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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 14, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORDS MANAGEMENT

FROM: LISEL LOY
STAFF SECRETARY

SUBJECT: Contents of box

This box sent to Records Management on 1/14/01 includes the following files

- Drafts of Presidential speeches for the 2000 speech book

Enclosures filed in
Attachments #

22087
19485

FINAL

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SELECTED SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON 2000

Presidential Address:	
The State of the Union	January 27, 2000
Remarks by the President at America's Millennium Gala	December 31, 1999
Remarks by the President at Announcement of New National Monuments	January 11, 2000
Remarks by the President to the People of Selma, Alabama Commemorating the 35th Anniversary of the 1965 Voting Rights March	March 5, 2000
Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament	March 22, 2000
Remarks by the President to the Education Writers Association	April 14, 2000
Remarks by the President to the People of the Navajo Nation Boys and Girls Club of Shiprock.....	April 17, 2000
Remarks by the President at the Democratic Leadership Council Retreat.....	May 21, 2000
Remarks by the President upon being Presented the International Charlemagne Prize 2000	June 2, 2000
Remarks by the President on the Completion of the First Survey of the Entire Human Genome Project	June 26, 2000
Remarks by the President During Bronfman Gala	September 11, 2000
Remarks by the President at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner	September 16, 2000
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*Remarks by the President to the People of the
Navajo Nation Boys and Girls Club of Shiprock*

SHIPROCK, MEXICO
April 17, 2000

Let me say yaateeh — William Jefferson Clinton yinishye — Irish nishli. I am profoundly honored to be here, within the Four Sacred Mountains — especially on Navajo Nation Sovereignty Day. I want to thank young Myra Jodie. Didn't she do a wonderful job up here? Thank you, President Kelsey Begaye, for your strong leadership. Thank you, Congressman Tom Udall. The Vice President, Taylor McKenzie, Chief Justice Robert Yazzie, Speaker Edward Begay, members of the Navajo Tribal Council, Shiprock Council Mayor William Lee. And we have with us today the President of the National Congress of American Indians, Sue Masten — thank you for being here.

To all the honored governors of pueblos and tribal leaders. And I thank the people who have come with me today — the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Andrew Cuomo; the Interior Deputy Secretary David Hayes; the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Carl Whillock; and the person most responsible for working with you, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Kevin Gover. I thank him for all he has done.

Federal Communications Commission Chairman Bill Kennard, and Commissioner Gloria Tristani. And I'd like to thank the people from the White House who are here, especially Gene Sperling, who put together this digital divide tour; and Lynn Cutler, who is my liaison to Indian country all over the United States. I thank them.

I want to thank four members of Congress who made a long trip here today to express support for our goal. Senator Robert Bennett, who came from Utah. Representative Bill Jefferson, who came from New Orleans, Louisiana. Silvestre Reyes from El Paso, Texas. And Stephanie Tubbs-Jones, who came from Cleveland, Ohio.

I want to thank my friend of more than 20 years now, your former governor, Bruce King, and his wife, Alice, thank them for being here. Thank you. I want to thank the renowned basketball star, Rebecca Lobo, who came with me today. And I thank Reverend Jesse Jackson for coming. I thank all the high-tech leaders who are here.

And there was one young man who meant to come with me today, who could not come — a man I admire very much, not only for his success, but for the way he has handled adversity, Notah Begay. And I think we ought to give him a big hand.

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I also want to recognize two young women who are here, because they were in the First Lady's gallery at my State of the Union address, members of the Navajo Nation and former volunteers for AmeriCorps, Kristina and Justina Jones. Thank you for being here. I am very proud of them and all the other young Dine people who have served not only the Navajo Nation, but our nation as a whole as AmeriCorps volunteers.

Let me also express my deep gratitude to the Navajo Code-Talkers. Thank you, gentlemen. And I want to thank Senator Jeff Bingaman for working to ensure that you receive the national honors you so richly deserve.

All Americans should know of the exploits of the young Navajo men, some as young as 15, who enlisted in the Marine Corps in World War II, helped to develop an ingenious code based on your language, and became the communications link to and from the front lines of the allies in the Pacific War.

One of our most enduring images of freedom is that of the Marines hoisting the American flag over Iwo Jima. Well, there are many American military commanders from that conflict who will tell you that the United States might never have taken Iwo Jima, or won countless other battles in the Pacific, if it weren't for the bravery, the sacrifice and the unbreakability of the code of the Navajo Code-Talkers.

It is fitting that we begin this day by recalling their achievements. After all, there are few people in America who better embody the power of communication. In fact, if you think about it, the system the Code-Talkers used has real similarities to the beginning of the worldwide network we call the Internet. Both systems were developed for sending information quickly, securely, and reliably during times of war. Both had the power to change the course of history.

But there is a cruel irony here. For more than 50 years after the Code-Talkers were able to communicate with one another, over great distances in the Pacific, it is still hard to communicate between many parts of the Navajo Nation itself. In much of America, it takes just a modest amount of money and time to get someone on the Internet. But here, an astonishing 37 percent of the households are without electricity; about 70 percent without phone service; more than half without work.

I am here because I believe the new technologies like the Internet and wireless communications can have an enormous positive impact in the Navajo Nation. They can help you to leap-frog over some of the biggest hurdles to develop your economic and human potential. They can make great distances virtually disappear. They can be a vehicle for job growth, for education, for health care, for employment opportunities. They can be the greatest equalizers our society has ever known.

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I know the Navajo Nation has already begun to see this potential, as President Begaye said. Here in Shiprock, the closest public library is more than 30 miles away. Yet, thanks to your new PowerUP partnership, children and parents now are able to browse some of the great libraries of the world simply by going to the Boys and Girls Club.

On the western side of the Navajo Nation, rural health clinics are now linked through computers to the finest medical specialists at the University of Arizona. Your new Navajo Able initiative, funded in part by the Department of Education, is providing technologies to help children with disabilities write and communicate on computers. At Dine College, even rural campuses have state-of-the-art computer labs, where students soon will conduct real-time teleconferences with professors all around the globe. But this is just the beginning.

Almost 30 years ago, when I was a young man, still a student, with no money and no prospect reasonably of becoming President, I first drove across New Mexico. I fell in love with the land and the people. I had my first opportunity to buy for my mother and the girlfriend who became my wife some beautiful Navajo jewelry. Now, just imagine if all the remarkable silversmiths and weavers of the Navajo Nation could sell their work not only in local markets, but in national and global markets as well.

Just imagine if all remote health clinics were connected electronically to major medical centers. Imagine if then they could commute to high-tech, high-paying jobs in large cities just by getting on a computer here in Shiprock. Imagine if all your children had access to the same world of knowledge at the same instant as children in the wealthiest communities in America. The potential is staggering and we have to seize it.

I am here today to pledge that the national government will do its part in ways that honor your tribal sovereignty. Ever since I have been President, we have worked to try to empower the tribes of our nation. I will never forget the day in 1994, when I had the chance to welcome leaders of more than 300 American Indian tribes to the White House — the first time this had been done since President James Monroe's administration, in 1822.

You know, when I was just a very young boy I used to go to the county public library in my hometown, in Arkansas. I can remember spending day after day reading histories of Native American tribes and biographies of famous chiefs. I remember once I read in the biography of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce that incredible statement he made, "from this day I will fight no more, forever." It was a noble, powerful, brave thing to do.

But as we all know, though many of your ancestors gave up fighting and gave up land, water and mineral rights in exchange for peace, security, health care and education, the federal government did not live up to its end of the deal. That was wrong. And I have worked hard to change it. There is nothing more important to me than getting this government-to-government relationship right — but getting it right in a way that will

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empower you to lift yourselves and your children, to fulfill your potential and your dreams; not a patronizing relationship, but an empowering one; not a handout, but a hand up — a genuine partnership so that your children can live their dreams.

As Congressman Udall said, I did ask in my State of the Union address for the largest budget increases in history for new and existing programs to assist tribal nations. That is why I traveled last year to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, the home of the Lakota Sioux. That is why I made Indian country an important focus of our New Markets Initiative.

Let me tell you what that is. I believe the only way to keep this economy growing is to bring economic opportunity to the people and the places who have been left behind. More businesses, more jobs, more incomes mean growth without inflation for the rest of America. People in New York City and Los Angeles and Seattle and Dallas and Atlanta and Miami, they all have a stake in your economic success. And I am here to bring that message to you, and through our friends in the media, to them.

I want to give Americans who have money the same incentives to invest in under-developed areas in America we now give them to invest in under-developed areas of Latin America or Asia or Africa. I want Americans to look first to people here at home, who need work and education, who need technology and opportunity.

And there is no better place to begin than by bridging the digital divide. Our e-rate initiative, to provide discount rates to schools, hospitals and libraries that could not otherwise afford them, an initiative pioneered by our Vice President, Al Gore, and championed by this administration for years, has helped to equip every classroom in the consolidated school district with computers and the wiring to connect to the Internet.

My new budget provides a major new initiative to prepare Native Americans for careers in technical fields. It provides \$2 billion in tax incentives to encourage the private sector to donate computers; sponsor community technology centers, available to adults as well as children; provide technology training for workers; and provide \$150 million to train every single new teacher on how to use this technology effectively in the classroom — and \$100 million to create 1,000 community technology centers all across the country, to serve all the people of the community — the old, the young, those in between, those with disabilities and those without education, everyone who can benefit from tapping into this new technology.

I want you to know that I am joined here today by private sector leaders who are part of our national call to action. Hundreds of organizations, including all 32 tribal colleges, have answered this pledge. And I want to highlight just some of the public and private commitments being made to benefit the Navajo Nation and Native Americans all across our country.

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First, and very important, our Federal Communications Chairman, Bill Kennard, is proposing to expand the Lifeline program to ensure that every Native American who needs it will be able to get basic phone service for as little as \$1 a month. In this day and age, when we want every American to have access to the Internet, we must first make sure that every American has access to a phone, so there will be a line to hook into.

Second, Native American Systems, headed by Robert Rutherford, a Choctaw, is committing \$100,000 state-of-the-art satellite communications to the Red Rock Day School, to provide equipment to 30 other BIA schools in other parts of Indian country. Tachyon is providing satellite Internet access to Dine College and the Lake Valley School. Give them a hand. Compaq will provide \$500,000 to spur the TechCorps schools partnership, which uses the Internet and TechCorps volunteers to help teachers make the best use of technology in the classroom. Four Navajo Nation schools participated in the pilot of TechCorps schools.

Today I'm proud to say that this new commitment will make it available to all Navajo Nation schools and all K-12 schools nationwide for Native Americans.

Microsoft will provide \$2.75 million in software and technical support for the American Indian Tribal College program, which will directly benefit Dine College. Andersen Consulting has committed \$100,000 to support small business in Indian country, something we need more of. We need access to capital, training, and technological support. The capacity to grow small businesses in Indian country is far greater than anything we have realized to date.

