

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. transcript	Internal Transcript (12 pages)	08/02/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting
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FOLDER TITLE:

BC [Bill Clinton]/Opening Statement News Conference 8/3/94

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Draft. 8/3/94, 2 pm

PRESIDENT CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR
NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. We're here tonight to give the American people an update on the single most important mission of this Administration: renewing the American Dream. ~~I know that's a lofty goal, but we're making progress.~~

It was just one year ago this week, Congress passed our economic recovery plan. I am sure you remember last August. The skeptics said that if our economic plan passed, the sky would fall. But today we don't have to rely on hopeful promises or dire predictions. We can see the results for ourselves.

We cut spending by 255 billion dollars, and we shrank the federal workforce to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office. The deficit is going down for three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President. We raised tax rates on only the wealthiest 1.2 percent, and gave tax cuts to 15 million working families of modest incomes, and for more than 90 percent of small businesses.

The results: almost 4 million jobs have been created, nearly all of them in the private sector.

There were ~~other~~ skeptics who said the sky would fall if the North American Free Trade Agreement passed. But we stood and fought so the American people could compete and win. And today, we are exporting five times as many cars to Mexico as we did last year.

Others said that even as we cut the deficit we could ^{not} make smart investments in our own people. They were wrong. 20 million Americans are now eligible for low-cost college loans.

And while I know too many people are still hurting, the road ahead looks good. According to Fortune magazine, all 50 states are expecting their economies to expand next year. ~~And that's the kind of growth hard-working middle class families can count on.~~

None of this ~~came~~ without a fight. And this week we face two more historic fights, ~~the can't-do crowd says we can't win.~~

The first is ^{the} crime.

We have the chance to go beyond the old partisan political labels and give the American people what they have demanded for six years: the toughest and smartest crime bill ever. ~~For over a~~

Let me remind you what that bill will do
~~year we've been fighting for our principles: making three~~
strikes and you're out the law of the land; putting 100,000 more
police officers on the street -- a 20 percent increase; ~~a ban on~~
19 deadly assault weapons, ~~and a ban on handgun ownership by~~
minors. Tougher sentences for violent criminals, and more
prisons to put them in. And we've listened to the police and the
prosecutors, giving them the tools they need to give young people
something to say yes to with strong prevention programs.

Believe it or not, there are Washington special interest ~~groups~~
whose lobbyists oppose this common-sense crackdown on
crime. But we will fight them and the American people will win
this fight, too.

Still, we But the recovery we are building, *will be jeopardized*
and the communities we are
making safer, will still ~~not be fully secure~~ until we reform our
health care system. ~~(It is time to fix what is wrong with our~~
~~health care system while we build on what is right.)~~

We're fighting for health care reform not just for those who
~~don't have health insurance, but also for Americans who have it~~
and ~~health insurance but~~ pay too much for it; who have it canceled
when they get sick and who lose it just because they change jobs.
They deserve a lot better, and we will see that they get it.

We want to guarantee private -- not government -- insurance
for every American ~~that can never be taken away~~. We have
listened to the American people, and we have learned from them.
The new approach before Congress is less bureaucratic. It is
more flexible. It protects small businesses. And it is phased
in over a longer period. No bureaucrat will pick your doctor.
And you can keep your plan or ~~pick~~ a better one. This approach
~~establishes~~ controls on government spending, and relies on
competition to hold down ~~your~~ costs.

Much has changed -- for the better. But our ~~one~~ rock-solid
principle remains: guaranteed private insurance that can never
be taken away.

~~That will work.~~
We know what works. For 20 years Hawaii has required all
employers and employees to share responsibility for buying
insurance, ~~and everyone is benefitting~~. People still pick their
doctors. Health is improving. And in a state where nearly
everything is more expensive, small businesses pay 30 percent
less for health insurance than in the rest of America.

Now, after 60 years of trying and after 18 months of
national debate, the question of ~~whether we can guarantee~~
coverage for all Americans will come down to a few crucial votes
in ~~the~~ Congress.

The votes will be soon and they will be close. Tonight I

say to the American people: tell your Senators and Congressmen to put aside partisanship, seize this historic moment, and do right by the American people.

People like John Cox and Daniel Lumley. They have spent the last two weeks riding buses across America to make the case for health care reform, and I thank them for being here with us tonight.

For their sake and the sake of millions of other hard-working Americans, it is time we fix our health care system once and for all.

Draft. 8/3/94, 2 pm

**PRESIDENT CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR
NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994**

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. Recently, we have seen that if we take advantage of this rare moment in history and make tough decisions, we can solve our country's problems and build better lives for ourselves and our children.

One year ago, Congress passed our economic recovery plan. I am sure you remember last August, when our opponents predicted the economy would fall apart if our plan passed. Today, we can rely on results, not dire predictions.

What are the results

The results show that our plan is renewing the American Dream for millions of hard-working people. The deficit is going down for three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President. Almost 4 million jobs have been created, even as we shrink the federal workforce to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office. And Americans are finding new opportunities, with programs like more favorable college loans that have helped 20 million people.

Last fall, other opponents said the economy would fall apart if the North American Free Trade Agreement passed. ~~NAFTA was negotiated by a Republican Administration, and we supported it because it was the right thing to do.~~ Once again, positive results are replacing dire predictions. We are already exporting five times as many cars to Mexico as we did last year.

— try to sabotage this all last minute. Let me remind you what we have the chance to go beyond the old partisan political labels again and give the American people what they have wanted for six years: the toughest, smartest and largest crime bill ever. Again, skeptics said we couldn't do it. But we stood by our principles, and Congress is about to pass a bill to put 100,000 new police officers on the streets, ban 19 kinds of assault weapons, make "three-strikes-and-you're-out" the law of the land, and give our children futures to say yes to with prevention programs that the nation's police officers want.

If you want to stand up me against the NRA,

If we hope to take full advantage of our strong economy and safer communities, we must also take advantage of another historic opportunity. It is time to fix what is wrong with our health care system while we build on what is right.

The American people want reform because the spiraling cost of health care is forcing more and more of them out of insurance. Five million working Americans have lost coverage in the last five years. Millions more fear they will lose it if they get sick, lose a job or change jobs. And, as costs go up, too many

Americans are losing the basic right to choose their doctors.

To fix this problem, we must guarantee private -- not government -- insurance for every American that can never be taken away. We presented a bill and asked the American people and members of both parties to help improve it. They said it should be less bureaucratic, more flexible for the states, more sensitive to small businesses, and phased in over a longer period.

We followed those constructive suggestions. And now, for the first time in history, Congress can pass workable legislation to guarantee health security, hold down costs, preserve quality and make sure that people can choose their doctors.

The only way anyone has found to do all this is to have employers and employees share responsibility for buying insurance. That is the approach that works for most Americans now. That has been the law for 20 years in Hawaii, and we have seen that it works there. People still pick their doctors. *here* Overall health is improving. And compared to the rest of the country, small businesses pay 30 percent less for premiums and costs are not going up as fast. *here*

The vote + re vote will come soon.
Now, after 60 years of trying and after 18 months of national debate, the question of whether we can guarantee coverage for all Americans will come down to one Senate vote next week. The Senate must decide whether employers and employees will share the responsibility for coverage.

Every day between now and then, I will speak out for the only system we know that works. And, I ask the American people to urge their Senators and Congressmen to skip the partisanship and do the right thing, as we have done on the economy and on crime.

In the end, this vote is about people like John Cox, Daniel Lumley and Carolyn Mosely. They have all just spent the last two weeks riding buses across America to make the case for health care reform, and I thank them for being here with us tonight.

overdone?
Several years ago, John Cox did what Americans ought to be able to do; he took a better job, only to find that his employer went back on a promise of insurance. Then his wife, Jan, got cancer. After that, she never got the treatment she needed; John couldn't get coverage due to her preexisting condition. This weekend, while he was on the bus tour -- something Jan urged him to do -- she died. *hard work; middle class excluded by h.c. 5/82*

For the sake of John Cox and millions of other hard-working Americans, it is time that we take advantage of this historic opportunity. It is time that we fix our health care system once and for all.

REASSURING STATISTICS:

- **INVESTMENT-DRIVEN RECOVERY:** Corporate spending on business equipment has played twice its usual role in this expansion, accounting for 30% of the growth of the GDP compared with a previous peak of about 15% in 1970. (U.S. News & World Report, July 25, 1994, pg. 40)

- **SMALL BUSINESSES PLANNING TO INVEST AND PROFIT:**

- A recent Coopers and Lybrand survey reports that over 60% of fast-growing, small businesses plan to increase their investments in the next 12 months, the highest level recorded by the survey which began in 1991. (Wall Street Journal, July 18).

- 60% of all businesses under 500 expect to have increased profits over the next year.

- **BEST JOB GROWTH IN A DECADE:** 1.72 million jobs created in the first six months, is the strongest six month period in the past decade -- since 1984, according to Forbes (August 1, 1994).

BUSINESS OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE: 90% of the executives surveyed were optimistic about the outlook of the U.S. economy in the next year, up from 83% in December 1993. (Business Week, July 4, 1994)

PRIVATE SECTOR SEES SOLID GROWTH, LOW INFLATION: The Blue Chip -- 50 top private sector forecasters -- project stronger growth than they did at the beginning of the year, with solid growth and moderate inflation continuing into next year.

ALL 50 STATES PROJECTED TO EXPAND: According to Fortune, for the first time since 1984, all 50 states are expected to expand next year. (Fortune, August 8, 1994).

JOB QUALITY: According to Business Week, temporary jobs now account for only 13% of new jobs. temporary, while according to Business Week, over 50% of the new jobs created in 1992 were temporary.

- In 1993, more than half of the jobs created were good jobs, paying over 46% of the average wage.

OPENING STATEMENT 8/3/94

I First anniversary of passage of even place to renew Amer
Plenty said wld never pass; if did pass...
Now we know bc results before us
- deficit, jobs, ~~real~~ real growth of low inflation
- new ~~fr~~ of manufacturing (✓ shipbuilders)
same on
NAFTA - bipartisan

II Now coming to another historic moment of decision

III Started bc... ppl long coverage 5 million over 5 years
Same principles
Reassurance

III Now coming up to a vote - sense of history
Just today we saw prog on another issue ppl
said we couldn't achieve - one
bc of course of Amer.
Cops;

prev. that will give kids sth to say yes to.

Ppl wanted 6 yrs for this

If 6 yrs is too long to wait. He I believe go to
by for h.s.c.

Just as we maintained focus - crime, now we
must turn our focus on h.s.c.

Just as Amer ppl demanded this crime bill...
toughest, smartest, etc.

Lead us, to sayes now that we not
miss best opportunity

PRESS CONFERENCE BRIEFING 8/3/94

Made 20m eligible for lower interest rates

Crime/ NRA sabotage

add 20%

ban handguns

health care/ ^{understand what's at stake} not just for those w/o r. those

You may not have seen to H.W. but if you
have you know everythg is more
expensive except h.care.

and he may of our vert. ears

to I have said so he & He was of his

Adm. requires us to

**President William Jefferson Clinton
Remarks For Health Express Rally
Washington, D.C.
August 3, 1994**

[You will be preceded by three storytellers -- Daniel Lumley, Carolyn Mosely, and John Cox, whose wife died of cancer during the bus trip]

I would like to thank you for sharing your stories today. Everyone who has carried a tale across the nation, and now to Washington, is a vivid lesson as to why we must have health care reform and why we must have it now.

Your stories remind me of the old stories I've heard about diseases like scarlet fever and smallpox -- diseases that caused terrible pain in a more primitive time, but whose names are hardly even mentioned any more. We haven't eliminated sickness and suffering. But thanks to the finest medical system in the world, we don't hear so many stories of frightened parents and helpless doctors trying nurse children through diphtheria or whooping cough.

Now we must make sure every American can get the treatment they need from this, the finest medical system in the world. I can't wait for the day when the stories that have been told by you, seem as distant and exotic as those stories my grandparents used to tell me. That's when we'll truly know that we have changed America.

This administration is about change. It's about changing the direction America was headed for too many years. It's about renewing the American Dream for working people and making sure the middle class can move with confidence into the 21st Century.

Health care reform is a critical part of our agenda for change, and I am pleased to have you here and on our side. Your timing is perfect. After sixty long years, the Health Care Express, Majority Leader Mitchell's bill and Majority leader Gephardt's legislation are all going to hit Congress in the same week. We have never been so close to victory and your hard work is going to help push us over the edge.

Both Majority Leaders have done excellent jobs in extraordinary circumstances. Both bills do what we have asked -- they give working Americans the security of private health care that can never be taken away. They both use an approach that works for members of Congress, the whole state of Hawaii, countries around the world and most Americans already -- shared responsibility. And they both protect Americans by ensuring that they won't lose coverage, even if they lose or change jobs, or have a pre-existing condition. The American people will have coverage that will be there when they need it -- guaranteed.

