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C-SPAN'S IN-DEPTH 30 MINUTE INTERVIEW WITH GOV. BILL CLINTON (D-AR)

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C-SPAN

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BRIAN LAMB: Governor Clinton, for this discussion, let's assume you win November the third. You've talked about the first hundred days. What do you do right after you win?

GOV. CLINTON: Right after I win, we'll begin announcing key cabinet and staff positions. And then we'll have two hard months to work to turn the plan into legislation, to present a 100-day legislative plan to Congress that will put the American people first again by investing in jobs and education, and controlling health care costs and providing a basic package of health care to all Americans.

Lots of other things I want to do, but those three will determine our ability to revitalize the American economy -- to restore growth and opportunity, and reward for work.

LAMB: I know this sounds like a small thing now, but you know what happens the minute the campaign's over. If you win, they want to know who your chief of staff's going to be, who your cabinet's going to be. I assume you won't say who it is, but what kind of a White House government will you set up around you?

GOV. CLINTON: I want people first of all who are in and of themselves committed to excellence, and to problem-solving. People who are smart, hard-working, reliable. People

who don't let their egos get in the way, who believe in team work and partnership. You look at all the great enterprises in the world today, they are characterized by aggressive devotion to vision, to specific goals, and to working in teams, in partnerships to bring in the strength of everybody. I want a cabinet and a staff that look like America, a cabinet and staff that are diverse racially and ethnically; that have both men, women there; that have people from very different walks of life and different experiences. But I want all of them to be hardheaded, practical problem-solvers. I want a combination of idealism and pragmatism, so that we can go to work immediately in a team to change the direction of the country.

LAMB: You know that there's reams of copy written, and lots of attention, to who the chief of staff is, and how he or she operates inside the White House. You got any plan to avoid all the time that's spent on that, and whether or not your cabinet has access directly to you, or has to go through the chief of staff, and all those things?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I like to run a government where the key people know that they have direct access -- in my case to the governor -- and in this case to the president. The chief of staff normally is someone that very often other staffers and the cabinet would prefer to see if they are just trying to facilitate

a decision that is -- has already been made in a regular cabinet meeting, in a regular senior staff meeting.

President Kennedy operated the White House with himself and his chief of staff as sort of the hub of a great wheel, where others had access. I think that's an interesting model. I think a president needs to give certain people direct access. I think the vice-president, for example, should have walk-in access to the president.

LAMB: Ever thought of him being your chief of staff?

GOV. CLINTON: I haven't given any thought to that because I want him to be able to spend a significant amount of time pushing our program on the Hill, breaking the logjam in Congress, not just breaking ties in the Senate. And it would be difficult to do that and to run the day-to-day staff operations at the same time.

LAMB: "Change" is something we hear from you throughout the campaign so far. If you're elected, the American people expect change quickly. How do you guarantee that you can get quick change that will get to the people immediately?

GOV. CLINTON: I think we can guarantee quick action. I think the Congress will move. We're going to have a lot of new members of Congress. The ones who survive will have to make clear commitments to their people to vote for change. I think

that the direction of the change will be ratified in this election. We want to put people first, make them more important than politics. I favor investment over consumption -- do what it takes to be competitive in a global economy. I think that is clear.

We didn't get into this business overnight, and we're not going to get out of it overnight. I have made it clear to the American people that when, over 12 years, you fall from first to 13th in the world in wages, it takes some time to catch up. When you quadruple your deficit over 12 years, it takes some time to whittle it down.

The question is: Are we going in the right direction? Today we are going in the wrong direction. We're going to be going in the right direction in a Clinton-Gore Administration.

LAMB: In your acceptance speech in New York you said the following, "I will cut 100,000 bureaucrats and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets." The three million people, 3.1 million people who work for the government -- that's civilians -- there are 1.8 million military. Why did you pick 100,000? And how are you going to do that? Are you going to fire them?

GOV. CLINTON: No. We picked 100,000 because we thought that was ... first of all, 'cause that saves a lot of

money over four years. And, secondly, because America has more federal employees as a percentage of our population than our European and Asian competitors, even though we have this vast state and local government setup in this country.

There are 600,000 employees in the federal establishment who turn over every year. So we are going to replace those employees by attrition. I am not in any way trying to declare war on the good people who work for the federal government and serve their country.

The best companies in this country aren't in the habit of firing people. What they do is to restructure their operation with either early retirement or with attrition, and that's what we're going to do in the federal government.

LAMB: Why did you pick 100,000? Why not 200,000?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, because 100,000 was the number we thought we could achieve quickly, and with a minimum amount of dislocation. I would like it if we could do more. And I think we probably will be able to.

LAMB: Do you endorse the platform? The Democratic Party platform?

GOV. CLINTON: I do.

LAMB: Uh. Some language from it. "We call for a revolution in government to take power away from entrenched

bureaucracies and narrow interests in Washington, and put it back in the hands of ordinary people." How are you going to do that?

GOV. CLINTON: We're going to change the election process and change some of the rules on lobbying the Congress. We want to reduce the amount of contribution a political action committee can give from $5,000 to $1,000 -- no more than a person can give.

We want to limit the cost of congressional campaigns. We want to require open airwaves -- television and radio stations with federal licenses should provide some time for either one-on-one interviews or honest debates, so that TV can become an instrument of education, not just a weapon of assassination.

We want to require people who testify before congressional committees and subcommittees to disclose that they've given contributions to the committees before whom they testify. We want to limit the revolving door between government and lobbyists, so that people have to wait a considerable time before they can leave government and go lobby the people they were working with before. All these things will help.

And we want to give a program for tax fairness, and for changed priorities to this government. I mean, the health care issue is going to be the toughest of all because we're spending 30 percent more on health care than any other country, and

getting less for it; because we're putting more money into administrative costs, clerical workers, governmental regulation and insurance cost. We've got to challenge and change that.

We're spending more money every year for drugs than our competitors are in other countries, even though a lot of those drugs are made in this country. We have to change that.

We are doing a lot of things that we should not be doing in the health care area that don't have anything to do with keeping us healthy. We are going to go after that, and it's going to take a lot of courage on the part of Congress to go with us. But that's what I hope this campaign will produce.

LAMB: By the way, earlier, when we were talking about the cabinet you said you wanted the cabinet to reflect the American people, does that mean that the cabinet would be 50 percent women? Or 53 percent women? You can't ...

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I wouldn't say, I don't like to get into quotas. I'm opposed to advance quota commitments. But I believe that my Administration will probably be the most diverse one ever to serve the American people. That's been the case at home. I've given women a lot of opportunities. I've given minorities a lot of opportunities. It has been very popular what I have done with the white population or with the male population, because the people who have served have been

people of real excellence and real commitment to serving all of the public.

And with the American people as polarized as they are today, the president has a real obligation to bring the people back together. And one way to do that is to hold up people of various racial and ethnic backgrounds of both genders who are really committed to excellence and to unifying the American people. So this will be a big deal for me.

But I don't want to get into quotas. I think that's a mistake.