Healtheon/WebMD will provide valuable Internet sources to the medical professionals at the Indian Health Service facility right here in Shiprock.

Let's give all these groups a big hand.

I began my remarks today by doing my best to introduce myself to you in the proper way, telling you my name and my family's clan in your language, as best I could. Well, it's true we are from different clans. Your ancestors were here on this continent, here within the Four Sacred Mountains, long before my ancestors even knew of the existence of this continent and this land we call America. But, my friends, we are now all part of the same American family. We are all related, and it is time we acted like we were all related.

We have never had a better chance to build the right kind of relationship. We have never had a better chance to build new connections between people, between cultures, between nations. The Navajo Code-Talkers gave us one of history's most stirring lessons on the power of communications. They showed us in the most concrete way that our cultural diversity in America can be our greatest strength. And that is why we must do everything in our power to allow all Dine to lend their talents and their skills to the great enterprise of building our future together.

Ahehee doo hagoonnee. Thank you.

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The President at the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts Gala

RENAISSANCE MAYFLOWER HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
September 19, 2000

Well, first of all, let me say thank you for the welcome. I thank the members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus who are here, and other members of Congress and the people from our administration who are here. I want to thank Jimmy Smits and Felix Sanchez. And I want to congratulate your honorees, Sara Martinez Tucker and the Hispanic Scholarship Fund for 25 years of service. I want to say a special word of appreciation to all the Latinos who have been part of our administration, including Maria Echaveste, Mickey Ibarra, Brian Barretto, Aida Alvarez, Bill Richardson, and all the others.

Let me say, I'm sorry I'm not in proper attire tonight. But Jimmy Smits called me this afternoon, and I only had two other things I was supposed to do, so he said I had to show. And I want you to know I am here in spite of the fact that Jimmy Smits called me. I'll tell you why — if I have to hear Hillary say one more time, that is the best looking man I have ever seen — I think I will die.

Right before I was here, I went over to the Kennedy Center, where there's a magnificent event that Kerry Kennedy Cuomo is having about her book on human rights activists. Artists from all over our country and human rights heroes from all over the world are over there tonight. And so, I went from there to a book party for my friend, Paul Begala. Then I'm on my way over here, and everybody wanted to know where I was going. And this NBC television reporter said, Jimmy Smits, that's the best looking man I ever saw in my life.

Well, what can I tell you, I've been to war for eight years now, and I don't look very good anymore.

I want to say something seriously. Felix, I appreciate what you have done so much with this foundation. I made fun of Jimmy Smits tonight, but I want you to know that becoming a friend of his has been one of the real joys of being President. He has been so kind to my wife and to me, to our family. He's been to the White House many times and he's always been there for a good cause. I hope you'll forgive me for pulling your leg tonight, Jimmy, but I'll never forget you for being our friend. Thank you very much.

I want to thank the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts for giving young people a chance from the silver screen to the Broadway stage. Kids with talent and dreams need a chance. That's what we've tried for eight years now to give all America's children. The Vice President and I owe those of you who have done so much to help us a profound debt of gratitude, and I thank you.

Tonight I came mostly just to do that — just to say thank you, for all you do for the arts, for all you do for the Hispanic community, and for all you've done to help America move forward in the last eight years. We now have the lowest Hispanic unemployment rate ever recorded; the lowest Hispanic poverty rate in a generation; a million new home owners in the last six years. The Earned Income Tax Credit has been doubled and it's lifted over a million Hispanics out of poverty. The minimum wage helped 1.6 million Hispanic workers, and it's time to raise it again and help more.

The Hispanic Education Action Plan to help Hispanic youth to stay in school and go to college, along with our scholarship initiatives, have contributed to the fact that the college-going rate among Hispanic young people is up over 50 percent in the last seven years. And — listen to this — a report which was issued last week said there has been a 500 percent increase in the number of Hispanic students taking advanced placement courses in high school to prepare for college.

Under the Vice President's leadership we've reduced the naturalization backlog at INS. And under Aida Alvarez's leadership, loans through Hispanic entrepreneurs by the SBA have increased by 250 percent.

We have all been enriched by your work. And I know that because of your work, we'll have more great singers, more great writers, more great actors and actresses. I know we've got a long way to go, too, because still Latino characters are only about 3 percent of those that appear on prime-time television. I just left Rita Moreno, and I told her that I enjoyed watching her as a nun on her television series. We were laughing about it, but I think that you will see, if you keep working, more and more of our movies and our television shows and our Broadway shows reflecting the rich diversity of America.

That's the last point I want to make. I have said on many occasions, and I'll just say one more time tonight, that if I could have only one wish for America, believe it or not, it would not be for a continued unbroken economic prosperity. It would be that somehow we would find the wisdom to live together as brothers and sisters, to truly be One America across all the lines that divide us.

As a little picture of how fast America has changed, you can see the advertisements today for Denzel Washington's new movie about the integration of T.C. Williams High School over in Alexandria, Virginia, and its football team, which occurred almost 30 years ago, not

such a long time ago once you've reached my age. Now, three decades later, that high school is in a school district which has students from over 180 different racial and ethnic groups, with parents speaking over 100 different native languages. It's the most diverse school district in America.

I think it's fitting that this movie, coming out in the new millennium, talks about something that to most of these kids is ancient history, that we hope they'll never forget. It's sobering to look at them and realize that they are both the great opportunity and the great challenge of the future: Can we figure out a way to give them all a world-class education, with all their diversity? Can we figure out a way to make sure that every single child, every family, every faith in America is profoundly proud of its roots, understands them, and yet believes deeply that our common humanity is even more important than our unique characteristics? These are very big questions.

Not so long ago, a number of you in this room came to the White House for a showing of the movie, "Mi Familia." I was thinking about that tonight and feeling sort of nostalgic. The central question all of us have to ask ourselves, both within and beyond our borders, is: who is in our family anyway.

There is an astonishing new book, by a man named Robert Wright, called "Nonzero" — kind of a weird title unless you're familiar with game theory. But in game theory, a zero sum game is one where, in order for one person to win, somebody has to lose. A nonzero sum game is a game in which you can win and the person you're playing with can win, as well. And the argument of the book is that, notwithstanding all the terrible things that happened in the 20th century — the abuses of science by the Nazis, the abuses of organization by the communists, all the things that continue to be done in the name of religious or political purity — in spite of the dark spots, as societies grow more and more connected, and we become more interdependent, we are forced to find more and more nonzero sum solutions. That is, ways in which we can all win.

That's basically the message I've been trying to preach for eight years — that everybody counts, everybody deserves a chance, we all do better when we help each other. We have to have an expanding idea of who is in our family. And we in the United States, because we're so blessed, have particular responsibilities to people not only within our borders who have been left behind, but beyond our borders who otherwise will never catch up if we don't do our part. Because we are all part of the same human family, and because, actually, life is more and more a nonzero sum game, so that the better they do, the better we'll do.

Now, I believe, because of the history and culture, because of the pain and the promise of the Hispanic community in the United States, you are uniquely qualified to make sure America learns and lives this lesson now.

That's the last thing I'd like to say, from the heart. You have made being President this last eight years a joy. It has been an honor for me to work with so many of you. If our country is better off because of anything I did, I am grateful. But all the best stuff is still out there, if we can learn to preserve what is special about us and our clan, our tribe and our faith, and do it while affirming our common humanity.

Do that for America, and the best is still to come. Thank you and God bless you.

*Remarks by the President at the Congressional
Black Caucus Foundation Dinner*

WASHINGTON CONVENTION CENTER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
September 16, 2000

Thank you very much, Chairman Clyburn; dinner Chair Eddie Bernice Johnson, my friend of 28 years — and didn't she give a great introduction to the Vice President. You better go on the road, girl. Our foundation chair, Eva Clayton, and all the members and former members of the CBC, especially to my friend, Bill Clay. We wish you well and godspeed on your retirement, and I thank you for eight years of our good partnership.

To Mrs. Coretta Scott King and all the distinguished citizens in the audience, but especially to the two whom I had the great honor to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Marian Wright Edelman and Reverend Jesse Jackson, thank you for being here with us tonight.

I thank Lou Stokes and Phylicia Rashad and want to join in congratulating the award winners, my friend, Arthur Eve, whose son did such a good job working for the Clinton-Gore administration. Kenneth Hill, Rodney Carroll, who has been great on our Welfare-To-Work program. Tom Joyner, who lets me jaw on his radio program from time to time. Even I never got an eight-page spread in Ebony; I don't know about that.

To Tavis Smiley, the family of our friend, LeBaron Taylor, Bill Kennard, and Ambassador Sisulu, thank you for what you said about our friend, Nelson Mandela. I thank Attorney General Reno and Secretary Slater and Secretary Herman and Deputy Attorney General Holder and our SBA Director, Aida Alvarez, and all the people from our White House team who are here, and from the entire administration.

I thought the Vice President gave a great speech, and I'm looking forward to getting rid of that trouble adjective at the beginning of his title in just a couple of months.

Now, there was nothing subliminal about that. We Democrats don't have subliminal advertising. I also want to thank Senator Lieberman, who has been a friend since Hillary and I met him 30 years ago when he was running for the state senate in New Haven. And I can tell you that if he is the vice president of this country, you will be very, very proud of him. He has done a great job, and he has been a great friend of mine.

I want to bring you a warm welcome from Hillary. She wishes she could be here tonight, but she's otherwise occupied. They sent the one in our family who is not running for office this year to speak to you tonight.

I've been honored to be at every one of these dinners since I became President. Tonight, I came mostly to listen and to clap, and to say thanks. Thank you for your friendship, your leadership and your support. Thank you for giving me the chance, John Lewis, to walk with you in Selma this year. Thank you, for those of you who went back to Africa with me when we went to Nigeria and Tanzania. Thank you for working with me to reach out to the people of Africa and the Caribbean, to try to build their countries through trade.

Thank you, for those of you who helped me to relieve the debt of the poor countries and to increase our fight against AIDS and TB and malaria around the world.

The Vice President said that there are so many people who could say that the CBC covered their back. Covered their back? When they took a torch to me and lit the fire, you brought the buckets and poured the water on it! Thank you. Thank you.

But mostly, I want to thank you for taking our nation to higher ground, for standing with Al Gore and me in our simple, but profound mission to make sure that everyone counts and everyone has a chance, to make sure that we act as if we all do better when we help each other.

I can't thank you enough for your role in all the good things that have happened in the last eight years. It's all been recited. I guess what I would like for you to know is that there are a lot of days when I just felt like the troubadour, but other people had to play in the orchestra and even write the songs. And nothing — nothing good that I have achieved would have been possible without the Congressional Black Caucus, our other friends in Congress, and especially Vice President Al Gore.