In fact, these bills do even more than I originally asked. Congress has listened to the American people and this legislation is less bureaucratic, has more choice, and is better able to protect small businesses. If your coverage works now you'll be able to keep it, and if you've been pushed out of the system, you'll be able to get back in.

The pessimists and the naysayers that we encounter every time we try to make America better for middle class people insist on ignoring the vital similarities between the two bills. They focus instead on the few differences and ask how we are going to resolve them.

The riders on the Health Security Express have that answer. At a stop in Idaho a group of riders went out into the crowd of demonstrators and they all began to talk as too few Americans talk to one another these days -- with respect. They listened to the protesters, and then the riders explained what we are trying to do: keep what's right about our system, but change it so the middle class is guaranteed the same security the wealthy and the very poor already enjoy. They didn't win everybody over. But they did walk out with a pile of letters of support and today those letters are going to be delivered on Capital Hill.

When the people of this nation talk and listen to one another with respect and understanding, there is no boundary that can contain us, no bill we cannot pass into law, no goal we cannot achieve.

That's the approach we are taking to Capital Hill. With our friends and allies in Congress, we are going to talk to and listen to everybody who sincerely hopes to help the middle class. I honestly believe that together we are going to get and pass and sign a bill that brings health security to every American. We're going to do this because it's the good thing to do and the right thing to do and the economically sound thing to do and it's the American thing to do.

Now, every time this administration is close to accomplishing something important, there's always someone around to tell us we're not going to be able to do it.

They said we couldn't pass our economic plan to slash the deficit and create jobs and opportunity for the middle class. Well they were wrong. The deficit's going down, the economy is going up, and we've created 3.8 million jobs.

They said we couldn't pass the NAFTA, and if we did, the economy would fall apart. They were wrong again. We worked with the Republicans and we passed NAFTA. Exports are up, and we've already shipped five times as many cars to Mexico as we did in all of last year.

And they said we couldn't get a crime bill through Congress. Previous administrations had tried for six years and come away with nothing at all to show for it. But today we are again seeing progress on the largest, toughest, smartest crime bill in history. We will ban 19 kinds of assault rifles, put 100,000 police on the street and make "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land, and a substantial investment in prevention programs that will give our children something to say yes to.

We have been able to do all this because we have been willing to listen to both allies and opponents and move forward together to achieve common goals: economic growth, increased security for our families, and greater opportunity for America's middle class.

The pessimists are still out there. Now they say that we won't be able to get the health care reform legislation the American people want. They just don't understand how America works.

When we focus on the issue at hand, when we draw our strength from the middle class, and when we listen to one another with respect, we can combine our forces and together accomplish anything we choose.

Your strength and your example have carried to the verge an historic vote after 60 long years. In the next few weeks, Congress will hear from lobbyists and special interests, from consultants and political strategists, and even from myself and members of my administration. But through all of that, I believe the voices that will sound most clearly and true will be your voices -- the voice of the American people. And that is why we are going to win.

Thank you and God bless you.

Draft. 8/2/94

OLD

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. This is one of those rare moments in our history when we have the chance to make tough choices on many issues that will affect our future as a nation for decades to come. Right now, we are seeing how much progress we can make for hard-working Americans when we take responsibility for these challenges.

Later this week, we will mark the first anniversary of the passage of our economic plan. I am sure you remember last August, when many of our opponents predicted the economy would fall apart if our deficit reduction plan passed.

Today, we can rely on results, not dire predictions. We are on our way to three years in a row of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President. Since I became President, the economy has created 3.8 million new jobs, and the unemployment rate is down 1.5 percent. We are shrinking the federal workforce to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office. And, we have just learned that, in the manufacturing sector, where we lost 1.4 million jobs between 1989 and 1992, we have 104,000 more jobs than on the day I was inaugurated.

Last fall, still others said the economy would fall apart if NAFTA passed. That trade agreement was negotiated by a Republican Administration, but we supported it because it was the right thing to do for our future. And, today, once again, we are seeing positive results replace dire predictions. We are already sending five times more cars to Mexico than we did last year.

Today, after six years of delay, we are on the verge of passing the toughest, smartest and largest crime bill in our history. Again, skeptics said we couldn't do it. But the American people demanded help, and, after many fights, this bill is finally going to pass. When it does, it will put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, ban 19 kinds of assault weapons, make "three-strikes-and-you're-out" the law of the land, and give our children futures to say yes to with prevention programs that have been demanded by the nation's police officers. (Once the crime bill passes, we must remember that it is a powerful tool for fighting crime and violence. But the responsibility for taking up that fight and for restoring our communities and neighborhoods belongs to all Americans.)

Now we have another historic opportunity on the issue of

~~fixing our broken health care system.~~ ^{reform} The American people have ~~insisted~~
~~demand~~ed reform because the cost of health care has gotten out of
hand for private citizens and for the government. ~~As a result,~~
five million working Americans have lost their coverage in the
last five years. Millions more live with the insecurity that
their coverage could disappear at any time. And ~~we run the risk~~
~~that the overall quality of care will decline for many Americans.~~

^{is cradling for too}
Our goal has always been to fix what is wrong with the
current system and to build on what is right. That means finding
a way to guarantee private -- not government -- health insurance
for every American that can never be taken away. And it means
building on our current system in which employers and employees
share the responsibility of paying for coverage.

Last year, we presented a bill to Congress. ~~But we knew~~
~~that was only the starting point.~~ We asked members of both
parties and citizens across the country to help improve our
approach. They said the plan should be less bureaucratic, more
flexible for the states, more workable for small businesses, and
be phased in over a longer period.

We have followed those recommendations, and now, for the
first time in history, Congress has the chance to pass workable
legislation that can guarantee health security to every American,
hold down costs, preserve quality and make sure that people can
go to the doctors they choose.

^{we have found only one example of how this can be done, and that is for}
~~The only way anyone has found to do all of this is for~~
employers and employees to share the responsibility for coverage.
That approach has worked for 20 years in Hawaii. Everyone there
is covered. People still pick their doctors. The health of the
overall population is improving. Small businesses pay 30 percent
less for premiums and the cost of care is increasing far slower
than in the rest of the country.

^{New}
~~It has been 60 years since President Roosevelt first tried~~
~~to reform our health care system. Since then, six Presidents, of~~
~~both parties, have tried to do what we have the chance to do now.~~
~~Finally, after all this time, the Senate will face an historic~~
~~vote next week on whether employers and employees should share~~
~~the responsibility for coverage so that every hard-working~~
~~American has health security.~~

As we have seen on the economy and NAFTA and on the crime
bill, we must have the courage to take advantage of this rare
moment. I ~~am asking~~ all Americans to focus on this crucial
decision in the days to come and to contact your Senators and
Congressmen, urging them to vote for reforms that have been
proven to work. Their vote will affect every family in America
for generations to come. ^{vote}

Draft. 8/2/94

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

OLD

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen. This is one of those rare moments in our history when we are faced with tough decisions on many issues that will affect our future for decades to come. Recently, we have seen how much progress we can make for hard-working Americans when we step up to these challenges.

~~One week from now,~~
Later this week, we will mark the first anniversary of the passage of our economic plan. I am sure you remember last August, when many of our opponents predicted the economy would fall apart if our deficit reduction plan passed.

Today, we can rely on results, not dire predictions. We are on our way to three years in a row of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President. Since I became President, the economy has created 3.8 million new jobs, and the unemployment rate is down 1.5 percent. We are shrinking the federal workforce to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office. And, we have just learned that, in the manufacturing sector, where we lost 1.4 million jobs between 1989 and 1992, we have 104,000 more jobs than on the day I was inaugurated.

Last fall, still others said the economy would fall apart if NAFTA passed. That trade agreement was negotiated by a Republican Administration, but we supported it because it was the right thing to do. Today, once again, positive results are replacing dire predictions. We are already sending five times more cars to Mexico than we did last year.

On another front, after six years of delay, we are on the verge of passing the toughest, smartest and largest crime bill in our history. Again, skeptics said we couldn't do it. But the American people demanded action, and, after many fights, this bill is about to pass. When it does, it will put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, ban 19 kinds of assault weapons, make "three-strikes-and-you're-out" the law of the land, and give our children futures to say yes to with prevention programs recommended by the nation's police officers.

Now we face another historic opportunity. We have a chance to fix our broken health care system. The American people want reform because the cost of health care has gotten out of hand for private citizens and for the government. Five million working Americans have lost their coverage in the last five years. Millions more live with the insecurity that their coverage could

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 2, 1994

Statement by the President

The bill unveiled by Senator Mitchell achieves what the American people want - health coverage that can never be taken away. The bill provides health security for hard working middle class Americans who deserve nothing less. And it places a high priority on covering the nation's precious resource, our children. I applaud the Majority Leader and the members of the Senate who have been working diligently to bring a bill to the floor that works for ordinary Americans.

The Senate bill provides for universal coverage, enables Americans to keep their current insurance and their doctor, maintains quality health care and provides greater opportunity to keep health coverage affordable. It builds on the current system of shared responsibility which we already know works.

We have made tremendous progress. The Senate and House are poised to vote for legislation that covers every American for the first time in our nation's history. We have come this far, and we must not turn back now. If Congress fails to achieve universal coverage, if hard working middle class Americans are left out in the cold, and if costs are not controlled, that's simply unacceptable.

The House and Senate will soon begin this debate - a debate that will engage every American family concerned about their health security. While differences in the House and Senate bills will be worked out as the legislative process moves forward, achieving universal coverage remains the critical goal. During the course of this historic floor debate, there will be those who say that reaching universal coverage is not necessary. To those people I say: let the debate begin. Those of us who are fighting for universal coverage are fighting for middle class Americans. This is a debate that we must win and that we will win.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR HEALTH EXPRESS RALLY
AUGUST 3, 1994

DRAFT

It's a great honor to have all of you here at the White House. At a crucial moment in this health care debate, each and every one of you is an added inspiration for us to keep fighting for reform until we achieve what we set out to do.

In a minute we will ^{hear} from three Reform Riders whose stories illustrate why this issue is so urgent. Each story will explain why all of you came to Washington today. Each story will explain why all of you rode on the Health Express buses across our country when you could have stayed at home in much more comfortable surroundings.

You rode those buses because you know that no other American should have to suffer illness, financial stress, family breakdowns because their health insurance disappeared. You rode those buses because you know that every citizen of the richest nation on earth ought to have health security that can never be taken away. You rode those buses because you know that Congress needs to hear from ordinary Americans that health care reform must include private insurance for hard-working citizens through a system of shared employer-employee responsibility.

That's why you rode those buses and that's why you are here today in the nation's capital.

This is a historic moment for our nation. For the first time ever, the House and Senate are prepared to vote on bills that could provide health security to every American and build on a system of shared responsibility that most insured Americans already use and is proven to work.

And over these next crucial days, we need to get the message to Congress that now is no time for delay. Now is the time for action.

Just like your bus trip wasn't always easy, the next few weeks won't be easy. The lobbyists are out in full force on Capitol Hill trying to kill reform. They're getting paid lots of money to stop our progress and end this journey. But you must never forget that, however powerful, however rich those lobbyists are, you are the lobbyists for ordinary Americans. You are the lobbyists for hard-working middle class citizens who have waited for six decades for the health security they deserve. So remember that while those other lobbyists may have fancy briefcases and big expense accounts,

you have the economic and moral arguments on your side.

This is not a partisan issue. When you go from office to office in Congress later today, don't ask, "Are you a Democrat?" or "Are you a Republican?" Just ask: "Will you support health care reform that gives middle class American families the same security the wealthy and the very poor already have?"

Just ask: "After 60 years of delay, will you give the American people the health security they deserve?"

Your words, your stories, your presence in Washington are vitally important to millions of middle class Americans who can't be here with you. You are their voices now. Make them heard.

We all know that it's been a tough journey getting here on those buses. It's been a tough journey getting to this point in the legislative process.

But it's been worth it because millions of Americans watching television and reading the newspapers have heard your stories. The President and his Administration have heard your stories. And now, as members of Congress get ready for one of the most important votes in a generation, they will hear your stories too.

Thank you for your courage and commitment over these last few weeks and for your help in the final stretch. And thank you for having faith that our nation can step up to this historic challenge.

[Introduce the three storytellers -- Daniel Lumley who joined the Health Express in Portland; Carolyn Mosley of New Orleans; and John Cox of Athens, Texas, whose story is particularly tragic. He joined the health express because his wife had cancer. She died during the bus trip. He flew back to Texas over the weekend for her funeral]

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

DRAFT

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

Today we are working hard to take advantage of a rare moment in history when we have the chance to make serious progress on issues that affect millions of hard-working, ~~middle-class~~ Americans.