LAMB: One facet of the federal government that doesn't get much attention in a campaign are the federal regulatory agencies. But once you're elected president, you have 16 independent regulatory agencies. They all need a chairman. That's where your power comes in. What kind of a person are you going to put in those jobs? What I mean by that -- a market-driven kind of an individual who thinks that the marketplace ought to decide? Or government regulation is the way to keep prices fair and equitable for the American people?

GOV. CLINTON: By and large I want to put people in who believe in the purposes for which these agencies were established. That is, who are committed to protect consumers or the public health, the environment, but who also appreciate the

fact that in a vital, free market system what works best is not so much the heavy-handed regulation, but incentives which create the right kinds of markets to do the right kinds of things you want.

I think you can have market incentives which give business enormous impulses to do the right thing about the environment. And I feel the same way in other areas.

Now, there are some areas where you just have to have some regulation. You've got to have, for example, good accounting procedures and oversight procedures. And, banks in this country, and financial institutions, where the government, the taxpayers insure the deposits. What happened in the S&L area is a classic example of what you don't want to do. We had government regulation in the S&Ls in a sense that we guaranteed all those deposits. But we deregulated their behavior. We had no requirements for proper training. We didn't have the same accounting requirements we did for the banks. We didn't have the same oversight requirements we did for the banks. And so the thing just went to pieces because they had the deposits guaranteed and they could do whatever they wanted to do with the money. It was a disaster and you can't have that occurring.

But by and large I am not a big fan of government bureaucracy. I think the more that you can restructure the

health insurance system and the health care system for example, to let markets make the right choices, the better off you are.

LAMB: Let me ask about -- it may appear to be little things you don't talk about much in the campaign, but take the telephone business. A number of years ago they broke up the AT&T operation and you now have a number of long-distance telephone services. Does that work, do you think? Is that the kind of thing you would endorse?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I think it worked in a number of ways. It lowered the cost of long-distance service. And it allowed a lot of people to get in and compete, to try to keep costs down. Frankly, it's kind of a pain to people like me that hate to carry all those access numbers around in their head and make it more complicated than it used to be. And I am not sure that all Americans can fully take advantage of all their options, just 'cause they're not sure how the systems work.

But, by and large, I think it was successful because the basic pattern of residential service and keeping people with telephone service, with access to telephone service, and letting the states continue to regulate the prices charged for basic services to consumers and to small business people, that that was maintained. I think we kept some regulation and kept some balance in it. And what we gave up, it probably worked in that

case.

LAMB: Last that I know, there is no nonstop service from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Washington, D.C. on airlines. Should the government correct that? And what do you think overall about -- and I'm not just talking about Little Rock.

GOV. CLINTON: They're trying to create a market for it, you know. I've been trying to make a market-driven solution to a Little Rock airport problem.

LAMB: In general, do you think airline deregulation works?

GOV. CLINTON: I have mixed feelings about it. There is no question that we continue to see larger numbers of people fly on airplanes. And that's a good thing. We've seen radical fluctuations in airplane fares, based on market forces. And when they're down, and more people fly, as they will this summer, they will doubtless think that is a good thing.

My concern is that there are two or three problems that I think have been aggravated by the deregulation, that we need to look at. One is all these companies going out of business and people losing their jobs, who once carried a whole lot of people around in airplanes. The deregulation may be creating a situation where over the long run you will have higher prices and lower quality service. And a lot of good folks have lost their

jobs, and that needs to be reassessed. That bothers me.

Two, is airplane safety. There has been a lot of concern expressed that even though there are federal rules on this, that the companies are under such intense pressure to meet the competition that there may be some equipment in use a little longer than it ought to be, that the repair schedules may not be as vigorous as they should be, and all that I think, really, really needs to be examined.

The third issue is whether the short-line aircraft, short-haul aircraft, have really done what they were predicted to do in connecting medium and small sized cities with the big cities where the hubs are. The hubs basically have terrific airline service. But the cities that don't quite make the hubs, in the smaller areas, don't have access to the service they once had. And that's something I think we have to continue to review.

One of the things that I'd like to see done with some of the peace dividend is some real investment in the technology and the economics of short haul-air craft, because I think there is going to be an enormous future in that.

LAMB: If the airlines continue to consolidate, and it gets less and less competitive, would you endorse the idea of having foreign airlines fly service, competing with American airlines, say, from Washington, D.C. to Little Rock, and Little

Rock to Chicago. We've got British Air now owning 25 percent of USAir. But these airlines, like Lufthansa, Air France and Japan Airlines, don't fly between most cities in the United States, compete with American airlines.

GOV. CLINTON: It would depend upon whether our airline companies got fair treatment in other countries. I mean, I'm getting a little tired of opening American markets to countries that don't open their markets to us. I'm, you know, we buy a lot of European cars in America, and one-third of our car market is foreign cars. The European Community just adopted an arbitrary 16 percent limit on our cars. Now, maybe we couldn't sell so many American cars in Europe today, but we're moving in that direction. We're producing better cars, we're producing higher mileage cars. And, you know, I don't see why we should give their airlines access to our country and our businesses when we know that we could do the same thing by having more American airlines operating there again.

LAMB: You talk about having a complete restructuring of the roads and bridges and systems in the country. Should the taxpayer fund that? Or should the people using those roads fund it? Should there be tolls and user fees? Or should there be taxes?

GOV. CLINTON: I think a combination of both. The

people as a whole have a real vested interest in a modern infrastructure system. The Japanese, the Germans, and others, are moving way ahead of us in high-speed rail, modern highways which are very efficient in terms of energy usage and environmental investments like modern water and sewer systems or solid waste recycling operations. And we're going to have to catch up. There is a public interest in doing that. You should finance it with user fees as much as you can, practically. But you probably have to have some support from the taxpayers at large.

The user fee system has worked very well at the state and local level, with the gas tax, where they are not as unpopular. At the federal level, they are wildly unpopular because the American people have seen the money diverted to deficit reduction, and first one thing, then another. So I think you will see a balance of user fees, which would be the favored course; and some taxpayer support where the user fees aren't enough to do it.

For example, you just can't have every major highway be a toll road, because the economics won't support it. Aren't enough people driving on it to make the tolls pay off the cost of building the road.

LAMB: Should the American taxpayers spend more money

on public television?

GOV. CLINTON: Oh, I support public television. I don't know that we have to spend more money on it now, we have a pretty vital network of public television. And in the next few years we have to focus most of our increased investment on investment, on just that, on those things which will generate more wealth for the United States. If we can get the income growth of this country up, then you can have more revenues coming into the government, and everybody can get a little more. But in the beginning we've got to focus on increasing our capacity to generate jobs and incomes in America, because that's where the real problems are.

LAMB: How much should the Federal Trade Commission get involved -- and I'm getting around this by asking you what kind of person you would put at the head of it -- how much should they get involved in advertising on television and in the newspapers, and to control that -- and the regulation of that? Content. Label.