I just want to say two serious things about the future tonight. The first is, that when Al Gore says you ain't seen nothin' yet, I agree with him. We've spent a lot of time in the last eight years trying to turn this country around and get it together and get it moving in the right direction. And now, for the first time in our lifetime, we have both prosperity and the absence of serious internal crisis and external threat.

We actually can build the future of our dreams for our kids. We could get rid of child poverty. We could give every child in America the chance at a world-class education for the first time. We could open the doors of college to all. We could take Social Security and Medicare out there beyond the life of the baby boomers and add that prescription drug benefit. We could do a lot of things with these unbelievable discoveries in science and technology. But first we have to make a decision.

Black Caucus Dinner 2

So the second point I want to make is, sometimes it's harder to make a good decision in good times than bad times. I know the people took a chance on me in 1992 but, give me a break, the country was in a ditch; it wasn't that much of a chance.

I don't know how many voters went into the polling place and thought, you know, I don't know if I want to vote for that guy. He's a governor — President Bush said he was the governor of a small southern state and I don't even know where that place is on the map and he looks too young and everybody says he's terrible. But we had to change.

Now things are going well and people are comfortable and confident and we have options. So it's up to you to make sure that people ask the right question and answer it in this election season. We cannot afford to pass up the chance of a lifetime, maybe the chance of a half a century, to build the future of our dreams for our children.

There is a lot at stake. You've heard it all tonight, about how we're fighting for strong schools and modern classrooms and a higher minimum wage and all the other things. I would like to mention one other thing that hasn't been talked about. We ought to be fighting for an end to delay and discrimination against highly qualified minority candidates for the federal courts.

This Administration has named 62 African American judges, three times the number of the previous two administrations combined, with the highest ratings from the ABA in 40 years. Yet, we know, in spite of that, that women and minority candidates are still much more likely to be delayed or denied.

So even though this is a non-profit organization, I can ask you to remember Judge Ronnie White, the first African American on the Missouri Supreme Court, denied on the party line vote. The Fourth Circuit, with the largest African American population in the country, never had an African American judge. Last year, I told you I nominated James Wynn, a distinguished judge from North Carolina. After 400 days, with his senior senator still standing in the courthouse door, the Senate hasn't found one day to give Judge Wynn even a hearing.

This year, I nominated Roger Gregory of Virginia, the first man in his family to finish high school, a teacher at Virginia State University, where his mother once worked as a maid, a highly respected litigator with the support of his Republican and this Democratic senator from Virginia. But, so far, we're still waiting for him to get a hearing. And then there's Kathleen McCree Lewis in Michigan and others all across this country.

So once again, I ask the Senate to do the right thing and quit closing the door on people who are qualified to serve.

Now, they say I can't ask you to vote for anybody but I will say this. If you want no more delay and denial of justice, it would help if you had Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and senators like the First Lady.

Black Caucus Dinner 3

If you want a tax code that helps working families with child care, long-term care and access to college education, it would help if you had Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and Charlie Rangel as the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

If you want strong civil rights and equal rights laws and you want them enforced, it would really help if you had Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and you made John Conyers the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

If you want the intelligence policy of this country to reflect genuine intelligence — it would help if you had Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and Julian Dixon as the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee.

But I will say again, sometimes it is harder to make good decisions in good times than bad times. Sometimes it's easier to think of some little thing you've got to quibble about. Remember the African proverb: "Smooth seas do not make skillful sailors." My friends, we've got to be skillful sailors.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Toni Morrison once said I was the first black President this country ever had. And I would rather have that than a Nobel Prize. I'll tell you why. Because somewhere, in the deep and lost threads of my own memory are the roots of understanding of what you have known. Somewhere, there was a deep longing to share the fate of the people who had been left out and left behind, sometimes brutalized and too often ignored or forgotten.

I don't exactly know who all I have to thank for that. But I'm quite sure I don't deserve any credit for it. Because whatever I did, I felt I had no other choice.

I want you to remember that I had a partner that felt the same way, that I believe he will be one of the great Presidents this country ever had and that, for the rest of my days, no matter what, no matter what, I will always be there for you.

Thank you and God bless you.

Black Caucus Dinner 4

Remarks by the President to the Education Writers Association

SHERATON COLONY SQUARE HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
April 14, 2000

Thank you very much, Kit. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm delighted to be here with all of you, along with Secretary Riley and Bruce Reed, my Domestic Policy Advisor.

It has been over 20 years now since Dick Riley and I, as young governors, first began to grapple with the need to reform education. It's been 17 years since the report, *A Nation At Risk*, sounded the alarm about the state of education nationwide; over 10 years since the Education Summit in Charlottesville, which put us on a path to national action; and as Kit said, it was 10 years ago this month that I got up at 4:30 a.m. in the morning to fly to Chicago to speak to this group. I hope you'll forgive me if I don't remember exactly what I said in the fog of that early morning.

Doubtless, some of the veteran reporters here have been around long enough to have seen this whole fascinating drama unfold. Today I'd like to talk about the progress our public schools have made, and the hard work still ahead. First I want to note something astonishing that I think everyone in this room should be proud of — 17 years after the *Nation At Risk* report, over 10 years after Charlottesville, there is still a passionate sense of national urgency about school reform, about lifting standards, improving accountability, increasing learning.

I can think of no other issue that has sustained such an intense level of commitment from the public, elected officials, business leaders, and the press. If anything, the determination of the American people to improve our schools is greater than ever. That's a tribute to the love of our people for their children, to the understanding of the importance of education in the global information economy, to the realization that we have the largest and most diverse student body in our history, and to the enduring American belief that all our children can and must learn.

It is also a tribute to the commitment and the enterprise of education writers in cities and towns all across this country who have kept the story of education reform in the news year after year.

A study came out last week showing that the percentage of income the average American family is paying on income taxes is the lowest it's been since 1966. And it is true that the income tax for lower-income working Americans is now largely negative, because of the impact of the earned income tax credit. It is true that people in the highest 20 percent are paying higher rates, but because of the way the economy has grown their after-tax income in real, constant dollars, even with higher rates, is 24 percent higher than it was 12 years ago.

So I support — as I think all of you know — I support a tax cut. But mine is considerably more modest. I want the \$10,000 deduction for college tuition. I want a refundable child care tax credit. I want an increase in the earned income tax credit. I want families to have a \$3,000 tax credit for long-term care, to care for an elderly or disabled family member — it's becoming a huge problem, and as the aging of America progresses, it will be a bigger and bigger problem.

I want to give people with money, upper income people, financial incentives to increase philanthropy and to invest in the poor areas of America — the new markets of America that have been left behind; and to invest in new technologies that will help us clean the environment and combat global warming.

But I have applied arithmetic to my proposal. And I think it is very important that we think about this, because it would be tragic if after we finally begin to really make some nationally, measurable progress in education here — not just in the inputs, but in the outputs; and we know so much more about how to do it than we did when *A Nation At Risk* was issued; so much more than we did in 1989, when the national education goals were written in that wonderful all-night session in Charlottesville I'll never forget; we know so much more today.

And we're able to invest in what works. But the American people, their wealth and their welfare will be far more greatly enhanced by making uniform excellence in education, proving that people, without regard to their race, their income or their cultural or linguistic backgrounds can learn what they need to know and keep learning for a lifetime. That will do so much more for the American economy, for the strength, coherence and fabric of our national community than a tax cut which cannot be justified and which will either throw us back to the bad old days of deficits or require big cuts in domestic programs, including education, or both.

So one of the things that I hope education writers will talk about is old-fashioned arithmetic.

Now, finally, let me just say, I think when all is said and done, there are only about three things worth focusing on. Do you believe that all children can learn or not? Do you believe that it's more important than ever before, for the quality of an individual's life, for the shape

Education - 
Writers (9)

*Remarks by the President upon being
Presented the International Charlemagne
Prize 2000*

KATSCHHOF COURTYARD
AACHEN CATHEDRAL
AACHEN, GERMANY
June 2, 2000

Ladies and gentlemen, Chancellor Schroeder, Lord Mayor Linden, President Rau, President Havel, His Majesty Juan Carlos, President Halonen, previous laureates, members of the Charlemagne Foundation, leaders of the clergy and cathedral, and members of the German and American governments. Let me begin by thanking the Lord Mayor for his welcome and his wise words, and my good friend, Chancellor Schroeder, for his kind comments and his visionary statement.

The rare distinction you have bestowed upon me I am well aware is in large measure a tribute to the role the American people have played in promoting peace, freedom and security in Europe for the last 50 years. I feel the honor is greater still because of the remarkable contributions made by previous recipients of this prize toward our common dream of European union.

Of course, as has already been said, that dream has its roots here in Aachen, an ancient shrine that remains at the center of what it means to be European — the seat of an empire, a place of healing waters, peace treaties, furious fighting. With its liberation at the end of World War II, Aachen became perhaps the first German city to join the postwar democratic order.

Today, as I have seen, Aachen is both a sanctuary for sacred relics, dating back to the dawn of Christianity, and a crucible of Europe's new information economy. Here, Charlemagne's name summons something glimpsed for the first time during his life — a sense that the disparate people of Earth's smallest continent could actually live together as participants in a single civilization.

In its quest for unity, even at the point of a sword, and in its devotion to the new idea that there was actually something called Europe, the Carolingian idea surpassed what had come before, and to an extent, it guides us still.

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Twelve centuries ago, out of the long, dark night of endless tribal wars, there emerged a light that somehow has survived all the ravages of time, always burning brighter, always illuminating Europe's way to the future. Today, that shining light of European union is a matter of the utmost importance, not just to Europeans, but to everyone on this planet.

For Europe has shown the world humanity at its best and at its worst. Europe's most violent history was caused by men claiming the mantle of Charlemagne, men who sought to impose European union for their own ends without the consent of the people. History teaches, therefore, that European union, not to mention transatlantic unity, must come from the considered judgment of free people and must be for worthy purposes that, when threatened, must be defended.

The creators of this prize and its first winners clearly understood that. We often say that theirs was the generation that rebuilt Europe after World War II. But actually, they did far more. They built the foundation of something entirely new — a Europe united in common commitment to democracy, free markets and the rule of law.

That achievement endured for half a century, but only for half a continent. Then, 11 years ago, the Berlin Wall fell, the Iron Curtain parted, and at last the prospect of a Europe whole and free opened before you. All of us will remember 1989 for the Wall crumbling to the powerful strains of Schiller's "Ode to Joy." It was a moment of great liberation, like 1789 or 1848. It was a particular triumph for the German people, whose own unification defied great adversity and set the stage for the larger unification of Europe.

Too often we forget that 1989 was also a time of grave uncertainty about the future. There were doubts about NATO's future, reinforced later by its slowness to confront evil in Bosnia and Croatia. There were fears that the EU's efforts to come closer together would either fail or, succeeding, would fatally divide Europe and the United States. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe feared becoming a gray zone of poverty and insecurity. Many wondered if Russia was headed for a communist backlash or a nationalist coup.