A week from now, we will mark the first anniversary of passage of our economic plan to renew America. Plenty of people predicted that plan would never pass. And when it did pass, they predicted that the economy would fall apart.

Today we see the results of that effort. We've had three consecutive years of deficit reduction -- something that hasn't happened since Harry Truman was President. We've seen the creation of 3.8 million new jobs, even as we are shrinking the federal workforce to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office. The unemployment rate is down by 1.5 percent. And in the manufacturing sector, where we lost 1.4 million jobs between 1989 and 1992, we have 104,000 more jobs than on the day I was inaugurated.

Last fall, we fought for NAFTA, a trade agreement negotiated by a Republican Administration that we happened to think was right. Plenty of people predicted it wouldn't pass. And when it did, they predicted the economy would fall apart. Today we see that because of NAFTA we are sending five times more cars to Mexico than we did last year.

A few hours ago, we saw progress on another bill that many said would never succeed. But today we are on our way to the toughest, smartest, largest attack on crime in our history. And after six years of waiting the American people finally will get what they demanded: 100,000 more police officers on the streets. A ban on 19 kinds of assault weapons. Tough punishment for hardened criminals, including a three-strikes and you're out provision. And substantial investment in prevention programs that will give our children something to say yes to.

All of these experiences show how much progress we can make if we are willing to make tough decisions in very tough times.

Now we are coming to another historic decision as Congress prepares to vote on health care reform. I first pushed for reform

because more and more middle-class Americans were losing their insurance coverage. Millions of others didn't know how long their coverage would last. People across the country were becoming increasingly worried about the spiraling costs of care -- not just for themselves but also for the government.

We set out to fix what was wrong with the system and keep what was right. And we believe that the only way to do that is to build on the existing system in which employers and employees share the responsibility of buying coverage. That is the only system that we know will work.

We presented a bill to Congress and we asked members of both parties -- along with health care providers and ordinary citizens throughout the United States -- to review it and make suggestions. They said it ought to have less bureaucracy, more flexibility for the states, greater protections for small business, and a longer period to phase in reform. And we followed their recommendations.

Now, for the first time in history, the House and Senate are preparing to vote on bills that would guarantee health security to every American through a system of shared responsibility between employers and employees.

That is the only system we know of that can cover everybody, hold down costs, maintain quality, and give people choice of doctors.

It works in Hawaii. In one of the most expensive states in our nation, small businesses are paying 30 percent less for premiums. Everyone is covered. People still pick their doctors. The health of the overall population is improving. And the cost of care is increasing far slower than in the rest of the country.

Next week Congress will ^{The Amer. ppl} take up the question of whether employers and employees should share the responsibility of ~~the~~ coverage. It's a decision we have waited for for 60 years. And it will affect every family in America for generations to come.

As with the economy, NAFTA, and crime, we must stay focused on the goal at hand. I ~~hope~~ ^{wish} you the American people ~~will~~ ^{can} join us in sending a message to Congress that we must not waste this historic opportunity.

T
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 2, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ANNOUNCEMENT OF U.S. SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY

Roosevelt Room

11:36 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Secretary Pena, Secretary Brown, Ambassador Kantor, Admiral Herberger, John Dane and Doug Ballis. Thanks for saving the sign.

I'd like to introduce the members of the House who are here who supported this initiative and who have made a major contribution to what we're doing, and obviously, will be needed in the months and years ahead -- and whose districts will be affected by the announcements we make today. Congressman Gene Taylor from Mississippi; Congressman Billy Tauzin from Louisiana; Congressman Bobby Scott from Virginia; and Congresswoman Lynn Schenk and Congressman Bob Filner from California. Thank you for your help. Would you stand? (Applause.)

I'd like to begin by thanking Doug and Richard Vortman, NASSCO's CEO, who is also here, because they gave me one of those seminal experiences you have once in a while in life that takes an idea from your head to your heart. When you know something and you know you ought to do it, that's one thing. But when you feel it, it's another thing altogether.

They stopped work one day in May of 1992, before I was even the nominee of my party for president, so that I could speak to nearly 4,000 of their people, and so that I could listen to them -- I could see them

working together, struggling together, trying to compete in the global economy, building the only commercial ship then being built anywhere in the United States of America. They made me feel welcome, but they also made sure I was aware of what the stakes were and what the issue was, and how this was yet one more example of how we could compete and win in an area critical to our future if only we had the policies, the tools and the drive to do it.

I wish all the people that I met that day could be in this room today. I'm afraid the fire marshall would evict us all if I had tried to achieve that. But they are the people who really taught me about this issue, and they are the people -- they and the millions like them for whom I fought both before I got here and for whom I try to fight every day in this office.

This is a great day for our American jobs, for our economy, for our shipbuilding industry. It's a great day for the idea that if we all work together we can figure out how to solve our problems even in difficult budgetary times.

Two years ago, every ship in America under construction except one was destined for defense -- every one. And now we know that while our United States naval power is still unsurpassed in the world, and must remain so, we cannot allow that one commercial vessel I saw under construction in San Diego become a symbol of the past.

We know that one of the things that we needed most in 1992 and one of the things we're trying most to do today is to have a strategy for restructuring our defense industry so that they can fulfill a dual purpose -- let me say, not so they can get out of defense work, because we will continue to need major investments in defense technologies for the foreseeable future, but so that with defense being scaled back, those kinds of folks can stay in business by being successful commercially as well.

When I ran for this job, when the economy was going down and the deficit was going up, it was obvious to me that there were many reasons for that, but one of them was that the government had no strategy. What was our strategy to preserve aerospace, our biggest export? What was our strategy when it came to the shipbuilding industry? What was our strategy to help support our automakers when they had made radical changes all through the 1980s, so that they could be more competitive again? What was our strategy?

And the truth is, we didn't have one. Well, now, we do have one. We have strategies for those industries and for others, and for our economy. We've concluded trade agreements that expanded the barriers of world trade, and enabled us to do more. NAFTA, the GATT we're trying to pass in Congress now -- all designed to help hard-

working middle-class Americans get ahead because they'll have the economic opportunities to do it.

I've said this many times, but I want to repeat it again: The mission of the United States at the close of the 20th century must be to keep the American Dream alive in the 21st century. And to do it, we have to restore the economy, rebuild our communities at home, empower individuals to take responsibilities for themselves, put government back on the side of ordinary people, create a world of greater peace and prosperity. That is what we must do.

And that is exactly what we are celebrating here today, not just four projects for four worthy companies with several thousand worthy American workers. In the last 19 months, we have dramatically reduced the deficit. We're on the verge of getting three years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman was President. We have seen 3.8 million new jobs come into this economy, even as we are scaling back the federal work force so that by the end of this budget cycle it will be the smallest it's been since President Kennedy was here in the White House.

The unemployment rate has gone down by 1.5 percent, and we are making real progress in bringing manufacturing back. Between 1989 and 1992, we lost 1.4 million manufacturing jobs. Now we have 104,000 more than we had on the day I was inaugurated. I am proud of these accomplishments of the American people. Getting the American economy in order by getting our economic house in order, by instituting lifetime education and training programs that will have to embrace all of our people from the first day of preschool to the last day they work.

Two years ago, Doug and a lot of other people in NASSCO said, this has been a great day, but don't forget us if you're elected. And we haven't forgotten you, but we've got to keep following through. And we have to think of this as a permanent partnership. I believe that if you look at the America that we're moving toward, the government will adopt a less regulatory role, the government will become a smaller percentage of our gross national product in the amount of money we spend. But the government will have to be there in the competition in the global economy of the 21st century in partnership with the private sector to make sure that our people, when they're doing the right things, have a chance to compete and win and have a chance to seize the technologies of the 21st century.

Let me just make a couple of other remarks about that. Secretary Perry could not be here today with our other Cabinet members. But I do want to say that the Defense Department, I think, has done an exemplary job in promoting defense conversion. Secretary Perry has recently awarded the first \$30 million in matching grants out of a total of \$220 million we'll invest over the next five years to apply advanced

technologies to make our shipbuilding industry even more competitive. We're spending hundreds of millions of dollars more in other areas to promote defense conversion, as well.

I also want to join Secretary Pena in complimenting our trade representative, our ambassador, Mickey Kantor for the work he did in the OECD negotiations with the European countries on shipbuilding subsidies. They dragged on for five years, and his work will bring an end to unfair foreign shipbuilding subsidies that has kept us out of world markets too long.

He did a good job with that; he did a good job with the GATT; he did a superb job with NAFTA. And we're selling rice to Japan for the first time -- (laughter) -- which makes my people happy back home in Arkansas. And I thank you, sir.

I also want to say a special word of thanks to the Secretary of Commerce. He was here not very long ago when we announced \$6 billion in aircraft exports. We had an announcement the other day of \$4 billion in telecommunications exports, and there are more in other high-wage manufacturing industries.

The next step, as Secretary Pena said, in our comprehensive maritime reform is to sustain the U.S. Flag Merchant Fleet. And this week, as the House considers that Maritime and Security and Trade Act, I hope that you all will help us see that the Congress passes a bill similar to the one the administration has proposed.

Let me say again, this is a partnership; and this is a good beginning. And we're going in the right direction with the economy as a whole and with shipbuilding in particular with government and business and workers walking hand in hand into the 21st century. But we have to make this a part of the permanent process of doing business for America. I ask all of you to support that, to rededicate yourself to these objectives. This is a good day; as my daughter says, this is a big deal. (Laughter.) But it is just a beginning. Let's keep it going.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END11:46 A.M. EDT

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

DRAFT

[OPENING ABOUT CRIME, ECONOMY]

Now it's time to build on our economic progress, build on the success of the crime bill, and take the next critical step by passing health care reform.

We have been pushing for reform for 18 months now. From the beginning, I've made it clear that I was open to suggestions about the best way to achieve it. We listened to concerns about the approach we originally proposed. And, in good faith, we modified that approach to make it simpler, less bureaucratic, more flexible, and more sensitive to the needs of small business.

But throughout the process we have believed -- as the vast majority of Americans believe -- that we must remain committed to certain inviolable goals. First, that all Americans are guaranteed health security that can never be taken away. Second, that there be real cost controls so that middle class Americans who want to take responsibility for their health can afford their coverage. And third, that we build on what works in our current system and ask employers and employees to share responsibility for paying for premiums.

Thanks to the efforts of Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt, we have come very close to realizing those goals. For the first time in history, both the House and Senate are prepared to vote on bills that will provide coverage for all Americans and control skyrocketing costs through the best method available: a system of shared responsibility between employers and employees that 9 out of 10 Americans with coverage already use.

A system of shared responsibility is the only proven way we have found to guarantee that hard-working, middle class Americans receive affordable, private health care coverage that can never be taken away.

For more than a year and a half, we have discussed and debated this issue. We will continue to discuss it and debate for a few more days. Then, the discussion will end and the voting will begin.

Next week, the Senate will decide whether to require employers to share responsibility for coverage. That is the fundamental question before Congress -- one that the American people have waited 60 years to have answered. I have every

confidence that in making this historic vote the Senate -- and then the full Congress -- will seize the opportunity and give all Americans the health security they have so long deserved.

h-care part; finish line not appropriate / no metaphors

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

DRAFT

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

A few months ago, I told you that if we worked hard enough we could make real progress on the nation's business. Today, I'm pleased to tell you that remarkable progress has been made.

A few hours ago, the House of Representatives passed the toughest, largest, smartest attack on crime in the history of the United States. Soon, the Senate will follow. And before our children return to school in the fall, I will sign into law a bill that will add 100,000 more police officers to our streets, ban 19 kinds of assault weapons, invest \$9 billion in crime prevention, and bring overdue peace to our communities.

Crime + children

Later this week, we will celebrate the one-year anniversary of an economic plan that has begun to put our fiscal house in order. In just 18 months, we've created create 3.8 million jobs. We've enjoyed three consecutive years of deficit reduction -- something that hasn't happened since Harry Truman was president. And we've seen core inflation drop to its lowest point in two decades. GDP/

These are important steps. But they alone won't get us to the finish line. That's why we must take advantage of this historic opportunity and complete the job the American people asked us to do: We must pass health care reform.

Ever since I began pushing for reform, I've made it clear that I was open to suggestions about the best way to achieve it. I listened to concerns about the approach we originally proposed. And we modified our approach to make it simpler, less bureaucratic, more flexible, and more sensitive to the needs of small business.

But throughout this process I've remained committed to giving every American health security that can never be taken away.

Thanks to courageous action on the part of Senate Majority Leader Mitchell and House Majority Leader Gephardt, we are closer than ever before to realizing that goal. For the first time in history, both the House and Senate have bills before them that achieve universal coverage and control costs.