GOV. CLINTON: It depends on what the subject is, I think. I think the Federal Trade Commission has a charter which is broad, and designed to further the public interest. But we should be reluctant -- the presumption should be against interfering with advertising content, unless -- just on free

speech grounds -- unless there is something in the advertising which is clearly misleading, or damaging to the public health and welfare; in which case the presumption against intervening can be overcome. You just have to take it on a case by case basis.

LAMB: The other night on your appearance at WHAS in Louisville the "read my lips" thing came up. But before it came up I wanted to ask you whether or not there was anything you would say "read my lips" to. You kind of answered it the other night, but I'm getting at -- would you say "read my lips, we will never cut Social Security entitlements?"

GOV. CLINTON: I would say, "Read my lips, we will never undermine the sacred trust of the people who have paid Social Security and are entitled to get it." I do think, I can't promise that upper-income people who are getting more in Social Security benefits than they paid in taxes would never have to pay somewhat more for them. But I think the essential system of Social Security should be left intact.

I think those people who think that we ought to means-test Social Security -- that is, say, if your income is above -- I'm making this up but -- above $80,000 or $100,000 -- you just don't get Social Security checks any more. I think that's a mistake because those people paid into that fund, they paid a special tax dedicated to Social Security. And the thing that has

made Social Security work over the years is the notion that you pay into it you get back out. It's a generational obligation. And that's why one of the reasons I think it's been such a successful program.

So I think, you know, asking upper-income people to pay more of their fair share for the benefits they get from the government may be a fine thing to do, but you can't, you can't say to people, "We're going to make you pay into this trust fund for 20 or 30 years, and if during that time you wind up 30 -- in the 25th year of your career being a pretty affluent person and being in pretty good shape, that you don't get the benefits for all the money you paid in the trust," I just think that's wrong. And that would almost convert Social Security into a welfare program. And we've seen what happens to welfare programs. They don't keep up with inflation. People,they get weakened. And they don't have broad, popular support.

Social Security works. It's one of the things we've done that works.

Now, you can argue that this financing system's not exactly right; or that people who are upper-income people should pay more. But we cannot means-test Social Security.

And let me say one other thing: Middle class retirees who depend on that Social Security check and Medicaid or

Medicare, you know, are not all that well off. They've been hurt by the shrinking economy, too. And by exploding health care costs. So even though they get a cost of living in Social Security, the average retiree is now paying more of their out-of-pocket income for health care than they were in 1965 before Medicare came in.

So they are not the people who have caused the problems in America in the last 12 years. The people who have caused the problems in America are the people in government who have given special breaks to special interests, and basically will leave people at the upper-income levels paying their fair share of the cost of doing business in this country.

LAMB: Let me go back for a moment to the platform. This is the Democratic Party platform, and it starts out, "All branches of government must live by the laws the rest of us obey, determine their pay in an open manner that builds public trust, and eliminate special privileges." We talked about this a little bit earlier, but what about, how can you say that all branches of the government "must" when the executive branch can't control the legislative branch and the judiciary branch? Are you going to appoint people in all of your cases, if you're elected, to guarantee that this will happen?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, the implication of that,

Obviously, is that Congress has imposed a lot of laws on the business community in America that it doesn't live by. And we don't think that's right. I don't think that's right.

One of the things that I have been about, as you know, in the last five or six years, is trying to reform the Democratic party, as well as the American political system. And I have not always agreed with what the Democrats in Congress have done. I don't think midnight pay raises are right. If you're going to raise your pay, it ought to be done in broad daylight and there ought to be plenty of open debate about it. And I'm opposed to raising the pay of Congress any more until the pay of ordinary Americans starts to go up. And that hasn't happened in a long time.

I think that it's wrong for Congress to be able to, you know, put new requirements on American business as employers and then not follow that rule as employers themselves. They exempt themselves, historically, from all kinds of rules that private sector employers have to follow. And I think that one of the things that happens to people in government is they forget what it's like to be governed. They don't have any idea what it's like to be on the receiving end of a lot of these rules and regulations and requirements.

And as the governor of a fairly small state, that's had

some very tough economic times in the 1980s, I've spent lots and lots of time with business people, and I've got a much keener sense of what it's like to be on the receiving end of all this stuff than a lot of the folks do in Congress or in this Administration.

LAMB: Go back to what we were talking about earlier about the kind of people that would lead your Administration. With the ethics laws tight in some people's minds today, and you want to tighten them even more, how are you going to get good people to come run the Federal Communications Commission or be a cabinet officer when they're prevented from going back and making money off of that after it's over?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, there's lots of ways to make money without milking your relationship with the government. We have a vast private sector that is, has still a lot of opportunities for gifted people to make money in it, without using the relationship you have with the federal government.

Now, I think there is such a hunger for change in this country, there are so many people who are eager to get back into an America that works, that a lot of the finest and brightest and ablest people in this country will be willing to come forward and serve. I am depending on it.

And I'm going to get good people from all over. I want

to ask people that [illegible] Democrats, people that are change-oriented Republicans, people that supported Ross Perot. If I'm convinced somebody can make a contribution to solving the problems of this country, I'm going to give them a chance to do it.

LAMB: Can you give us any names of anybody you've thought about or talked about that you would like to run any part of your government?

GOV. CLINTON: No. I don't want to do that. I mean, I haven't talked to any of them about it. I've obviously given some thought to it. But let me tell you, I'm 100 days away from this election. And while we have a decent lead in the polls now, I've been way down in the polls. And I knew that our campaign was on the side of history. When I was way down in the polls I knew if I ever got the American people to listen, that we could win because we were on the side of history.

By the same token, I know that being up in the polls against an incumbent president who has said repeatedly he will do whatever it takes to win, who has proven a master of negative politics, whose campaign consultant said the other day, "The economy is so bad we are going to have to run an even meaner campaign" and who has the power and the advantage of the incumbency, doesn't guarantee that.

So I think it is presumptuous of me to be talking right now, at this early stage, about particular names. As this thing goes on, and after the Republican Convention, when we get some sense of the shape of this campaign, obviously I will think more and more about the kind of people that I want in; because I want to move in a hurry. I am going to want to have lightning speed in putting together the team that we need to govern America.

But I think it's premature right now to be talking about people.

LAMB: Wall Street Journal suggests that you -- using the Dukakis campaign of '88 as a model of how not to do something, and that you were involved in it back in '88. Is that true?

GOV. CLINTON: No, I wouldn't go that far. There were some good things about that campaign. After all, it got 48 percent of the vote outside the South, under very difficult circumstances. But I wanted to do two or three things that are consistent with who I am and what kind of public servant I've been, and what my values are, and what my interests are; and present Al Gore and Bill Clinton to the American people as we are, not as the Republican plastic surgeons would like the American people to believe we are.

So we didn't want to go down after the Convention, we

wanted to go out. We wanted to reach out to the heartland. That's why we got on those buses and high-tailed it across America. It's been a wonderful experience.

And I also -- I just don't believe in unilateral disarmament. I don't believe in letting all these Republican surrogate hatchet people bad-mouth you without responding. I mean, these people have produced the worst economic record since Herbert Hoover, for 50 years, I think, in terms of slow growth. And they think they should be given carte blanche to attack us.