In January of 1994, I came to Europe for the first time as President, both to celebrate Europe's new birth of freedom and to build upon it. Then, I spoke of a new conception of European security, based not on divided defense blocs, but instead on political, military and cultural integration. This new security idea required, as has already been said, the transatlantic alliance to do for Europe's East what we did for Europe's West after World War II.

Together, we set about doing that. We lowered trade barriers, supported young democracies, adapted NATO to new challenges and expanded our alliance across Europe's old divide. We made clear, and I repeat today, that NATO's door remains open to new members. The EU took in three new members, opened negotiations with a dozen others, and created a single market with one currency.

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We stood by Russia, struggling to build its own democracy, and opened the way to a partnership between Russia and NATO and between Ukraine and NATO. We defended the values at the heart of our vision of an undivided Europe, acting to stop the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and forging what I believe will be an enduring peace there.

We acted in Kosovo, in one of our alliance's finest moments. A year ago in Germany, we launched a Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. We still stand with crusaders for tolerance and freedom, from Croatia to Slovakia to Serbia, and we encourage reconciliation between Turkey and Greece.

Over the last 11 years, of course, there have been some setbacks. But unquestionably, Europe today is more united, more democratic, more peaceful than ever, and both Europeans and Americans should be proud of that.

Think how much has changed. Borders built to stop tanks now manage invasions of tourists and trucks. Europe's fastest-growing economies are now on the other side of the old Iron Curtain. At NATO Headquarters the flags of 19 allies and 27 partners fly. In Central Europe and Eastern Europe, the realistic dream of membership in the EU and NATO has sparked the resolution of almost every old ethnic and border dispute. And, finally — finally — our friend, Vaclav Havel, has spent more years being President than he spent in prison.

In Southeastern Europe, the Bosnians are still fighting, but now at the ballot box. Croatia is a democracy. Soldiers from almost every European country, including bitter former adversaries, are keeping the peace together in Kosovo.

Last year, as German troops marched through the Balkan countryside, they were hailed as liberators. What a way to end the 20th century.

In the meantime, Russia has stayed on the path of democracy, though its people have suffered bitter economic hardships, political and criminal violence, and the tragedy of the war in Chechnya, which yet may prove to be self-defeating because of the civilian casualties. Still, it has withdrawn its troops from the Baltic states, accepted the independence of its neighbors, and completed the first democratic transition in its thousand-year history.

European unity really is producing something new under the sun — common institutions that are bigger than the nation-state, and at the same time, a devolution of democratic authority downward. Scotland and Wales have their own parliaments. This week, Northern Ireland, where my family has its roots, restored its new government. Europe is alive with the sound of ancient place names being spoken again — Catalonia, Piedmont, Silesia, Transylvania, Uthenia — not in the name of separatism, but in the spirit of healthy pride and heritage.

National sovereignty is being enriched by lively local voices making Europe safer for diversity, reaffirming our common humanity, reducing the chance that European disunity will embroil Europe and America in another large conflict.

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One thing, thankfully, has not changed. Europe's security remains tied to America's security. When it is threatened, as it was in Bosnia and Kosovo, we, too, will respond. When it is being built, we, too, will always take part.

Europe's peace sets a powerful example to other parts of the world that remain divided along ethnic, religious and national lines. Even today Europe has internal disputes over fundamental questions of sovereignty, political power, and economic policy — disputes no less consequential than those over which people still fight and die in other parts of the world. However, instead of fighting and dying over them now, Europeans argue about them in Brussels, in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect.

The whole world should take notice of this. If Western Europe could come together after the carnage of World War II, if Central Europe could do it following 50 years of communism, it can be done everywhere on this Earth.

Of course, for all of the positive developments and our good feelings today, the job of building a united Europe is certainly not finished, and it is important not to take all this self-congratulation too far. Instead, we should focus today on two big pieces of unfinished business and one enduring challenge.

The first piece of unfinished business is to make Southeast Europe fully, finally and forever a part of the rest of Europe. That is the only way to make peace last in that bitterly divided region. It cannot be done by forcing people to live together; there is no bringing back the old Yugoslavia. It cannot be done by giving every community its own country, army, and flag; shifting so many borders in the Balkans will only shake the peace further.

Our goal must be to de-Balkanize the Balkans. We must help them to create a magnet that will bring people together, a magnet more powerful than the polarizing pull of their old hatreds.

That's what the Stability Pact that Germany helped to establish is designed to do, challenging the nations of Southeast Europe to reform their economies and strengthen their democracies, and pledging more than \$6 billion from the rest of us to support their efforts. Now we must quickly turn those pledges into positive changes in the lives of ordinary people, and steadily bring those nations into Western institutions.

We must also remain unrelenting in our support for a democratic transition in Serbia. For if there is to be a future for democracy and tolerance in this region, there must be no future for Mr. Milosevic and his policy of ethnic hatred and ethnic cleansing.

If Southeastern Europe is to be fully integrated into the continent, Turkey also must be included. I applaud the EU's decision to treat Turkey as a real candidate for membership. I hope both Turkey and the EU will take the next steps. It will be good for Turkey, good for Southeast Europe; good for more rapid reconciliation between Greece and Turkey and

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the resolution of Cyprus, and good for the entire world, which is still too divided over religious differences.

Our second piece of unfinished business concerns Russia. We must work to build a partnership with Russia that encourages stability, democracy and cooperative engagement with the West, and full integration with global institutions.

Only time will tell what Russia's ultimate role in Europe will be. We do not yet know if Russia's hard-won democratic freedoms will endure. We don't know yet whether it will define its greatness in yesterday's terms, or tomorrow's. The Russian people will make those decisions.

Though Russia's transformation is incomplete, there clearly is reason for hope in Russia's remarkable journey over these last few years — from dictatorship to democracy; from communism to the market; from empire to nation state; from adversary to partner in reducing the threat of mass destruction. Because the stakes are so high, we must do everything we can to encourage a Russia that is fully democratic and united in its diversity; a Russia that defines its greatness not by dominance of its neighbors, but by the dominant achievements of its people and its partnership; a Russia that should be, indeed must be, fully part of Europe.

That means no doors can be sealed shut to Russia — not NATO's, not the EU's. The alternative would be a future of harmful competition between Russia and the rest, and the end of our vision of an undivided continent. As Winston Churchill said when he received the Charlemagne Prize in the far darker days of 1956, "in a true unity of Europe, Russia must have her part."

Of course, Russia may very well decide it has no interest in formally joining European or transatlantic institutions. If that happens, we must make sure that, as the EU and NATO expand, their eastern borders become gateways to Russia, not barriers to trade, travel and security cooperation. We must build real institutional links with Russia, as NATO has begun to do. It won't be easy. There is still mistrust to be overcome on both sides, but it is possible and absolutely necessary.

The steps necessary to bring Southeast Europe and Russia into the embrace of European unity illustrate the continued importance of the transatlantic alliance to both Europe and America. The enduring challenge we face, therefore, is to preserve and strengthen our alliance as Europe continues its coming together.

We have agreed on the principles; we have laid the foundations. But the future we're building will look very different from anything we have ever known. In a generation, I expect the EU will have as many as 30 members, from the Baltics to the Balkans to Turkey; a community of unprecedented cultural, political and economic diversity and vitality. It

will be a bigger Europe than Charlemagne ever dared dream, a reflection of our recognition that ultimately, Europe is a unifying idea as much as a particular place. An expansive continent of different peoples who embrace a common destiny, play by the same rules, and affirm the same truths — that ethnic and religious hatred are unacceptable; that human rights are inalienable and universal; that our differences are a source of strength, not weakness; that conflicts must be resolved by arguments, not by arms.

I believe America must continue to support Europe's most ambitious unification efforts. And I believe Europe should want to strengthen our alliance even as you grow stronger. The alliance has been the bedrock of our security for half a century. It can be the foundation on which our common future is built.

Oh, it's easy to point to our differences; many do. On my bad days, I do. But let's keep a healthy perspective. Consider these news headlines about U.S.-European dispute: "Allies Complain Of Washington's Heavy Hand," "France To NATO: Non, Merci," "U.S. Declares Economic Warfare On Allies," "Protestors Rally Against American Arms Plan." The first of those headlines is from the Suez crisis in 1956. The second is from 1966, when France left NATO's military command. The third is from 1981, the Siberian Pipeline crisis. The fourth, from 1986 during the debate about deploying intermediate nuclear missiles in Europe.

Yes, we've always had our differences and being human and imperfect, we always will. But the simple fact is, since Europe is an idea as much as a place, America also is a part of Europe, bound by ties of family, history and values.

More than ever, we are also actually connected. Underwater cables allow us to send staggering amounts of e-mail and e-commerce to each other instantaneously. One billion dollars in trade and investment goes back and forth every day, employing more than 14 million people on both sides of the Atlantic.

And there is the enduring connection — the 104,000 Americans who lie in military cemeteries across Europe. Today's Europe would not be possible without them. And whatever work I have done to merit your prize was built on their sacrifice.

So, my friends, we must nourish the ties that bind us as we work to resolve honest disagreements, and to overcome potentially harmful misperceptions, on both sides of the Atlantic. Let me mention just two.

There is a perception right now in America that Europe doesn't always carry its fair share of our mutual responsibilities. Yet Europeans are providing more than 80 percent of both the troops keeping the peace in Kosovo and the funds for economic reconstruction there. And few Americans know that in our own backyard, Europeans paid for more than 60 percent of all aid to Central America when it was ravaged by Hurricane Mitch, and one-third of all support for peace in Guatemala.

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At the same time, there is a perception in Europe that America's power — military, economic, cultural — is at times overbearing. Perhaps our role in NATO's air campaign in Kosovo accentuated such fears. But in Kosovo, our power was exercised in alliance with Europe, in pursuit of our shared interest in European peace and stability, in defense of shared values central to the goal of European integration.

If, after Kosovo, European countries strengthen their own ability to act with greater authority and responsibility in times of crisis, while maintaining our transatlantic link, I think that is a very good thing. There is no contradiction between a strong Europe and a strong transatlantic partnership.

I would also like to mention that our partnership, as the Lord Mayor pointed out, and as Chancellor Schroeder said, remains profoundly important, not only to ourselves, but to the rest of the world as well. Together, we account for more than half the world's economy and 90 percent of its humanitarian aid. If we're going to win the fight against terrorism, organized crime, the spread of weapons of mass destruction; if we want to promote ethnic, religious, and racial tolerance; if we want to combat global warming and environmental degradation, fight infectious disease, ease poverty, and close the digital divide — clearly, we must do these things together.

Europe and America should draw strength from our transatlantic alliance. Europe should not be threatened by it, and America must not listen to those who say we should go it alone. America must remain Europe's good partner and good ally.