We've been pushing for h.c. reform for more

I've made it clear ...

will now cov. for all Amer + well control skyrocketing costs of h.c.c.

are preparing to vote on

come very close to realizing

system of shared responsibility

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principles of reform

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Now we've made this progress - we must make it a law to ensure the health of our nation

we have believed -- as every American people believe

to have

principles of reform

reform

reform

reform

reform

reform

reform

reform

Shared resp = what works

insures middle class is covered

Next week vote will be over before the Senate. Build up Senate vote.

That is what the vast majority of Americans want.

It's also the only system that works. In state after state we have seen what happens if you reform the insurance market -- in ways that may sound good -- without covering every person. The cost of insurance goes up, and people's options for health care go down.

On the other hand, in Hawaii, where nearly everything is more expensive than elsewhere in the United States, costs are being brought under control. Health care premiums are 30 percent cheaper for small businesses. The overall population is becoming healthier. People still choose their plans and their doctors.

And people all over America are wondering what Hawaii's secret is. It's no secret. Everyone in Hawaii is guaranteed coverage through a system in which employers and employees share responsibility for the cost of premiums. And that's exactly what we've been fighting for.

You know, the American people waited 6 years for that crime bill. They waited for more than a decade for deficit reduction. But that's nothing compared to the 60 years they've waited for health security that can never be taken away.

Now it's up to Congress to decide whether 60 years is long enough. It's up to Congress to decide what kind of nation -- and what kind of people -- we really are.

Tonight I ask members of Congress from both parties to put politics aside -- just as they did on the crime bill, on NAFTA, and many other important issues -- and make sure that every American is guaranteed private insurance in law. I ask Congress not to waste this historic opportunity.

In the week to come we will cont. to debate & discuss this issue. The American people have waited 60 yrs. We've debated it more than a yr + a half. We now have an opportunity the moment.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
OPENING STATEMENT FOR NEWS CONFERENCE
AUGUST 3, 1994

DRAFT

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For more than a year and a half, we have discussed and debated this issue. We will continue to discuss it and debate for a few more days. Then, the discussion will end and the voting will begin.

Next week, the Senate will decide whether to require employers to share responsibility for coverage. That is the fundamental question before Congress -- one that the American people have waited 60 years to have answered. I have every

confidence that in making this historic vote the Senate will seize the opportunity and give all Americans the health security they have so long deserved.



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A system of shared responsibility is the only proven way we can guarantee that all working Americans receive affordable, private health care coverage throughout their lifetimes.

For more than a year and a half, we have discussed and debated this issue. Now we have the opportunity to move beyond discussion and act. Next week the Senate will vote on whether to require employers to share responsibility for coverage. This will be a historic vote -- one that the American people have waited for for 60 years. And I have every confidence that Congress will seize the opportunity and give the American people the health security they have been due for so long.

FREE
MEDIA
↓

PONS has bent over backwards to get bill
(e.g. reassurance)

Can't do now b/c of diff b/w Hse/Senate

Set up idea that on verge of voting w/ health care
(Prime time?)

Let pple know Hill has come up w/ univ. coverage

Buses → Wash DC on Wednesday

- Reassurance msg opportunity
- Rec'd 80 letters from protesters
- despite all ranting/raving we've shown we can make progress if we work together

Only way that is proven to lower costs

only proof we have

(rational of why need univ. in addit
to middle class)

PRESS CONFERENCE

DB Have moment in time when have to focus on what pple
sent us to do - pple's biz

Recap

6 yrs of univ → 60 yrs of h.c.

Coming up to historic vote

Time for country to focus

WED

- Crime bill → Hse

- Mitchell Intro

MG/ After 6-60 →

Reassurance

✓ vote

Congress actions - flexible, moderate

One fund. ? remains -
principles

Cost price - know what works

Embrace progress -

But ~~time~~ is history - both ch

That guarantee h.c. can never be
taken

PRESS CONF (2)

8/1/94

This is what we've been w/ towards
Critical moment -- will determine whether you
have univ or not.
will determine whether there are guaranteed
pr coverage

Tone

Spare, direct, declarative

gasa 10 day & to strip trigger from Mitchell bill

Minda - Mitchell

vote on mandates

if it loses → no universal i senate

President, what did you tell the Jewish leaders today about the state of Jerusalem?

ny position is also that the United States should encourage other countries should refrain from intervening in these peace talks between the parties themselves. And part of the framework of Principles between Israel and the PLO is that the disposition of that issue, the so-called final status issue to be resolved at the end of the talks. And I have been part of that process." So I have made it clear that the United States has no intention of

The way we handled the resolution on the Hebron massacre in the U.N. is an opportunity to make that clear to the parties. We are trying to get these peace talks going, and we are going to let the parties make their own decisions for the future of the territories on their own, and we are going to do everything we can to facilitate it.

do you hope to accomplish in conference tonight?

ident. Basically, I'm going to get to the American people about trying to do up here, about the going on the crime bill, on health number of other important issues. I can't get to the Hill now, I'll be there on health care. So I've got

resident spoke at 12:06 p.m. on the the White House. In his remarks, Lt. Gen. Henry H. Shelton, USA, General, 18th Air Borne Corps, and Brig. Gen. Bobby O. Floyd, Wing Commander, Pope Air Force

March 24, 1994

The President. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Yesterday we were reminded that protecting our democracy and expanding its promise around the world can be costly and dangerous. Here at home we mourn the loss of the servicemen in the tragic aircraft accident at Pope Air Force Base, and we pray for a speedy recovery for those who were injured. This tragedy reminds us that the men and women who serve in the military put their lives at risk in the service of our Nation.

In Mexico, an assassin killed Luis Donaldo Colosio, the Presidential candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party. We send our condolences and our prayers to his family. And I urge the Mexican people at this difficult time to continue their strides toward economic and political reform and progress.

With the Congress beginning its Easter recess tomorrow, this is a good time to assess the real work we are getting done on behalf of the American people. We're moving forward on our economic plan. The budget now moving through Congress, when passed, will give us 3 consecutive years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President. In 1995, we'll have the lowest budget deficit as a percentage of our annual income of any of the major industrialized countries. A recovering economy produced 2 million jobs last year, and we're on track to create 2 million more in '94.

Around the world America's efforts have helped to bring much needed calm to Sarajevo and led to an important political accord between the Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Our call for restraint has helped to start talks again the Middle East. We will continue our efforts to stop North Korea's nuclear program and to seek progress on human rights in China, working to build a more positive relationship with that very important nation.

This Friday, a week ahead of schedule, our troops will return home from Somalia. Because of their courageous efforts, Somalia can now build its own future, a step it made in the right direction today with the accord

between the leaders of the two largest factions in that country.

Since we came here, our country has been moving in the right direction. Just today, the House of Representatives passed our legislation to limit the influence of lobbyists. Our administration is completing work on a comprehensive welfare reform proposal. We have presented to the Congress our very important reemployment proposal, to change the unemployment system to provide immediate retraining to those who lose their jobs. In a few days, with bipartisan support, the country will have an education reform law that sets national standards for our public schools. In a few weeks, Congress will pass a crime bill and put more police on the street, tougher gun laws on the books, and make "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land.

Speaker Foley assured me last night that the crime bill will be item number one on the agenda of the House when it returns to work. And in a few months we will succeed in passing health care reform. Just yesterday, the House Subcommittee on Health passed legislation to provide health security for every American. And while there will be lots of twists and turns in the legislative process, this year Congress will pass and I will sign a health reform which guarantees health care security to every American that can never be taken away, with the right to choose a doctor, with a plan that outlaws insurance abuses: no more dropping coverage or cutting benefits; no more lifetime limits; no more raising rates just because someone in your family has been sick or some are older than others. We want to preserve and strengthen Medicare, and we believe in this administration that those health benefits should be guaranteed through the workplace, building on what works today.

I know that many people around America must believe that Washington is overwhelmingly preoccupied with the Whitewater matter. But our administration is preoccupied with the business we were sent here to do for the American people. The investigation of Whitewater is being handled by an independent Special Counsel whose appointment I supported. Our cooperation with that counsel has been total. We have supplied over 14,000 documents, my tax returns dating

back to 1978, and made available every administration witness he has sought.

I support the actions of the House and the Senate clearing the way for hearings at an appropriate time that does not interfere with Mr. Fiske's responsibilities. And I will fully cooperate with their work as well. Tomorrow I will make available my tax returns dating back to 1977 when I first held public office. Cooperation, disclosure, and doing the people's business are the order of the day.

This is the best moment we have had in decades to do the hard work on so many issues that affect not only our own progress and prosperity, but the very way we think about ourselves as a nation. The American people should know that I and my administration will not be distracted. We are committed to taking advantage of this rare moment and achieving these important goals.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Whitewater

Q. Mr. President, you just said that you would release your tax returns back to 1977. Questions also have been raised about whether you made money or lost money in your Whitewater investment. Do you still believe that you lost about \$70,000? And do you have any reason to believe that you owe any back taxes?

The President. I am certain that we lost money. I do not believe we owe any back taxes. If it is determined that we do, of course, we will pay. I am now sure that we lost something less than \$70,000, based on an interview I heard on television, or I heard about on television, with Jim McDougal with one of the networks, where he said that he felt that one of the loans I had taken from a bank where we also borrowed money for the land development corporation, he said he thought one of those was a personal loan.

And so I started racking my brain to try to remember what that might have been, and by coincidence, I was also rereading the galleries of my mother's autobiography, just fact checking it, and I noticed that she mentioned there something that I had genuinely forgotten, which is that I helped her to purchase the property and what was then a cabin on the place that she and her husband, Dick Kelley, lived back in 1981, and that I was

a co-owner of that property with her for just a few months. After they married, he bought my interest out.

So that's where that—I borrowed the money to go into that investment. I paid the money back with interest. That was unrelated to Whitewater. All the other losses that we have documented to date we believe clearly are tied to the investment Hillary and I made in Whitewater. So we, in fact, lost some \$20,700 less than the Lyon's report indicated because that loan came from a different place or came for different purposes. And there was another \$1,500 payment I made on it. So whatever the total in the Lyon's report was, you should subtract from that \$20,700 and another \$1,500. And we believe we can document that clearly.

Tomorrow, my counsel, David Kendall, will brief the press on the evidence that we have, what's in the tax returns. You will see when you see the tax returns that those losses were clearly there. And he will be glad to support it with other information as well.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, do you know of any funds, any money—Whitewater seems to be about money—having gone into any of your gubernatorial campaigns or into Whitewater, particularly federally insured money? Do you know of any money that could have gone in?

The President. No. I have no knowledge of that. I have absolutely no knowledge of that.

Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News].

Q. President Clinton, you just mentioned James McDougal, your former business partner. A lot of questions have been raised about his business practices. Can you tell us what drew you to him to begin with, and whether or not you still have faith now that he was—that he is an honest businessman?

The President. Well, I can tell you that when I entered my relationship with him—let's go back to then and not now—I knew Mr. McDougal and had known him for many years. I met him in the late sixties when he was running Senator Fulbright's office in Arkansas. I knew that sometime around that time, perhaps later, he got into the real estate business. When I entered into this investment, it was with a person I had known many

THE SENATE COMPROMISE: A GRADUAL APPROACH TO ACHIEVING UNIVERSAL COVERAGE

Universal coverage is achieved in two stages. First, market incentives, insurance reforms and assistance for low and middle-income families are provided. These market-based reforms and incentives are allowed to work until the year 2000. Second, if the market reforms do not provide coverage for 95% of Americans by the year 2000, a commission would be required to submit recommendations to the Congress on how to achieve coverage for every American. If the Congress did not then act to achieve universal coverage, employers and employees would be required to contribute evenly to the cost of health coverage. Small employers with fewer than 25 employees would not be required to contribute.

Here are the central elements of the Senate compromise bill:

Affordable Insurance For Working Families. Insurance companies will be forced to compete for business, lowering prices through market forces. There will be a limit on what families and businesses pay for insurance. And if you're in between jobs or living paycheck to paycheck, you'll get a discount.

Coverage That Can't Be Taken Away. It will be illegal for insurance companies to drop people from coverage if they get sick, grow old or change jobs. People with insurance will know that they can never lose it.

Choice of Doctor and Insurance Plan. Families will be able to keep their doctor and insurance, or choose a new plan. No one-size-fits-all approach -- people will be able to choose the benefits and plan that best fits their needs.

Preserve and Strengthen Medicare. Medicare will be protected and strengthened. Older Americans have a right to count on Medicare and choose their doctor. Prescription drug coverage will be added to Medicare, and there will be additional help with home- and community-based care.

Help For Small Businesses. Small business owners will receive special discounts on insurance for their families and employees. And they'll be protected from the insurance company abuses that hurt small businesses today.

Improve the Quality of Insurance and Care. The guaranteed benefits include preventive care and prescription drugs. And part of each insurance premium will go to medical research -- to ensure the high quality of American medical care.

