sight you see before you was impossible, was

unthinkable just three years ago. Only poets dreamt of it and to our great pain, soldier and civilian went to their deaths to make this moment possible' -- those were his words.

Today, my fellow citizens of the world, I ask all of you to take a good hard look at this picture. Look at the leaders from all over the Middle East and around the world who have journeyed here today for Yitzhak Rabin and for peace. Though we no longer hear his deep and booming voice, it is he who has brought us together again here, in word and deed, for peace.

Now it falls to all of us who love peace and all of us who loved him to carry on the struggle to which he gave life and for which he gave his life. He cleared the path. And his spirit continues to light the way. His spirit lives on in the growing peace between Israel and her neighbors. It lives in the eyes of the children, the Jewish and the Arab children, who are leaving behind a past of fear for a future of hope. It lives on in the promise of true security.

So, let me say to the people of Israel: Even in your hour of darkness, his spirit lives on, and so you must not lose your spirit. Look at what you have accomplished making a once barren desert bloom, building a thriving democracy in a hostile terrain, winning battles and wars and now winning the peace, which is the only enduring victory.

Your Prime Minister was a martyr for peace, but he was a victim of hate. Surely, we must learn from his martyrdom that if people cannot let go of the hatred of their enemies, they risk sowing the seeds of hatred among themselves.

I ask you, the people of Israel, on behalf of my nation that knows its own long litany of loss -- from Abraham Lincoln to President Kennedy to Martin Luther King -- do not let that happen to you. In the Knesset, in your homes, in your places of worship, stay the righteous course.

As Moses said to the children of Israel when he knew he would not cross over into the Promised Land: 'Be strong and of good courage. Fear not, for God will go with you. He will not fail you. He will not forsake you.'

President Weizman, Acting Prime Minister Peres, to all the people of Israel, as you stay the course of peace, I make this pledge: Neither will America forsake you.

Legend has it that in every generation of Jews from time immemorial, a just leader emerged to protect his people and show them the way to safety. Prime Minister Rabin was such a leader.

He knew, as he declared to the world on the White House lawn two years ago, that the time had come, in his words, 'to begin a new reckoning in the relations between people, between parents tired of war, between children who will not know war.'

Here in Jerusalem, I believe with perfect faith that he was leading his people to that Promised Land.

This week, Jews all around the world are studying the Torah portion in which God tests the faith of Abraham, Patriarch of the Jews and the Arabs. He commands Abraham to sacrifice Yitzhak, 'Take your son, the one you love, Yitzhak.'

As we all know, as Abraham in loyalty to God was about to kill his son, God spared Yitzhak. Now, God tests our faith even more terribly, for he has taken our Yitzhak.

But Israel's covenant with God -- for freedom, for tolerance, for security, for peace -- that covenant must hold. That covenant was Prime Minister Rabin's life's work, now we must make it his lasting legacy. His spirit must live on in us.

SHIMON PERES OF ISRAEL

We have not come to seal this tomb, we have come to salute you, Yitzhak, for what you were. You were a courageous fighter who brought victories for your people, a great dreamer who forged a new reality in our region. Last Saturday night, we joined hands and sang the song of peace together and I could feel your uplifted spirits.

You told me that there were warnings of a planned attempt against your life during this large rally. We did not know who would attack. We did not anticipate that the damage would be so great. But we knew that we could not fear death and that we could not hesitate in our effort to achieve peace.

One day earlier we met, as was our custom, face to face. For the first time you pointed out to me that the work was exhausting, but that the peace was overriding.

I was aware of your tremendous restraint and therefore also of your refusal to be caught up in the fanfare, even in that of peace. I was also aware of your great wisdom and from that stemmed your cautiousness about not revealing things before their time. These are characteristics of a leader, and that is what you were from the time you reached adulthood, a daring leader in the forward command posts of Israel's battlefields, and a great leader in the struggle for peace in the Middle East. Being a leader is not amusing, and you weren't necessarily a person who was easily amused. Seriousness became your second nature and responsibility was your first nature. That combination made you into a rare leader, able to move mountains and to pave roads, able to set a goal and to achieve it.

I did not know that these were the last hours of the cooperation between us -- a cooperation that knew no limits. I felt as if some distant grace fell upon you and you were suddenly able to breathe easily at the sight of the sea of friends who came to support the path you had chosen and congratulate you for it. The summit to which you led us broadened, and from it we could view the new tomorrow, the vision of the future promised to the new generation of Israeli youth.

Yitzhak, the youngest among Israel's generals, Yitzhak the greatest of Israel's peacemakers, the suddenness of your departure shed light on your many deeds. You were unlike anyone else, nor did you want to imitate anyone. You were not a jolly sort. You demanded a lot, first of all from yourself and therefore also from your fellow men.

You did not accept failure, nor were you afraid of successes. You knew every detail, and you saw the big picture. And each of the details remained beside you throughout the entire process, and that led to great decisions and intense activity.

You promised to change the orders of priority, and indeed a new order emerged. Priorities encouraging development were adopted. Junctions were opened, roads were paved. Unemployment dropped, waves of immigration were absorbed. Production grew, investments increased. The education budget doubled and science was promoted.

Above all, perhaps as the basis for it all, strong winds of peace began to blow. Two agreements with our Palestinian neighbors were achieved. I saw how much the Palestinian people and their leaders -- who are represented here -- were moved. These two agreements will enable them to hold democratic elections and they will enable us to free ourselves from the necessity of ruling another nation, just as you promised....

Leah is at this time without you, but the entire nation is with her and the family. I see our people very distressed, a nation with tears in their eyes. The nation also knows that the bullet that murdered you cannot and will not kill the ideas you advocated.

You did not leave us a will, but you left us a path which we will follow with

determination and faith. The nation is crying. I hope these will be tears for unity, tears for peace among us, and peace with our neighbors.

I see our Arab neighbors, and I would like to say to them that the peace is irreversible for both of us. None of us can stop, postpone or hesitate about peace, which must be comprehensive and inclusive of old and young.

From here, Yitzhak, in Jerusalem where you were born, where the three greatest religions in history were founded, let us quote the words of our matriarch Rachel, whose death occurred on the same date on which you fell: Keep thy voice from weeping, and thy eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded and there is hope for thy future, said the Lord.

Goodbye, my eldest brother, the bringer of peace. We will add and continue to carry this peace, for near and far, that you wanted and expected in your life and death.

EITAN HABER, SPEECHWRITER

Yitzhak, this is the final speech. There will not be another one. For a whole generation, more than 35 years, you were my teacher, counselor, and leader. You were my father. You were asked to sing a song of peace just five minutes before this inhuman person shot you; and you were given a piece of paper with the words of the song written down on it.

Once again, you sang off key. Afterward, you folded the paper carefully in four, and at the end of the rally inserted it, as always, into the pocket of your jacket.

Your blood oozed onto that piece of paper and covered the words of the song of peace on that lyric sheet.

Your blood cries out to us from that sheet. I ask to read the lyrics of a song that could have been written yesterday, after you sang there and after they shot you. This is that sheet of paper:

Let the sun rise, the morning shine,
The most righteous prayer will not bring us back.
Who is the one whose light has been extinguished,
And buried in the earth;
Bitter tears will not wake him, will not bring him back.
No song of praise or victory will avail us.
Therefore, sing only a song of peace.
Don't whisper a prayer --
sing aloud a song of peace.

Yitzhak we miss you.

KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN

My friends, I had never thought that the moment would come, like this, when I would grieve the loss of a brother, a colleague and a friend, a man, a soldier, whom I trust on the opposite side of a divide, whom I respected as he respected us -- a man I came to know because I realized as he did, that we have to cross over the divide, establish a dialogue, get to know each other and strive to leave for those who follow us a legacy that is worthy of them. And so we did. And so we became brethren and friends.

I've never been used to standing, except with you next to me, speaking of peace, speaking of our dreams and the hopes of generations to come that must live in peace, enjoy human dignity, come together, work together to build a better future, which is our

right.

Never in all my thoughts did it occur to me that my first visit to Jerusalem in response to your invitation, and the invitation of the Speaker of the Knesset, at the invitation of the President of Israel, would be on such an occasion.

You lived as a soldier, you died as a soldier for peace.

And I believe it is time for all of us to come out openly and to speak of peace. Not here today, but for all the times to come. We belong to the camp of peace. We believe in peace. We believe that our one God wishes us to live in peace, and wishes peace upon us, for these are his teachings to all the followers of the three great monotheistic religions, the children of Abraham.

Let's not keep silent. Let our voices rise high to speak of our commitment to peace for all times to come. And let us tell those who live in darkness, who are the enemies of life, and through faith and religion and the teachings of our one God, this is where we stand. This is our camp. Maybe God will bless you with the realization that you must join it, and we'll pray that He will. But otherwise, we are not ashamed, nor are we afraid, nor are we anything but determined to continue the legacy for which my friend fell, as did my grandfather in this very city when I was with him and but a boy.

He was man of courage ... and he was endowed with one of the greatest virtues that any man can have. He was endowed with humility. He felt, with those around him, an evolution of responsibility. He placed himself, as I do, and have done often, in the place of the other partner to achieve a worthy goal. And we achieved peace, an honorable peace and a lasting peace.

He had courage, he had vision and he had a commitment to peace. And standing here, I commit before you, before my people in Jordan, before the world, myself to continue to do my utmost to insure that we leave a similar legacy. And when my time comes, I hope it will be like my grandfather's and like Yitzhak Rabin's.

For his spirit -- and I try and make sense for the people of Jordan, my family, the people of Israel -- decent people throughout the world feel today. So many live and so many inevitably die. This is the will of God, this is the way of all, but those are fortunate and lucky in life, those who are great are those who leave something behind and you are such a man, my friend.

The places in my country, among the majority of our people, and our armed forces and people who once were your enemies are somber today and their hearts are heavy. Let's hope and pray that God will give us all guidance, each in his respective position, to do what he can for the better future that Yitzhak Rabin sought with determination and courage.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK OF EGYPT

It is with deep regret that we assemble here today to pay our last respects to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a courageous leader and a recognized statesman. His earnest efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East are a testament to his vision -- which we share -- to end the suffering of all the peoples of our region.

He defied the prejudices of the past to tackle the most complicated of problems, namely, the Palestinian problem, in a forthright manner. The success he achieved in this regard has firmly laid the foundations of peaceful coexistence between Palestinians and the Israelis in a climate of trust and mutual respect. These achievements have undoubtedly established him as a true hero of peace.

The untimely loss of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at this important juncture in the

history of the Middle East has dealt a severe blow to our noble cause. We must, therefore, redouble our efforts and reaffirm our obligation to continue the sacred mission to achieve a just and lasting peace.

We must deprive those treacherous hands, hostile toward our goal, from reaping the rewards of their vile actions. Only through our unwavering commitment to this objective can we truly honor the memory of this fallen hero of peace.

And I could say that the best memorial for Yitzhak Rabin is to continue what he started, which is the peace process. For as we mentioned several times, peace is so precious for the whole people all over the world.

On this sad occasion, ladies and gentlemen, I extend the condolences of the people and the Government of Egypt and my personal condolences to the Government and the people of Israel and the family of Mr. Yitzhak Rabin.

Caption:

Photos: President Clinton told mourners, 'Israel's covenant with God -- for freedom, for tolerance, for security, for peace -- that covenant must hold.' He noted, 'That covenant was Prime Minister Rabin's life work.' His voice sometimes breaking, he spoke to thousands.; Eitan Haber, speechwriter for Yitzhak Rabin, reads from the bloodstained text of the 'Song of Peace' that the slain Prime Minister had in his pocket when he was killed. (Reuters; Associated Press)

Draft 11/5/98 7pm
Lowell Weiss

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL H. S. BILL SIGNING
THE WHITE HOUSE
November 6, 1998

Acknowledge: the First Lady; Sec. Slater; Sen. Hutchinson; Reps. Bennie Thompson, Vic Snyder, Gregory Meeks; Mayor Jim Dailey; Eastern H. S. Choir.

I want to say a special thank you to my good friend Sen. Dale Bumpers. Last month, Sen. Bumpers gave a final -- and, as always, brilliant -- speech on the Senate floor. In it, he mentioned an inspiring teacher who once stopped him when he was reading out loud and said to the whole class, "Doesn't he have a nice voice? Wouldn't it be tragic if he didn't use that talent?" I think it's fair to say that Sen. Bumpers has done that teacher proud -- using that eloquent, impassioned voice and his other immense talents to make sure that millions of children could make use of their own God-given talents. We owe him an enormous debt of gratitude for nearly five decades of courageous, caring public service to Arkansas and to America.

And now I want to thank six other true American heroes: My good friend Ernie Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Carlotta Walls LaNier, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, Minijean [minnie-jean] Brown Trickey. And I want to send my best wishes to three who could not be here: Melba Patillo [pah-TIL-oh] Beals, Gloria Ray Karlmark, and Thelma Mothershead [mother-shed] Wair. In September, 1957, these nine men and women -- then just teenagers seeking to develop their own talents at a quality public school -- risked their lives and changed America forever. Daisy Bates said it best: "Only through the unbelievable outrage at Little Rock was the world brought to a sharp realization of the shameful discrimination by the world's greatest democracy."

Because of their courage -- and that of their parents and the leaders and community members, both black and white, who helped guide their way -- Central High has become a hallowed symbol for our nation ... a place every bit as sacred as Gettysburg and Independence Hall. And that is why, in a few moments, I will officially designate Central High as America's newest National Historic Site.

The first time the First Lady and I had the privilege of meeting with all the members of the Little Rock Nine was 30 years after they walked bravely into the den of racial hostility, and like Daniel, tamed the beasts of anger, incomprehension, and fear. I was Governor at the time, and I asked these heroes to come to the Governor's Mansion so they would know, once and for all, that the office that had once blocked their way now welcomed them with open arms.

Last year, the First Lady and I honored the Little Rock Nine on the very steps they had climbed to raise our nation closer to its highest ideals. It was one of the most important and moving days of my entire life. For as long as I live, I will never forget watching each of them climb those steps once again, and cross proudly, emotionally, through the doors held wide open for their return.

Today, we meet at the White House. And, at least for me, the swirl of memories and

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Baltimore Jewish Times

December 16, 1994

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HEADLINE: "Yehuda Amichai: A Life of Poetry 1948-1994"

BYLINE: Bolton-Fasman, Judith

BODY:

"Yehuda Amichai: A Life of Poetry 1948-1994".

JUDITH BOLTON-FASMAN

SPECIAL TO THE JEWISH TIMES

By Yehuda Amichai. Translated from the Hebrew by Benjamin Harshav and Barbara Harshav.

HarperCollins, 477 pgs., \$30.

Yehuda Amichai's extraordinary collection of poetry epitomizes Ezra Pound's famous dictum that "literature is news that stays news." Last week the poet, frequently touted as a candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature, read his poem "Wild Peace" at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies in Oslo honoring Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres. The poem echoed a recurring theme in Mr. Amichai's poetry: the very public sphere of war encroaching on an individual's private world.

"I know that I know how to kill, /I am grown up./ And my son plays with a toy gun that knows/How to open and close its [redacted] and say 'Mama.'/Peace/Without the commotion of turning swords into plowshares [redacted] without/words, without/The sound of heavy seals ... "Let it be," the poet concluded, "Like wild flowers, /Suddenly, an imperative of the field: /Wild peace."