Lord Palmerston's rule that countries have no permanent alliances, only permanent interests, simply does not apply to our relationship. For America has a permanent interest in a permanent alliance with Europe.

Our shared future is deeply rooted in our shared history. The American Revolution, after all, stemmed in part from the Seven Years War — which in turn stemmed from a treaty signed here in Aachen in 1748.

Now, a few days ago, I stood at the mouth of the Tagus River in Lisbon. From that spot over five centuries ago, brave Europeans began to explore the far reaches of our planet. They traveled unimaginable distances and conquered indescribable adversity on their way to find Asia, Africa and the Americas. In their wake, the sons and daughters of this continent came across the Atlantic to populate places they called New Spain, New England, New France, New Netherlands, Nova Scotia, New Sweden — in short, a new Europe. Without the longing for a new Europe, there never would have been an America in the first place.

Now, as the longing for a new Europe takes root on the soil of the old continent, we should never let a sense of history's inevitability cloud our wonder at how astonishingly

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Europeans changed the rest of the world through enterprise, imagination and their ability to grow — qualities that always will define Europe's identity far more accurately than any mapmaker ever will.

In the years ahead, as pilgrims of peace come here to Aachen, I hope they will reflect on the similarity of the two monuments enshrined here. First, the magnificent cathedral holding Charlemagne's mortal remains — begun in his lifetime, added to throughout the Middle Ages, repaired in the 20th century, when our failure to keep the peace required it. And second, the peace and unity that three generations have been building for five decades now in Europe — a work far from complete, perhaps never to be completed, but completely worthy of our best labors and dreams.

Let us keep building this cathedral — the cathedral of European unity — on the foundation of our alliance for freedom. Because I have tried to lay a stone or two in my time, I am honored and humbled to accept this prize.

Thank you very much.

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*Remarks by the President to the People of
Selma, Alabama Commemorating the 35th
Anniversary of the 1965 Voting Rights March*

EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE
SELMA, ALABAMA
March 5, 2000

Thank you. This is a day the Lord has made for this very purpose. Congressman Lewis, Mrs. King, Reverend Jackson, Reverend Harris, Congressman Houghton and Congressman Hilliard, and all the members of Congress who are here. I thank all the members of my administration who are here, especially Harris Wofford, the head of our AmeriCorps program who was here with you 35 years ago today.

I thank young Antar Breaux. Didn't he give a fine speech? When he was speaking, John leaned over to me and he said, you know, I used to give a speech like that when I was young.

I thank Senator Sanders and Rose Sanders for the work they are doing with this magnificent Voting Rights Museum. I thank Joe Lowrey and Andy Young and Julian Bond, and all the others who have come here to be with us. And I thank you, Hosea Williams and Mrs. Boynton and Mrs. Foster and Mrs. Brown and Mr. Doyle and Reverend Hunter — all the heroes of the movement from that day, those here on this platform and those in the audience.

I bring you greetings from three of my partners — the First Lady, Hillary, and the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, who wish they could be here today. I thank Ambassador Sisulu for joining us. I thank Governor Siegelman for making us feel welcome. And I thank Mayor Smitherman for the long road he, too, has traveled in these last 35 years.

I come today as your President, and also as a child of the South. The only thing that John Lewis said I disagree with is that I could have chosen not to come. That is not true. I had to be here in Selma today.

Thirty-five years ago, a single day in Selma became a seminal moment in the history of our country. On this bridge, America's long march to freedom met a roadblock of violent resistance. But the marchers, thank God, would not take a detour on the road to freedom.

By 1965, their will had already been steeled by triumph and tragedy: by the breaking of the color line at Old Miss; the historic March on Washington; the assassinations of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X and President Kennedy; the bombing deaths of four little black girls at

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the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham; the Mississippi Freedom Summer; the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

On this Bloody Sunday, about 600 foot soldiers, some of whom, thankfully, remain with us today, absorbed with uncommon dignity the unbridled force of racism — putting their lives on the line for that most basic American right: the simple right to vote, a right that already had been long guaranteed and long denied.

Here in Dallas County, there were no black elected officials because only one percent of voting-age blacks, about 250 people, were registered. They were kept from the polls not by their own indifference or alienation, but by systematic exclusion — by the poll tax, by intimidation, by literacy testing that even the testers could not pass. And they were kept away from the polls by violence.

It must be hard for the young people in this audience to believe, but just 35 years ago, Americans, both black and white, lost their lives in the voting rights crusade. Some died in Selma and Marion. One of the reasons I came here today is to say to the families and to those who remember Jimmy Lee Jackson, Reverend James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo, and others whose names we may never know: we honor them for the patriots they were.

They did not die in vain. Just one week after Bloody Sunday, President Johnson spoke to the nation in stirring words. He said, "At times, history and fate meet in a single time and a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. . . Their cause must be our cause."

Two weeks after Bloody Sunday, emboldened by their faith in God and the support of a white southerner in the Oval Office, Dr. King led 4,000 people across the Pettus Bridge on the 54-mile trek to Montgomery. And six months later, President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, proclaiming that "The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men."

It has been said that the Voting Rights Act was signed in ink in Washington, but it first was signed in blood in Selma.

Those who walked by faith across this bridge led us all to a better tomorrow. In 1964, there were only 300 black elected officials nationwide, and just 3 African Americans in the Congress. Today those numbers have swelled to nearly 9,000 black elected officials, and 39 members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Today African Americans hold the majority in the Selma City Council and school board, because the number of African American registered voters in Dallas Country has risen from 250 to more than 20,000.

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And just as Dr. King predicted, the rise of black southerners to full citizenship also lifted their white neighbors. "It is history's wry paradox," he said, "that when Negroes win their struggle to be free, those who have held them down will themselves be free for the first time."

After Selma, free white and black southerners crossed the bridge to the New South — leaving hatred and isolation on the far side — building vibrant cities, thriving economies and great universities. A New South still enriched by the old-time religion and rhythms and rituals we all love, now open to all things modern, and people of all races and faiths from all over the world. A New South in which whites have gained at least as much as blacks from the march to freedom. Without Selma, Atlanta would never have had the Super Bowl or the Olympics. And without Selma, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton would never have been elected President of the United States.

The advance of freedom and opportunity has taken our entire nation a mighty long way. We begin the new millennium with great prosperity, and the lowest levels of African American and Hispanic unemployment ever recorded; with greater diversity in all walks of life, and a cherished role in helping those beyond our borders to overcome their own racial and ethnic and tribal and religious conflicts.

We have built the bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across. We come here today to say, we could not have done it if brave Americans had not first walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

Yes, we have come a mighty long way. But our journey is not over, for despite our unprecedented prosperity and real social progress, there are still wide and disturbing disparities that fall along the color line — in health and income, in educational achievement and perceptions of justice. My fellow Americans, there are still bridges yet to cross.

As long as there are people and places, including neighborhoods here in Selma, that have not participated in our economic prosperity, we have a bridge to cross.

As long as African American income hovers at nearly half that of white, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as African American and Hispanic children are more likely than white children to live in poverty, and less likely to attend or graduate from college, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as African Americans and other minorities suffer two, three, even four times the rates of heart disease, AIDS, diabetes and cancer, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as our children continue to die as the victims of mindless violence, we have another bridge to cross.

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As long as African Americans and Latinos anywhere in America believe they are unfairly targeted by police because of the color of their skin, and police believe they are unfairly judged by their communities because of the color of their uniforms, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as the waving symbol of one American's pride is the shameful symbol of another American's pain, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as the power of America's growing diversity remains diminished by discrimination and stained by acts of violence against people just because they're black or Hispanic or Asian or gay or Jewish or Muslim — as long as that happens to any American, we have another bridge to cross.

And as long as less than half our eligible voters exercise the right that so many here in Selma marched and died for, we've got a very large bridge to cross.

But the bridges are there to be crossed. They stand on the strong foundations of our Constitution. They were built by our forebears through silent tears and weary years. They are waiting to take us to higher ground.

Oh, yes, the bridges are built. We can see them clearly. But to get to the other side, we, too, will have to march. I ask you to remember Dr. King's words: "Human progress never rolls on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God."

My fellow Americans, this day has a special meaning for me, for I, too, am a son of the South — the old, segregated South. And those of you who marched 35 years ago set me free, too, on Bloody Sunday. Free to know you; to work with you; to love you; to raise my child to celebrate our differences and hallow our common humanity.

I thank you all for what you did here. Thank you, Andy and Jessc and Joe, for the lives you have lived since. Thank you, Coretta, for giving up your beloved husband and the blessings of a normal life. Thank you, Ethel Kennedy, for giving up your beloved husband and the blessings of a normal life.

And thank you, John Lewis, for the beatings you took and the heart you kept wide open. Thank you for walking with the wind, hand in hand with your brothers and sisters, to hold America's trembling house down. Thank you for your vision of the beloved community, an America at peace with itself.

I tell you all, as long as Americans are willing to hold hands, we can walk with any wind, we can cross any bridge. Deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome.

Thank you, and God bless you.

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Remarks by the President at Announcement of New National Monuments

GRAND CANYON
HOPI POINT, ARIZONA
January 11, 2000

Thank you very much. Good morning. I know we're doing the right thing, because look at the day we've got. We've got the good Lord's stamp of approval on this great day.

Ann, thank you for your words and for your life and your example. Superintendent Arnberger, thank you and all the staff at Grand Canyon National Park. And through you I'd like to thank all the people who work for all of our national parks. I have spent quite a good deal of time as President in the national parks of America. And I grew up in one. I am, I suppose, therefore, more personally indebted to the people who give their lives to the Park Service than perhaps any of my predecessors.

I also want to thank all the people here from the Bureau of Land Management for the work they do and for the remarkable partnership that will be launched here. We have worked very hard these last seven years to try to get these two agencies to work together, to support each other, to believe in each other and to have common objectives. And I think we've made a lot of progress. So I want to thank the BLM people who are here, as well. Give them all a hand.

I want to thank the environmental groups who are here. I want to welcome the children who are here. We have children from Grand Canyon Middle School and St. Mary's Middle School. They are a lot of what today is all about. I want to thank Congressman Ed Pastor, of Arizona; Congressman Sam Farr, from California, for joining me; and former Congresswoman Karan English, from Arizona, for being here. And I want to thank all the people from the White House who supported me in this decision — my Chief of Staff, John Podesta, and the head of our Council on Environmental Quality, George Frampton, are here.

I want to acknowledge particularly Secretary Babbitt's counselor, Molly McUsic, who played a big role in what we celebrate today — she's not here because she's celebrating an even bigger production: yesterday she gave birth to her son, Benjamin, so she couldn't be here, but I want to acknowledge her and her service.