How The Senate Compromise Differs From The Clinton Plan

Complete Freedom of Choice:

- People can just stay with their current doctors and insurance plan, or they can choose from any number of new plans with choice of doctor.

Added Protection Against Rising Costs For Families and Businesses

- Through expanded competition and by creating purchasing cooperatives for small businesses to purchase cheaper insurance, costs will be brought under control.

Extra Protection For Small Businesses

- Small businesses will receive special discounts on the price of insurance. And if employers and employees do end up splitting the cost of insurance, businesses with less than 25 employees will be exempted. There will be voluntary purchasing cooperatives and discounts, so small businesses can get affordable insurance.

No More Mandatory Government Alliances and Bureaucracy

- There is no more requirement to join government alliances. Instead, there will be voluntary purchasing cooperatives to allow small businesses and individuals to join together to get high-quality insurance at an affordable rate.

More Businesses Can Self-Insure

- Many more companies which do a good job of controlling costs and providing high-quality care may continue to do so through their own health care plans.

Additional Protection For Federal Budget

- Written into the law will be a guarantee that the cost of health reform does not exceed the savings and revenues earmarked for health reform.

TALKING POINTS ON HEALTH CARE -- JULY 22

The new approaches being worked on by the House and Senate leadership achieve the President's objectives of:

- health coverage for every American that can't be taken away
- controlling costs, to achieve affordable coverage for families and to get federal health care spending under control
- emphasizing high-quality care, including primary and preventive care
- choice of doctor and increasing choice of insurance plan

But we have listened to the American people, and the approaches will be:

- less bureaucratic
- more voluntary (mandatory alliances gone)
- phased in over a longer period of time
- extra protection for small business
- allow people to keep their doctor and their health plan

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1) Is this different from what the President wants?

- No. The President said that he wanted to listen to the concerns of the American people; that's why the Congress has bills that are less bureaucratic, more voluntary, and phased in over a longer period of time. But the leadership of the House and Senate are still pursuing the President's bottom-line objective -- universal coverage. And the President will be fighting for this goal.

2) Are you backing away from universal coverage?

- No, the bottom line remains universal coverage. The President will be fighting for it, and Senator Mitchell and Speaker Foley indicated last night that they share the same objective.

3) Are you pursuing a Democrats-only strategy?

- No, we will continue to work in a bipartisan fashion, as we have from the beginning of this process. As we have seen in polls, the American people -- Democrats and Republicans -- want universal coverage. And we are anxious to work with Republicans who want to achieve that objective.

4) What about mandates? Will they go to the floor?

- As the President has indicated many times before, he believes shared responsibility between employers and employees is the best and fairest way to reach universal coverage. You heard Secretary Bentsen say earlier this week that he thought it was the least disruptive way to get there. Speaker Foley indicated that he believes a bill with an employer mandate will go to the House floor.

What about Mitchell? Will his bill have mandates?

- As you know, no details were discussed last night. And Senator Mitchell has not yet revealed the details of the Senate bill.

5) Can you achieve universal coverage without an employer mandate?

- The last few weeks, we're all catching up a little in the health care debate. On Wednesday, Secretary Bentsen released a study which showed that people without insurance are primarily middle-class, working families. And in order to guarantee health security to these families, someone has to pay for it. Tinkering won't achieve universal coverage; there's no free lunch. The choice is: raise taxes to pay for it, or ask these families' employers and the employees to pick up their fair share.

As the President has indicated many times before, he believes that building on the current employer-based system is the best and fairest way to reach universal coverage. Secretary Bentsen said earlier this week that he thought it was the least disruptive way to get there.

The AMA, AARP, AFL-CIO announced this week an unusual joint effort to push for universal coverage through shared responsibility. Several big businesses were up on the Hill yesterday announcing their support, and a few weeks ago, we had a coalition representing more than 600,000 small businesses here expressing their support. Polls show that 72% of the American people support it.

The President has said all along he is flexible on how to get to universal coverage, but we would have to look at the entire package, and it would have to achieve universal coverage.

6) How long a phase in would you accept?

- The President has said all along he would be flexible on the phase-in period, as long as universal coverage is achieved in a reasonable period of time and by a date certain.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP HEALTH REFORM PROPOSAL

On July 29, 1994 the House Democratic Leadership announced its health reform proposal. The plan announced by the Leadership is based on the health reform plan passed by the Ways and Means Committee, and includes key improvements made by the Leadership.

This plan offers a simple and logical way of achieving the President's goals of universal coverage and cost containment that:

- Minimizes disruption to our current health care system and to the 85% of Americans who already have insurance
- Guarantees unrestricted choice of doctors and hospitals for all Americans – regardless of income
- Is affordable to all
- Ensures and improves the quality of care
- Creates no new bureaucracies
- Creates no new broad-based taxes

Under the plan, every American will be covered by a comprehensive set of health care benefits by January 1998 and, by the year 2001, health care inflation will be brought in line with the rest of the economy.

Question: *How will the plan guarantee universal coverage?*

Answer: The Leadership plan includes three steps that, together, provide a concrete path to health security for all.

The plan will build on our existing employer-based system to ensure coverage for everyone who is connected to the work force. Today, the majority of Americans

competition in the health care market. If after five years, these market forces fail to control costs, a system of cost containment would go into effect.

In those states where market reforms and other State strategies don't work, a national "fee schedule" system -- or an alternative system proposed by a new national cost containment commission (which will be adopted, rejected, or changed by the Congress in 2000) -- will be applied. Under the fee schedule system, maximum payment rates for medical services would be set, and each year, these rates would be increased at levels that would keep spending within the target.

Like it is now, this "fee schedule" system would be used to pay doctors and hospitals who provide care under the Medicare programs.

By controlling costs in this way, the Leadership plan will give the private market a fair chance to control costs, will keep fee-for-service medicine affordable, and will maintain the kind of delivery system that most patients and providers prefer.

Question: What benefits will be included in the standard package?

Answer: Every American will be guaranteed a health insurance package that covers a comprehensive set of benefits, including prescription drugs, mental health and substance abuse services, and preventive care. Covered minimum benefits will include:

Service	Cost-Sharing Schedule	
	Fee-for-Service	Managed Care
<i>Inpatient hospital services</i>	no cost sharing	no cost sharing
<i>Outpatient hospital services</i>	20% co-pay	\$15.00
<i>Physician and other health professional visits</i>	20% co-pay	\$15.00
<i>Medical and other health services including services and supplies provided as part of a physician's care</i>	20% co-pay	\$15.00
<i>diagnostic, laboratory and other tests</i>	except no co-pay for diagnostic tests	
<i>surgical dressings, splints and casts, durable medical equipment, ambulance services, prosthetic devices, hearing aids for children, physical, occupational and speech therapy services, nurse mid-wife services</i>		
<i>Outpatient prescription drugs (biologicals)</i>	20% co-pay	\$10.00

Question: *What happens if I want additional benefits to those covered in the standard benefit package?*

Answer: The Leadership plan does not in any way limit the amount or kind of additional benefits that people can buy.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services will define ten standard supplemental insurance packages that insurers can offer. Any individual who wants to purchase supplemental insurance or additional benefits -- either to cover services not included in the basic benefit package, or to cover co-pays and deductibles -- may purchase these benefits. And, any employer who wants to provide benefits that exceed those covered by the standard package can do so, so long as they provide the extra benefits to all of their employees equally.

By establishing a set of standardized supplemental packages, the plan will help consumers make meaningful comparisons among supplemental packages, and will ensure that consumers are not being offered supplemental insurance for benefits already provided in the nationally guaranteed package.

Question: *In general, how does this plan change the current health care system?*

Answer: One of the main objectives of the Leadership plan is to fix what is wrong with our current system while making as few changes as possible to existing relationships among insurers, employers, providers, and consumers, and to the way people already purchase, pay for, and get their health care. As a result, there will in general be little disruption -- and few changes -- to the current system.

Most people will continue to receive their health insurance through private plans provided through their employers; employers will retain their role as negotiators on behalf of their employees; employees will continue to contribute to their coverage through deductions from their paychecks; and all the options which currently exist for health care delivery -- including fee-for-service and managed care -- will continue. In addition, employers may choose to offer their employees and contribute to a high deductible plan with a medical savings account.

Question: *How will this plan affect me, and what kind of changes will I see?*

Answer: There are several basic and important benefits to everyone. Everyone will see a reduction in the rate at which their health premiums increase. No one will be denied coverage or lose their coverage when they change jobs. Over time, as the cost to employers of providing coverage decreases, workers should also see an increase in their wages.

Question: *How much will health coverage cost individuals?*

Answer: In general, the maximum amount most people will pay for health insurance will be limited to 20 percent of the cost of their insurance. Employers will pay 80 percent of the cost of the package for their full-time employees, and will contribute for their part-time workers based upon the number of hours worked.

Under the Leadership plan, every insurer will be required to offer the guaranteed benefit package for three basic "classes" of enrollment: individual, single-parent family, and two-parent family. Couples without children may choose to purchase two "individual" policies.

The table below illustrates the estimated cost of the guaranteed benefit package, along with the approximate amount that full-time workers will pay each year.

Estimated Cost of Guaranteed National Benefit Package under the Leadership Plan

	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Employer*</u>	<u>Total</u>
Individual	\$428 (.21/hr)	\$1,712 (.84/hr)	\$2,140 (1.05/hr)
Single Parent Family	\$834 (.40/hr)	\$3,336(1.60/hr)	\$4,170(2.00/hr)
Two-Parent Family	\$1,134(.54/hr)	\$4,536 (2.18/hr)	\$5,670 (2.78/hr)

*These numbers reflect the approximate employer obligation for employers with more than 50 employees, and for high-wage employers with less than 50 employees. Low-wage employers with fewer than 50 employees will have lower premium obligations.

In general, although premiums will vary somewhat across insurers, coverage for a comprehensive set of medical benefits will be available to every person -- depending upon family status -- for between about \$35 and \$95 a month. For those whose employers choose to contribute more than the required amount, or for those whose employers offer an alternative "high-deductible medical savings account" plan, these amounts may be even less.

Question: *What about low-income people who cannot afford to pay?*

Answer: The plan would make sure that every person can afford to purchase the health insurance to which they are entitled, and to use the services covered by the guaranteed benefit package.

a plan's enrollees, the appropriateness and outcomes of the services provided, and patients' overall satisfaction with their care. States will be required to provide the results of these assessments to consumers at least once each year, and to take steps to fix any problems that are found.

As added assurance that people do not "get stuck" in health plans that are not meeting their needs, the proposal will ensure: 1) that every individual is able to change health plans, without cause, during a minimum six week period each year, and; 2) that -- in cases where a health plan is not complying with health insurance standards -- individuals could disenroll from that plan at any time, and enroll in a new plan.

Question: <i>What will be done to ensure access to care for people living in underserved rural and inner city areas?</i>
--

Answer: People living in rural and inner-city communities often face special barriers to obtaining health care that others don't face. These barriers include a shortage of doctors and other health care providers, inadequate medical facilities, and an insufficient number of health plans serving these areas.

The Leadership plan includes six initiatives to eliminate these barriers and to make access to health care a reality for people in inner-city and rural areas.

- Grants will be available to all fifty states to help them develop health care networks in underserved areas.
- A new grant program will be made available to local governments and health care facilities to help them expand or establish primary and acute care networks in underserved areas.
- Financial assistance will be provided through a new federal trust fund to inner city and rural medical facilities to help them meet their capital financing needs.
- The resources available to primary care doctors practicing in rural areas will be increased by doubling Medicare bonus payments, and by providing tax incentives to primary care doctors, nurse practitioners, and others who locate in rural and urban underserved areas.
- Substantial new federal funding would be provided to support the operation of community and migrant health centers
- Additional funding for the National Health Service Corps would be provided.

Question: *How will small employers be able to afford to pay?*

Answer: More than half of all employers with fewer than 100 employees already contribute to the cost of health coverage for their workers. Among small employers who do help pay, the average contribution in 1992 was about \$2,300 (EBRI, *Sources of Health Insurance and Characteristics of the Uninsured*, 1994). For these firms, and particularly for those that currently offer this level of coverage to all their employees, providing coverage under the Leadership plan will result in minimal if any additional payments.

Those small businesses which are currently least likely to help pay for their employees health coverage are low-wage businesses with fewer than 50 employees. The Leadership plan will help low-wage small businesses who would otherwise have a difficult time making their required contributions in several ways.

Subsidies will be provided to small, low-wage businesses to reduce the amount they must contribute toward their workers' premiums: firms with 25 or fewer employees would be eligible for a maximum subsidy of 50 percent, and firms with 26-50 employees would be eligible for a maximum subsidy of 37.5 percent. For companies with 25 or fewer employees, the subsidy will reduce the employer obligation for an individual premium from about \$.85 per hour to about \$.42 per hour. For companies with 26-50 employees, the subsidy will reduce the obligation to about \$.53 per hour.