And interestingly enough, the press even reacts to them. The press is so used to having the Republican hatchet-men and women control the public debate that every time some senator or congressman or governor throws off on me or Al Gore, they come running to us as if that's what the campaign's supposed to be about, Republicans attacking Democrats.

Well, I got news for them. This campaign's going to be about the problems of America, and the promise of America. And we're not going to let it be about their bad-mouthing. So that in order for it not to be about that, we have to have an aggressive attitude about it.

And I have an aggressive attitude.

LAMB: The debates. Are you going to do them?

GOV. CLINTON: Absolutely. When Mr. Perot was still in

the race, and they sent the proposal for three presidential debates and one vice-presidential debate to President Bush, to Mr. Perot and to me, I immediately accepted and said I would do more.

LAMB: Phil Donahue says he'd like to see you do again what you did with Jerry Brown with the president, just throw you in a room and let you talk without any moderator. Would you do that?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I'm open to any kinds of debates. I'm open to a lot of different kinds of things. And, you know, in the primary, when I got way ahead a lot of people said, "Why are you doing all of these debates?"

And I said, "I have nothing to hide." Now, I want to be involved in these discussions. And I don't know how many debates and public forums I did with my opponents, but a slew of them. I never ran from them. We did a bunch of them in New York. We did a bunch before New York. I did them after New York. I believe, I guess you can overdo it. But the American people are entitled to hear our ideas debated.

LAMB: What do you do when you're tired? How do you keep going?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, the people keep me going. And the sense of responsibility I have keeps me going.

[illegible], I can't tell you how much I have changed, even on this bus trip. I talked to my wife and to Al and to Tipper Gore about it. When you see these people coming out in huge numbers, with all their hopes built up again, we have an enormous responsibility not to get tired, to fight this thing through all way to the very end. Xthe

The American people want a change. They want their country back. And being tired is not an option. I mean, you've got to go to sleep at night, you've got to exercise in the morning, and you've got to watch what you eat -- I mean there's all these things that you have to do. I'm not Superman.

But I am very pumped up by the sense of responsibility that this moment in history imposes. I think the American people know this is a watershed election; that it's going to take some courage for them to vote, to change, to put the government in the hands of someone like me, who they just met about a year ago, and Senator Gore, a new generation of leaders, of people that want to be defined not by their ages but by their ideas. And we just can't get tired. We've got to fight it through.

LAMB: What are you doing to keep from getting hoarse again?

GOV. CLINTON: I take some medicine my doctor prescribed. I drink a lot of water. A ton of it. And I follow

certain speaking techniques I've been advised to follow. And it's working pretty well. Every now and then it will fade again. But by and large it's holding up.

LAMB: One of the agents said he can't believe how many hands you shake. A simple question, but how do you keep your hands frD¶ just falling off?

GOV. CLINTON: I nearly got my shoulders dislocated yesterday. Well, you know, I work out a little. I try to -- I run every day and then I try to work out in the gym at home when I'm home. And I'm going to try to do that a little more to get my hand strength up, because it is a problem. You get these 260-pound guys whose arms are as big around as my waist shakin' hands with you -- [LAUGHING] -- you wonder whether you're going to come back with your hand intact.

But I do think it's important for us to touch as many of the American people as we can. As long as they want to shake my hand, they show up, I try to work these crowds hard and give them a chance to literally see and feel‖⌡theenergy of this campaign; and to look me in the eye and to know that I am dead serious about changing this country, and about keeping faith with the commitments I'm making to them in this campaign.

LAMB: Last question: are you doing anything to protect yourself from promising something you can't deliver if

you're elected and you can start as general on January the 20th?

GOV. CLINTON: I've tried to do two things: first of all, before we put out my plan in New Hampshire, and then again before we put out the revised plan in June. I have spent hours and hours with people who are experts in these various areas, and I've had them spend other hours with others throughout the country, trying to make sure that we have a good chance of doing whatever we say we're going to do. Trying to make sure our numbers are right, that as a practical matter they can be achieved. I've really worked hard on that.

The other thing I have done at every turn in the road is to tell the American people: "Look, we didn't get into this mess overnight. We're not going to get out of it overnight. You've got to give me time, but I will move swiftly, aggressively, and we will change the direction in which we are moving. But don't expect miracles. Expect progress."

And I think those two things have set the stage for an aggressive and creative administration.

If you remember -- go back to Roosevelt -- he was elected in '32, then they had that magnificent hundred days in which so much was done. But it was actually into his second term before the real turnaround began to be evident. And yet, even in his first term, millions of Americans were physically affected by

what they did, by the work programs, and the sense of movement in the country.

So I think that the American people are pretty smart. They'll get it figured out. They'll know if I've been faithful to the direction that I set in the campaign, and if the country is moving in the right direction. And that's what they want. Folks don't expect miracles. What they want is progress.

LAMB: Thanks for your time. We hope maybe if you've got time you can come back and talk to our callers next time, wh2th is the best thing we do.

GOV. CLINTON: Yeah. I love it. You deserve a lot of credit for that. And look now, even the big networks are all copying C-SPAN.

LAMB: Thanks for your time.

GOV. CLINTON: Thanks.

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C-SPAN'S IN-DEPTH 30 MINUTE INTERVIEW WITH GOV. BILL CLINTON (D-AR)

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BRIAN LAMB: Governor Clinton, for this discussion, let's assume you win November the third. You've talked about the first hundred days. What do you do right after you win?

GOV. CLINTON: Right after I win, we'll begin announcing key cabinet and staff positions. And then we'll have two hard months to work to turn the plan into legislation, to present a 100-day legislative plan to Congress that will put the American people first again by investing in jobs and education, and controlling health care costs and providing a basic package of health care to all Americans.

Lots of other things I want to do, but those three will determine our ability to revitalize the American economy -- to restore growth and opportunity, and reward for work.

LAMB: I know this sounds like a small thing now, but you know what happens the minute the campaign's over. If you win, they want to know who your chief of staff's going to be, who your cabinet's going to be. I assume you won't say who it is, but what kind of a White House government will you set up around you?

GOV. CLINTON: I want people first of all who are in and of themselves committed to excellence, and to problem-solving. People who are smart, hard-working, reliable. People

who don't let their egos get in the way, who believe in team work and partnership. You look at all the great enterprises in the world today, they are characterized by aggressive devotion to vision, to specific goals, and to working in teams, in partnerships to bring in the strength of everybody. I want a cabinet and a staff that look like America, a cabinet and staff that are diverse racially and ethnically; that have both men, women there; that have people from very different walks of life and different experiences. But I want all of them to be hardheaded, practical problem-solvers. I want a combination of idealism and pragmatism, so that we can go to work immediately in a team to change the direction of the country.

LAMB: You know that there's reams of copy written, and lots of attention, to who the chief of staff is, and how he or she operates inside the White House. You got any plan to avoid all the time that's spent on that, and whether or not your cabinet has access directly to you, or has to go through the chief of staff, and all those things?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I like to run a government where the key people know that they have direct access -- in my case to the governor -- and in this case to the president. The chief of staff normally is someone that very often other staffers and the cabinet would prefer to see if they are just trying to facilitate

a decision that is -- has already been made in a regular cabinet meeting, in a regular senior staff meeting.