And, finally, I want to say this is, as you can see, a special day for Bruce Babbitt; not only because he has been a devoted champion of the Antiquities Act and of protecting our

New National Monuments - Grand Canyon

land, but also because he is a former Governor of Arizona. When we served together as governors Hillary and I made it a habit at least once a year at the governors' meetings to have dinner with Bruce and Hattie Babbitt. He was giving me the speech he gave here today 15 or 20 years ago. I've heard Bruce's speech a lot now, but it gets better every time he gives it.

Our country has been blessed by some outstanding Secretaries of the Interior — Gifford Pinchot, Harold Ickes. But I'll make a prediction: I believe when our time here is done and a fair analysis of the record is made, there will be no Secretary of the Interior in the history of the United States who has done as much to preserve our natural heritage as Bruce Babbitt, and I thank him for that.

Secretary Babbitt talked about Theodore Roosevelt's role. You might be interested to know that it was exactly 92 years ago today, on January 11, 1908, that he designated the Grand Canyon as one of our nation's first national monuments. Now, the first light falls on the 21st century and this breathtaking landscape he helped to protect. None of you who can see what is behind me can doubt the wisdom of that decision. So it is altogether fitting that on this day and in this place we continue that great journey.

This morning, on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon, I designated three new national monuments and the expansion of a fourth, to make sure more of the land that belongs to the American people will always be enjoyed by them. What a remarkable place this Canyon is. It is in so many ways the symbol of our great natural expanse, our beauty and our spirit.

Thirty years ago for the first time I watched the sun set over the Grand Canyon for over two hours. This morning I got up and for about an hour I watched the sun rise over the Canyon for the first time. In both cases, watching the interplay of the changing light against the different layers and colors of the Canyon left me with a lifetime memory I will always cherish. Millions and millions of Americans share those memories, and a love of our natural treasure.

In fact, I believe if there's one thing that unites our fractious, argumentative country across generations and parties and time, it is the love we have for our land. We know, as President Roosevelt said, we cannot improve upon this landscape. So the only thing we can add to it is our protection. President Roosevelt challenged us to live up to that ideal, to see beyond today or next month or next year. He said, "the one characteristic more essential than any other is foresight; it should be the growing nation with a future which takes the long look ahead."

I am very grateful for the opportunities that Vice President Gore and I have had to build on President Roosevelt's legacy, to take that long look ahead, to chart a new conservation vision for a new century. From our inner cities to our pristine wild lands, we have worked

New National Monuments - Grand Canyon

hard to ensure that every American has a clean and healthy environment. We've rid hundreds of neighborhoods of toxic waste dumps; taken the most dramatic steps in a generation to clean the air we breathe, to control emissions that endanger the health of our children and the stability of our climate. We have made record investments in science and technology to protect future generations from the threat of global warming. We've worked to protect and restore our most glorious natural resources, from the Florida Everglades to California's redwoods and Mojave Desert to Escalante to Yellowstone.

And we have, I hope, finally put to rest the false choice between the economy and the environment, for we have the strongest economy in our history, with a cleaner environment — cleaner air, cleaner water, more land set aside, safer food. I hope finally we have broken the hold of an old and now wrong idea the nation can only grow rich and stay rich if it continues to despoil its environment and burn up the atmosphere. With new conservation technologies and alternative energy sources, that is simply no longer true. It has not been true for quite some years now, but it is only now coming to be recognized. And I can tell you that in the next few years, no one will be able to deny the fact that we will actually have more stable, more widespread, more long-term economic growth if we improve the environment.

The Detroit Auto Show this year is going to showcase cars that get 70 and 80 miles a gallon, with fuel injection and dual fuel sources. Before you know it, we will crack the chemical barriers to truly efficient production of bio-mass fuels, which will enable us to produce eight or nine gallons of bio-mass fuels with only one gallon of oil. That will be the equivalent of driving cars that get 160 miles to a gallon of gasoline. And this is just the beginning.

We built a low-income working family housing project in the Inland Empire out in California, in cooperation with the National Home Builders, with glass in the windows that lets in four or five times as much light and keeps out four or five times as much heat and cold. And we promised the people on modest incomes that if they moved into these homes their energy bills would be, on average, 40 percent lower than they would have been in a home of comparable size. I can tell you that after two years, they're averaging 65 percent below that. And we are just beginning.

So I ask all of you not only to celebrate this happy day, but to see it in the larger context of our common responsibility and our opportunity to preserve this planet.

Now, to the matter at hand. We began this unforgettable morning on the edge of this magnificent park. The deep canyons, rugged mountains and isolated buttes of the North Rim of the Grand Canyon tell a story written over the course of billions of years, illustrated in colorful vistas and spectacular detail. It is a lonely landscape, a vast and vital area of open space which, as Secretary Babbitt said, includes a critical watershed for the Colorado

New National Monuments - Grand Canyon

River and the Grand Canyon. Today we protect more than a million acres of this land. That is an area larger than Yosemite Park. For America's families we designate it as the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. This effectively doubles the size of protected land around the Grand Canyon.

Second, we act to promote some of the most significant late, prehistoric sites in the American southwest. In the shadow of Phoenix there lies a rough landscape of mesas and deep canyons rich in archaeological treasures; distinctive art etched into boulders and cliff faces; and stone masonry pueblos, once inhabited by several thousand people centuries ago. As the suburbs of Phoenix creep ever closer to this space, we act to protect history and heritage. For America's families, we designate this land the Agua Fria National Monument.

Third, we are protecting thousands of small islands, rock outcroppings and exposed reefs along California's splendid coastline. These are natural wonders and they're also the habitat and nesting ground for sea mammals and hundreds of thousands of sea birds, forced from the shore because of development. Today, we act to protect all the coastal islands, reefs and rocks off California now owned by the federal government, designating them the California Coastal National Monument. Help Congressman Farr there clap.

Fourth, and finally, we will expand California's Pinnacles National Monument, created by President Roosevelt in 1908. Pinnacles is about two hours from Silicon Valley, but it's a world away. It includes soaring spires from an ancient volcano. Its mountain caves, desert and wilderness are home to abundant wildlife and a haven for campers, climbers and hikers. For one and all, Pinnacles is a sanctuary from sprawl. And for one and all, we act to keep it that way.

All these areas are now owned by the federal government. Secretary Babbitt's recommendation that they be protected came as a result of careful analysis and close consultation with local citizens, state and local officials, members of Congress.

Clearly, these lands represent many things to many people. In managing the new monuments, we will continue to work closely with the local communities to ensure that their views are heard and their interests are respected. This is not about locking lands up; it is about freeing them up, from the pressures of development and the threat of sprawl, for all Americans for all time.

I have said many times that the new century finds America with an unprecedented opportunity and, therefore, an unprecedented responsibility for the future — an opportunity and a responsibility rooted in the fact that never before in my lifetime, anyway, has our country enjoyed at one time so much economic prosperity and social progress, with the absence of internal crisis or external threat to our existence. Can you imagine the sacrifices laid down by our ancestors, generation after generation after generation, in the fond hope that one day our country would be in the shape we are now in?

New National Monuments - Grand Canyon

Now, when we're in this sort of position, we have a heavier responsibility even than our forebears did a century ago to take that long look ahead. To ask ourselves what the next century holds, what are the big challenges, what are the big opportunities, to dream of the future we want for our children, and then to move aggressively to build that future.

So I say again, there are these big challenges in the long look ahead: the aging of America; we'll double the number of people over 65 in the next 30 years — I hope to be one of them. The children of America, the largest and most diverse group ever — they all have to have a world-class education, whether they live in remote areas in Arizona or the poorest inner-city neighborhoods across America. The families of America — most of them are working; they need more help to balance work and parenting, and they all need access to affordable health care and child care.

The poor of America — it is well to remember that there are people and places that have been left behind by this recovery. We have a strategy of economic empowerment that should be brought to every person willing to work. If we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to doing it.

The world we live in is ever more interdependent, not just on the environmental front, but in many other ways. We have to build a more cooperative world. America is in a unique position now, with our economy, our military strength, our political influence. It won't last forever, and it's almost impossible for us to avoid having people resent us. But we have done our best to be responsible partners for peace and prosperity, and for bridging the racial, religious, and ethnic gaps that tear apart so much of the world. It is time for us to work with others, against the dangers of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, and the other threats, to build a better world together — and to build one America here at home across the lines that have divided us too deeply for too long.

But a big part of all of this, of the long look ahead, is making an absolute, firm commitment that going forward here at home in America, and with friends and partners throughout the world, we will build a 21st century economy that is in harmony with the environment; that we will continue to improve and protect it, even as we grow. And we have to keep working until we convince people all over the world, in countries that long for the level of prosperity we take for granted, that they do not have to grow rich the way countries did in the 19th and the 20th century; that the fastest way to grow the economy today is the most environmentally responsible way. We owe that to the future.

Taking the long look ahead, as is manifest in the protections we give today to the land around the Grand Canyon and in these other monuments, is fundamentally an act of humanity — and I might add, also an act of humility.

I'll close with this. I had two rather interesting experiences today only peripherally related to what we're doing. One is, the press asked me whether I saw this as a legacy item, as if that were the reason for doing it. I said, well, I've been working on this stuff for seven years now. And I grew up in a national park; I believe in what I'm doing today.

But I'll say again, this is an act of humility for all of us. As we were flying today over to the North Rim, when we got further west along the Canyon, Bruce looked at me and he said, see, there's some dormant volcanoes, and you can see the residue of the ash. And I said, when did that volcano erupt? He said, oh, not very long ago, 10,000 or 20,000 years. And if you look out 10,000 or 20,000 years from now, if the good Lord lets us all survive as a human race, no one will remember who set aside this land on this day. But the children will still enjoy it.

So I say to all of you, I hope you will go forth from this place today with a renewed dedication to the long look ahead; with a renewed sense of pride and gratitude; with a sense that we have reaffirmed our humanity as well as our devotion to our natural home; and a sense of humility that we are grateful, we are fortunate, and we are obligated to take the long look ahead.

Thank you and God bless you.

Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament

PARLIAMENT
NEW DELHI, INDIA
March 22, 2000

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, I am privileged to speak to you and, through you, to the people of India. I am honored to be joined today by members of my Cabinet and staff at the White House, and a very large representation of members of our United States Congress from both political parties. We're all honored to be here and we thank you for your warm welcome.

I would also like to thank the people of India for their kindness to my daughter and my mother-in-law and, on their previous trip, to my wife and my daughter.

I have looked forward to this day with great anticipation. This whole trip has meant a great deal to me, especially to this point, the opportunity I had to visit the Gandhi memorial, to express on behalf of all the people of the United States our gratitude for the life, the work, the thought of Gandhi, without which the great civil rights revolution in the United States would never have succeeded on a peaceful plane.

As Prime Minister Vajpayee has said, India and America are natural allies, two nations conceived in liberty, each finding strength in its diversity, each seeing in the other a reflection of its own aspiration for a more humane and just world.