Chief among Mr. Amichai's many literary feats is his remarkable ability to remain an essentially autobiographical poet while imparting larger truths about the history and the fate of the Jewish people. He is also a modern prophet who eschews the role by claiming to be "a poor prophet. Like a poor boy with only/Two colors: I paint my life in war/And in love, in clamor and in silence." Much of Mr. Amichai's poetry centers on the anguish brought on by the four wars in which he fought. In a sequence of poems entitled "Jerusalem 1967," Mr. Amichai reflects on Israeli children "growing up half in the ethics of their fathers/And half in the teaching of war."

The calamitous transition he made from a closeknit, religiously observant household to a turbulent, secular adulthood is revealed in the long autobio-graphical narrative "The Travels of Benjamin the Last, of Tudela." In the poem the speaker looks back on his life from the perspective of middle age. He frequently quarrels with "the sweet invented God of my childhood" whose

at least made some progress on it because he started griping about it so long ago.

5 ~~He stood up for reform of our laws on natural resources~~ and he got some things done, and we didn't get everything we wanted to do done because there were too many people like Simpson stopping us, but -- (laughter) -- eventually we'll get it done.

~~He stood up for the Constitution of the United States, for the welfare of our children, for the future of America. In his own way, just as Betty did in Peace Links, he was always trying to build bridges to tomorrow over the fears and ignorance and conflicts of today. Always trying to bring out the best.~~

And I was sitting here looking at David and Barbara and Betty and Dale, and I was thinking, it does not take long to live a life. Time passes quickly. And all we can do is make the most of every day God gives us. I think that my days have been richer, and I know that Hillary's have, and I believe our public service has been better because very early on we met, came to know, love, admire and learn from Dale and Betty Bumpers. We will love them always.

6 ~~On Dale Bumpers' last official visit to the White House, not very long ago, a couple of weeks ago, we had this huge gathering under a tent of every soul we could find in Washington connected to Arkansas. And I signed legislation making Little Rock Central High School an historic site, a companion to a bill that will award Congressional Gold Medals to all the Little Rock Nine who integrated that school in 1957, a real milestone on America's long march towards justice and equality and reconciliation.~~

At this time, when the world needs so much from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to the Balkans to Central Africa to our own meanest streets, a remembrance of what is basic and good and fundamental about our national life -- when we need so badly to be reconciled one to another and to reach out to those around the world, the enduring legacy of Betty Bumpers and Peace Links, and Dale Bumpers' entire career as a public official, to me was somehow crystallized on that magic day when we celebrated a seminal event in all of our lives, and his commemorating it for all time to come.

We will remember them for all of our days with gratitude, thanks and laughter. God bless you both, and congratulations on your award. (Applause.)

This magnificent and beautiful award is richly deserved. It's also very heavy. (Laughter.) But, what the heck. If John Glenn can go into space, they can hold this award. God bless you. Congratulations. (Applause.)

END

8:50 P.M. EST

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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② As I said before,
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1st elected Governor,

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[Note - ~~retracts~~
video or bumpers]

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 8, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT PEACE LINKS "PEACE ON EARTH" GALA
HONORING DALE AND BETTY BUMPERS

as delivered

Capital Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

8:36 P.M. EST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Ladies and gentlemen, Hillary began by saying this was a bittersweet moment for us, and indeed it is. Nonetheless, I do want to thank all of you for making it possible. I thank Joan Baker, Deba Leach and all the Peace Link folks. I thank our good friend, Reverend Wogaman, for praying over us. God knows we need it. I thank my friend, Peter Duchon, for being here and for playing.

And I want to thank Alan Simpson for destroying all the stereotypes that we Democrats like to have about Republicans. (Laughter.) He's tall and funny. (Laughter and applause.) And, as you know, he has finally destroyed the myth that Harvard is an elitist institution. (Laughter.) And maybe even that it's an elite institution.

I thank Ann Bingaman for her wonderful remarks, and all the members of the Senate, the diplomatic corps, and others who are here tonight, and our wonderful friends, David and Barbara Pryor, for being here.

You know, the six of us -- we three couples -- we've been together a long time. I met David Pryor when he was running for Congress in 1976. I voted for Dale Bumpers when he ran for governor the first time, in 1970. We were all on the ballot in 1974 and I was the only one that lost. (Laughter.) And -- it's a good thing, I could have -- if I had won, I'd have gone to Congress, ~~been infected~~ by people like Simpson, and never become President. (Laughter.)

But over these last more than 20 years now, we've been together on countless occasions. When we were all in public office -- when I was governor and they were our senators, we did all those parades that David talked about. We did countless toasts and roasts. We even crashed in a plane together once, nearly made every other politician in Arkansas ecstatic all at one time -- we opened all the jobs at once. (Laughter.) But we walked away from it.

2 { We've borrowed each other's stories mercilessly -- then I became President and they said it wasn't presidential for me to tell jokes, so I had to stop. I wish I had a nickel for every time Dale Bumpers has called me and said, "Now, tell me that joke one more time." (Laughter.) And I'd get halfway through the joke and he'd remember it, ~~and~~ remember the punchline, and start laughing. ~~I could just hear the tears rolling down his cheeks.~~ ~~he'd laugh so much.~~ }

This would be a better place if we had more people who

laugh like that. This would be a stronger national capital if we had more people like Alan Simpson and Dale Bumpers and David Pryor that could tell these stories and reach across party lines. (Applause).

You know, Betty and Dale were raised in a tradition in Arkansas -- a little town in western Arkansas where, if you took yourself too seriously, you were deflated quickly. And people knew about you, all about you. And they loved you anyway. It's easy to get away from that, the more distance you get from real life in this business. So I have to tell you that one of the things that I am most grateful to both of them for is remaining real people in every way, throughout all these years -- the laughter, the tears, the drama, the struggles, real flesh and blood, patriotic, wonderful human beings. It means a lot, and more every passing day.

I thank Betty for her vision. We've made a lot of fun of all the things she's done with Peace Links, but if you think about it, it's a truly astonishing thing. It proves, really, that there is such a thing as citizen empowerment. And one person with vision and enough people, like Ann, ready to be dragooned into service, can change the course of history.

Think about what we're discussing today. Today we're impatient because the Russians haven't ratified the START II treaty, so we can negotiate another treaty, so we can dramatically slash our nuclear arsenals further. And when we do, it still won't be enough to suit Betty, but it will be partly because she has been pushing us all this time, and all the other Peace Links members. (Applause.)

I want to thank Betty for something else too: that she and Dale pioneered this whole business of immunizing our children. Last night we had a Christmas party at the White House, Betty, and I thought about you, because a young, handsome man came through the line and shook hands with Hillary and me and he said -- he looked at us and he said, I want you to know, for the last three years, I have run your immunization program. And it's been the proudest experience of my life.

He said, We've gotten tens of thousands of volunteers all across America and, for the first time in our history, we've got over 90 percent of our children immunized, and all these kids are going to live that would not have lived -- they'll be normal, and would not have had normal lives before. And you were the first person that sensitized me to that issue. And I thank you for that and I hope you're proud of that achievement for your country. (Applause.)

I want to say just a word about Dale. I have to forgive him, for one thing -- I'm in this sort of forgiveness mode. (Laughter.) Dale Bumpers never fails to introduce me and David Pryor as the second best governors Arkansas ever had. (Laughter.) And I forgive him because it's probably true.

~~He was an inspiration to David and me, as David said. As I look back on his long public career, including his service as governor and the 9,447 votes he cast in the United States Senate, votes for energy conservation, votes to preserve the ozone layer, people used to make fun of Dale Bumpers about the ozone layer, the way they used to make fun of Betty about Peace Links. Two days ago I got a report on the hole in the ozone over the South Pole; it's the biggest it has ever been and its duration is longer than any we've ever measured. And we have~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Tucson, Arizona)

For Immediate Release

February 25, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CITIZENS OF TUCSON
ON MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Tucson Convention Center
Tucson, Arizona

12:35 P.M. MST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you. I was just wondering if Esther would agree to go back to Washington with me. (Applause.) That was amazing.

Thank you for your wonderful welcome. I had no idea when I got here that I was coming to a place so large or so beautiful or completely full, with a good crowd outside. And it's a real testament to your good citizenship. You can't imagine, as Congressman Kolbe said, what this weather looks like to us. It has been freezing in Washington. And I come here, and I'm sort of a sports fan -- you've got three teams in spring training; you've got this great golf tournament going on here. And here you are with me. Thank you very much. I'm very grateful. (Applause.)

I'd like to thank Mayor Miller for meeting me at the airport and being here today. And he and his wife met me, and it's her birthday today -- I hope she's enjoying this unusual celebration of her birthday. (Applause.)

I thank County Supervisor Sharon Bronson for her remarks and her presence here today. And Congressman Kolbe, thank you for crossing district and party lines to be here with us today. We appreciate it very much. (Applause.) I thank my good friend, Ed Pastor, and his wife for their friendship and support and leadership over the years. I thank him for that. (Applause.)

I know Attorney General Janet Napolitano and several legislators and tribal leaders and others are here. I thank them for being here. (Applause.) I think the Director of the Pima County Council on Aging, Marian Lupu is here. (Applause.) I was told before I got here that Linda Ronstadt and Cece Peniston are here, and if they are, thank you for being here. And if they're not, I'm giving them free publicity. That's okay, too. (Laughter.)

You know, I'm delighted to be back in Arizona, I'm delighted to be here. Ed told me that I am the first President to come to Tucson since President Ford. If that's true, the others didn't know what they were missing, I can tell you that. (Applause.) I'm not sure, but I believe this is the first time I've had the opportunity in Arizona to thank the people of Arizona for their support for the Vice President and me in 1996, and I'm very grateful for that. (Applause.)

This state is living proof that the great era of westward expansion did not end a century ago; it is still going

62935

on. And when I look out here at all of you, I am reminded that when America looks to the west, it still sees the future. We see in Arizona the glimpses of America's future, and the seismic shifts in population, and growth you are already undergoing.

The Mayor mentioned Hillary -- the one thing -- (applause) -- I wanted to say this -- the one thing Hillary said to me this morning, only half kidding, before I left -- I said, you know, look at this -- this speech begins by saying, Arizona is the mirror of the future, all these shifts in population. She said, yeah, there's another way it's a mirror of the future, too; the women are in charge at last. (Applause.) I think my political career just got in there under the wire. That's what I think. (Laughter.)

Let me say to all of you, we've had a good time today and I am delighted to be here. But I do want to take a few moments to have a serious discussion with you about what I believe we should be doing in this last year of the 20th century. And I think it is terribly important, because the United States is so fortunate today to have the longest peacetime expansion in our history and the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957 and all the other economic indicators you know well. We're in our second year of budget surpluses after 30 years of deficits. Welfare rolls are about half what they were six years ago. We are so fortunate.

But the tendency is for people in public life and positions of responsibility and for citizens at large, after having gone through difficult and challenging times, when things get a whole lot better and ordinary folks can finally begin to feel it -- to see it in the highest home ownership in our history, for example -- the tendency is to say, whew, and to relax, and to basically just enjoy this moment or to think about other things, or to get distracted. And I believe that would be an error.

And I ask you to come here today to join with me in thinking seriously about our future, because this prosperity we have and this confidence we have gives us not only an opportunity, but an obligation to try to deal with the long-term challenges America faces. That's what I attempted to talk to the American people about in the State of the Union. I want to mention a few of them today and then focus on the ones that have already been discussed.

There's one other person, though, I will not forgive myself if I don't introduce -- a native of Arizona and a very important member of my personal White House staff, Mr. Fred Duval. So I wanted to introduce Fred. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

One of the big challenges you face in Arizona that all America will have to face is, how do we preserve the environment as we grow the economy; how do we maintain what you all came to California -- I mean, Arizona -- for in the first place. (Laughter.) While you have sustained record -- economic growth. If you moved here from California, if you're not like Esther and you weren't born here, if you moved here, it puts you in an awkward position to say you wish other people would stay home, doesn't it? So the question is, how do we sustain growth as a country, knowing we're going to put more pressure on our natural resources, and knowing we have local problems like preservation of greenspace, other natural heritage, quality of water, quality of air, not having toxic sites -- and that's all somehow connected to a lot of global problems like the warming of the

climate.

This is a major challenge. I know that you are working on it. When the Mayor met me at the airport he gave me a shirt that I'm going to try to wear out to spring training when I leave you -- on the Bellota Ranch, which you have preserved, I think 10 or 12 miles from here -- the kind of thing we ought to be doing more of. (Applause.)

And so one example of what we're trying to do to help you deal with the future is the livability agenda that I talked about a little bit in the State of the Union, that the Vice President and I developed, that will give communities new tools and new resources to deal with whatever the major challenge is in any community to making it more livable -- whether it's reducing traffic congestion, or saving greenspace, or promoting smart growth.

We also have to recognize that we're not yet giving all of our children a world-class education, so in the State of the Union I talked a lot about how we can build a 21st century education for every American child, from putting more teachers in the schools -- (applause) -- to building or modernizing 6,000 schools, to having more summer school and after-school programs, to having more charter schools and Internet hook-ups for all of our classrooms. (Applause.) These things are very important. And Arizona has growth challenges and diversity challenges there as well.

We talked a lot about -- in the State of the Union, I talked a lot about the need to bring economic opportunity to the communities and the people that still haven't been part of the recovery, whether they're in urban areas, or isolated rural areas, or Native American reservations. We have a program now -- if we can't get investment in there now when unemployment is low and when money is ample, if we can't get private investment to prove free enterprise will work for all Americans who will work, we'll never get around to doing that. So I think that is a very important thing for us to do now, and I hope you will support that. (Applause.)

But for the next few years, all of these major challenges will be overshadowed by two great decisions: how do we deal with the aging of America; and what are we going to do now that we finally have a budget surplus, what are we going to do with it? And I want you to think about that.

You know you are on the cutting edge of the aging of America. Here in Pima County alone, there are an enormous number of people over 65. The number has doubled just since 1980 -- the number of Americans over 65 in the entire country will double within 30 years. Life expectancy is already 76 years-plus in America. If you get to be 65 years old, your life expectancy, on average, is already over 80, well over 80. People over 80 are the fastest-growing group of Americans. Esther's just one of the crowd there. (Laughter.) And her family.

So what does all that mean? Well, it means that before you know it, there will only be two people working for every one person drawing Social Security. It means even before that, there will be many, many more people on Medicare -- and the older you get, the more you tend to access health services. And even staying healthy often costs money.

If you look at that, when the baby boomers retire -- we

had to wait two generations. It's not until -- this group that's now in the schools today is the only group of Americans more numerous than the baby boom generation. I'm the oldest of the baby boomers, I was born in 1946 --

Q Me, too. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: It looks better on you. (Laughter.) And those of us in the next 18 years are the so-called baby boom generation. We retire, there will be two people drawing -- working for every one person drawing Social Security. And even before that, as I said, there will be great pressures put on the Medicare program because we're living longer, and we have more access to high-tech medicine, but we access it more.

Another thing that's important for you to remember is that Social Security is not just a retirement program, it's an insurance program. One-third of the investments that are paid out in Social Security go to people who become disabled, or to the survivors of people who die prematurely from accidents, disease and other things. And when you think about what you're getting out of Social Security, particularly if you're not drawing it yet, don't forget that every year -- you have the equivalent of a term insurance policy that's issued every year against disability or death.