President Kennedy operated the White House with himself and his chief of staff as sort of the hub of a great wheel, where others had access. I think that's an interesting model. I think a president needs to give certain people direct access. I think the vice-president, for example, should have walk-in access to the president.

LAMB: Ever thought of him being your chief of staff?

GOV. CLINTON: I haven't given any thought to that because I want him to be able to spend a significant amount of time pushing our program on the Hill, breaking the logjam in Congress, not just breaking ties in the Senate. And it would be difficult to do that and to run the day-to-day staff operations at the same time.

LAMB: "Change" is something we hear from you throughout the campaign so far. If you're elected, the American people expect change quickly. How do you guarantee that you can get quick change that will get to the people immediately?

GOV. CLINTON: I think we can guarantee quick action. I think the Congress will move. We're going to have a lot of new members of Congress. The ones who survive will have to make clear commitments to their people to vote for change. I think

that the direction of the change will be ratified in this election. We want to put people first, make them more important than politics. I favor investment over consumption -- do what it takes to be competitive in a global economy. I think that is clear.

We didn't get into this business overnight, and we're not going to get out of it overnight. I have made it clear to the American people that when, over 12 years, you fall from first to 13th in the world in wages, it takes some time to catch up. When you quadruple your deficit over 12 years, it takes some time to whittle it down.

The question is: Are we going in the right direction? Today we are going in the wrong direction. We're going to be going in the right direction in a Clinton-Gore Administration.

LAMB: In your acceptance speech in New York you said the following, "I will cut 100,000 bureaucrats and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets." The three million people, 3.1 million people who work for the government -- that's civilians -- there are 1.8 million military. Why did you pick 100,000? And how are you going to do that? Are you going to fire them?

GOV. CLINTON: No. We picked 100,000 because we thought that was ... first of all, 'cause that saves a lot of

money over four years. And, secondly, because America has more federal employees as a percentage of our population than our European and Asian competitors, even though we have this vast state and local government setup in this country.

There are 600,000 employees in the federal establishment who turn over every year. So we are going to replace those employees by attrition. I am not in any way trying to declare war on the good people who work for the federal government and serve their country.

The best companies in this country aren't in the habit of firing people. What they do is to restructure their operation with either early retirement or with attrition, and that's what we're going to do in the federal government.

LAMB: Why did you pick 100,000? Why not 200,000?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, because 100,000 was the number we thought we could achieve quickly, and with a minimum amount of dislocation. I would like it if we could do more. And I think we probably will be able to.

LAMB: Do you endorse the platform? The Democratic Party platform?

GOV. CLINTON: I do.

LAMB: Uh. Some language from it. "We call for a revolution in government to take power away from entrenched

bureaucracies and narrow interests in Washington, and put it back in the hands of ordinary people." How are you going to do that?

GOV. CLINTON: We're going to change the election process and change some of the rules on lobbying the Congress. We want to reduce the amount of contribution a political action committee can give from $5,000 to $1,000 -- no more than a person can give.

We want to limit the cost of congressional campaigns. We want to require open airwaves -- television and radio stations with federal licenses should provide some time for either one-on-one interviews or honest debates, so that TV can become an instrument of education, not just a weapon of assassination.

We want to require people who testify before congressional committees and subcommittees to disclose that they've given contributions to the committees before whom they testify. We want to limit the revolving door between government and lobbyists, so that people have to wait a considerable time before they can leave government and go lobby the people they were working with before. All these things will help.

And we want to give a program for tax fairness, and for changed priorities to this government. I mean, the health care issue is going to be the toughest of all because we're spending 30 percent more on health care than any other country, and

getting less for it; because we're putting more money into administrative costs, clerical workers, governmental regulation and insurance cost. We've got to challenge and change that.

We're spending more money every year for drugs than our competitors are in other countries, even though a lot of those drugs are made in this country. We have to change that.

We are doing a lot of things that we should not be doing in the health care area that don't have anything to do with keeping us healthy. We are going to go after that, and it's going to take a lot of courage on the part of Congress to go with us. But that's what I hope this campaign will produce.

LAMB: By the way, earlier, when we were talking about the cabinet you said you wanted the cabinet to reflect the American people, does that mean that the cabinet would be 50 percent women? Or 53 percent women? You can't ...

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I wouldn't say, I don't like to get into quotas. I'm opposed to advance quota commitments. But I believe that my Administration will probably be the most diverse one ever to serve the American people. That's been the case at home. I've given women a lot of opportunities. I've given minorities a lot of opportunities. It has been very popular what I have done with the white population or with the male population, because the people who have served have been

people of real excellence and real commitment to serving all of the public.

And with the American people as polarized as they are today, the president has a real obligation to bring the people back together. And one way to do that is to hold up people of various racial and ethnic backgrounds of both genders who are really committed to excellence and to unifying the American people. So this will be a big deal for me.

But I don't want to get into quotas. I think that's a mistake.

LAMB: One facet of the federal government that doesn't get much attention in a campaign are the federal regulatory agencies. But once you're elected president, you have 16 independent regulatory agencies. They all need a chairman. That's where your power comes in. What kind of a person are you going to put in those jobs? What I mean by that -- a market-driven kind of an individual who thinks that the marketplace ought to decide? Or government regulation is the way to keep prices fair and equitable for the American people?

GOV. CLINTON: By and large I want to put people in who believe in the purposes for which these agencies were established. That is, who are committed to protect consumers or the public health, the environment, but who also appreciate the

fact that in a vital, free market system what works best is not so much the heavy-handed regulation, but incentives which create the right kinds of markets to do the right kinds of things you want.

I think you can have market incentives which give business enormous impulses to do the right thing about the environment. And I feel the same way in other areas.

Now, there are some areas where you just have to have some regulation. You've got to have, for example, good accounting procedures and oversight procedures. And, banks in this country, and financial institutions, where the government, the taxpayers insure the deposits. What happened in the S&L area is a classic example of what you don't want to do. We had government regulation in the S&Ls in a sense that we guaranteed all those deposits. But we deregulated their behavior. We had no requirements for proper training. We didn't have the same accounting requirements we did for the banks. We didn't have the same oversight requirements we did for the banks. And so the thing just went to pieces because they had the deposits guaranteed and they could do whatever they wanted to do with the money. It was a disaster and you can't have that occurring.

But by and large I am not a big fan of government bureaucracy. I think the more that you can restructure the

health insurance system and the health care system for example, to let markets make the right choices, the better off you are.

LAMB: Let me ask about -- it may appear to be little things you don't talk about much in the campaign, but take the telephone business. A number of years ago they broke up the AT&T operation and you now have a number of long-distance telephone services. Does that work, do you think? Is that the kind of thing you would endorse?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I think it worked in a number of ways. It lowered the cost of long-distance service. And it allowed a lot of people to get in and compete, to try to keep costs down. Frankly, it's kind of a pain to people like me that hate to carry all those access numbers around in their head and make it more complicated than it used to be. And I am not sure that all Americans can fully take advantage of all their options, just 'cause they're not sure how the systems work.