A poet once said the world's inhabitants can be divided into "those that have seen the Taj Mahal and those that have not." Well, in a few hours I will have a chance to cross over to the happier side of that divide. But I hope, in a larger sense, that my visit will help the American people to see the new India and to understand you better. And I hope that the visit will help India to understand America better. And that by listening to each other we can build a true partnership of mutual respect and common endeavor.

From a distance, India often appears as a kaleidoscope of competing, perhaps superficial, images. Is it atomic weapons, or ahimsa? A land struggling against poverty and inequality, or the world's largest middle-class society? Is it still simmering with communal tensions, or history's most successful melting pot? Is it Bollywood or Satyajit Ray? Swetta Chetty, or Alla Rakha? Is it the handloom or the hyperlink?

India 1

The truth is, no single image can possibly do justice to your great nation. But beyond the complexities and the apparent contradictions, I believe India teaches us some very basic lessons.

The first is about democracy. There are still those who deny that democracy is a universal aspiration; who say it works only for people of a certain culture, or a certain degree of economic development. India has been proving them wrong for 52 years now. Here is a country where more than 2 million people hold elected office in local government; a country that shows at every election that those who possess the least cherish their vote the most. Far from washing away the uniqueness of your culture, your democracy has brought out the richness of its tapestry, and given you the knot that holds it together.

A second lesson India teaches is about diversity. You have already heard remarks about that this morning. But around the world there is a chorus of voices who say ethnic and religious diversity is a threat; who argue that the only way to keep different people from killing one another is to keep them as far apart as possible. But India has shown us a better way. For all the troubles you have seen, surely the subcontinent has seen more innocents hurt in the efforts to divide people by ethnicity and faith than by the efforts to bring them together in peace and harmony.

Under trying circumstances, you have shown the world how to live with difference. You have shown that tolerance and mutual respect are in many ways the keys to our common survival. That is something the whole world needs to learn.

A third lesson India teaches is about globalization and what may be the central debate of our time. Many people believe the forces of globalization are inherently divisive; that they can only widen the gap between rich and poor. That is a valid fear, but I believe wrong.

As the distance between producers large and small, and customers near and far becomes less relevant, developing countries will have opportunities not only to succeed, but to lead in lifting more people out of poverty more quickly than at any time in human history. In the old economy, location was everything. In the new economy, information, education and motivation are everything — and India is proving it.

You liberated your markets and now you have one of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world. At the rate of growth within your grasp, India's standard of living could rise by 500 percent in just 20 years. You embraced information technology and now, when Americans and other big software companies call for consumer and customer support, they're just as likely to find themselves talking to an expert in Bangalore as one in Seattle.

You decentralized authority, giving more individuals and communities the freedom to succeed. In that way, you affirmed what every successful country is finding in its own way: globalization does not favor nations with a licensing raj, it does favor nations with a panchayat raj. And the world has been beating a path to your door.

India 2

In the new millennium, every great country must answer one overarching question: how shall we define our greatness? Every country — America included — is tempted to cling to yesterday's definition of economic and military might. But true leadership for the United States and India derives more from the power of our example and the potential of our people.

I believe that the greatest of India's many gifts to the world is the example its people have set "from Midnight to Millennium." Think of it: virtually every challenge humanity knows can be found here in India. And every solution to every challenge can be found here as well: confidence in democracy; tolerance for diversity; a willingness to embrace social change. That is why Americans admire India; why we welcome India's leadership in the region and the world; and why we want to take our partnership to a new level, to advance our common values and interests, and to resolve the differences that still remain.

There were long periods when that would not have been possible. Though our democratic ideals gave us a starting point in common, and our dreams of peace and prosperity gave us a common destination, there was for too long too little common ground between East and West, North and South. Now, thankfully, the old barriers between nations and people, economies and cultures, are being replaced by vast networks of cooperation and commerce. With our open, entrepreneurial societies, India and America are at the center of those networks. We must expand them, and defeat the forces that threaten them.

To succeed, I believe there are four large challenges India and the United States must meet together — challenges that should define our partnership in the years ahead.

The first of these challenges is to get our own economic relationship right. Americans have applauded your efforts to open your economy, your commitment to a new wave of economic reform; your determination to bring the fruits of growth to all your people. We are proud to support India's growth as your largest partner in trade and investment. And we want to see more Indians and more Americans benefit from our economic ties, especially in the cutting edge fields of information technology, biotechnology and clean energy.

The private sector will drive this progress, but our job as governments is to create the conditions that will allow them to succeed in doing so, and to reduce the remaining impediments to trade and investment between us.

Our second challenge is to sustain global economic growth in a way that lifts the lives of rich and poor alike, both across and within national borders. Part of the world today lives at the cutting edge of change, while a big part still exists at the bare edge of survival. Part of the world lives in the information age. Part of the world does not even reach the clean water age. And often the two live side by side. It is unacceptable, it is intolerable; thankfully, it is unnecessary and it is far more than a regional crisis. Whether around the corner or

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around the world, abject poverty in this new economy is an affront to our common humanity and a threat to our common prosperity.

The problem is truly immense, as you know far better than I. But perhaps for the first time in all history, few would dispute that we know the solutions. We know we need to invest in education and literacy, so that children can have soaring dreams and the tools to realize them. We know we need to make a special commitment in developing nations to the education of young girls, as well as young boys. Everything we have learned about development tells us that when women have access to knowledge, to health, to economic opportunity and to civil rights, children thrive, families succeed and countries prosper.

Here again, we see how a problem and its answers can be found side by side in India. For every economist who preaches the virtues of women's empowerment points at first to the achievements of India's state of Kerala — I knew there would be somebody here from Kerala. Thank you.

To promote development, we know we must conquer the diseases that kill people and progress. Last December, India immunized 140 million children against polio, the biggest public health effort in human history. I congratulate you on that.

I have launched an initiative in the United States to speed the development of vaccines for malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS — the biggest infectious killers of our time. This July, when our partners in the G-8 meet in Japan, I will urge them to join us.

But that is not enough, for at best, effective vaccines are years away. Especially for AIDS, we need a commitment today to prevention, and that means straight talk and an end to stigmatizing. As Prime Minister Vajpayee said, no one should ever speak of AIDS as someone else's problem. This has long been a big problem for the United States. It is now a big problem for you. I promise you America's partnership in the continued struggle.

To promote development, we know we must also stand with those struggling for human rights and freedom around the world and in the region. For as the economist Amartya Sen has said, no system of government has done a better job in easing human want, in averting human catastrophes, than democracy. I am proud America and India will stand together on the right side of history when we launch the Community of Democracies in Warsaw this summer.

All of these steps are essential to lifting people's lives. But there is yet another. With greater trade and the growth it brings, we can multiply the gains of education, better health and democratic empowerment. That is why I hope we will work together to launch a new global trade round that will promote economic development for all.

One of the benefits of the World Trade Organization is that it has given developing countries a bigger voice in global trade policy. Developing countries have used that voice

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to urge richer nations to open their markets further so that all can have a chance to grow. That is something the opponents of the WTO don't fully appreciate yet.

We need to remind them that when Indians and Brazilians and Indonesians speak up for open trade, they are not speaking for some narrow corporate interest, but for a huge part of humanity that has no interest in being saved from development. Of course, trade should not be a race to the bottom in environmental and labor standards, but neither should fears about trade keep part of our global community forever at the bottom.

Yet we must also remember that those who are concerned about the impact of globalization in terms of inequality, in environmental degradation, do speak for a large part of humanity. Those who believe that trade should contribute not just to the wealth, but also to the fairness of societies; those who share Nehru's dream of a structure for living that fulfills our material needs, and at the same time sustains our mind and spirit.

We can advance these values without engaging in rich-country protectionism. Indeed, to sustain a consensus for open trade, we must find a way to advance these values as well. That is my motivation, and my only motivation, in seeking a dialogue about the connections between labor, the environment, and trade and development.

I would remind you — and I want to emphasize this — the United States has the most open markets of any wealthy country in the world. We have the largest trade deficit. We also have had a strong economy, because we have welcomed the products and the services from the labor of people throughout the world. I am for an open global trading system. But we must do it in a way that advances the cause of social justice around the world.

The third challenge we face is to see that the prosperity and growth of the information age require us to abandon some of the outdated truths of the Industrial Age. The economy grows faster today, for example, when children are kept in school, not put to work. Think about the industries that are driving our growth today in India and in America. Just as oil enriched the nations who had it in the 20th century, clearly knowledge is doing the same for the nations who have it in the 21st century. The difference is, knowledge can be tapped by all people everywhere, and it will never run out.

We must also find ways to achieve robust growth while protecting the environment and reversing climate change. I'm convinced we can do that as well. We will see in the next few years, for example, automobiles that are three, four, perhaps five times as efficient as those being driven today. Soon scientists will make alternative sources of energy more widely available and more affordable. Just for example, before long chemists almost certainly will unlock the block that will allow us to produce eight or nine gallons of fuel from bio-fuels, farm fuels, using only one gallon of gasoline.

India 5

conventional and nuclear forces while meeting its goals for human development. These are questions others may ask, but only you can answer.

I can only speak to you as a friend about America's own experience during the Cold War. We were geographically distant from the Soviet Union. We were not engaged in direct armed combat. Through years of direct dialogue with our adversary, we each had a very good idea of the other's capabilities, doctrines, and intentions. We each spent billions of dollars on elaborate command and control systems, for nuclear weapons are not cheap.

And yet, in spite of all of this — and as I sometimes say jokingly, in spite of the fact that both sides had very good spies, and that was a good thing — in spite of all of this, we came far too close to nuclear war. We learned that deterrence alone cannot be relied on to prevent accident or miscalculation. And in a nuclear standoff, there is nothing more dangerous than believing there is no danger.

I can also repeat what I said at the outset. India is a leader, a great nation, which by virtue of its size, its achievements, and its example, has the ability to shape the character of our time. For any of us, to claim that mantle and assert that status is to accept first and foremost that our actions have consequences for others beyond our borders. Great nations with broad horizons must consider whether actions advance or hinder what Nehru called the larger cause of humanity.

So India's nuclear policies, inevitably, have consequences beyond your borders: eroding the barriers against the spread of nuclear weapons, discouraging nations that have chosen to forswear these weapons, encouraging others to keep their options open. But if India's nuclear test shook the world, India's leadership for nonproliferation can certainly move the world.

India and the United States have reaffirmed our commitment to forego nuclear testing. And for that I thank the Prime Minister, the government and the people of India. But in our own self-interest — and I say this again — in our own self-interest we can do more. I believe both nations should join the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; work to launch negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons; strengthen export controls. And India can pursue defense policies in keeping with its commitment not to seek a nuclear or missile arms race, which the Prime Minister has forcefully reaffirmed just in these last couple of days.

Again, I do not presume to speak for you or to tell you what to decide. It is not my place. You are a great nation and you must decide. But I ask you to continue our dialogue on these issues. And let us turn our dialogue into a genuine partnership against proliferation. If we make progress in narrowing our differences, we will be both more secure, and our relationship can reach its full potential.