All over America, I meet people who literally would not be able to get along were it not for these benefits. So here's the problem: Everybody likes Social Security, everybody likes Medicare, and we can't sustain the programs unless we make some changes -- both changes in the structure of the program and investing more money.

Now, thank goodness we now have a surplus. We're in the second year of surpluses and we project that, on average, we'll have them for at least another 25 years. That doesn't mean that we won't have bad economic years, but on average, year in and year out, we'll have them, and that's good. (Applause.)

Now, in the State of the Union address, as Esther said, I proposed setting aside for 15 years 62 percent of the surplus for Social Security and 15 percent of it for Medicare. And I'd like to talk a little about that. I propose to do it in a way that would enable us to pay down the national debt with the surpluses -- (applause) -- but as we pay the debt down, to commit the money that we're using to pay the debt down when it comes back in, when it's manifested in the out-years, to commit future years money to Social Security and Medicare.

Now, if we do that, every young person in the audience should be for that -- not just because it would guarantee that you would get Social Security and Medicare, but because if you pay the debt down, as I'll say more about in a minute, it will immeasurably strengthen the American economy. And keep in mind, it is the strength of our economy that is enabling us to have this whole conversation today. If we still had 8 percent unemployment and a \$200-billion deficit, we'd be letting somebody else think about this down the road.

Now, I want to say, first of all, that I am very encouraged that there are more and more members of Congress like the two here, Ed Pastor and Jim Kolbe, who are committed to seeking reasonable solutions to these challenges, and who want to set aside -- there seems now to be broad agreement among leaders and rank-and-file members in both parties of Congress to set

aside the lion's share of the surplus to save Social Security.

There seems to be, now, some movement in the Republican majority away from having a large across-the-board tax cut if it would take away from the surplus' ability to save Social Security. We don't yet have that kind of agreement on setting aside some of the surplus for Medicare, and I think we should. And I'm going to keep pushing for that, because I think it's important, and I'll explain more about that in a moment -- because I think we have to have both Social Security and Medicare fixed by the end of this year. (Applause.)

Now, I can tell you -- if you look at what this surplus is projected to be over the next 15 years, if we did what I asked there would still be a substantial amount of money, out of which you could have targeted tax cuts, which I think the best are the USA accounts, the savings accounts I proposed, because most people need help saving for their retirement. But you could have a targeted tax cut. You could have investments for defense, for education, for medical research. There's still money there.

But keep in mind: when you save money, if it doesn't materialize, you just didn't save quite as much as you meant to. Once you give the tax cut, the money's gone. So we're giving it back to you, and it was all your money in the first place. And that's good. But if you want us to fix Social Security and Medicare, you should want us to make sure that we invest enough to do that. And if we do it -- (applause) -- thank you.

Now, let me just tell you basically what I propose to do. What I propose to do is to take 62 percent of the surplus, commit it to Social Security and pay the debt down. And what I believe we should do is to invest a modest amount of this in the private sector, the way every other retirement plan does. The Arizona State retirement plan does; every municipal retirement plan does; every private plan does. But I don't want to see the government having too much influence over the stock market, so I proposed to set up a totally independent board -- like every other retirement plan has -- that no politician can have any influence over, and then to limit the aggregate amount of our investments to about 4 percent. It will never get over 4 percent in the next 20 years.

There's some differences about that, but if you do it, you'll increase the rate of return on Social Security. When only two people work and one person draws, you have to find some way to do it. Mr. Kolbe's got a different way he thinks is better.

But here's the point I want to make: If you set aside 62 percent of the trust fund for Social Security, it will extend the life of the Social Security trust fund to 2050 -- maybe another year or two, depending on how much longer the economy stays in good shape. But there are three other things we need to do, and I want you to think about it.

Number one, historically, to have a good retirement system with Social Security, we've always thought we ought to have it alive for 75 years. Number two, the rate of poverty among single elderly women is over 18 percent, nearly twice the general rate of poverty among seniors, and we need to make some adjustments in the program to lift them out of poverty, I think. (Applause.)

Number three, I think it's a mistake, when more and more seniors are living longer and living healthier, to continue

the earnings limitation on Social Security, that limits what people can earn. (Applause.) And interestingly enough, if you lift the earnings limitation, it actually costs the trust fund money in the short run because a lot of people start collecting their Social Security. But within a matter of a few years, it starts making money, because even retired people who earn income pay taxes on it, so after a certain period it will actually start replenishing the Social Security trust fund.

Now, to do that, to do that we will have to make some other changes. And to do that, we will have to make some changes that will be perhaps somewhat controversial, that will have to be made in a bipartisan fashion. But the changes won't be nearly as dramatic, nearly as big and nearly as troublesome as they would be if we didn't commit the surplus in the first place.

So I hope that you will support this idea of committing the surplus and then you will tell -- we're down in Ed's district now -- tell him that you know he wants to preserve Social Security, you know he wants to take care of the people that have to be taken care of, and you will trust him to go up there and make some decisions that may be somewhat controversial today, but 10 or 20 years from now we'll all be thanking goodness that the Congress of the United States was willing to do what it takes to save Social Security for 75 years. And I think that's important. (Applause.)

Now, let me say furthermore, on Medicare, here's the problem. We've made a lot of changes in Medicare to try to cut down on fraud and abuse, and there was a bunch of it. Right now, the trust fund in Medicare is stable for 10 years; that's the good news. Here's the bad news. Ten years is not enough; we ought to stabilize it for 20 years. And as probably most of you have noticed, inflation and the cost of health care has gone way down the last few years. Health insurance premiums have not been going up very fast. We've got them back in line with inflation.

When I became President, for many years before that, health insurance premiums had been going up at three times the rate of inflation. But a lot of the savings, the easy savings that could be squeezed out for managed care -- and some not so easy, which is why I'm for the patients' bill of rights -- (applause) -- a lot of those savings have been squeezed out. So this year, it is estimated that health insurance premium costs will increase about 7 percent, whereas the general rate of inflation will be just a little over 2 percent.

So you can see that that's a real problem. We can't sustain the present budgeted costs of Medicare. We're going to have to put some more money in it. If we put 15 percent of the surplus aside for Medicare for 20 years, 15 years, we could take the trust fund out from 2010 to 2020.

Now, I would also like to see us begin to work into Medicare a prescription drug benefit, which I think would dramatically improve it. (Applause.) But keep in mind, the program doesn't have enough money now. We've got to be careful how we do it because you could spend a whole lot of money in a hurry and give people who may not need it the benefit. But if you think about it, we're spending -- we've had a remarkable bipartisan consensus. You know, you wouldn't think we ever agreed on anything, I'm sure, out here -- (laughter) -- once in a great while we agree on something. And one of the things that we've had real agreement on ever since I've been in Washington, for the last six years, has been to dramatically increase

spending for medical research. And some of the findings are breathtaking.

We've uncovered the genes that give a strong predisposition to breast cancer. We've done nerve transplantations in laboratory animals from legs to spines that have actually cured broken spinal cords in laboratory animals. Just unbelievable things that have breathtaking potential for the future. But if we're investing all this money to try to come up with medicine, for example, that helps to keep people well or to cure conditions that were formerly incurable, that dramatically improve the quality of life, we want to be able to bring those into the lives of the American people.

And if you're worried about people, in effect, as we get older putting enormous burdens on the hospital costs, which is all the money is -- you know, hospital and doctor visits -- if we can work out the right sort of prescription drug benefit, we'll actually save money over the long run because people will stay out of the hospital, they'll stay out of costly medical care, they will stay healthy. (Applause.) So we have to work hard to kind of get this right.

So again, my proposal is, set aside 15 percent of the surplus for Medicare; take the trust fund out to 2020; but recognize we're going to have to make some changes there for the same reason we have to make some changes in Social Security, and especially if we want to add a prescription drug benefit for the people who really need it.

Now, that's the general outline of my proposal. But I also want to emphasize, if you save the surplus for 15 years -- we save a little over three-quarters of this surplus for 15 years and used it to buy into publicly-held debt, and to pledge the future revenues to Social Security and Medicare, here's what would happen. We would go from a national debt that today was quadrupled between 1981 and 1993, we quadrupled the debt -- and it was 50 percent of our annual income -- today it's down to 44 percent of our annual income. In 15 years, it will be down to 7 percent of our annual income. The last time it was 7 percent of our annual income was 1917, right before we went into World War I.

What does that mean to you in practical terms? This is where I want the young people in the audience to listen. It will mean that the Congress that meets 15 years from now, instead of having to take a 13-plus-cents of every dollar you pay in taxes right off the top to pay interest on the debt, we'll be spending 2 cents of every dollar you pay in taxes to pay interest on the debt. (Applause.)

In the early years, most of the difference will go to fix Social Security and Medicare. But over time, that's a huge amount of money that can be invested in the needs of future generations. It can be providing for tax cuts; it can be providing for anything out in the country when we get this debt off.

But what I want the young people to understand here, especially is if we start paying this debt down and we go all the way, if we stay on this trajectory we could be debt-free for the first time in 2018. That's just 19 years from now. And in the meanwhile -- (applause) -- we'll have lower interest rates, higher investment, more investment in new business and new jobs, home mortgage rates will be lower, credit card payments will be

lower, car payments will be lower, student loan rates will be lower, and the economy will grow faster. (Applause.) Now, I want you to think about it. Why will that happen? Because the government will not be going in and taking up a bunch of money every year to finance the deficit. So interest rates will go down, savings will go up, investment in our future will go up.

So this proposal is good for younger people for two reasons: This is not -- for one thing, people on Social Security now don't have to worry, it's going to be fine for 30 years; you don't have to worry. Now, you do, most of you on Medicare, have to worry because it's not going to be fine after 10 years if we don't fix that.

But every American of every age should care about this. Why? Well, for one thing, I can tell you as the oldest of the baby boomers, I spend a lot of time, I stay in touch with the people I grew up with, a lot of them. Most of them are just middle-class people, the kind of people who live here in Tucson. And my whole generation is obsessed with the thought that our retirement, because we're such a large group, would put an unacceptable burden on our children and their ability to educate and raise our grandchildren. And if we fix Social Security and Medicare, then our children will have more of their disposable income in those years to build their families', their quality of life and their children's future. That's why this is not just a seniors' issue.

Secondly, if we pay down the debt, the major beneficiaries of those changes will be the younger people. You know, there's been a lot of trouble in the world economy the last couple of years. Last year it was terrible. I have worked very hard to try to turn it around. I will do everything I can this year to make some major strides forward, because a lot of our prosperity depends upon the prosperity of our trading partners.

But our ability to control what happens beyond our borders is somewhat limited, as all of you understand. I can tell you this: If we pay this debt down, whatever bad times come in the future won't be as bad as they would have been by a long shot. (Applause.) And whatever good times come in the future will be much better than they would have been because of this.

So I say again, I haven't tried to give you a traditional political speech today, we're just having a talk. And I appreciate how -- (applause) -- I very much appreciate how quiet you've been and how you've listened to this.

There are some promising signs in Washington. I met with the leaders of both parties in both Houses, a couple of days ago. There's some indication that there is -- I think there is an agreement that we have to use the lion's share of the surplus to save Social Security. There is, I think, some movement toward reaching some consensus about the nature of tax cuts, if they ought to be targeted and benefit the people that need it most, and try to not get in the way of saving Social Security. We're not there on Medicare yet, and the Medicare problem will come soon.

But we need to hear -- the people of this country need to make a decision. And this is maybe a fairly complicated scenario I've laid out for you. I know it would be a lot more popular to say, we've got a surplus, it's your money, I'm just going to give it back to you. And then you could all cheer, and I could go home, we'd go watch baseball or do something else.

(Laughter.)

But what I want to say to you is, this is a high-class problem. This is nothing to wring your hands about. The reason we have this Social Security and Medicare problem is because we've got the best medical science in the world and because we're all living longer. This is not an occasion for hand-wringing. The older I get, the better I like this problem. (Laughter.) This is a high-class problem.

But we have a responsibility to the future. This country's still around here, after more than 200 years, because whenever the chips are down and we had to make a decision about what kind of country we were going to be and what future we were going to have, we did the right thing. And we kept going forward. (Applause.)

And the decisions that we make -- not just in the Congress and the White House, but as a people -- about whether we're willing to take on the challenge of securing Social Security for the 21st century; whether we're willing to do the same thing for Medicare; and whether we're willing to save a substantial part of this surplus to do those things, and to pay this debt down, will shape, in large measure, what America is like for the young people in this audience, and their counterparts throughout the United States.

This is a wonderful time to be in the United States. We can all be grateful. Because the truth is, no one -- not even the President -- could have predicted that the results of our attempts to reduce the deficit, to bring interest rates down, would have produced these results. And no one can claim sole credit for it. This is a shared achievement of the American people. And we should be proud of it. (Applause.)

So as we go back to Washington and we go back to work, I ask you here -- and I ask you to talk to your friends and neighbors in Arizona, when you're on your phone with your friends and family members throughout the country, I want you to tell them about this meeting today. And if you don't remember anything else, just remember, if we save about three-quarters of this surplus for Medicare and Social Security, and if we pay the debt down with the surplus, and then if we have the courage to make some decisions that may sound a little tough -- to save Social Security for 75 years, fix Medicare for 20 years, and get the debt down to where it's virtually nonexistent -- America is going to be a stronger, better place.

These programs will be there, these programs will be there for the next generation of Americans, but America will be there. America will be there -- brighter, better, stronger than ever before.

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

END

1:08 P.M. MST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 3, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE PRESIDENT,
SENATOR TOM DASCHLE, AND REPRESENTATIVE DICK GEPHARDT
AT UNITY MESSAGE EVENT

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REPRESENTATIVE GEPHARDT: Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, and members of the House and Senate, I would like to call this joint caucus of House and Senate Democrats to order.

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, welcome. We are at a point in our history that comes possibly once or twice in everyone's life. It's a point where leaders are faced with the opportunity to make a decision that will echo a generation into the future and will help decide what kind of world we will leave to our children and our grandchildren.

We are faced with a great challenge. It is a challenge of whether we do the right thing for our country and choose the long-term over the short-term. It is a challenge of whether we can rise to the occasion and make the choices for our future that will leave a strong legacy to those who will bear the mantle of leadership in the next century. It is a challenge that I am confident that we will meet.

We have seen firsthand what fiscal responsibility can bring to our country and our economy. We are currently enjoying the harvest of the seeds we planted in 1993, when Democrats, without a single Republican vote, made the difficult and courageous choice to put our long-term interests of the United States of America ahead of short-term politics. (Applause.)

We took a step in 1993 that has led to the brightest economic outlook in a generation; perhaps even in our lifetimes. In fact, we have the best combination of high growth and low inflation since a fellow Missourian, one of my heroes, Harry Truman, was in the White House.

In 1993, Democrats didn't pass the buck. We bucked the conventional Republican wisdom, and we should be proud of what we helped create in 1993. (Applause.)

This year, as we look over the horizon to the faint glimmer of a new century, we face yet another challenge. We have to decide as a nation whether we will plant the seeds of growth that will continue into the next century. As Democrats, we are united by our desire to live up to that great challenge. We want to invest this surplus, a surplus borne of the hard work and labor of America's working families. We want to make sure that future retirees will be relieved of a crushing debt burden that

nearly buried our economy alive. We want to make sure that interest rates remain low for the next generation, so that entrepreneurship and home ownership will continue to flourish. We want nothing less than to pass on the American Dream to a new generation -- no less than what our parents gave to us.