But, by and large, I think it was successful because the basic pattern of residential service and keeping people with telephone service, with access to telephone service, and letting the states continue to regulate the prices charged for basic services to consumers and to small business people, that that was maintained. I think we kept some regulation and kept some balance in it. And what we gave up, it probably worked in that

case.

LAMB: Last that I know, there is no nonstop service from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Washington, D.C. on airlines. Should the government correct that? And what do you think overall about -- and I'm not just talking about Little Rock.

GOV. CLINTON: They're trying to create a market for it, you know. I've been trying to make a market-driven solution to a Little Rock airport problem.

LAMB: In general, do you think airline deregulation works?

GOV. CLINTON: I have mixed feelings about it. There is no question that we continue to see larger numbers of people fly on airplanes. And that's a good thing. We've seen radical fluctuations in airplane fares, based on market forces. And when they're down, and more people fly, as they will this summer, they will doubtless think that is a good thing.

My concern is that there are two or three problems that I think have been aggravated by the deregulation, that we need to look at. One is all these companies going out of business and people losing their jobs, who once carried a whole lot of people around in airplanes. The deregulation may be creating a situation where over the long run you will have higher prices and lower quality service. And a lot of good folks have lost their

jobs, and that needs to be reassessed. That bothers me.

Two, is airplane safety. There has been a lot of concern expressed that even though there are federal rules on this, that the companies are under such intense pressure to meet the competition that there may be some equipment in use a little longer than it ought to be, that the repair schedules may not be as vigorous as they should be, and all that I think, really, really needs to be examined.

The third issue is whether the short-line aircraft, short-haul aircraft, have really done what they were predicted to do in connecting medium and small sized cities with the big cities where the hubs are. The hubs basically have terrific airline service. But the cities that don't quite make the hubs, in the smaller areas, don't have access to the service they once had. And that's something I think we have to continue to review.

One of the things that I'd like to see done with some of the peace dividend is some real investment in the technology and the economics of short haul-air craft, because I think there is going to be an enormous future in that.

LAMB: If the airlines continue to consolidate, and it gets less and less competitive, would you endorse the idea of having foreign airlines fly service, competing with American airlines, say, from Washington, D.C. to Little Rock, and Little

Rock to Chicago? We've got British Air now owning 25 percent of USAir. But these airlines, like Lufthansa, Air France and Japan Airlines, don't fly between most cities in the United States, compete with American airlines.

GOV. CLINTON: It would depend upon whether our airline companies got fair treatment in other countries. I mean, I'm getting a little tired of opening American markets to countries that don't open their markets to us. I'm, you know, we buy a lot of European cars in America, and one-third of our car market is foreign cars. The European Community just adopted an arbitrary 16 percent limit on our cars. Now, maybe we couldn't sell so many American cars in Europe today, but we're moving in that direction. We're producing better cars, we're producing higher mileage cars. And, you know, I don't see why we should give their airlines access to our country and our businesses when we know that we could do the same thing by having more American airlines operating there again.

LAMB: You talk about having a complete restructuring of the roads and bridges and systems in the country. Should the taxpayer fund that? Or should the people using those roads fund it? Should there be tolls and user fees? Or should there be taxes?

GOV. CLINTON: I think a combination of both. The

people as a whole have a real vested interest in a modern infrastructure system. The Japanese, the Germans, and others, are moving way ahead of us in high-speed rail, modern highways which are very efficient in terms of energy usage and environmental investments like modern water and sewer systems or solid waste recycling operations. And we're going to have to catch up. There is a public interest in doing that. You should finance it with user fees as much as you can, practically. But you probably have to have some support from the taxpayers at large.

The user fee system has worked very well at the state and local level, with the gas tax, where they are not as unpopular. At the federal level, they are wildly unpopular because the American people have seen the money diverted to deficit reduction, and first one thing, then another. So I think you will see a balance of user fees, which would be the favored course; and some taxpayer support where the user fees aren't enough to do it.

For example, you just can't have every major highway be a toll road, because the economics won't support it. Aren't enough people driving on it to make the tolls pay off the cost of building the road.

LAMB: Should the American taxpayers spend more money

on public television?

GOV. CLINTON: Oh, I support public television. I don't know that we have to spend more money on it now, we have a pretty vital network of public television. And in the next few years we have to focus most of our increased investment on investment, on just that, on those things which will generate more wealth for the United States. If we can get the income growth of this country up, then you can have more revenues coming into the government, and everybody can get a little more. But in the beginning we've got to focus on increasing our capacity to generate jobs and incomes in America, because that's where the real problems are.

LAMB: How much should the Federal Trade Commission get involved -- and I'm getting around this by asking you what kind of person you would put at the head of it -- how much should they get involved in advertising on television and in the newspapers, and to control that -- and the regulation of that? Content. Label.

GOV. CLINTON: It depends on what the subject is, I think. I think the Federal Trade Commission has a charter which is broad, and designed to further the public interest. But we should be reluctant -- the presumption should be against interfering with advertising content, unless -- just on free

speech grounds -- unless there is something in the advertising which is clearly misleading, or damaging to the public health and welfare; in which case the presumption against intervening can be overcome. You just have to take it on a case by case basis.

LAMB: The other night on your appearance at WHAS in Louisville the "read my lips" thing came up. But before it came up I wanted to ask you whether or not there was anything you would say "read my lips" to. You kind of answered it the other night, but I'm getting at -- would you say "read my lips, we will never cut Social Security entitlements?"

GOV. CLINTON: I would say, "Read my lips, we will never undermine the sacred trust of the people who have paid Social Security and are entitled to get it." I do think, I can't promise that upper-income people who are getting more in Social Security benefits than they paid in taxes would never have to pay somewhat more for them. But I think the essential system of Social Security should be left intact.

I think those people who think that we ought to means-test Social Security -- that is, say, if your income is above -- I'm making this up but -- above $80,000 or $100,000 -- you just don't get Social Security checks any more. I think that's a mistake because those people paid into that fund, they paid a special tax dedicated to Social Security. And the thing that has

made Social Security work over the years is the notion that if you pay into it you get back out. It's a generational obligation. And that's why one of the reasons I think it's been such a successful program.

So I think, you know, asking upper-income people to pay more of their fair share for the benefits they get from the government may be a fine thing to do, but you can't, you can't say to people, "We're going to make you pay into this trust fund for 20 or 30 years, and if during that time you wind up 30 -- in the 25th year of your career being a pretty affluent person and being in pretty good shape, that you don't get the benefits for all the money you paid in the trust," I just think that's wrong. And that would almost convert Social Security into a welfare program. And we've seen what happens to welfare programs. They don't keep up with inflation. People,they get weakened. And they don't have broad, popular support.

Social Security works. It's one of the things we've done that works.

Now, you can argue that this financing system's not exactly right; or that people who are upper-income people should pay more. But we cannot means-test Social Security.