The new Medicare Part C plan and the expanded Federal Employee Health Benefits Program will offer small employers two simple and affordable ways of providing high quality coverage for their employees.

Question: *How will states be affected by the plan?*

Answer: Under the Leadership plan, states will have broad flexibility to create the kind of health system that best meets the needs and desires of their citizens -- so long as the system meets the national goals of universal coverage and cost containment. Those states who have already started reforming their systems will be able to continue with these reforms, and those who would like to establish their own system -- including single payer, managed competition, or employer mandate systems -- will be able to.

States may also see a significant reduction in their health care spending under the proposal. As their uninsured residents are brought into the health care system, the increasingly large share of state and county resources being consumed by uncompensated hospital care and indigent health care programs should be reduced.

services, however, do not require any "bureaucracy" beyond the few payers -- public and private insurers -- themselves. Each of these payers has a strong incentive to know and pay only the right price, and each of the sellers -- doctors and hospitals -- has a strong incentive not to jeopardize a relationship that pays the bills for hundreds of patients. In fact, the vast majority of private insurers already use some form of fee schedule to establish the amounts they will pay for each service.

The second concern is that price controls make the buying and selling of goods more complicated. Fee schedules, however, actually *simplify* the administrative aspects of "selling" and "purchasing" health care. In a system without maximum payment rates, doctors and hospitals have to figure out what different insurers will pay for their services, insurers have to figure out providers' "charges", and disagreements have to be fought over and resolved. With fee schedules, everyone knows what they can charge and what they will be expected to pay.

The third concern is that price controls only hold costs down temporarily, and that when the controls are removed, inflation comes back at even higher levels than before. Fee schedules for medical services, however -- although updated and revised -- would not be removed. As a result, there is no danger of a bout of post-control inflation.

The fourth concern is that price controls lead to "waiting lists" or "shortages". Fee schedules for doctors and hospitals, however, do not impose any kind of constraint or arbitrary limit on a medical system's capacity to provide needed care. There are no cut-off points after which doctors and hospitals will not be paid, and there are no incentives to not provide needed care. Under the Leadership plan, if spending exceeds the "expenditure target" in a particular year, the fees paid to providers the next year will simply be allowed to rise less.

Question: <i>Will fee schedules work to control costs ?</i>
--

Answer: Some argue that fee schedules will not provide an effective means of controlling costs because providers will increase the number of services they provide to make up for lost revenues.

Evidence from this country's Medicare program -- and from the five other countries which use fee schedules -- makes clear that while the volume of certain services may increase some, fee schedules provide an extremely effective way of controlling costs. There are two reasons why this is the case.

The first is that there are several factors that "naturally" limit how much the volume of services and goods will increase. While physicians may well be able to tell a patient to come back in for an "extra office visit", other providers who do not "prescribe what they provide" -- like hospitals and

taken away. And health security, after all, is another crucial piece of the American Dream.

Many people across our country know what it's like to dig and scrape all their lives to have the opportunities that you've been given and that you've earned. If you're like me, you actually know somebody without health insurance, or somebody at risk of losing their health insurance; you know somebody whose coverage is so meager, they avoid the doctor because it costs too much; you know people who are eager to work, but are trapped in the welfare system because it's the only way they can be assured of health care coverage for their children. We know these people because there are millions and millions of them out there -- people who struggle all their lives and play by the rules so that they can move forward, make progress, build security for their families only to be knocked over the ladder because of the pink slip, the catastrophic illness or a simple change in jobs.

Indeed, we're moving in the wrong direction in our health care system. We're moving in the wrong direction when five million hardworking people, people with jobs, have lost their insurance in the last five years. Indeed, there's a smaller percentage of Americans insured today than there were 10 years ago.

Ever since I began pushing for reform, I've made it clear that I was open to suggestions about how to achieve it. I've listened to concerns about the approach we originally proposed. And in response to what all kinds of Americans told us, I've agreed that we should modify that approach to make it simpler, less bureaucratic, more flexible, to do more for small business. But I remain committed, and I hope all of you will be committed, to giving every American health security, health that is guaranteed in law.

We must have a system, I believe, where everyone shares responsibility -- a private system that works. That is certainly what the vast majority of Americans want, because today the hardworking middle-class Americans have that kind of coverage.

Today, we've moved a step closer to health care security. The House Speaker Tom Foley and the Majority Leader Dick Gephardt said they would put forward a bill that achieves universal coverage and controls costs. They've met their goal and the goal of the American people in doing that. The House bill tells the American people that they have been heard. It is simpler, more flexible, more sensitive to small business. Gone is the bureaucracy they didn't like. Protections for small businesses have been strengthened. The bill is being phased in over a longer period of time. All Americans can keep their health plan and their doctor, and everybody will have coverage.

We know from experiences across the country that this will work.

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HEADLINE: \$ 30 Billion Voted To Combat Crime;
Clinton Seeks Credit for 'Toughest' Bill

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Ann Devroy, Kenneth J. Cooper, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Congressional negotiators yesterday agreed on a \$ 30.2 billion anti- crime bill that President Clinton and Democratic allies, intent on an election-year accomplishment to display to voters, called the toughest ever.

The measure, the first anti- crime legislation in six years, provides for hiring 100,000 new police officers, bans 19 assault weapons, spreads the death penalty to an additional 60 crimes and provides new funding for crime prevention and prisons.

With most polls showing crime the top voter concern, Democrats were lavish yesterday in promoting the legislation even before it makes its way through final passage and presidential signature. The White House predicts that will occur within a week, but not without a few more political fireworks.

Clinton, at a ceremony at the Justice Department featuring hundreds of uniformed police officers, called the legislation "the toughest, largest, smartest federal attack on crime in the history of our country." And although crime was not a major theme of his campaign, he said, "This is one of the reasons that I ran for president."

Republicans said the legislation would not accomplish its crime -fighting goals and was filled with pork. "This is not a Christmas Tree," said Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.), "This is the whole Emerald City of Oz."

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) also criticized the compromise, claiming some of the toughest Senate-passed provisions were so watered down that parts of the bill read as if they "could have been concocted by a university sociology department."

He charged that prisons were being shortchanged and criticized dropping of six penalty provisions, including mandatory minimum penalties for crimes committed with guns.

"I'll take a close look at the final conference report," Dole said, "but from what I see so far, I'm afraid that Congress may have just flunked its most important crime -fighting challenge."

The Washington Post, July 29, 1994

Threatening a kind of political guerrilla theater, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) said he will attempt to add the stricken provisions to every bill that comes before the Senate until they are approved.

The legislation closely resembles what Clinton has sought for the last year and outlined during his campaign, a fact the White House strenuously pressed yesterday.

With its pollster and others warning the White House that Americans are unaware of any Clinton accomplishments, the president used the agreement to tout "a remarkable week for America," citing the Israel-Jordan declaration of an end to hostilities at the White House Monday, the Russian agreement to remove its troops from Estonia and other events.

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers, opening her daily briefing, read a list of Clinton accomplishments, telling reporters, in some jest, she would not answer questions until she finished the list. The message of accomplishment, she said, was not getting out to the public and the White House was set to remedy that.

Some at the White House, fearing comprehensive health care legislation will not pass, have suggested the crime bill could be the major Clinton accomplishment on the domestic front this campaign season and deserves heavy public relations efforts.

The crime agreement came after lengthy negotiations and eventual defeat of a provision that would allow use of statistics to help prove racial bias in death penalty cases and after defeat of an effort to water down or eliminate the assault weapon ban.

The \$ 30.2 billion cost of the bill is to be paid over six years from a trust fund created with money saved from cuts in the federal workforce. Some lawmakers have questioned how fast, if ever, those savings will materialize. The bill also authorizes an additional \$ 2.2 billion for prisons to come from non-trust fund sources with no guarantee that the money will be appropriated.

Democratic members of the House-Senate conference committee hailed the package as balanced legislation that would address public fears about violence stoked by the randomness and viciousness of some sensational crimes.

Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), chief House sponsor of the weapons ban, conceded the bill would not appear perfect to everyone after Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) charged it was not tough enough. "Some on the left might quibble and say there's too much punishment," Schumer said. "Some on the right might say there's a little too much prevention."

Republicans sought to transfer funds from crime -prevention programs to prison and law enforcement programs, but in the end only \$ 200 million was shifted. A total of \$ 13.2 billion was allocated to policing, including \$ 8.9 billion for localities to hire 100,000 new officers, an increase of nearly 20 percent in the size of state and local police forces.

The federal government also would launch grant programs to help financially pressed states build more prisons for longer incarceration of violent offenders. Republicans won a concession that as much as 40 percent of \$ 6.5 billion could

The Washington Post, July 29, 1994

go to states that agree to incarcerate violent criminals for 85 percent of their sentences. Another \$ 1.8 billion was set aside to reimburse states for costs of imprisoning illegal immigrants who commit crimes, a political and legal issue in California and Florida.

About \$ 7.3 billion for prevention programs would go to youth recreation, employment, anti-gang and comprehensive programs as well as drug treatment. Another \$ 1.3 billion would go to establish special "drug courts" to provide treatment and close monitoring of first-time, nonviolent drug offenders.

The ban on 19 specific assault weapons, copycat models and large-capacity gun clips came at the cost of a loosening the Brady law requiring a waiting period on handgun purchases. People who buy back their guns from pawn shops were exempted from the waiting period and background check to placate House Judiciary Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), a National Rifle Association member who opposed the ban.

Gun control advocates condemned the change. "It cuts a loophole a mile wide," said Sarah Brady of Handgun Control Inc.

Senate Judiciary Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) also was given a personal victory on a package of programs and laws designed to curb violence against women. His proposal to make gender-based violence a federal civil rights violation was included over objections of a majority of House members of the conference committee.

On the racial justice issue, if Democrats retain a Senate majority in this fall's elections, Biden promised to hold hearings on racial bias in the death penalty and other aspects of the criminal justice system. He also endorsed the administration's plans for an executive order on Justice Department handling of federal death penalty cases. "I hope the president makes it clear to all of his prosecutors that they are applying the death penalty fairly and equitably," Biden said.

Staff writer Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CLINTON, WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL JANET RENO, HAILS BILL AT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT. FRANK JOHNSTON

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: July 29, 1994

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 29, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
VIA SATELLITE TO UNITY '94 CONVENTION

The Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

1:20 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Connie. I want to add my congratulations to Nancy Maynard and to say hello to my friend, Wilma Mankiller, and to all of you in Atlanta at the Unity '94 Convention.

I want to say a special word of congratulations, too, to the four minority journalist associations meeting together for the first time at this ground-breaking occasion. I must say that all of us have heard a lot about your meeting and have been following it with great interest.

We're living in an extraordinary time when people in America and all across the world are searching for common ground and new solutions in a time of change. This has been a great week for America. The King of Jordan and the Prime Minister of Israel shared the stage on the White House lawn, opened a new era of dialogue and cooperation between their people. At the same time, halfway around the world, the President of Russia made an announcement that by the end of August, for the first time since the end of World War II, all Russian troops would be gone from Germany and Central and Eastern Europe -- a significant goal of our policy with Russia over the last year and a half.

Over and over, we have learned from experiences like these that people can transcend great historical, political and cultural obstacles in the name of progress of humanity. And we've also learned that here at home, the American people are our greatest asset as we try to meet the challenges of the coming century. All of us can take pride that we've helped Arabs and Israelis and other former enemies to bridge their own differences. But their examples must also inspire us to strengthen

our own sense of community, and to celebrate the rich diversity of the American culture.

The job of your associations is to see that more Americans of diverse backgrounds, races and ethnic heritage have an equal chance in journalism. It's also to make sure that the nation sees the faces and hears the voices of non-white Americans whose ideas and achievements too often are ignored.

And my job here in Washington is to ensure that every citizen has an equal chance at the American Dream. I've said it many times and I firmly believe that we don't have a single person to waste; that every person, no matter what his or her background, has an idea, a vision, an opinion to share that can enrich our nation. That's why I've been fighting to create new opportunities for people who work hard, take responsibility, try to make something of their lives. I believe everybody has something to give. And we have to make it possible for everyone to give his or her best.

One of my proudest accomplishments as President is the people I have appointed to serve in this administration. If you look at the top positions in the White House and the Cabinet today, you will see the most able, talented group ever assembled. These appointees also happen to make up the most diverse administration in the history of our republic.

If you look at our nominations to the federal bench, you will see that a higher percentage of them have been rated "well qualified" by the American Bar Association than in any previous administration since these rankings have been made. A majority of those appointees are people color and women -- not a minority, but a majority, for the first time ever.