And we want to help address the challenges that face working families on a daily basis. We want to help lift the burdens that make raising their children in the '90s so difficult and stressful. We want to enact a strong patients' bill of rights to ensure that families -- (applause) -- a strong patients' bill of rights to ensure that families get the health care they pay for and that they deserve. When a crisis strikes, you want health care and you want it to be there, and you want it to work. Every American should have that right.

These rights must be strong and they must be enforceable, and they must be real. And Democrats will be fighting to pass a bill that will do that job. (Applause.)

We want to increase income security for hard-working families. Even though the national bank account continues to improve, too many families still live paycheck to paycheck. We will work to increase the minimum wage so that the hardest working Americans at the bottom of the ladder have a firm grip up into the middle class. (Applause.)

And we'll also strengthen enforcement of equal pay laws, so that mothers get the pay they deserve and the support they need for their families. This is a world where most families depend on two wage earners. Equal pay for equal work is not a luxury, it's a necessity. And we're going to make sure it becomes a reality. (Applause.)

So, my friends, we have a lot to accomplish. This is an ambitious agenda, and we can't do it alone. In these next two years we want to join with Republicans to pass legislation that makes a difference in the lives of working families, and to deliver the help that they've been waiting for. We want to make progress now, this month, this year, this session. We can't afford to waste another year or two, mired in partisan wrangling and gridlock. If you're depending on your health insurance, this year you want it to be there. If you're working on the minimum wage, you need a living wage now.

We can work together. It's what the American people want; it's what they expect. And it's within our grasp if we put the national interest above partisanship. We will be judged by our progress, our action, our accomplishment -- not by our words. We can take advantage of this opportunity to rise above the past and invest in our future to create a new century of prosperity and security for all of our people.

On behalf of all Democrats I'd like to thank the three individuals who are here to join with us today in talking about real issues and real-life challenges. They're here to tell us about how Democrats have helped to make a real difference in the lives of people all over this country, and how we can still do more to make sure that the next century is truly the best century. They're here to inspire us about the success that Americans continue to achieve, and to raise our vision towards the possibilities that remain for this great nation. And they're here to point the way towards the future.

That's how all of us here today have worked to build this agenda. We have listened, all of our members -- House Democrats, Senate Democrats -- have been out in these last months really listening, actively listening to the people -- to their hopes, their dreams. And we have heard their call. We have always been the party of the people. And that is why we have three citizens here today to talk about their agenda and our agenda.

Their eloquence and spirit reflects the soul of this great nation. It's important for all of us to listen and be guided by them, first and foremost.

Our first guest is Maureen Marshall, a teacher at Springfield Elementary School in Fairfax County, Virginia. She has been teaching for eight years, working with 5th and 6th graders, and also teaching special education classes. She's here to tell us about the importance of small class size in the early grades and how it makes such a critical impact in children's lives.

Our second guest is Edwin Bobeale, a 4th generation graduate of Tuskegee. Pell grants helped him earn a bachelor's and master's degree and pursue his career with a chemical company in Delaware. He's here to talk about the importance of keeping up a strong federal role in supporting higher education of our young people.

And our last guest is Michael Saylor, founder, president and CEO of a company called MicroStrategy. Michael will talk about the economy and how the economy has helped his company and many others flourish, and why it's important to reduce the debt to keep our economy strong in the future.

Now it's my pleasure to present Ms. Marshall. Give her a great big Democratic welcome. (Applause.)

* * * * *

SENATOR DASCHLE: Edwin, Maureen and Michael, on behalf of the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses, we thank you for being here this morning. You are American success stories personified. (Applause.) Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, we are honored and very delighted with your presence with us this morning.

Before I begin a few comments, let me salute my partner in the House of Representatives -- I could not have a more courageous, a more eloquent, a more powerful leader than I have in the next Speaker of the House, Dick Gephardt. (Applause.)

This is truly a united Democratic Party that stands here today. I also want to acknowledge the tremendous work of White House Chief of Staff John Podesta, he's as good as they come, and he's here, as well. (Applause.)

Mr. President, as others have already said this morning, six years ago with your leadership we made a decision to do the right thing for America. We passed a plan to balance the federal budget. And, today, as our three guests attest, this nation is reaping the benefits. America is working again. And after years of postponing our hopes and aspirations, Americans are again filled with hope and renewed optimism.

We've gone from the largest deficit in our nation's

history to the largest surplus. We now have the best opportunity in our lifetime to deal with some of the biggest social and economic challenges on our horizon. We cannot squander this opportunity, and today Democrats stand united to say we will not. (Applause).

Putting families first means Social Security and Medicare first. We support your plan to invest 62 percent of the surplus in Social Security, and another 15 percent in Medicare, Mr. President. Social Security and Medicare are two of our most sacred commitments to America. It is our responsibility now to ensure that this country respects those commitments, and we will do so. (Applause.)

We need to make sure Social Security and Medicare will be there -- for our parents and for our children. Investing 77 percent of the surplus in Social Security and Medicare will enable us to do that. It will allow us to pay down the debt, to save hundreds of billions of dollars in interest payments, and keep the interest low for those mortgages and college loans that every working American pays.

But Americans understand that there are differences among us in Congress -- those differences between Republicans and Democrats. And Republicans have already articulated a different plan. They say they'd like to set aside 62 percent of the surplus for Social Security, but their plan today doesn't include a nickel for Medicare. After the 62 percent, they'll use what's left of the surplus for a tax cut that overwhelmingly benefits the wealthiest Americans.

We've analyzed that plan. We now know that people who make \$800,000 a year will save \$20,000 a year in taxes. But families who earn \$38,000 or less a year -- 60 percent of all American families -- will save 27 cents a day. You can't achieve big dreams with small change.

We believe America's families deserve better than 27 cents a day. They deserve good schools for their children. If they're sick, they deserve whatever treatment their doctor says they need, not however little their HMO is willing to pay.

Democrats have always believed that if you work hard all your life you ought to be able to retire with dignity and security. You shouldn't have to fear that growing old means becoming a burden on your children or anyone else. That is why we fought to create Social Security and Medicare in the first place. That's why we fought over and over and over to protect them.

I talk to people in South Dakota who tell me they're worried that they don't have the luxury -- the luxury -- of retiring. Well, Democrats believe we don't have the luxury of ignoring the coming retirement crisis either, and we will not do that. (Applause.)

We need to strengthen America's retirement security and we're committed to doing that this year. People between the ages of 55 and 65, who don't have the access to a group health insurance plan or who lose their insurance when they're laid off or their plant closes, ought to be able to buy into Medicare, and we want to make that happen. (Applause.)

Early retirees, who were promised health benefits that are canceled, ought to be able to buy into their former

employer's group health plan, too. People between 55 and 65 are twice as likely as someone just 10 years younger to experience major health problems; they have less access to health coverage and they're at a greater risk of losing their health coverage. And they're the fastest-growing age group in America today. Over the next 10 years they will increase by 60 percent. We need to close this gap now, before it gets any worse.

We must help families cope with the emotional and financial strain of caring for the elderly, the ill and disabled in their family. And one good way to do it is to do what the Democratic agenda calls for, with a \$1,000 a year long-term tax credit to reduce the cost of long-term care. It's time we passed that legislation, this year, in 1999. (Applause.)

Care-giving is a hard job. Two-thirds of all family caregivers today have to cut back their hours or take unpaid leave from work. The value of the care they provide is worth billions of dollars. A \$1,000 tax credit is the least they deserve, and it's the right kind of tax cut for America's families.

We must increase the number of Americans with private pensions, and get rid of the inequities in the pension system that leave so many elderly living at near poverty. Our agenda will help -- by making it easier for small businesses to start pension plans, and for employees to contribute to them. We'll also invest 12 percent of the surplus in USA accounts to enable working families to save for their own retirement in private accounts.

And finally, we need tougher penalties for criminals who use telemarketing fraud and other schemes to take advantage of older Americans. We will not let the generation that saved democracy lose their life savings to swindlers. That will not happen if we have anything to say about it. (Applause.)

We've come a long way in six years. America is working again. We're daring to dream again. We have the greatest opportunity in our lifetime to make those dreams come true. Democrats are determined, and we are unified. America's families need us, and want us, to enact this agenda, to seize this opportunity now.

It is now my great pleasure, and high personal honor, to recognize and to introduce, the President of the United States Senate, Al Gore -- our friend, Al Gore. (Applause.)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, colleagues. And, Tom, thank you -- you have a way with a line -- (laughter) -- the timing and rhythm were impressive.

Let me begin by expressing my sincere and hardy thanks to Tom Daschle for not only his friendship to me and to all of us here, but for his truly extraordinary efforts as the Senate Democratic leader. I don't know when we have ever had in the United States Senate a Democratic leader who has been able to put together the kind of unity, the kind of ideas, the kind of agenda that Tom Daschle has formed. Every day he fights for what's right for the families of South Dakota and for the United States of America. We are very lucky to have such a great Democratic leader in Tom Daschle. Thank you, Tom. (Applause.)

I was trying to figure out a way to pause and work in

the word "majority" in just the right way there, but we're working on that right now. (Laughter.)

And let me also say a word of special thanks felt I know in the hearts of every person here to Dick Gephardt for his remarkable leadership of the House Democratic Caucus and for his remarkable articulation of Democratic values and ideals all across this country. No one has worked harder to keep our party and our whole country focused on the issues that really matter to working families -- a strong economy, a world-class education, a nation with healthy families and livable communities where every child has a chance to live out his or her dream.

Dick is a wonderful friend to all of us here. He is a special friend to me, and he is a great, great Democratic leader and the next Speaker of the House of Representatives. (Applause.)

I, too, want to thank Maureen Marshall and Edwin Bobeale and Michael Saylor for their wonderful statements and the way they embody in their lives the stories of the lives of so many millions of Americans -- stories that are connected to this agenda for 1999 that we're talking about here today.

I, too, want to thank my partner in the White House, John Podesta, who does such a great job, and also his whole team in the White House. He's got a terrific team of men and women, and I want to single out Larry Stein, who is the Congressional Liaison, House and Senate, and the others who are here.

And we're clearly at a fork in the road here. I think it was that great statesman, Yogi Berra, who famously said, when you come to a fork in the road you should take it, and that's what we're proposing to do in this meeting.

Together, we have fought hard and successfully on behalf of America's families during these last six years. We have brought our nation to a moment of great prosperity, a time described by many economic experts now as a time with the strongest economy in the entire history of the United States. We have greater economic opportunity for all Americans. There are problems that remain to be addressed and we're keenly aware of that. That, too, is one of the reasons why we're here. We have both the obligation and the responsibility to make the right choices for America's families.

Now, this is not an election rally. This is the beginning of a congressional term. And I want to compare it to what happened after the election of 1992, when Bill Clinton and I asked our country to take a new direction and make a new start. It was the year following, in 1993, that the very difficult decision had to be made and we asked all Americans to join in the change that we thought was essential for our country.

We should never forget that while Republicans, along with independents and Democrats out in the heartland of our country, said, yes, it's time for a change, the dynamics within the Republican Party in the Congress worked in a way that prevented any Republican in the House or the Senate from voting for change. Not one, in either chamber. We provided all of the votes for the economic plan that is now responsible for this historic prosperity and progress and momentum in America. And we should remember that. (Applause.)

It was the closest of margins in both Houses and, I

believe it was Dick Gephardt who cast the deciding vote in the House of Representatives, and it was Tom Daschle who rounded up the votes to give me a chance to vote in the Senate. But my point is this: We demonstrated, in 1993 and since that time, the unity of purpose that is essential to move our country in the right direction. Well, the American people have endorsed these policies, and our agenda. And they did so again in the elections of 1998.

Now, in the following year, in 1999, we're asking the American people to stay with this agenda, and to help us enact the changes that are needed now. We have the unity of purpose -- as a group, as a party, as a collection of men and women with dreams and hopes for the future of this country.

I would say that I think that the unity of purpose that you're seeing demonstrated here today is in contrast to some dissonance and division on the other side, and I'd ask the American people to take that into account when you hear the debates on the floor of the House and the floor of the Senate, and when you judge the comparative value of the agenda that we're talking about here, and what those on the other side are talking about. Once again, we ask for the support of the American people, including Republicans and independents and Democrats, to help us pass this agenda.

And first on the agenda is, as Dick and Tom have said, using the surplus not for some risky scheme, but, instead, to save Social Security first and protect Medicare; because now is the time to make certain that those programs are going to be in solid shape on into the future for decades to come.

Now is the time to make sure that all Americans get the best health care, and not just the cheapest health care. That's why we want to pass the legislation that has been described to you. Now is the time to create jobs and build more livable communities, by keeping our environment clean. Now is the time to protect Americans' privacy amid the new threat of this information age. I read in the newspaper this morning where some person said, well, privacy is gone, you might as well get used to it. Well, it's not and we can't allow that. We can protect the privacy of American families in this electronic age.

There's no reason why people of all parties can't join us to get this agenda passed. And we have to start with a clear principle. The key in '93 was fiscal responsibility. That's what made it tough. We knew that it would be a little time before the change really grabbed hold and, yes, our party paid a political price while the returns were still coming in, while we implemented the policies that have borne such fruit.

But we cannot turn back from that fiscal discipline. We have -- we started with the largest budget deficit in the history of our country and, thanks to Democrats, we now have the largest budget surplus in the history of the country. That's progress. (Applause.)

Now, what do we do with that surplus? What do we do with these good times? Well, the obvious answer is, we need to use the good times to prepare for the future, to invest in our people. No risky schemes; no casino policies of the kind that we saw in previous administrations, but good common sense. And this party is the party of solutions, and that's why, again, we're asking the American people to let us solve these problems.

Let me spend just a moment on one issue. I think most of us here are agreed that education is the top priority for investing in the future. And I think most Americans understand that there are two basic reasons why it has to be the top priority. First, we're obviously in an Information Age, when information is a bigger part of the economy, and learning has to be the key strategic skill.

Look at the want ads, and it's abundantly obvious that the millions of jobs that are opening up now -- so many of them which can't be filled today -- require specific skills in handling information and information technology. But you have to have the base of educational attainment that the three speakers who joined us this morning demonstrate in their lives, in order to get those skills, and then to hold down those jobs.

The second reason why education has to be the top priority is that the generation of young people in America today, 18 and under, has just passed by the baby boom, and now they're the largest generation in American history.

There are a couple of books now on the bestseller list about this generation of World War II veterans -- "the greatest generation," it's been called, those who won World War II. Well, after they won World War II, they came home and they saw the baby boomers crowding into the schools, and they saw that we were unprepared as a nation to give them the quality of educational experience they deserved. And so what did they do? They built new schools. They hired new teachers. They gave them the best training. They stocked the library shelves with the best and latest textbooks. They passed the G.I. Bill. They invested more in education than ever before.

And now the prosperity that we are reaping is in significant measure based on the investments that were made years ago in education that we were able to take advantage of in putting together the economic plan of 1993. Well, the challenge falls to us now. Since the generation of children in K through 12 is larger even than the baby boom, and since they're in crowded classrooms and portables and buildings that are falling down around their ears in some cases, will we rise to that challenge the way the World War II veterans rose to the challenges facing the baby boomers?