And let me say one other thing: Middle class retirees who depend on that Social Security check and Medicaid or

Medicare, you know, are not all that well off. They've been hurt by the shrinking economy, too. And by exploding health care costs. So even though they get a cost of living in Social Security, the average retiree is now paying more of their out-of-pocket income for health care than they were in 1965 before Medicare came in.

So they are not the people who have caused the problems in America in the last 12 years. The people who have caused the problems in America are the people in government who have given special breaks to special interests, and basically will leave people at the upper-income levels paying their fair share of the cost of doing business in this country.

LAMB: Let me go back for a moment to the platform. This is the Democratic Party platform, and it starts out, "All branches of government must live by the laws the rest of us obey, determine their pay in an open manner that builds public trust, and eliminate special privileges." We talked about this a little bit earlier, but what about, how can you say that all branches of the government "must" when the executive branch can't control the legislative branch and the judiciary branch? Are you going to appoint people in all of your cases, if you're elected, to guarantee that this will happen?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, the implication of that,

obviously, is that Congress has imposed a lot of laws on the business community in America that it doesn't live by. And we don't think that's right. I don't think that's right.

One of the things that I have been about, as you know, in the last five or six years, is trying to reform the Democratic party, as well as the American political system. And I have not always agreed with what the Democrats in Congress have done. I don't think midnight pay raises are right. If you're going to raise your pay, it ought to be done in broad daylight and there ought to be plenty of open debate about it. And I'm opposed to raising the pay of Congress any more until the pay of ordinary Americans starts to go up. And that hasn't happened in a long time.

I think that it's wrong for Congress to be able to, you know, put new requirements on American business as employers and then not follow that rule as employers themselves. They exempt themselves, historically, from all kinds of rules that private sector employers have to follow. And I think that one of the things that happens to people in government is they forget what it's like to be governed. They don't have any idea what it's like to be on the receiving end of a lot of these rules and regulations and requirements.

And as the governor of a fairly small state, that's had

some very tough economic times in the '80s, I've spent lots and lots of time with business people, and I've got a much keener sense of what it's like to be on the receiving end of all this stuff than a lot of the folks do in Congress or in this Administration.

LAMB: Go back to what we were talking about earlier about the kind of people that would lead your Administration. With the ethics laws tight in some people's minds today, and you want to tighten them even more, how are you going to get good people to come run the Federal Communications Commission or be a cabinet officer when they're prevented from going back and making money off of that after it's over?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, there's lots of ways to make money without milking your relationship with the government. We have a vast private sector that is, has still a lot of opportunities for gifted people to make money in it, without using the relationship you have with the federal government.

Now, I think there is such a hunger for change in this country, there are so many people who are eager to get back into an America that works, that a lot of the finest and brightest and ablest people in this country will be willing to come forward and serve. I am depending on it.

And I'm going to get good people from all over. I want

to ask people that are die-hard Democrats, people that are change-oriented Republicans, people that supported Ross Perot. If I'm convinced somebody can make a contribution to solving the problems of this country, I'm going to give them a chance to do it.

LAMB: Can you give us any names of anybody you've thought about or talked about that you would like to run any part of your government?

GOV. CLINTON: No. I don't want to do that. I mean, I haven't talked to any of them about it. I've obviously given some thought to it. But let me tell you, I'm 100 days away from this election. And while we have a decent lead in the polls now, I've been way down in the polls. And I knew that our campaign was on the side of history. When I was way down in the polls I knew if I ever got the American people to listen, that we could win because we were on the side of history.

By the same token, I know that being up in the polls against an incumbent president who has said repeatedly he will do whatever it takes to win, who has proven a master of negative politics, whose campaign consultant said the other day, "The economy is so bad we are going to have to run an even meaner campaign" and who has the power and the advantage of the incumbency, doesn't guarantee that.

So I think it is presumptuous of me to be talking right now, at this early stage, about particular names. As this thing goes on, and after the Republican Convention, when we get some sense of the shape of this campaign, obviously I will think more and more about the kind of people that I want in; because I want to move in a hurry. I am going to want to have lightning speed in putting together the team that we need to govern America.

But I think it's premature right now to be talking about people.

LAMB: Wall Street Journal suggests that you -- using the Dukakis campaign of '88 as a model of how not to do something, and that you were involved in it back in '88. Is that true?

GOV. CLINTON: No, I wouldn't go that far. There were some good things about that campaign. After all, it got 48 percent of the vote outside the South, under very difficult circumstances. But I wanted to do two or three things that are consistent with who I am and what kind of public servant I've been, and what my values are, and what my interests are; and present Al Gore and Bill Clinton to the American people as we are, not as the Republican plastic surgeons would like the American people to believe we are.

So we didn't want to go down after the Convention, we

wanted to go out. We wanted to reach out to the heartland. That's why we got on those buses and high-tailed it across America. It's been a wonderful experience.

And I also -- I just don't believe in unilateral disarmament. I don't believe in letting all these Republican surrogate hatchet people bad-mouth you without responding. I mean, these people have produced the worst economic record since Herbert Hoover, for 50 years, I think, in terms of slow growth. And they think they should be given carte blanche to attack us.

And interestingly enough, the press even reacts to them. The press is so used to having the Republican hatchet-men and women control the public debate that every time some senator or congressman or governor throws off on me or Al Gore, they come running to us as if that's what the campaign's supposed to be about, Republicans attacking Democrats.

Well, I got news for them. This campaign's going to be about the problems of America, and the promise of America. And we're not going to let it be about their bad-mouthing. So that in order for it not to be about that, we have to have an aggressive attitude about it.

And I have an aggressive attitude.

LAMB: The debates. Are you going to do them?

GOV. CLINTON: Absolutely. When Mr. Perot was still in

the race, and they sent the proposal for three presidential debates and one vice-presidential debate to President Bush, to Mr. Perot and to me, I immediately accepted and said I would do more.

LAMB: Phil Donahue says he'd like to see you do again what you did with Jerry Brown with the president, just throw you in a room and let you talk without any moderator. Would you do that?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I'm open to any kinds of debates. I'm open to a lot of different kinds of things. And, you know, in the primary, when I got way ahead a lot of people said, "Why are you doing all of these debates?"

And I said, "I have nothing to hide." Now, I want to be involved in these discussions. And I don't know how many debates and public forums I did with my opponents, but a slew of them. I never ran from them. We did a bunch of them in New York. We did a bunch before New York. I did them after New York. I believe, I guess you can overdo it. But the American people are entitled to hear our ideas debated.

LAMB: What do you do when you're tired? How do you keep going?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, the people keep me going. And the sense of responsibility I have keeps me going.

I mean, I can't tell you how much I have changed, even on this bus trip. I talked to my wife and to Al and to Tipper Gore about it. When you see these people coming out in huge numbers, with all their hopes built up again, we have an enormous responsibility not to get tired, to fight this thing through all way to the very end. ┘Xthe

The American people want a change. They want their country back. And being tired is not an option. I mean, you've got to go to sleep at night, you've got to exercise in the morning, and you've got to watch what you eat -- I mean there's all these things that you have to do. I'm not Superman.