None of these people were chosen because they were African American or Hispanic or Asian American or American Indian, or because they were women. They were selected because they were the best qualified for the job. And they are proof that the American Dream is still alive and within reach of those who choose to pursue it.

Still, we can't ignore the burdens and barriers that prevent too many of our people from moving forward in their lives still today. It is our job to renew the American Dream. I sought the presidency because I was worried that our country was going in the wrong direction. The deficit was going up, the economy was on the decline. Washington was placing heavier and heavier burdens on the backs of middle-class Americans and we were coming apart when we ought to be coming together.

I believed then and I believe now that our job in this time is to restore the economy, rebuild our sense of community, empower

individuals to take responsibility for their own lives and put government on the side of ordinary Americans. In just 18 months we've begun to renew that American Dream. Our economic strategy will produce the smallest federal bureaucracy in 30 years and three years in a row of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was President, while providing tax cuts for 15 million working American families and millions of small businesses.

What's been the result of this economic strategy? Well, the economy has created 3.8 million new jobs, inflation is the lowest in two decades. Just today we've seen more evidence that this strategy is working. Today's report shows that the Gross Domestic Product of the United States grew at a very impressive rate of 3.7 percent in the last quarter while inflation remained low.

And, more important, we're reaching out with greater energy and compassion to responsible working families too often have to struggle to make ends meet. Already in just a year and a half, through the increase of the earned income tax credit, 15 million working parents have been able to get lower income taxes to encourage them to stay in the work force and to be good parents without having to go on welfare.

We've made it easier for millions and millions of young people to get college loans by making those loans available with low interest rates and more flexible repayment schedules. We've established more job training and school-to-work apprenticeships to help young people who aren't going to college find and keep good jobs. We've sought tax incentives and grant money to stimulate economies in needy areas, through things like our empowerment zones and enterprise communities and new community development banks, the reform of the Community Reinvestment Act and making low income housing credits permanent.

Some of these achievements, to be sure, have come easier than others. But I knew when I asked for this job that progress would not always be easy and that we'd have to fight for the kind of change that we need. Very often it takes years to get things done -- the Brady Bill, seven years; the Family Leave Law, seven years; years for Motor Voter. But these things all work because these things together and the efforts we are making have brought us to a pivotal, exciting moment in our history.

If you just think about what's happened this week alone it's been remarkable for our nation -- on the verge of an historic victory in the toughest, largest, smartest federal attack on crime in the history of the United States; not only making peace in the Middle East, but trying to bring more peace to the families and children of America. Just think for a minute about what this crime bill means for all of us as citizens, for us as mothers and fathers, husbands and wives and children. Look at the cost of crime to our economy. Look at the cost

of crime to our sense of community and to the idea that we are an American family, to our sense of personal freedom; the cost of crime to our efforts to empower every individual, including too many young people who are growing up in terribly difficult circumstances.

Crime is holding too many of us back from reaching the American Dream, smothering families, making people afraid of their neighbors, interfering with our children's education, robbing us of our literal sense of personal freedom. No matter what other goals we seek for ourselves and our families and our children and for our country, we simply have to be able to live together with a shared respect for law and order and civility.

The most important thing about this crime bill is that it creates a whole new way of thinking about how to deal with crime, one that doesn't pit one group of Americans against another. It doesn't ask us to make a false choice between tough punishment and strong prevention. It calls for a sensible balance between the two. It doesn't ask us to make a false choice between going after criminals and going after guns. It recognizes that those sorts of debates divided us for too long while more and more children were dying on our streets.

The crime bill strengthens the police, our system of punishment and our means of prevention. It will put 100,000 more police on our streets -- a 20-percent increase in the number of police officers patrolling our neighborhoods. More police trained and properly deployed means lower crime and prevention. The bill includes a ban on assault-style weapons -- something few people ever dreamed would be accomplished. It includes a ban on ownership of handguns by minors. It will send a strong message to criminals that behavior that is criminal and repeated will not be tolerated, and that punishment will be tough and swift. And it will invest \$9 billion in crime prevention over the next six years -- something that law enforcement officers in every state and city asked us to do so that we could give young people more safe places to go, more positive role models, more opportunities to fulfill themselves in healthy constructive ways. And we have a program to make our schools safe so that our children can learn again in the absence of fear.

For six years, this crime bill was debated over and over again. Why is it about to succeed? Because after intense argument and disagreement, a majority of people were able to find common ground. They were able to put people over politics. Now, I want Congress to put this bill on my desk within two weeks so that I can sign it before our children go back to school.

Now, if you think six years was long enough to wait for a crime bill, then surely we can all agree that 60 years is far too long to wait before all Americans are guaranteed health security that can never be

We also know what doesn't work. We have seen in state after state that if you have insurance reforms that sound very good without expanding to universal coverage, what is usually going to happen is that the cost of insurance goes up and then people's options for health care, or even the number of people with health insurance, go down. But we also know, from looking at the example of Hawaii, that a private system of universal coverage in which employers and employees share responsibility for paying for private insurance premiums will not only control costs, but will also lead to greater coverage and a healthier population.

We know it can be done. After all, in Hawaii, nearly everything is more expensive than any place else in the United States, but health care premiums for small business are 30 percent cheaper. Now, after 60 years of waiting, after 14 years in which costs have been going up dramatically, after a decade in which more and more Americans are losing coverage instead of getting coverage, and most of those who lose their insurance are working people, it's time to say to every American, if you change jobs, if you get sick, if you're laid off, if your child has a serious illness, you will always be able to afford health care as a citizen of the richest nation on Earth.

Tomorrow I'm going to Independence, Missouri, to Harry Truman's hometown, to talk about health care. Harry Truman was a man of great decency, common sense and courage who believed that America would be much stronger if every American had health security. He was right. And he fought hard for it, though he didn't succeed. And because he was right, president after president, presidents of both parties have fought for that goal. Well, now it's up to us to fulfill their vision, and once again to renew the American Dream. It's time to build on our economic progress, build on the success of the crime bill, build on the progress we're making toward world peace and take this next critical step by passing real, substantive health care reform.

That is the challenge our generation faces today. And it is our great opportunity. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Q Thank you so much, Mr. President. We appreciate the fact that you've agreed to answer at least four questions, and we hope more, from our association presidents. And it's important that we get all four questions in. So very quickly, I'll move to the first person who will ask a question.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. In view of your recent White House meeting with tribal leaders, in which you affirmed the government-to-government relationship, and in view of the recent introduction of legislation which would further regulate Indian gaming, would you sign it into law, over the objection of these 250 tribes who have voiced their opposition to that, over objection of the tribes? And considering that this is a minimum federal standard gaming law, don't you think it

ought to apply to gaming across the country?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm not familiar with all the details of the gaming law. Let me say this. I have worked hard with Secretary Babbitt to work with the Native American tribes throughout the country -- (gap in satellite feed) --

Have you lost my sound?

Q Yes, we did. Can you continue? We can hear you now, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, let's try again.

I said I'm not familiar with the details of the legislation. I can tell you that for the last 18 months, Secretary Babbitt, on my behalf, has worked hard to try to work through the Indian gaming issue, to be supportive of the tribes, to protect and promote their legitimate rights; and also to urge that the income from gaming be used to diversify the economic activities of the tribes and to strengthen economic possibilities for Native Americans over the long run.

So I'm going to do my best to do that. As you know, there are a lot of thorny controversies between the states. A lot of states feel pressure to expand gaming beyond the reach of the Native American groups, and this has been a very difficult issue. But I think that our administration has worked very closely with the tribes. And I think we have shown our good faith in trying to protect these activities. We will continue to do so.

I am not familiar with the specifics of the law, so I can't comment on that. I'm sorry.

Q I read this question on behalf of my colleague who is at the Los Angeles Times. The question is, how do you think the lack of diversity in the Washington press corps affects coverage of a multiethnic America? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure that I can answer that question. And I am fairly sure that if I do, my answer will be blown all out of proportion to anything else I say today. But let me say that I believe that all of us in positions of responsibility with influence should strive make our decisions through a process that involves all the American people, their insights, their understanding, their experience and it takes advantage of their talents. That's why I've worked so hard to have the most diverse administration in American history. And I believe we have proved beyond question that you can diversity and excellence. That's another one of those false choices people are always trying to put on the American people.

So if it is true for the United States government, it ought to be true for the American press as well. I don't think I should say more than that but I think that ought to be enough to say. (Applause.)

Q Greetings, Mr. President, from the Latino journalists in this country. The question is, if the health care reform package is not going to include undocumented workers, then how will we accomplish vaccinating all the children in the United States? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Undocumented workers would not receive under our plan a health security card unless they had jobs anyway so they got it because they were in the workplace. But under our plan we have a significant expansion in funds for public health units which are open to all people today and where a lot of the vaccinations, for example, are done today.

In my state over 80 percent of our children, including even upper middle-class children, are vaccinated through the public health units. So what we attempted to do to deal with this clear and present problem in the United States is to have a substantial increase in funding for public health and to do outreach so that we can vaccinate all the children and give basic health services to the children who are within the United States.

Q Good afternoon, Mr. President. Your administration's priority list has included health care reform, welfare reform and developments on governments in the former Soviet Union. But nowhere on your agenda is there a direct response to confronting the issue of racism in America. Will your administration take any action to change this situation? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, let me say that I don't agree with the characterization there. If you look at the work that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has done, it's been more active than any civil rights division in a generation under the leadership of Duval Patrick. Look at the Denny's settlement. Look at a lot of the other issues in which they have been involved.

If you look at the work that Henry Cisneros did in highlighting and directly confronting the problems in Vidor, Texas, in public housing; if you look at the work that we have done in trying to involve at the grass-roots level community groups of minorities in things like developing the empowerment zone concepts, the community development banks, I think it is plain that this is an administration that is committed to stamping out racism, both in a negative sense by standing up to it and in a positive sense by working to bring people together to overcome it.

If you can think of anything else I can and should do, I would be glad to have your recommendations and your suggestions. But the idea of stamping out racism in my view permeates everything I do. When I try to give kids a better life, a safer street, a better future, and I keep telling the American people we don't have anyone to waste, we've got to have everybody in here together -- one of the earlier questions referred to how the administration -- or what my opinion was about the way things were covered given the makeup of the press. I have been repeatedly criticized by various sources in this town for trying to be more diverse and try to reach out and to achieve greater diversity, although no one has ever said that we couldn't have excellence and diversity at the same time.

So I am trying to build the fight against racism into everything we do, both in a positive and negative sense. But I will say again, if anybody there -- not just you, Dorothy, but anybody has any other suggestions about what I can do, I would be happy to hear them, and I will do my best to respond.

Q If Congress passes a bill that fails to include some mechanism for universal coverage, will you sign it or veto it -- yes or no?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I have said is that we have to achieve universal coverage. The fight now is over how best to do it. And what I have to tell you is there is a big argument about whether it can be achieved in any way other than the way I have proposed. I will not sign a bill that I think makes a false promise to the people of the United States. We have got to sign a bill that achieves full coverage for the American people. If you don't do it, you can't contain costs, you can't give the breaks that small business needs over the long run. You can't achieve these things.

So, yes, if Congress passes a bill that is different from the one I originally proposed, would I veto it? It depends on whether it achieves full coverage. If it is a credible attempt to do that, then I'm open to it. But it must be a credible, credible bill to do that.

And that's the only thing I ask all of you to focus on now. Instead of letting the political rhetoric control this debate on health care, let us ask simply what will work.

The other day -- let me just give you this in closing because this is very important, and if I don't achieve anything else today in this conversation that I've had with you, which I've enjoyed immensely, if I can achieve this -- agreement with you on this, it would be something profound to me. This is a very complicated issue, health care. I have studied it for years and years. But the more complex it gets, the more you understand that in the end it comes down to some

simple choices. In every nation that has covered everybody quality health care can be provided at lower costs than in the United States, the only nation that doesn't cover everybody.

So what I ask us all to do, as others come forward with their ideas and bend over backwards to avoid what I think we should do, which is to require all employers and employees to take responsibility through private insurance, let us ask: Will it work? We are going in the wrong direction; we are losing coverage and exploding cost. I am not going to sign a bill that I think perpetrates these problems on the American people.

If someone else can figure out how to get universal coverage in a different way than I have achieved it, I would be open to that. I have not seen it yet. That's why the American Medical Association, the National Medical Association, the American Nurses Association, other physicians' groups, and huge numbers of businesses and consumer groups have endorsed our approach.

So that's what we ought to be doing. We shouldn't be trying to get ourselves into word games now about what mechanism is appropriate. The only test is what works. And I know my plan will work if we share responsibility and cover everybody.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END1:48 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Independence, Missouri)

For Immediate Release

July 30, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT HEALTH SECURITY EXPRESS NATIONAL KICK-OFF

Truman Courthouse
Independence Square
Independence, Missouri

1:40 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Governor Carnahan. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, and Tipper and Hillary. And, ladies and gentlemen, thank you all for coming. And let me especially thank those two fine women -- mother and daughter -- that stood up here and spoke for the nearly 40 million Americans who deserve health care. (Applause.)