The answer that all of us are given here with this agenda that we present to the American people today is a resounding, yes. And it's not just in rhetoric. We have specific programs: hire 100,000 new teachers. We made the down payment last year, but let's go the rest of the way. And we're going to have a specific measure introduced within days by Senator Murray and Senator Kennedy, to have an amendment voted on to reduce class size down to an average of one to 18 in the early grade. That's the first vote on the Democratic agenda. (Applause.)

Secondly, we have a specific bill to give local communities, through the form of a tax cut, interest-free bonding authority for \$25 billion worth of new school construction and repair, to give our children the modern, well-equipped classrooms and school buildings that they deserve. Let's pass this item on the Democratic agenda. (Applause.)

And as part of the education agenda we want to end social promotion, provide students the intensive help in school

and after school -- after school, during that vulnerable window. (Applause.) We know how vulnerable children are during that period of the day. And we need after-school programs and other programs to give them enhanced opportunity. And we need to finish the job that was started three years ago and connect every single classroom and library to the Information Superhighway. We've made tremendous progress, let's finish that job. (Applause.)

Now, make no mistake about it -- let me conclude my talk on this education agenda by saying that we understand that there are those on the other side who think that money is the complete answer to everything. We believe that the investments of money need to be accompanied by the investments of time and heart and involvement. And where the federal role is concerned, when we allocate new funds to these priorities we should say our children deserve accountability for the large investment that we're making in education. We believe we ought to measure performance and make certain that we really are solving these problems. We know what works, and the evidence is all around us in every state represented here; in every congressional district represented here. We know what works, and we know how to keep it going in 1999.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it's my honor to introduce to you the one person who has worked harder than anyone to focus on the right priorities for America's and future. He is the one person at the heart of our economic progress, the person who laid the foundation for one of the greatest job-creating engines our nation has ever known.

I'm pleased to introduce my friend, America's President, Bill Clinton. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. This has been a wonderful morning for me. When I listened to Maureen Marshall and Edwin Bobeale and Michael Saylor speak, I was again confirmed in my conviction that our principal responsibility here is to give the American people the tools, and create the conditions within which they can make the most of their own lives. And if we do that, they will do it every time. These three people represent more than 200 million Americans who deserve our best efforts.

I want to thank Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt for their truly outstanding leadership, for their personal friendship, and for their honest commitment to the cause that we meet to discuss today.

I thank the Vice President for being the best partner and friend, advisor and prodger any President could ever have. I can't believe he passed up a chance to remind us all today that in 1993, he cast the decisive vote on the budget plan, and whenever he votes, we win. (Applause.)

You know the real, sort of political story out of this meeting today may be that we will have to retire that famous old Will Rogers quip, "I don't belong to an organized political party, I'm a Democrat." The fact is we are organized and we are united. (Applause.) And we are united around an agenda for America's future -- to meet the long-term challenges of this country at the edge of a new century and new millennium; to build

on what we have done for the last six years.

The new agenda is rooted in the same ideals with which we began in 1993 -- to bring opportunity to every American, to challenge every American to be a responsible citizen, and to build a community of all American citizens.

When you look around at this Democratic Caucus, the members of the House and the Senate, as the speakers were speaking, I had the opportunity to just scan both sides of this wonderful room today. You all really do look like America. You think like America, and you reflect America. (Applause.) As perhaps the only one of you who is term-limited, and therefore, faces the prospect of making the most of this next two years and leaving the rest to you, I felt enormously good, not just for my party, but for my country, to look at all of you, to know what I know about all of you, to know about your backgrounds and your perspectives and your experience and your commitment, and to see how in this caucus we have bridged every divide of America that will help us to bring our country together and go forward. And I'm very proud to be here with you today.

Let me say that when I ran for President in 1991 and 1992, I used to say something that seems almost strange today. I said, one of the reasons that I left a job at home that I loved and undertook this campaign is that I didn't want to see my daughter's generation grow up to be the first generation of Americans not to do as well economically or in terms of quality of life as their parents had done. Nobody worries about that anymore, but we did then.

And what we had before that was more than a decade in which the leaders of the other party talked tough, but took the easy way out. We were unashamed to be compassionate, unashamed that we cared about those who needed a hand up in life. But we were unafraid, when it came down to it, to take the tough decisions that cost many of our fellow Democrats their seats in Congress, but gave the American economy and the American people a new lease on the 21st century. (Applause.)

So what we came here today to talk about builds on what has happened in the last six years. It builds on our way of approaching our political responsibilities here, to put people ahead of partisanship, and common sense ahead of ideology. Now, we've already talked about how we turned the red ink to black -- that that helped to produce the longest peacetime expansion in our history, the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957.

We ought to point out that we did it in a way that looked to the future -- not only reducing the deficit, but doubling our investment in education and training; putting 100,000 more police on our streets; making dramatic increases in medical research; immunizing 90 percent of our children from basic childhood diseases for the first time ever; providing millions and millions of people with the benefit of the Family and Medical Leave law; and making our environment cleaner. We showed, in other words, that we could balance the budget and honor our common values as Americans.

Now that, to use Senator Daschle's phrase, America is working again, the question is, what shall we do? And we're here to say that, as proud as we are of the record of the last six years, this is not a time to boast about the past, but to fulfill our solemn duty to the next generation, to meet the long-term challenges our nation faces.

We're for stronger families, with our child care program and our after-school learning; for a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights; for the bipartisan legislation to help people with disabilities move into the workplace; for tax relief to help families provide long-term care; for an increase in the minimum wage and equal pay for men and women; and more free enterprise in our poorest inner city and rural communities.

We're for 50,000 more police on the street, and better technology for police, especially in the areas where crime is still too high. We stand together to pass the Earth on to our children with our livability initiative, for less traffic congestion and more greenspace. We stand together, as the Vice President has said, for strong, modern, more accountable schools; for giving teachers like Maureen the support they need to do even better.

Last winter, as has already been said, we issued our call, for the first time, for 100,000 more highly-trained teachers, to bring class size down in the early grades. And last fall, the Republicans in Congress finally agreed to make a significant down payment toward that goal. Now, in the next few days, the Senate will vote on whether to finish the job of hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size. It will be our first big chance this year to prove to the American people that we are prepared to put people over party. Let's say politics stops at the schoolhouse door. (Applause.)

Now, I'd also like to ask that politics stop and that the Republican majority in Congress stand with us in meeting the greatest challenge we face, the aging of America. Life expectancy is rising, the number of older Americans will double by the year 2030. There will be only two people working for one person drawing Social Security by that time. Even before then, because people over 80 are the fastest growing group of Americans as a percentage of our country, Medicare will run out of money within nine years.

Now, I particularly appreciated what Edwin Bobeale said about this being an issue facing younger, as well as older, Americans; and not only because younger Americans would like to know they will have health care in retirement when they reach their retirement years, but also because the quality of life of the children of people on Medicare and Social Security, and their ability to raise their grandchildren, will be directly dependent upon whether they had to take needed resources away from their own family to care for their parents in ways that previous generations have not. This is a big issue.

But I want to say again -- and I feel it's a greater conviction as I grow older by the day -- this is a high-class problem. We face this challenge because we're living longer. We face this challenge because of the fruits of the medical research that the Congress has funded. We should not be hand-wringing here, we should be embracing this with joy. This is the inevitable result of our efforts to not only lengthen life, but to improve its quality. And because the Democrats took the lead so many years ago -- first in Social Security and then in Medicare -- we have a special responsibility to the American people to take the lead in resolving this. (Applause.)

Now, let me restate clearly our principles and where I think we are in this debate now -- because how we resolve these issues will shape how we resolve the other issues in this session

of Congress. First, we should devote 52 percent of the surplus for the next 15 years to saving Social Security; to guarantee the soundness of Social Security for the next 55 years; and to enable us to make further choices, some of which will be difficult, to extend Social Security for 75 years, provide help for elderly women -- many of whom are in poverty -- and lift the earnings limit on people on Social Security.

Second, we should devote another 15 percent of the surplus to Medicare, to secure that vital program until the year 2020. And, again, I believe we should go further, with broader reforms to strengthen and improve Medicare and to meet the greatest growing need of our seniors -- affordable prescription drugs. (Applause.)

If we do this, that will still leave funds for other investments or for tax reduction. I believe we should devote over \$500 billion of this surplus to give working families tax relief, creating universal savings accounts -- USA accounts -- that will help all Americans share in the nation's wealth and build nest eggs for retirement. If we do these things -- saving Social Security, saving Medicare, empowering more Americans to save for their own retirement -- we will fulfill our historic challenge to meet the difficulties and the opportunities of the aging of America in a way that provides a stronger economy and more stable families for our children.

If we use the surplus to save Social Security and strengthen Medicare, we will, for the next 15 years and beyond, be paying down the national debt, if we follow the proposal that we have made. We can reduce publicly-held debt to its lowest level since 1917, before we moved into World War I.

Let me say, for a member of Congress what that means is, 15 years from now, Congress will be allocating only 2 cents of every tax dollar to pay interest on the debt, instead of the 13 cents you have to take off the top today, before you can pass another bill to do another thing. That means -- and again, I was glad to hear Michael Saylor, who told that astonishing story of his company starting with \$132 and winding up with 1,000 employees and hundreds of millions of dollars of wealth that have been created. You remember what he said? He said what they need from government is a responsible set of rational decisions that keep interest rates low and the economy strong. That is the most important thing.

And if we do this, we will drive down interest rates for the next 15 to 20 years. We could actually have our country completely out of debt, under this policy, in 18 years. And in a world in which the economy of other countries is obviously troubled at the moment, and in which future events are not predictable, we know one thing for sure: if we pay down this debt, and things are troubled beyond our borders, we'll do a lot better and interest rates will be a lot lower than they otherwise would have been. If things go well in the global economy, because of our efforts and others, we will do even better than we otherwise would have done.

And we know that the success of the American economy has reinforced the budget decisions made in 1993. We have got to keep this going. So I say, take care of Social Security, take care of Medicare, pay down the debt, keep the economy going. These things are the most important things we can do for our children in the 21st century. (Applause.)

Now, let me say where I think we are now. I have, frankly, been gratified to see that Republican leaders have quickly joined us in supporting the first idea, dedicating 62 percent of the surplus to save Social Security. At least, I believe the word they used was "setting aside" 62 percent of the surplus, and I'll come back to that in a moment. I've been further encouraged to see some of the Republicans backing away from the irresponsible across-the-board tax cut that is too costly, in favor of standing with us for targeted tax cuts benefitting mostly middle-class working families.

Last week, the majority leaders in Congress actually placed an ad in USA Today, with a nice letter promising to save Social Security, to give our children the world's best schools, to target tax relief to the middle class. That was the most welcome news I've read in USA Today, in terms of progress, since the NBA strike ended. (Laughter.) And I was encouraged by it.

But I want to make it clear, there are still strong differences in our approach, and we must resolve them in a way that benefits the American people -- in the Vice President's words, that benefit Republicans and independents and Democrats alike. We have to do what's right for the country.

First, while the Republicans are joining me in talking about setting aside a substantial part of the surplus for debt reduction and, presumably, for Social Security -- and we welcome that -- they still have said nothing about how they would extend the life of Social Security and whether they would dedicate all 62 percent of this surplus for that purpose. And that is very important.

Second, I ask the Republican majority to join us in devoting a portion -- 15 percent -- of the surplus to save Medicare. Now, this is very important. They have not done that so far. And, as you see from the difficulties of others who have struggled with these issues, and the fact that health care costs are beginning to rise again, we cannot secure Medicare as a guarantee for our seniors with any reasonable set of reforms, and keep it a recognizable, universal program, unless we also invest some more money in the program.

You can talk to any hospital that's administering programs that have Medicare patients. You can talk to any doctor. You can talk to anybody who's dealt with this program. We must have more money. So I ask those -- especially those who still maintain that somehow, out of the surplus, they can afford a very large across-the-board tax cut -- where will they find the resources to extend the life of Medicare?

I am not opposed to responsible reforms that enable us to secure Medicare for an even longer period, and to begin to add this prescription drug benefit so that we can really help people who need it. But I'm telling you, we cannot deal with the Medicare problem without a greater investment of money.

So, let's say, use the budget surplus to save Social Security, to save Medicare, to pay down the debt. Then we can have an honest and principled disagreement about how much and what kind of tax cut we need with the rest -- about how much should go to education; how much should go to defense; how much should go to medical research. But the first and most important things are save Social Security, save Medicare, pay down the debt, secure the future of our children. (Applause.)

Now, we stand today unified. We stand today well aware of the challenges before us. But we stand today beleaguered by beepers and message machines. (Laughter.) This is my last line I want to say about this. Will Rogers also used to say something that we do not have to disregard. He used to say -- and I quote -- "You've got to be an optimist to be a Democrat, and you've got to be humorous to stay one." (Laughter.)

Well, I urge you, let's bring a new energy to this session of Congress. When we get really frustrated by what seems to be excessive partisanship, let's remember these three fine American citizens who talked to us today, and the stories they told, and the hundreds of millions of people they represent. Let's keep our optimism, our good cheer, our resolve and our unity, to give them the 21st century they deserve.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

12:23 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 21, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND
AEROSPACE WORKERS, UNITED AUTO WORKERS,
AND UNITED STEEL WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNIFICATION LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

Washington Convention Center
Washington. D.C.

6:45 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I would like to, first of all, thank you for the wonderful, warm welcome, to express my deep respect and support for the IAM President Tom Buffenbarger, and all of the IAM officers; the UAW Executive VP Ruben Burks -- I know Steve Yokich is in Germany now -- and all the UAW members here; and the Steel Workers President George Becker, and all the Steel Workers here; and of course, everyone up here on the platform with me.

George Becker would give his voice, his heart and his life for his members. And he nearly gave his voice tonight. (Applause.)

I came here to do a number of things, but I'd like to start with first things first. The first thing I want to do is to say a simple, profound thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you for your support. Thank you for the fight you have waged. Thank you for the miles we have walked together these last six years.

I also came here to support the merger of these three great streams of American labor, joining into a new river of two million strong. (Applause.) Throughout the 20th century, all three of you have been at the forefront in the struggle for human progress in America -- the workers at River Rouge and Republic Steel shed their blood for more than their own rights and their own families. Their sacrifice gave all of us collective bargaining and the minimum wage.

The founders and members of your three unions gave us things all working people now take for granted as essential elements in a humane society -- vacations, health care, pensions, grievance procedures. You have continued to lead the fight for all Americans -- the fight to create Medicare to civil rights, to protecting our nation against the Contract With America. The UAW, the Steel Workers, the Machinists have provided the minds and muscles for a progressive society in our country.

Now, in this season of renewal and rebuilding for America, the house of labor is growing stronger. The creation of a mighty new industrial union -- not just a merger, but a new organization -- will set the stage for even greater progress -- for your members, for your families, and for all the rest of America in the 21st century.

I believe you have an opportunity and, therefore, a

duty, every bit as real as that which was seized by the great generations that preceded you a half-century ago. The labor pioneers had it hard. They wore their scars proudly. They were not always the easiest of personalities. But in spite of their contentiousness, I like to think that Walter Reuther, Philip Murray and Thomas Talbot are up in heaven shaking hands at this new merger. (Applause.)