But I am very pumped up by the sense of responsibility that this moment in history imposes. I think the American people know this is a watershed election; that it's going to take some courage for them to vote, to change, to put the government in the hands of someone like me, who they just met about a year ago, and Senator Gore, a new generation of leaders, of people that want to be defined not by their ages but by their ideas. And we just can't get tired. We've got to fight it through.

LAMB: What are you doing to keep from getting hoarse again?

GOV. CLINTON: I take some medicine my doctor prescribed. I drink a lot of water. A ton of it. And I follow

certain speaking techniques I've been advised to follow. And it's working pretty well. Every now and then it will fade again. But by and large it's holding up.

LAMB: One of the agents said he can't believe how many hands you shake. A simple question, but how do you keep your hands frD¬ just falling off?

GOV. CLINTON: I nearly got my shoulders dislocated yesterday. Well, you know, I work out a little. I try to -- I run every day and then I try to work out in the gym at home when I'm home. And I'm going to try to do that a little more to get my hand strength up, because it is a problem. You get these 260-pound guys whose arms are as big around as my waist shakin' hands with you -- [LAUGHING] -- you wonder whether you're going to come back with your hand intact.

But I do think it's important for us to touch as many of the American people as we can. As long as they want to shake my hand, they show up, I try to work these crowds hard and give them a chance to literally see and feel‖⌟theenergy of this campaign; and to look me in the eye and to know that I am dead serious about changing this country, and about keeping faith with the commitments I'm making to them in this campaign.

LAMB: Last question: are you doing anything to protect yourself from promising something you can't deliver if

you're elected and you can start to govern on January the 20th?

GOV. CLINTON: I've tried to do two things: first of all, before we put out my plan in New Hampshire, and then again before we put out the revised plan in June. I have spent hours and hours with people who are experts in these various areas, and I've had them spend other hours with others throughout the country, trying to make sure that we have a good chance of doing whatever we say we're going to do. Trying to make sure our numbers are right, that as a practical matter they can be achieved. I've really worked hard on that.

The other thing I have done at every turn in the road is to tell the American people: "Look, we didn't get into this mess overnight. We're not going to get out of it overnight. You've got to give me time, but I will move swiftly, aggressively, and we will change the direction in which we are moving. But don't expect miracles. Expect progress."

And I think those two things have set the stage for an aggressive and creative administration.

If you remember -- go back to Roosevelt -- he was elected in '32, then they had that magnificent hundred days in which so much was done. But it was actually into his second term before the real turnaround began to be evident. And yet, even in his first term, millions of Americans were physically affected by

what they did, by the work programs, and the sense of movement in the country.

So I think that the American people are pretty smart. They'll get it figured out. They'll know if I've been faithful to the direction that I set in the campaign, and if the country is moving in the right direction. And that's what they want. Folks don't expect miracles. What they want is progress.

LAMB: Thanks for your time. We hope maybe if you've got time you can come back and talk to our callers next time, wh2╥h is the best thing we do.

GOV. CLINTON: Yeah. I love it. You deserve a lot of credit for that. And look now, even the big networks are all copying C-SPAN.

LAMB: Thanks for your time.

GOV. CLINTON: Thanks.

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wanted to do with the money. It was a disaster and you can't have that occurring.

But by and large I am not a big fan of government bureaucracy. I think the more that you can restructure the health insurance system and the health care system for example, to let markets make the right choices, the better off you are.

C-SPAN: Let me ask about -- it may appear to be little things you don't talk about much in the campaign, but take the telephone business. A number of years ago they broke up the AT&T operation and you now have a number of long distance telephone services. Does that work, do you think? Is that the kind of thing you would -- endorse?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, I think it worked in a number of ways. It lowered the cost of long distance service. And it allowed a lot of people to get in and compete, to try to keep costs down. Frankly, it's kind of a pain to people like me that hate to carry all those access numbers around in their head and make it more complicated than it used to be. And I am not sure that all Americans can fully take advantage of all their options, just 'cause they're not sure how the systems work.

But, by and large, I think it was successful because the basic pattern of residential service and keeping people with telephone service with access to telephone service, and letting

the states continue to regulate the prices charged for basic services to consumers and to small business people -- that that was maintained. I think it -- you know, I think we -- we kept some regulation and kept some balance in it. And what we gave up, it probably worked in that case.

C-SPAN: Last that I know, there is no nonstop service from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Washington, D.C. on airlines. Um. Should the government correct that? And what do you think overall about -- and I'm not just talkin' 'bout Little Rock.

GOV. CLINTON: They're trying to create a market for it, you know. I've been trying to make a market-driven solution to a Little Rock airport problem.

C-SPAN: In general, do you think airline deregulation works?

GOV. CLINTON: I have mixed feelings about it. There is no question that we continue to see larger numbers of people fly on airplanes. And that's a good thing. We've seen radical fluctuations in airplane fares, based on market forces. And when they're down, and more people fly, as they will this summer, they will doubtless think that is a good thing.

Um. My concern is that there are two or three problems that I think have been aggravated by the deregulation, that we need to look at. One is all these companies going out of

For example, you just can't have every major highway be a toll road, because the economics won't support it. Aren't enough people driving on it to make the tolls pay off the cost of building the road.

C-SPAN: Should the American taxpayers spend more money on public television?

GOV. CLINTON: Oh, I support public television. I don't know that we have to spend more money on it now, we have a pretty vital network of public television. And in the next few years we have to focus most of our increased investment on investment, on just that, on those things which will generate more wealth for the United States. If we can get the income growth of this country up, then you can have more revenues coming into the government, and everybody can get a little more. But in the beginning we've got to focus on increasing our capacity to generate jobs and incomes in America, 'cause that's where the real problems are.

C-SPAN: How much, uh, the Federal Trade Commission get involved -- and I'm getting at -- 'round this by asking you what kind of person you would put at the head of it -- how much should they get involved in advertising on television and in the newspapers, and to control that -- and the regulation of that? Content. Labels.

GOV. CLINTON: It depends on what the subject is, I think. I think the Federal Trade Commission has a charter which is broad, and designed to further the public interest. But we should be reluctant -- the presumption should be against, uh, interfering with advertising content, unless -- just on free speech grounds -- unless there is something in the advertising which is clearly misleading, or damaging to the public health and welfare; in which case the presumption against intervening can be overcome. You just have to take it on a case by case basis.

C-SPAN: The other night on your appearance at WHAS in Louisville the "read my lips" thing came up. But before it came up I wanted to ask you whether or not there was anything you would say "read my lips" to. You kind of answered it the other night, but I'm getting at -- would you say "read my lips, we will never cut Social Security entitlements?"

GOV. CLINTON: I would say, "Read my lips, we will never undermine the sacred trust of the people who have paid Social Security and are entitled to get it." Uh, I do think -- I can't promise that upper income people who are getting more in Social Security benefits than they paid in taxes would never have to pay somewhat more for them. But I think the essential system of Social Security should be left intact.

I think those people who think that we ought to means-