I have to tell you, a lot of things have been said here today -- maybe everything that needs to be said has been said. But I would like to offer one mildly dissenting view. I believe that most of the people here who disagree with me today about national health reform do admire Harry Truman. They probably think he ought to be on Mt. Rushmore. And it must be surprising to them to know that they had the same arguments that are being made against us made against him 50 years ago. That is always the case when you try to change things, and why it's so important to use the presidency to fight to help the ordinary American to live a better life. (Applause.)

You've already heard it. You've heard it in what the other people have said. Harry Truman had to say, no, this is not socialized medicine, this is private insurance; no, this is not a government takeover, we're preserving the choice and the private medical system; no, we're not going to waste more money covering everybody, we'll actually save money.

And what did they say? Harry Truman's a radical liberal. He's for socialized medicine. He's for big government. He's going to take this country down.

Well, the truth is Harry Truman had Independence, Missouri values. He had this old-fashioned notion that we value work and family and faith. And people who work hard and play by the rules ought to help one another when they need it, ought to join together to help themselves and to help their children have a better life.

And that is really what is at stake here. All this screaming and yelling, what's really hurting America today is that we're shouting too much and listening too little and speaking in respectful tone too little. (Applause.)

Two years ago, on Labor Day when we all came here to kick-off our general election campaign, what a wet day it was. Do you remember how wet it was? And we stood here in the rain because we believed we were on a mission to restore the American Dream. We were tired of the screaming, yelling, anti-government crowd that told us one thing and did another; that exploded the deficit, reduced investment in the American people, drove our economy into the ground. We were tired of seeing our country come apart and be divided by this rhetoric of hatred and division

MORE

when we need to be coming together, to pull together for the 21st century. (Applause.)

And we knew that at the end of the Cold War we had a great test before us: Would we move into the next century with confidence, hope, united, so that we can compete and win, and every one of our children can live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities; or would we give into the same old dark fears and divisions that have been dredged up over and over and over again in this country's history?

My fellow Americans, that is the real truth of what your President, Harry Truman, had to face. At the end of World War II, when he was the victor in the war, 80 percent of the people thought he was just great. But then a new world had to be created. And the question was would the President just tell people what they wanted to hear, or would he set about creating that new world?

And what did we get? The G.I. Bill, a way to educate our families; a way to build houses; a way to build the middle class, bringing down the deficit; stabilizing the economy; rebuilding Europe with the Marshall Plan; rebuilding Japan; standing up against Soviet expansionism so we could eventually win the Cold War. That's what he did. And every step along the way the American people were subject to the most vicious and brutal attacks. Why? Because when people leave one era, when everybody can look at the future through the same set of glasses, and they have to pick up another set of glasses to figure out how to understand things, we are always vulnerable.

You think about your own life. Every time you've been asked to change you may have a mixture of hope and fear. And the real test every time is are your fears going to overtake you and are you going to give in, or are you going to live by your hopes and your courage and charge forward and grow and become better? That is the test for the United States today. (Applause.)

This health care fight is far from the first one in which we have been engaged. When I became President I told the American people I was tired of hearing people say they were conservative and they hated government and they didn't like the deficit, and presiding over the biggest deficits in history, and I would do something about it. (Applause.) And we passed, against the solid opposition of every member of the other party in the United States Congress, an economic program. And what did it do -- \$255 billion worth of spending cuts; tax cuts for 15 million working Americans, including 295,000 Missouri families; a tax increase for the wealthiest 1.5 percent of our people; a reduction in the federal work force, something the conservatives say they want -- a reduction in the federal work force of 250,000.

And what did we produce? Three years of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman was the President of the United States. (Applause.) And 3.8 million new jobs, more than in the previous four years put together by far. (Applause.) And a 1.5-percent drop in the unemployment rate, and the largest number of new business starts since World War II.

They said we would wreck the economy. Instead we brought it back, because we wouldn't give into this hatred and rhetoric of division and destruction, and we moved forward. (Applause.)

And then we moved on to try to make sure all of you could compete and win in this global economy, expanding trade against opposition; providing for lifetime training, more for Head Start; world-class standards for our public schools for the first time; apprenticeship programs for our young people who do not go to four-year colleges, but need more training; and a

reduction in interest rates and better repayment terms for student loans, so that 20 million Americans are immediately eligible for lower interest on their student loans. (Applause.)

My fellow Americans, this is not about hot air and hot signs. This is about what we talked about here in the rain, what Al Gore and I wrote about in Putting People First, and most of all, it's about what counts in your life as you move forward with your families and your hopes. And we are going to continue doing that.

Just look at the last week in America. What a great week America had. Harry Truman recognized the State of Israel. Now, with our strong help, Israel and Jordan have agreed to end the state of war between them and to work for peace and to make us more secure. (Applause.)

Harry Truman set up a system that enabled us to win the Cold War. Now, after the Cold War, after much hard work by the United States, Russia has announced that by the end of August, for the first time since Harry Truman was President, there will be no Russian soldiers in Central and Eastern Europe, making the world more secure. (Applause.)

After six years of tough talk and anti-crime rhetoric by previous administrations, at long last -- at long last, this week the House and the Senate agreed to send the toughest, smartest, crime bill in the history of the United States to a vote on the floor of the United States Congress this coming week. (Applause.)

And, as has been said, your Majority Leader Dick Gephardt and the Speaker of the House have, for the first time in American history, voted out a bill to the floor of the Congress that would provide for affordable health care for all of the American people. It has been a good week for the United States. (Applause.)

But the only way we can go forward is if we go beyond the slogans to the facts; go beyond all the posturing to the people. Look at this crime bill, folks. Children are five times more likely to be the victims of violent crime. Violent crime has gone up by 300 percent in the last 30 years, the police forces by only 10 percent. This crime bill will add 100,000 police to our streets. It will make three strikes and you're out the law of the land. It will take the assault weapons out of the hands of the gangs that make them better armed than the police forces. It will make handgun possession and ownership by juveniles illegal unless they're under the supervision of an adult. It will make our schools safer. And it ought to pass next week, not because of all the rhetoric against it, but because our families deserve a better, and a safer, and a more secure future. (Applause.)

But if we had to wait six long years for a crime bill, isn't 60 years way too long to wait for all the American people to have health care security? That's how long we've been waiting. President Roosevelt wanted it. President Truman proposed it three times. Seven presidents of both parties have tried to achieve it.

Let me ask you something -- and I want you to listen to this; it's so ironic -- what is the real big fight here? The big fight is whether employers and employees should be asked to purchase private health insurance, and whether the government saying to the American people "you must purchase private health insurance" is either socialized medicine, somehow unethical or bad for the economy. That's what all this boils down to, whether it would be better to keep on doing what we're doing.

Well, let me ask you to consider this. Number one, in 1971, President Richard Nixon and the ranking member of the

Senate Finance Committee today, the Republican Senator from Oregon, Bob Packwood, proposed that all employers pay for half of the health insurance costs of all their employees, and that we do it. If it was such a hot idea in 1971, why are the members of the other party running against it today as if it had the plague? It was a good idea then, and it's a good idea today. (Applause.)

As you know, I just returned from Germany where I saw the flags of the Berlin Brigade cased because they're coming home, having won the Cold War. And I met with hundreds and hundreds of our Armed Services family. All of them have health care in the military. And do you know, the only thing they wanted to talk to me about was health care. "Mr. President," they said, "When we come home to serve our country out of uniform we want to know that our children are going to be covered by medical insurance. I hope you can pass health care this year." (Applause.)

It would be different, my fellow Americans, if we didn't have personal experience. Look at the State of Hawaii. In Hawaii everything is more expensive than it is here on the American mainland, except one thing: health care. Because for 20 years in Hawaii, employers and employees have been required to purchase health insurance so that everybody is covered. And guess what? Small business insurance premiums are 30 percent lower, \$400 a year lower for small business people in Hawaii than they are in the United States on the average. We know this works; why are we running away from it? Why don't we run toward it and embrace it and take care of people like that fine young woman that spoke to you here today? (Applause.)

And what happens when we try these half measures? Insurance rates go up and coverage goes down. Do you know that one of the things I just wish -- it's not much I wish for from those who shout and scream, instead of talk and listen and exchange, but I do wish they had some burden to prove that what they're for works.

This is the only country in the world with an advanced economy where we're going backward in health care. Ten years ago 88 percent of our people were covered; today 83 percent of our people are covered. Five years ago there were five million Americans who had health insurance then who don't have it today. Five million Americans have lost their health insurance for good just in the last five years, and over 80 percent of them are middle-class working people. This is a broken system and we ought to fix it without delay. (Applause.)

Folks, 60 years ago this fight started. Fifty years ago Truman tried it threetimes and failed. Twenty-nine years ago, halfway between the beginning and now, President Johnson came to this city to sign Medicare into law and to give Harry and Bess Truman Medicare cards one and two. I'll bet there are a lot of people in this audience whose parents have been helped by Medicare. (Applause.) I bet there are a lot of people in this audience whose family budgets would have been severely strained if it hadn't been for Medicare.

If you have ever dealt with Medicare you know that it's the furthest thing in the world from socialized medicine. Senior citizens pick their doctors and the doctors make the decision. And yet, the arguments we're hearing today against this plan are the same arguments the same crowd made against Medicare 29 years ago, just like they did against Harry Truman 50 years ago and FDR 60 years ago.

Let's do better. Let's finish Harry Truman's fight. We're halfway home and we can go all the way. (Applause.) And let me say this. I want to be as good as my word to say we should talk about people, not slogans. In this beloved state of yours there are 700,000 Missourians without health care. There are 175,000 children without health care. But there are millions

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It would be different, my fellow Americans, if we didn't have personal experience. Look at the State of Hawaii. In Hawaii everything is more expensive than it is here on the American mainland, except one thing: health care. Because for 20 years in Hawaii, employers and employees have been required to purchase health insurance so that everybody is covered. And guess what? Small business insurance premiums are 30 percent lower, \$400 a year lower for small business people in Hawaii than they are in the United States on the average. We know this works; why are we running away from it? Why don't we run toward it and embrace it and take care of people like that fine young women that spoke to you here today? (Applause.)

And what happens when we try these half measures? Insurance rates go up and coverage goes down. Do you know that one of the things I just wish -- it's not much I wish for from those who shout and scream, instead of talk and listen and exchange, but I do wish they had some burden to prove that what they're for works.

This is the only country in the world with an advanced economy where we're going backward in health care. Ten years ago 88 percent of our people were covered; today 83 percent of our people are covered. Five years ago there were five million Americans who had health insurance then who don't have it today. Five million Americans have lost their health insurance for good just in the last five years, and over 80 percent of them are middle-class working people. This is a broken system and we ought to fix it without delay. (Applause.)

Folks, 60 years ago this fight started. Fifty years ago Truman tried it three times and failed. Twenty-nine years ago, halfway between the beginning and now, President Johnson came to this city to sign Medicare into law and to give Harry and Bess Truman Medicare cards one and two. I'll bet there are a lot of people in this audience whose parents have been helped by Medicare. (Applause.) I bet there are a lot of people in this audience whose family budgets would have been severely strained if it hadn't been for Medicare.

If you have ever dealt with Medicare you know that it's the furthest thing in the world from socialized medicine. Senior citizens pick their doctors and the doctors make the decision. And yet, the arguments we're hearing today against this plan are the same arguments the same crowd made against Medicare 29 years ago, just like they did against Harry Truman 50 years ago and FDR 60 years ago.

Let's do better. Let's finish Harry Truman's fight. We're halfway home and we can go all the way. (Applause.) And let me say this. I want to be as good as my word to say we should talk about people, not slogans. In this beloved state of yours there are 700,000 Missourians without health care. There are 175,000 children without health care. But there are millions

who could lose their health care. They're an injury, a sickness, a job loss, a job change away from losing it. I believe we can do better.

I was raised in a home with a mother who was widowed when I was born. Who left me with my grandparents to learn to be a nurse. (Applause.) I grew up around hospitals and I buried my mother earlier this year, after a long and brave battle with cancer for which, thank God, she received magnificent care because she had health insurance. How can we in good conscience say, when we know every other country's done it -- when we know Hawaii has done it and saved money doing it and made people more healthy -- how can we say America is not up to it? How can we give in to those who would play to our fear and our fears of the future instead of going forward? Harry Truman would say the buck stops here, the buck stops in Congress and the buck stops with you.

Let's push it over the finish line this year.
(Applause.)

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

END

1:58 P.M. CDT