I thank you all for the strong support you have given not only to me and the First Lady and the Vice President, and our administration, but to our Democratic Party, especially in 1998. I'll never forget the sense of pride I shared on election night with John Sweeney, when he was at the White House and we realized that, for the first time since 1822, the President's party had won seats in the House of Representatives in the sixth year of an administration. (Applause.) You might be interested to know that the last time that happened, in 1822, the other party disappeared. (Laughter.) (Applause.) We won't be that lucky. (Laughter.) But it certainly is a good incentive to continue the fight.

I want to thank you for your commitment to make your voices heard, to advance the issues and the candidates that are pro-worker and pro-family. For six years, as George said, we've been on a journey together -- to renew our nation, to restore the American Dream. For decades, our nation was buffeted by the winds of economic change, wages for working families stagnated, working people fell further behind. Beginning in 1993, together we put in place a new economic strategy to put our people first. Because of what you have done, America is working again -- with the longest peacetime expansion in history, the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957, nearly 18 million new jobs, the lowest welfare rolls in three decades. And finally, after three decades of stagnation, in just the last three years wages are rising at twice the rate of inflation.

Things are not all as they ought to be, but clearly, at long last, we have begun to move aggressively in the right direction. Together, as has already been noted, we stood up against the congressional majority that was absolutely determined to strip away the victories and undermine the rights of working people.

I was proud to stand with you also to defeat the Paycheck Protection Act in California. (Applause.) I was proud to stop every piece of anti-labor legislation sent to me by the Congress. We knew the Team Act would undermine collective bargaining, so we said, no. We knew the Republican comp time bill would be unfair to working people, so we said, no. We knew that safe pensions and a strong OSHA are vital to working people, so when Congress tried to undermine them, we said, no. (Applause.)

After 12 years in which my predecessors exploded deficits and quadrupled our national debt, all the while talking about a balanced budget, and accusing my party and our friends in organized labor of being the big, irresponsible spenders, we actually balanced the budget. (Applause.) And did it in the right way -- while nearly doubling our investments in the education and training of our people, and having big increases in things like medical research.

We're in the second year of surpluses, with years and years more projected in the future. America is working again. But, as I said in my State of the Union address, this is not a

time for complacency. For one reason, as all of you here know, especially the steel workers, we are living in a very dynamic and somewhat troubling international economic environment, where things can change overnight. For another, in a world that is changing this fast, we have to take advantage of this moment of prosperity to deal with the big challenges facing America in the 21st century. We cannot rest until America works for every American; until prosperity extends to every working family in every community. America must do more.

Among other things, we must remain a great industrial nation. (Applause.) So I'd like to talk to you tonight about three aspects of our challenge. First of all, before the baby boomers retire, and with life expectancy increasing at a dramatic rate, with people over 80 being the fastest-growing part of our population in percentage terms, we must use this moment, and this surplus, to save and strengthen Social Security and Medicare for the 21st century.

Now, here in Washington there is now a great debate about what to do with the surplus and how it should be applied, and whether, to Social Security and Medicare. I won't take time tonight to talk about the competing visions of Social Security, and how we should deal with that, but I will work with you on that. What I want to talk about is, what should be our first priority with the surplus? I believe it should be to save Social Security and Medicare, and in so doing -- (applause) -- and in so doing, to pay down the national debt that was quadrupled in the 12 years before I took office.

Now, I am pleased that even though we will have our disagreements about what to do with Social Security, the Republican leadership in Congress has agreed that we should set aside 62 percent of the surplus to save Social Security. I think it's important that we do it in the right way -- we should put 75 years of life on the trust fund; we should do something about elderly women whose poverty rate is twice the rate of seniors; and we ought to lift the earnings limit so that seniors who want to work can do that. (Applause.)

Now, unfortunately, we do not agree on whether to set aside another 15 percent of the surplus to save Medicare. Of course, we will have our disagreements about how Medicare should be reformed -- I think it should be reformed and kept solvent for 20 years, and also we should add a prescription drug benefit to the Medicare program. (Applause.) And I don't want to kid you, I think because of the numbers of people that are going to retire in the baby boom generation, and because we're all living longer, and because of medical advances which at least in their early years are more expensive, we will have to make some further reforms in Medicare, even if we do what I want.

But if we set aside 15 percent of the surplus for the next 15 years for Medicare, we can at least guarantee that it's all right until 2020. If we don't, we'll be faced with possible changes in Medicare that could undermine the universality of the program and its absolute reliability for seniors and for the children and grandchildren of seniors who don't have to pay those out-of-pocket medical expenses. So this is a huge issue.

Now, our friends in the other party say that we ought to just reform Medicare, and maybe shift some of the costs to seniors -- who may not be able to afford it -- and maybe get away from Medicare as a defined benefit program. I am against that. I do not want to see Medicare turned from a defined benefit

be changed fundamentally in its character. And let's pay down this debt to keep America's economy strong. (Applause.)

Now, the second thing we have to do is to keep the economy growing, and to deal with crises as they occur. We have to have a strategy to keep the global economy working for Americans, as well as to increase the economic development here at home.

For the first five years of my presidency, 30 percent of our economic growth came from increasing exports, and manufacturing employment in America increased. But last year, because of the global financial crisis, which has left Russia, most of Asia, in a deep recession, and has slowed growth dramatically in most of Latin America, the manufacturing sector in our country was hit very hard. We saw many, many jobs lost, and we know many more than those that were lost are still threatened. Industrial America is hurting now.

I have worked hard to limit this global financial crisis, to try to right the things that are out of whack; to help our trading partners return to economic growth in a healthy way so they could buy our products instead of dump on our markets. We need a 21st century financial and trading system that limits the cycle of boom and bust, that strengthens social safety nets, that works for ordinary working people and their families in every country. In short, the United States must lead a crusade to put a more human face on the global economy.

While we are doing that -- and I expect to spend an enormous amount of time this year working on that, so that we can reduce the likelihood that we'll have years in the future like the last year has been -- we cannot let other economies' difficulties be a justification or an excuse for them to violate trade laws and engage in unfair trade practices. (Applause.)

Make no mistake about it, it was not economic difficulty and the declining value of currency which made foreign goods cheaper, which precipitated the present crisis in steel. This was not an ordinary economic event. We know it was the result of unfair trade practices. We have used tools that are unprecedented in this kind of dispute to respond.

The Secretary of Commerce speeded up consideration of the dumping cases. We just announced that both Japan and Brazil have been dumping steel into our markets. We've put them on notice that the surge in exports is unacceptable, and this means that anyone who imports steel from Japan or Brazil must pay large deposits or post substantial bonds to the U.S. Customs Service. Paying these duties will likely reduce further unfair steel imports from these countries.

We've also made it clear to Korea in no uncertain terms that they cannot fill the void with unfair trade practices, and so far they have been responsive, though we'll continue to watch it closely.

As you know, we're in negotiations with Russia on a comprehensive agreement to reduce their steel imports to the United States. The goal of all these actions is to get imports back to their pre-crisis levels when our steel industry was competing just fine with everybody in the world. And again, if we have a fair policy and we don't have unfair penetration, that will happen.

Now, I know that for a lot of hard-pressed plants, workers, families, communities, these trade laws work too slowly. But we are accelerating the pace at which they will work to the maximum ability to do so. December numbers show a 32-percent decline in steel imports across-the-board, a 67-percent decline in hot-rolled steel.

Now, I would just like to make one observation about that. For all those people who said that all these imports were just the product of ordinary economic activity and, therefore, we shouldn't do anything, the fact that they could cut hot-rolled steel exports from their countries to us 67 percent in one month pretty well destroyed the argument that it was ordinary economic activity that led to them in the first place. (Applause.)

In the case of Japan, we have made it clear that if their exports don't return to pre-crisis levels, we're prepared to take appropriate action, including self-initiation of trade cases, something that is almost unprecedented. I will work very closely with you as we move forward. This has been a tough year for the steel workers, and for many other manufacturing workers. We need to do more. And we will keep at it until we turn the crisis around.

The challenge we face, however, goes beyond steel. We have to make sure that the world economy works for everyone. As George said in his opening remarks, we've had some disagreements about this in the past. Trade has divided Americans for a long time. I want you to know, however, that I am determined to do whatever I can to find common ground on this issue that will enable labor and business, environmentalists and government in that United States to work together.

I support open markets because it has given us higher incomes and more jobs, and for the first time in anyone's memory, now the United States has the lowest unemployment rate in the industrialized world. Even lower than Japan. No one can remember a time when that was the case. It's been a very, very long time.

Now, the right kind of trade is good for working families. And when a financial crisis hits our trading partners, we can see the devastating effect it has on them and on others here at home. But again I say we can't allow international economic competition or adversity elsewhere to become a race to the bottom here at home or in any other country.

My goal has got to be to level the world up, not level it down. We have got to -- (applause.) That means we have to press for more open markets that have stronger safeguards for workers, not weaker ones -- for health and safety, for children, for a clean environment. A trade that honors the rights of workers and the dignity of work, that respects core labor rights. We have to do that.

We should do more not only through the trade framework, but with the international labor organizations to raise labor standards around the world and to lead the world community to conclude a treaty that bans child labor everywhere in the world. (Applause.)

Now, if we save Social Security and Medicare, if we can keep the economy going in the midst of all these troubles, the third thing that we have to do is to make sure that the economy works for all of our people and that adversity can be quickly overcome. If we can't do it now, when will we ever do it?

That's why we ought to increase the minimum wage again -- 10 million working families need it, and we ought to do it. (Applause.)

That's why we should expand the Family and Medical Leave law to cover 10 million more workers and their families. It is not broad enough in its coverage. (Applause.) If we can't afford it now, when will we ever get around to doing it?

And that's why we have to recognize, also, that there are people in this country, in urban communities and rural areas, -- who have not felt any upturn in the last six years. That's what my New Markets Initiative is all about.

You know, we have all kinds of devices to help encourage Americans to invest in developing countries overseas, that aren't present here. One of the things that I have proposed is an American Private Investment Company, modeled on our Overseas Private Investment Corporation, that would enable us to give both tax credits and loan guarantees to people who would invest in high unemployment areas in America -- to put in new plants and new businesses; to create new markets and new jobs. (Applause.)

Let me just give you an example of how it would work, because I'm going to need your help to pass this. New York City -- while America has a 4.4 percent unemployment rate, the unemployment rate in New York City is about 9 percent. Now, when you consider how low it is in some places in New York City, that means in a lot of big urban centers, it's well over 10 percent. If this whole plan passes, and a group of people got together, for example, under these laws that I have proposed, to spend \$300 million and open a plant in a high unemployment area in Brooklyn or the Bronx, or they wanted to -- to use Congressman Rangel's favorite example -- they wanted to rehabilitate Yankee Stadium instead of moving it away, and hire construction workers who live in the Bronx to do it -- suppose they wanted to do that. Under our plan, if this law passes, they put up \$300 million; the first \$100 million they get a 20 percent tax credit for. The second \$200 million, they'd have a loan guarantee for, which means they'd only have \$75 million at risk for the \$300 million investment.

That's a good deal. The best untapped markets for American business are here in America, and it will lower everybody else's threshold of anxiety; it will create economic opportunity. It's good for the steel workers. It's good for the machinists. It's good for the auto workers, because if those people have jobs, they'll buy more of everything. And I want you to help me pass it. (Applause.)

I also ask you to help me strengthen our education system, to finish the job of cutting class sizes by putting 100,000 new teachers into our schools; to pass our proposal to build or modernize 6,000 schools. (Applause.)

And I ask you to do something that will be quite controversial. I hope you will support me in this. Every five years, we pass an authorization law which sets the terms under which we give your tax money back to public schools. And it's about \$15 billion a year now that we give to schools, to help them do their work. We now know -- from teachers, from principals, from parents, from students themselves, from worlds of research -- what works in the schools and what doesn't. We know that every problem in American education has been solved by

somebody somewhere. But we know something else: Our kids -- a representative sample of our kids, represented by race, income and region, scores at the top of the world in the 4th grade math and science tests, drops to the middle of the world by the 8th grade, and is nearly at the bottom by the 12th.

Now, those children do not get dumber as they get older. That means we are not doing well enough by them, and we have to do better. We have to make sure all these kids can read well in elementary school no matter what their family background, or where their folks came from. (Applause.)

So I say, we need to change the terms in which we give out this money. Not because the federal government makes it up in a room somewhere, but because the schools have told us what works. We ought to end social promotion, but we ought to do it by saying, we want to end social promotion, but we don't want to declare the kids failures because the system's failing them. So we ought to provide more funds for summer school programs, for after-school programs, for tutors -- keep the kids out of trouble, off the streets, in the schools learning, but make sure they know something when they go from grade to grade. (Applause.)

The teachers' organizations have asked us repeatedly to make one requirement that every school has not only a written, reasonable discipline policy, but can prove it's being enforced. That's important.

They ought to identify schools that are failing, and turn them down or shut them down. Every state that's done this has found that they hardly have to shut any schools down, because they get turned around once they know that they're going to be shut down unless they do turn around.

These are elemental things that have worked in community after community after community. I think parents ought to get a report card on every school, every year, that their children are in. (Applause.) I think if we do these things, you'll be amazed at the results we'll have five years from now, when we have to reauthorize this aid again.

But this will be real controversial. Some people will say it's too tough on the kids that come from poor backgrounds. I think that's selling them short. They can do just fine, if they have good schools. (Applause.) And I'll tell you something, if they get out of school without a good education, the world's going to be real tough on them. And so we need to help them.

And then some of our friends in the other party will say, well, here's the President trying to micromanage the schools; we just want to give them the money; we're not trying to tell the schools what to do. Well, that would be true if I had just sat in my office one day and come up with this and thought it sounded good. This is what the people at the grass-roots level have said and done and proved works. And it is simply wrong for us to keep subsidizing failure, when we can invest in success. So I ask you to help us. (Applause.)

There's two other things, very quickly. I want you to help me this year do what we didn't do last year, and pass a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights. (Applause.) Now, a lot of you know -- a lot of you know, or you're about to find out in very difficult ways that after years of moderate inflation

in health care costs those premiums are going up again, even for managed care. And if you're going to pay for health care, you ought to be able to get health care. If you need to see a specialist, you ought to be able to see one. If you have options for health care, you ought to know what your options are. If you're in another town and you get hit in an accident, you ought to be able to go to the nearest emergency room, not one that's halfway across town. (Applause.) If you're in the middle of treatment with a doctor, you ought to be able to continue the treatment even if you change health care providers. These are elemental things.

The last thing I want to say, if you want the economy to work for everybody -- I want to come back to something I said before -- I know this is an alien concept; if I had been running for President in 1992 -- and many of you did so much for me -- and I said, look, you vote for me and six years from now I'll be coming back to you telling you what great things will happen if we pay down the national debt, you would have decided that I needed a trip to a doctor, not to be elected President. But we can talk about that now.

We want the economy to work for everyone. You don't know what's going to happen beyond our borders. I am doing my best to turn this situation around, to do everything I can to make sure we don't have another year like the year we just had in the global economy, with all the trade problems and other things that came down on us. But if, God forbid, we continue to have these kinds of problems, don't we want the strongest demand we have here at home? Don't we want to be able to -- and if we do more to protect our markets from unfair trade practices, then it still means that we're going to have to generate more economic activity here at home.

If you pay down the debt, what will happen? Interest rates will stay down, much lower than they otherwise would, no matter what happens around the world. That means lower home mortgage payments; it means lower car payments; it means lower business loans; it means lower student loans; it means lower credit card payments. It means greater investment in the American economy, more jobs, and lower prices and higher consumption. That's what it means.

Now, I do not know what is going to happen everywhere in the world in the next two years, much less after I'm gone. But I know this: If you'll go along with this and you'll help me do this, for the next 15 years, every single year the interest rates in America and the economy in America will be in better shape, no matter what happens, than they would have been if we don't do it and we give away this money right now. So I ask you to help me do this. This is the right thing to do for the United States of America. (Applause.)

Finally, let me just say there are a lot of changes going on in the world. No one can predict the future with any certainty. Tell you the truth, it's all worked out a little better, until this last patch in the road for us, than I thought when I was running. But I knew we were doing the right things.

One of the things we know is, if we put the American people first -- if we think about how people can balance work and family, if we think about how we can preserve the dignity of work, if we think about how we can give every child the right to live up to his or her God-given capacity -- if we do the right things, then in the tough times we'll do better than we otherwise

would have, and in the good times we'll soar.

The American labor movement has helped this country to do the right things -- year in and year out, decade in and decade out. In joining together, I am convinced you have done the right thing for your members, and their families, for the 21st century. And I am convinced that you will do the right things for America.

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

END

7:23 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 19, 1999

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

United States Capitol
Washington. D.C.

9:10 P.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong. (Applause.)

America is working again. The promise of our future is limitless. But we cannot realize that promise if we allow the hum of our prosperity to lull us into complacency. How we fare as a nation far into the 21st century depends upon what we do as a nation today.

So with our budget surplus growing, our economy expanding, our confidence rising, now is the moment for this generation to meet our historic responsibility to the 21st century.

Our fiscal discipline gives us an unsurpassed opportunity to address a remarkable new challenge -- the aging of America. With the number of elderly Americans set to double by 2030, the baby boom will become a senior boom. So first, and above all, we must save Social Security for the 21st century. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

You know, our children are doing better. SAT scores are up; math scores have risen in nearly all grades. But there's a problem. While our 4th graders outperform their peers in other countries in math and science, our 8th graders are around average, and our 12th graders rank near the bottom. We must do better. Now, each year the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, to support what works and to stop supporting what does not work. (Applause.)

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

First, all schools must end social promotion. (Applause.) No child should graduate from high school with a diploma he or she can't read. We do our children no favors when we allow them to pass from grade to grade without mastering the material.

But we can't just hold students back because the system fails them. So my balanced budget triples the funding for summer school and after-school programs, to keep a million children learning. (Applause.)

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

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

Third, all states and school districts must be held responsible for the quality of their teachers. The great majority of our teachers do a fine job. But in too many schools, teachers don't have college majors -- or even minors -- in the subjects they teach. New teachers should be required to pass performance exams, and all teachers should know the subjects they're teaching. (Applause.) This year's balanced budget contains resources to help them reach higher standards.

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

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

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

Fifth, to assure that our classrooms are truly places of learning,

and to respond to what teachers have been asking us to do for years, we should say that all states and school districts must both adopt and implement sensible discipline policies. (Applause.)

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

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

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

That was encouraging, you know. (Laughter.) There was more balance on the seats. I like that. Let's give them a hand. That's great. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Also, I ask your support for a dramatic increase in federal support for adult literacy, to mount a national campaign aimed at helping the millions and millions of working people who still read at less than a 5th grade level. We need to do this. (Applause.)

Here's some good news: In the past six years, we have cut the welfare rolls nearly in half. (Applause.) Two years ago, from this podium, I asked five companies to lead a national effort to hire people off welfare. Tonight, our Welfare to Work Partnership includes 10,000 companies who have hired hundreds of thousands of people. And our balanced budget will help another 200,000 people move to the dignity and pride of work. I hope you will support it. (Applause.)

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

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

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

We must strengthen our lead in technology. It was government investment that led to the creation of the Internet. I propose a 28-percent increase in long-term computing research.

We also must be ready for the 21st century from its very first moment, by solving the so-called Y2K computer problem. (Applause.)

We had one member of Congress stand up and applaud. (Laughter.) And we may have about that ratio out there applauding at home, in front of their television sets. But remember, this is a big, big problem. And we've been working hard on it. Already, we've made sure that the Social Security checks will come on time. (Applause.) But I want all the folks at home listening to this to know that we need every state and local government, every business, large and small, to work with us to make sure that this Y2K computer bug will be remembered as the last

headache of the 20th century, not the first crisis of the 21st.
(Applause.)

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

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

I also ask you to support creating a freer and fairer trading system for 21st century America. (Applause.)

I'd like to say something really serious to everyone in this chamber in both parties. I think trade has divided us, and divided Americans outside this chamber, for too long. Somehow we have to find a common ground on which business and workers and environmentalists and farmers and government can stand together. I believe these are the things we ought to all agree on. So let me try.

First, we ought to tear down barriers, open markets, and expand trade. But at the same time, we must ensure that ordinary citizens in all countries actually benefit from trade -- (Applause.) -- a trade that promotes the dignity of work, and the rights of workers, and protects the environment. We must insist that international trade organizations be more open to public scrutiny, instead of mysterious, secret things subject to wild criticism.

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

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

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

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

If we do these things -- invest in our people, our communities,

our technology, and lead in the global economy -- then we will begin to meet our historic responsibility to build a 21st century prosperity for America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It's been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't do the right thing, other nations won't either. I ask the Senate to take this vital step: Approve the treaty now, to make it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms, and to make sure we can end nuclear testing forever. (Applause.)

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

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

Desert Fox.

Captain Taliaferro. (Applause.)

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

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

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

We must continue to support security and stability in Europe and Asia -- expanding NATO and defining its new missions; maintaining our alliance with Japan, with Korea, without our other Asian allies; and engaging China.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I ask Congress to restore the five-day waiting period for buying a handgun -- (Applause.) -- and extend the Brady Bill to prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from buying a gun. (Applause.)

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

After she lost her daughter, Suzann Wilson of Jonesboro, Arkansas, came here to the White House with a powerful plea. She said, "Please, please, for the sake of your children, lock up your gun. Don't let what happened in Jonesboro happen in your town." It's a message she is passionately advocating every day.

Suzann is here with us tonight, with the First Lady. I'd like to thank her for her courage and her commitment. Thank you. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

So far, in just four years, 100,000 young Americans have built low-income homes with Habitat for Humanity, helped to tutor children with churches, worked with FEMA to ease the burden of natural disasters, and performed countless other acts of service that have made America better. I ask Congress to give more young Americans the chance to follow their lead and serve America in AmeriCorps. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

Our new immigrants must be part of our One America. After all, they're revitalizing our cities, they're energizing our culture, they're

building up our economy. We have a responsibility to make them welcome here; and they have a responsibility to enter the mainstream of American life. That means learning English and learning about our democratic system of government. There are now long waiting lines of immigrants that are trying to do just that. Therefore, our budget significantly expands our efforts to help them meet their responsibility. I hope you will support it. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

Already, the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to members in Congress of both parties for their support. Just one example: Because of you, the Star-Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages. In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium we are keeping alive what George Washington called "the sacred fire of liberty."

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

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

We're now at the end of a century when generation after generation of Americans answered the call to greatness, overcoming Depression, lifting up the dispossessed, bringing down barriers to racial prejudice, building the largest middle class in history, winning two world wars and the "long twilight struggle" of the Cold War. We must all be profoundly grateful for the magnificent achievement of our forbearers in this century.

Yet, perhaps, in the daily press of events, in the clash of controversy, we don't see our own time for what it truly is -- a new dawn for America.

A hundred years from tonight, another American President will

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

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

Thank you and good evening.

END

10:27 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 3, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO AARP NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Willard Hotel
Washington, D.C.

2:00 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, and good morning. Thank you, Mr. Perkins -- or, good afternoon. Don't tell anybody. (Laughter.) Don't tell anybody I didn't know what time it was. (Laughter.)

Thank you, Mr. Perkins, for your memory of that -- I did say that, about counting. Mr. McManus, Tess Canja, Margaret Dixon, John Rother, Horace Deets -- thank you especially for representing the AARP so well in dealing with the White House over the last six years.

I was glad to be invited to come over here today. You know, it's rare that a President gets to speak to an organization of which he's a member. (Laughter.) As I said repeatedly a couple years ago, I had mixed feelings about that, when you called my attention to the fact that I was aging. (Laughter.) But I don't have mixed feelings about the record the AARP has established for 40 years, calling attention to the challenges of aging to all Americans.

Those challenges, today, are more profound than ever as we look forward to the baby boom becoming a senior boom -- the number of seniors doubling by 2030. We owe it to 21st century America, to the children and the grandchildren of the baby boom -- as well as to all the seniors -- to meet those challenges and to meet them together.

I remember, in 1992 when I was a candidate for President, I came to your convention in San Antonio, and talked about the kind of America I wanted to work with you to build -- an America in which we honor our obligations to older Americans without burdening younger Americans. An America with its fiscal house in order and its future shining brightly. When I took office, we charted a new course to achieve that kind of America -- with fiscal discipline, more investments in our people, more trade for our goods and services around the world.

In the past six years, the American people have worked hard and come far. We know now that we have the longest peacetime expansion in history; nearly 18 million new jobs; wages rising at twice the rate of inflation; the highest home ownership in history; the lowest welfare rolls in history; and now, the lowest peacetime unemployment rate since 1957. Last year, for the first time in three decades, the red ink turned to black with a \$70 billion surplus. We project one slightly larger than that this year, and projecting them on out for about a generation, as we have ended the structural deficits that caused our national debt to quadruple between 1981 and 1992.

I want to thank you for your hard work over these past six years -- for standing strong for bipartisan progress on the issues of great concern to you. Now, I ask you to stand with me and to say, we must

meet the great challenges of the next century. We must use this prosperity, we must use this confidence, we must use this projected surplus to save Social Security, to strengthen Medicare, to meet the challenges of the aging of America.

In my State of the Union address, I laid out a four-point plan to do that: saving Social Security; strengthening Medicare; providing tax relief to help Americans save for their own retirement; and a tax credit to help families with long-term care for aging, ailing and disabled relatives. These will help our country to honor our duties to people today, and to uphold our responsibility to future generations.

On Monday, I sent my new balanced budget to Congress -- the first budget of the 21st century -- to implement this plan. First, in the budget we dedicate the lion's share of the surplus to saving Social Security and to strengthening Medicare. Both are important, and I'd like to explain why.

I proposed that we invest 62 percent of the surplus to save Social Security, and the surplus -- excuse me, for the next 15 years. I am very pleased that members of Congress in both Houses and both parties have agreed that this is the right thing to do. As you know, I have proposed investing a small portion of the trust fund in the private sector, to do it in a way that any private or state government pension would do. I agree with AARP that we absolutely have to insulate any investment of the surplus from political influence. And I believe we can, just as other public pension funds do.

I was in New York last night, talking to several people there in the investment community who came up to me and said they thought I was right and they hoped that we wouldn't let initial criticism stop us from offering a plan which would demonstrate to the American people that you could run this investment just like any other public pension investment is run. And I am confident that we can do that.

If we do this, we can earn a higher return and keep Social Security sound for 55 years. Now, all of you know that from the beginning we have measured the financial health of Social Security by asking if it will be sound for 75 years into the future. I do believe we have to take steps to strengthen Social Security for 75 years. I have looked at the options, believe me -- it's a lot easier to go from 55 to 75 than it is to go from where we are now, 2032 to 75.

I also believe we have to improve the program by reducing poverty among elderly women who are twice as likely to be poor as married couples on Social Security. I believe we should eliminate the limits on what seniors on Social Security can earn. This costs the trust fund some money in the short run, but over the long-term it will actually strengthen the retirement systems of the country and, more importantly, it will strengthen the quality of life of people in their later years.

Now, doing these things will require some difficult choices, but they are clearly achievable. You know basically what the range of options is and I know what it is, as well. To make them, it is clear what we have to do. We have got to work together across party lines to make these decisions. We have to work together across generational lines to make these decisions. But think of how we'll feel if we have Social Security secure for 75 years, if we lift the earnings limit and if we do something to reduce the deeply troubling rate of poverty among single elderly women, who are growing in numbers at a very rapid rate.

I have told the American people and members of Congress in both Houses of both parties -- I've met with dozens of them, literally -- that I am ready to make these choices and to make them with them, and it is time to get on with the job. Now, I feel pretty good about where

we are with that, because of the initial positive support for setting aside the surplus portion for Social Security. I wanted to come here today to tell you what I said in the State of the Union I was very serious about -- I do not think it is enough. We all know that Medicare is going to have financial trouble well before Social Security does, unless we do something about it.

Now, if you look at -- where is my chart -- there it is. (Laughter.) What I propose is to take 62 percent of the surplus, which you see there for Social Security -- maybe I'll bring it up a little closer. (Laughter.) You may be able to see it just fine, but I can see better from here. (Laughter.) And then to take 15 percent, about a little less than \$1 in every \$6 of the surplus, and commit it to Medicare.

Now, some of those who agree with us on Social Security do not agree that we should do this. They would use the entire rest of the surplus for tax cuts. I believe we can only meet our responsibility to the future by saving Social Security and Medicare. Now, President Kennedy, who first proposed Medicare, once said, "To govern is to choose." And so we should have a great national debate about the choices involved in managing this surplus. After all, we haven't had one in 30 years, and it's a little unusual for us.

Yesterday, we learned of a proposal that would make a very different choice about what to do with the surplus. The plan would spend well over \$1 trillion over the next 15 years on a tax proposal that would benefit clearly the wealthiest Americans -- who have, I might add, done quite well as the stock market has virtually tripled in the last six years. I'm happy about that; we should all be. But we ought to look at this proposal against that background. It would do this before Medicare has been secured, and in a way that would prevent us from spending 15 percent of this, or investing 15 percent, of this surplus in Medicare.

Now, to govern is to choose. I believe that's the wrong choice; I believe this is the right choice. You, the American people, and the United States Congress will have to decide. This is the latest in a rather long series of large and risky tax proposals that we have heard over the years. If we had adopted even one of the large ones, we wouldn't have the surplus we enjoy today.

We cannot return to the old policies of deficit and debt. Quite apart from our obligations to deal with the aging of America, the strength of our economy is premised on our demonstrated discipline and driving down profligate deficit spending, driving down interest rates, getting private investment up, generating opportunities for the American people.

I believe the American people should have tax relief; in a few moments I'll talk a little bit about what I think the best way to do that is. I believe there are things we can and we must do to help families. And I believe our targeted tax cut for the USA account is especially important. I'll say more about it in a moment.

But, first of all, anyone who hopes to invest the surplus or to spend it on other programs, or to spend it with a tax cut, must first tell America's families: What is your plan to preserve and strengthen Medicare in the 21st century? (Applause.) I was always taught from childhood, as most of you were, that you may want to do a lot of things, but you have to do first things first. To me, Social Security and Medicare, with their looming financial challenges, are the first things, and we have to take care of them first.

I want to work with you to strengthen Medicare. I want to work

with the results of the Medicare Commission that Senator Breaux is chairing. In the bipartisan balanced budget we reached in 1997, we extended the life of the Medicare trust fund by 10 years. But no one seriously believes this is adequate, particularly with more and more people qualifying for Medicare.

To stabilize Medicare, we should extend its life until 2020. To truly strengthen Medicare for the long-term, we will have to take further steps. That means committing a percentage of the surplus to the trust fund. It also means committing ourselves to meaningful reforms that will meet the demands of the 21st century.

I am frank to tell you that some people have said, well, the President, by committing this amount of money from the surplus to Medicare to the trust fund, is trying to convince people that we can just go on forever without making any changes in Medicare. That is simply not true, and I don't want to pretend that that's true. But neither do I believe we should be in the position of making reforms or changes that we might later regret, simply because we haven't stabilized the trust fund when we have the funds to do it. These funds should support meaningful reform and prevent permanent damage to Medicare and to the people who depend upon it and are entitled to rely on it.

So here's what I think we should do, with regard to at least basic principles, as we look forward to the 21st century Medicare program. Did they change the chart? Good. (Laughter.)

First, Americans should be able to count on Medicare and know it will be there when they need it. I have proposed to use, as I said, about one of every six dollars in the surplus for the next 15 years to just simply guarantee the soundness of the Medicare fund until the year 2020. Without these new resources, Medicare spending would have to plummet significantly below the private sector average. No one believes we can have that happen without seriously weakening a program that millions of older Americans need.

Second, Americans on Medicare should be able to count on a modern, competitive system that maintains high-quality care and top-notch service by drawing on the best private sector practices. Third, Americans on Medicare, especially Americans with lower incomes, should be able to count on a defined set of benefits and protections without having to worry about excessive new costs they can't begin to afford.

Fourth, Americans on Medicare should be able to count on a benefit that many have long waited for, and that will actually cut our cost over the long run, and lengthen life, and lengthen the quality of life: prescription drugs. (Applause.)

Now, I believe we ought to use the savings that reforms in Medicare can create to provide this prescription drug benefit. Yes, it will be more costly on the front end, but over the long run it is bound to save money. It will keep people out of the hospital. It will keep people away from more expensive medical procedures. It will lengthen life and it will lengthen the quality of life.

I want to thank especially Senators Kennedy and Rockefeller for their leadership on this issue. I look forward to working with members of both parties. But keep in mind -- within these principles, my view of Medicare is: take 15 percent of the surplus, make sensible reforms, add the prescription drug benefit. All three will be required to truly strengthen Medicare for the 21st century.

Now, as I said before, we know the American people have worked very hard to replace the era of budget deficits with an age of budget surpluses. They deserve to benefit from that, and they deserve some tax

behind by the economic expansion. And I hope you will all support that, because, keep in mind, that helps the whole economy. We have to keep finding new ways to growth this economy, even with a low unemployment rate, that doesn't spark inflation. And this is clearly the best way we can.

Now, I think this tax relief is good for America. We can afford it. It is all paid for -- all this tax relief I mention, except for the USA Account -- every other bit of this tax relief I mentioned is paid for in the balanced budget. It has nothing to do with this surplus. It will not have anything to do with undermining our fiscal strength.

I simply think we have to use the surplus in a way that honors our most profound responsibilities to our parents, to our children, to our grandchildren, and I think that we cannot waste a penny of it until we have saved Social Security and Medicare for the 21st century.

As I pointed out in the State of the Union address, there is another enormous benefit that will come from saving the surplus in this way. It will enable us to buy back a lot of the national debt held by the public. And that is very important. Why? In 1981, our total national debt amounted to about 26 percent of our annual income. In 1992 it had quadrupled in dollars, and it was about half our national income. When I got the budget charts, it was projected to go as high as 75 or 80 percent of our national income -- a very dangerous situation.

Now, the national debt has dropped from 50 percent down to 44 percent of our income, but if -- if -- we save the money I recommend for Social Security and for Medicare for 15 years, our national debt will drop to seven percent of our national income. That's the lowest level since 1917, before the United States entered World War I.

Now, what does that mean in practical terms, to an average family? It means that we will have lower interest rates; lower home mortgage rates; lower car payment rates; more investment; a dramatic increase in national savings; and more economic growth. It also means that if we have all the financial instability you see around the world -- and I want to make it clear that the financial instability that we saw, for example, in Asia, came primarily not out of irresponsible government spending policies -- a lot of those people had balanced budgets -- but there was just turmoil in the financial markets because of banking systems and investment patterns. That undermines our ability to grow, when our trading partners get in trouble.

We need to know that we have some insurance against that sort of trouble here at home, so we can keep plugging ahead, even as we try to help our friends around the world get back on their feet and start growing again. So this is an enormous insurance policy.

The last thing I want to tell you is this: You can be thinking about what your successors around this table will be debating 15 years from now. Today, when we draw up a budget, the first thing we have to do is take interest payments on the debt off the table. Right? Some of you may own that debt -- you may have government bonds. We've got to pay you before we can do anything.

Today, that takes over 13 cents of every single tax dollar. Fifteen years from now, if we do this, it will take 2 cents of every tax dollar. Once we secure Social Security and Medicare, think what you could do with that difference -- in tax cuts, or investments in education, or whatever you think it ought to be spent on. This is a very important issue.

So, seven years ago, I said to you that if we worked together we could leave our children a nation that is stronger, freer, and wealthier

than the one we inherited. Today, we actually have the chance to do this. Today we have a chance to deal with the aging of America -- a challenge facing every advanced society on earth -- in a way that is dignified, that has genuine integrity; that will strengthen not only the lives of seniors but will strengthen the lives of their children and grandchildren. It is an enormous opportunity, and an enormous opportunity.

I ask you to join with me to make sure that our country meets that responsibility. Thank you, and God bless you.

END

2:25 P.M. EST

OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

MORNING UPDATE

- √ Today's POTUS Sked
- √ Latest SW Sked

MARCH 12, 1999

**Schedule of the President
For
Friday, March 12, 1999**

Final Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-2921

WHCA PAGER: 4208

TRIP COORDINATOR:

AVIVA STEINBERG

HOME: 202-362-1813

OFFICE: 202-456-2920

WHCA PAGER: 4022

**ADVANCE LEAD:
(HOPE)**

BRIAN MCPARTLIN

STAFF OFFICE: 29-220

CELL PHONE: 202-757-9534

WHCA PAGER: 5166

**ADVANCE LEAD:
(TEXARKANA)**

MWITU NDUGU

STAFF OFFICE: 37-220

CELL PHONE: 202-757-9335

WHCA PAGER: 5034

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Partly cloudy and breezy. Winds north at 10 to 20 knots. Low 21 to 26. High 38 to 43.

HOPE, ARKANSAS

Cloudy with scattered afternoon and evening thundershowers. Winds east-southeast at 10 to 20 knots. Low 40 to 45. High 55 to 60.

TEXARKANA, TEXAS

Cloudy with scattered afternoon and evening thundershowers. Winds east-southeast at 10 to 20 knots. Low 40 to 45. High 55 to 60.

**Schedule of the President
for
Friday, March 12, 1999
*Final Schedule***

8:45 am- **BRIEFING**
9:00 am OVAL OFFICE DINING ROOM
Staff Contact: Ann Lewis, Bruce Reed, Megan Moloney

9:00 am- **TAPE RADIO ADDRESS**
9:20 am OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Ann Lewis, Bruce Reed, Megan Moloney
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

Note: There will be approximately 15 civil rights and community advocates, law enforcement representatives and Department of Justice staff members in attendance.

-- Upon conclusion of the taping, the President will greet guests and depart.

9:25 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs The White House via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base
[flight time: 10 minutes]

Note: This departure is closed to staff and guests.

9:35 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Andrews Air Force Base

9:50 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route Hope Municipal Airport
[flight time: 2 hours, 55 minutes] [INTERCHANGE]
[time change: -1 hour]

11:45 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Hope Municipal Airport

Greeters: Representative Jay Dickey
Attorney General Mark Pryor
State Representative Sandra Rodgers
State Treasurer Jimmie Lou Fisher
State Auditor Gus Wingfield
State Land Commissioner Charlie Daniels
State Senator Jim Hill
State Senator Stanley Russ (T)
State Senator Bill Walters (T)
Mayor Dennis Ramsey
Vice Mayor David Johnson
City Director Charles Sharpe
City Director Willie Walker
City Director Robert "Bobbie" Doodle Franklin
City Director John Winemiller
City Director Don Shill
County Judge Wallace Martin
County Clerk Velora Bright Haltman
County Treasurer Margie Vickers

12:00 pm-

OPEN AIRPORT ARRIVAL

12:45 pm

TARMAC

Hope Municipal Airport

Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich

Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg

OPEN PRESS

-- **The President** makes brief remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

12:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Hope Municipal Airport via motorcade en route Clinton Birthplace Foundation
[drive time: 10 minutes]

1:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Clinton Birthplace Foundation

Greeters: Elaine Johnson, Executive Board
 Charlene Clark, Executive Board
 Betty Jo Hays, Executive Board
 Paul Henley, Executive Board
 Parker Westbrook, Executive Board
 Stan Jackson, Executive Board
 Sallie Graves, Executive Board
 Kat Young, Executive Board
 Gloria Hicks McFadden, Executive Board
 Sammy Crabtree, Executive Board
 Al Fink, Executive Board
 William H. Bowen, Executive Board
 Beckie Moore, Executive Board
 Joe Purvis, Executive Board
 Rose Crane, Development Consultant

1:05 pm- **TOUR HOUSE**
1:35 pm **CLINTON BIRTHPLACE FOUNDATION**
 Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich
 Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
 CLOSED PRESS

-- **The President**, accompanied by Joe Purvis, Rose Crane and Beckie Moore, tours the House.

1:45 pm-
3:00 pm

CLINTON BIRTHPLACE FOUNDATION DEDICATION

HOPE, ARKANSAS

Remarks: Jeff Shesol

Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich

Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg

OPEN PRESS

- Off-stage announcement of **the President**, accompanied by Mayor Dennis Ramsey, Joe Purvis and Tillman Ross.
- **The President** proceeds down steps of house and down walkway in yard to podium.
- Mayor Dennis Ramsey makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Tillman Ross.
- Tillman Ross gives the Invocation.
- The Hope High School and Yerger Junior High School Choirs, who will sing "I Still Believe in a Place Called Hope."
- Joe Purvis makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks.
- Four children from the William Jefferson Clinton Primary School present **the President** with a commemorative quilt.
- **The President** works a ropeline and proceeds to visitor's center.

3:05 pm-
3:20 pm

TOUR VISITOR'S CENTER/POLICE AND DRIVER PHOTOGRAPHS

VISITOR'S CENTER

Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich

Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg

CLOSED PRESS

3:25 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Clinton Birthplace Foundation via motorcade en route Location TBD
[drive time: 10 minutes]

3:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Location TBD

3:35 pm-
3:55 pm **HOLD**
LOCATION TBD

4:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Four Points Hotel, Texarkana, Texas
[drive time: 35 minutes]

4:40 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Four Points Hotel

Greeter: Representative Max Sandlin
Leslie Sandlin
Edward Miller, Host Committee Chair
Brent Langdon, Host Committee Chair
Julia Peck Mobley, Host Committee Chair
Lou Wahlstrom, General Manager, Four Points Hotel

4:45 pm-
5:20 pm **RECEPTION FOR REPRESENTATIVE MAX SANDLIN**
BALLROOM
Four Points Hotel
Remarks: Josh Gottheimer
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
POOL PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 350 guests in attendance.

- Off-stage announcement of **the President**, accompanied by Representative Max Sandlin and Leslie Sandlin.
- Representative Max Sandlin makes brief remarks and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

5:20 pm-
5:25 pm **POLICE PHOTOGRAPHS**
HALLWAY
Four Points Hotel

5:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Four Points Hotel en route The A-Bar Ranch
[drive time: 20 minutes]

Note: This event is "dressy western" attire.

5:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives The A-Bar Ranch

Greeters: Truman Arnold
Anita Arnold

5:55 pm-
6:20 pm **PHOTO RECEIVING LINE**
MAIN RESIDENCE
The A-Bar Ranch
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
CLOSED PRESS

-- **The President** will pause for photographs with approximately 40 guests.

6:25 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Main Residence via motorcade en route Tent
[drive time: 5 minutes]

6:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Tent

6:35 pm-
7:45 pm **SANDLIN DINNER**
OUTDOOR TENT
The A-Bar Ranch
Remarks: Josh Gottheimer
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore
Event Coordinator: Aviva Steinberg
PRINT REPORTER ONLY

Note: There will be approximately 300 guests in attendance.

-- **The President**, accompanied by Truman Arnold, Anita Arnold, Representative Max Sandlin and Mrs. Sandlin, is announced into the tent.

-- **The President** proceeds to his seat.

-- Truman Arnold makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Representative Max Sandlin.

-- Representative Max Sandlin makes brief remarks and introduces the President.

-- **The President** makes remarks and departs.

7:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Tent via motorcade en route Main Residence
[drive time: 5 minutes]

7:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Main Residence

Staff Note: Transportation will be provided to the Four Points Hotel for those staff not staying overnight at the A-Bar Ranch.

DOWN FOR THE EVENING

**BC RON PRIVATE RESIDENCE
 TEXARKANA, TEXAS**

**HRC RON THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON, DC**

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING
SPEECH ASSIGNMENTS
March 12 - March 26, 1999

	POTUS TO CENTRAL AMERICA	
Fri 3/12	T: Departure Statement, DC	Lowell
Fri 3/12	Tape Radio Address -- police training	Jordan
Fri 3/12	Hope Dedication (boyhood home), Hope, AR	Jeff
Fri 3/12	Sandlin Dinner, Texarkana, TX	Josh
Fri 3/12	Sandlin Reception, Texarkana, TX	Josh
Fri 3/12	FLOTUS Publisher Event	Paul
Sat 3/13	DNC Reception, AK	Josh
Sat 3/13	AR State Party Dinner --	Josh
	NEW WEEK	
Mon 3/15	Meeting with NATO SYG Solna	NSC
Mon 3/15	Firefighters Association Event	Paul
Mon 3/15	Millennium Lecture Series Event	June
Tues 3/16	DNC Brunch, Palm Beach, FL	Josh
Tues 3/16	DNC Dinner, Stuart, FL	Josh
Wed 3/17	FLOTUS St. Patrick's Day Reception	June
Wed 3/18	FLOTUS Rabin Center Event	Lowell
Thurs 3/18	Radio and TV Correspondent Dinner	JS/MW/ JT
Thurs 3/18	Rabin Center Event	NSC
Thurs 3/18	USA Account Message Event	Lowell
Thurs 3/18	Speech Prep	
Fri 3/19	T: Press Conference -- opener: gun tracing	Michael
Fri 3/19	DNC Reception, WH	Josh
Fri 3/19	Women's Group Meeting -- closed press	n/a
Sat 3/20	Live Radio Address	Jordan

Sat 3/20	Gridiron Dinner	JS/MW /JT
	NEW WEEK	
Tues 3/23	Fundraising Dinner	Josh
Tues 3/23	T: Unity Message Event -- AFSME Conference	Paul
Tues 3/23	T: Medicare Event	TBD
Wed 3/24	Ron Brown Awards Ceremony	June
Thurs 3/24	WH Dinner	TBD
Thurs 3/25	Consumer Financial Right to Know Event, Cincinnati OH	Jeff
Thurs 3/25	DNC Lunch, OH	Josh
Thurs 3/25	DNC Dinner, NV	Josh
Fri 3/26	Tape Radio Address	Jordan
Fri 3/26	DNC Dinner, CA	Josh