India 7

I hope progress can also be made in overcoming a source of tension in this region, including the tensions between India and Pakistan. I share many of your government's concerns about the course Pakistan is taking; your disappointment that past overtures have not always met with success; your outrage over recent violence. I know it is difficult to be a democracy bordered by nations whose governments reject democracy.

But I also believe India has a special opportunity, as a democracy, to show its neighbors that democracy is about dialogue. It does not have to be about friendship, but it is about building working relationships among people who differ.

One of the wisest things anyone ever said to me is that you don't make peace with your friends. That is what the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told me before he signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians, with whom he had been fighting for decades. It is well to remember — I remind myself of it all the time, even when I have arguments with members of the other party in my Congress — you don't make peace with your friends.

Engagement with adversaries is not the same thing as endorsement. It does not require setting aside legitimate grievances. Indeed, I strongly believe that what has happened since your Prime Minister made his courageous journey to Lahore only reinforces the need for dialogue.

I can think of no enduring solution to this problem that can be achieved in any other way. In the end, for the sake of the innocents who always suffer the most, someone must end the contest of inflicting and absorbing pain.

Let me also make clear, as I have repeatedly, I have certainly not come to South Asia to mediate the dispute over Kashmir. Only India and Pakistan can work out the problems between them. And I will say the same thing to General Musharraf in Islamabad. But if outsiders cannot resolve this problem, I hope you will create the opportunity to do it yourselves, calling on the support of others who can help where possible, as American diplomacy did in urging the Pakistanis to go back behind the line of control in the Kargil crisis.

In the meantime, I will continue to stress that this should be a time for restraint, for respect for the line of control, for renewed lines of communication.

Addressing this challenge and all the others I mentioned will require us to be closer partners and better friends, and to remember that good friends, out of respect, are honest with one another. And even when they do not agree, they always try to find common ground.

I have read that one of the unique qualities of Indian classical music is its elasticity. The composer lays down a foundation, a structure of melodic and rhythmic arrangements, but the player has to improvise within that structure to bring the raga to life.

India 8

Our relationship is like that. The composers of our past have given us a foundation of shared democratic ideals. It is up to us to give life to those ideals in this time. The melodies do not have to be the same to be beautiful to both of us. But if we listen to each other, and we strive to realize our vision together, we will write a symphony far greater than the sum of our individual notes.

The key is to genuinely and respectfully listen to each other. If we do, Americans will better understand the scope of India's achievements, and the dangers India still faces in this troubled part of the world. We will understand that India will not choose a particular course simply because others wish it to do so. It will choose only what it believes its interests clearly demand and what its people democratically embrace.

If we listen to each other, I also believe Indians will understand better that America very much wants you to succeed. Time and again in my time as President, America has found that it is the weakness of great nations, not their strength, that threatens our vision for tomorrow.

So we want India to be strong; to be secure; to be united; to be a force for a safer, more prosperous, more democratic world. Whatever we ask of you, we ask in that spirit alone. After too long a period of estrangement, India and the United States have learned that being natural allies is a wonderful thing, but it is not enough. Our task is to turn a common vision into common achievements so that partners in spirit can be partners in fact. We have already come a long way to this day of new beginnings, but we still have promises to keep, challenges to meet and hopes to redeem.

So let us seize this moment with humility in the fragile and fleeting nature of this life, but with absolute confidence in the power of the human spirit. Let us seize it for India, for America, for all those with whom we share this small planet, and for all the children that together we can give such bright tomorrows.

Thank you very much.

INDIA 9

President William Jefferson Clinton
State of the Union Address

U.S. CAPITOL
January 27, 2000

M_{r.} Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans:

We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history.

Never before has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity and social progress with so little internal crisis and so few external threats. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity — and, therefore, such a profound obligation—to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We begin the new century with over 20 million new jobs; the fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rates in 30 years; the lowest poverty rates in 20 years; the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates on record; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years.

And next month, America will achieve the longest period of economic growth in our entire history.

We have built a new economy.

Our economic revolution has been matched by a revival of the American spirit: crime, down by 20 percent, to its lowest level in 25 years; teen births, down seven years in a row; adoptions, up by 30 percent; welfare rolls, cut in half to their lowest levels in 30 years.

My fellow Americans, the state of our union is the strongest it has ever been.

As always, the real credit belongs to the American people. My gratitude also goes to those of you in this chamber who have worked with us to put progress over partisanship.

Eight years ago, it was not so clear to most Americans there would be much to celebrate in the year 2000. Then our nation was gripped by economic distress, social decline, political gridlock. The title of a best-selling book asked: "America: What Went Wrong?"

In the best traditions of our nation, Americans determined to set things right. We restored the vital center, replacing outmoded ideologies with a new vision anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. We reinvented government, transforming it into a catalyst for new ideas that

STATE OF THE UNION

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(For Reference
only)

stress both opportunity and responsibility, and give our people the tools they need to solve their own problems.

With the smallest federal work force in 40 years, we turned record deficits into record surpluses, and doubled our investment in education. We cut crime, with 100,000 community police and the Brady law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals.

We ended welfare as we knew it—requiring work while protecting health care and nutrition for children, and investing more in child care, transportation, and housing to help their parents go to work. We've helped parents to succeed at home and at work, with family leave, which 20 million Americans have now used to care for a newborn child or a sick loved one. We've engaged 150,000 young Americans in citizen service through AmeriCorps, while helping them earn money for college.

In 1992, we had a road map; today, we have results.

Even more important, America again has the confidence to dream big dreams. We must not let this confidence drift into complacency. For we will be judged by the dreams and deeds we pass on to our children. And on that score, we will be held to a high standard, indeed—because our chance to do good is so great.

My fellow Americans, we have crossed the bridge we built to the 21st century. Now, we must shape a 21st century American revolution—of opportunity, responsibility and community. We must be now, as we were in the beginning, a new nation.

At the dawn of the last century, Theodore Roosevelt said, "the one characteristic more essential than any other is foresight...it should be the growing nation with a future that takes the long look ahead." So, tonight, let us take our long look ahead—and set great goals for our nation.

To 21st century America, let us pledge these things:

Every child will begin school ready to learn and graduate ready to succeed.

Every family will be able to succeed at home and at work, and no child will be raised in poverty.

We will meet the challenge of the aging of America.

We will assure quality, affordable health care, at last, for all Americans.

We will make America the safest big country on Earth.

We will pay off our national debt for the first time since 1835.

We will bring prosperity to every American community.

We will reverse the course of climate change and leave a safer, cleaner planet.

America will lead the world toward shared peace and prosperity, and the far frontiers of science and technology.

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And we will become at last what our founders pledged us to be so long ago — one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

These are great goals, worthy of a great nation. We will not reach them all this year. Not even in this decade. But we will reach them. Let us remember that the first American Revolution was not won with a single shot; the continent was not settled in a single year. The lesson of our history — and the lesson of the last seven years — is that great goals are reached step by step, always building on our progress, always gaining ground.

Of course, you can't gain ground if you're standing still. And for too long this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. So let's begin tonight with them.

Again, I ask you to pass a real patients' bill of rights. I ask you to pass common-sense gun safety legislation. I ask you to pass campaign finance reform. I ask you to vote up or down on judicial nominations and other important appointees. And, again I ask you — I implore you — to raise the minimum wage.

Now, two years ago, as we reached across party lines to reach our first balanced budget, I asked that we meet our responsibility to the next generation by maintaining our fiscal discipline. Because we refused to stray from that path, we are doing something that would have seemed unimaginable seven years ago. We are actually paying down the national debt.

If we stay on this path, we can pay down the debt entirely in just 13 years and make America debt-free for the first time since Andrew Jackson was President in 1835.

In 1993, we began to put our fiscal house in order with the Deficit Reduction Act, which you'll all remember won passage in both Houses by just a single vote. Your former colleague, my first Secretary of the Treasury, led that effort and sparked our long boom. He's here with us tonight. Lloyd Bentsen, you have served America well, and we thank you.

Beyond paying off the debt, we must ensure that the benefits of debt reduction go to preserving two of the most important guarantees we make to every American—Social Security and Medicare. Tonight, I ask you to work with me to make a bipartisan down payment on Social Security reform by crediting the interest savings from debt reduction to the Social Security Trust Fund so that it will be strong and sound for the next 50 years.

But this is just the start of our journey. We must also take the right steps toward reaching our great goals.

First and foremost, we need a 21st century revolution in education, guided by our faith that every single child can learn. Because education is more than ever the key to our children's future, we must make sure all our children have that key. That means quality pre-school and after-school, the best trained teachers in the classroom, and college opportunities for all our children.

For seven years now, we've worked hard to improve our schools, with opportunity and responsibility — investing more, but demanding more in turn. Reading, math, college entrance scores are up. Some of the most impressive gains are in schools in very poor neighborhoods.

All successful schools have followed the same proven formula: higher standards, more accountability, and extra help so children who need it can get it to reach those standards. I have sent Congress a reform plan based on that formula. It holds states and school districts accountable for progress, and rewards them for results. Each year, our national government invests more than \$15 billion in our schools. It is time to support what works and stop supporting what doesn't.

Now, as we demand more from our schools, we should also invest more in our schools. Let's double our investment to help states and districts turn around their worst-performing schools, or shut them down. Let's double our investments in after-school and summer school programs, which boost achievement and keep people off the streets and out of trouble. If we do this, we can give every single child in every failing school in America — every one — the chance to meet high standards.

Since 1993, we've nearly doubled our investment in Head Start and improved its quality. Tonight, I ask you for another \$1 billion for Head Start, the largest increase in the history of the program.

We know that children learn best in smaller classes with good teachers. For two years in a row, Congress has supported my plan to hire 100,000 new qualified teachers to lower class size in the early grades. I thank you for that, and I ask you to make it three in a row. And to make sure all teachers know the subjects they teach, tonight I propose a new teacher quality initiative — to recruit more talented people into the classroom, reward good teachers for staying there, and give all teachers the training they need.

We know charter schools provide real public school choice. When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. Today, thanks to you, there are 1,700. I ask you now to help us meet our goal of 3,000 charter schools by next year.

We know we must connect all our classrooms to the Internet, and we're getting there. In 1994, only 3 percent of our classrooms were connected. Today, with the help of the Vice President's E-rate program, more than half of them are. And 90 percent of our schools have at least one Internet connection.

But we cannot finish the job when a third of all our schools are in serious disrepair. Many of them have walls and wires so old, they're too old for the Internet. So tonight, I propose to help 5,000 schools a year make immediate and urgent repairs; and to help build or modernize 6,000 more, to get students out of trailers and into high-tech classrooms.

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I ask all of you to help me double our bipartisan GEAR UP program, which provides mentors for disadvantaged young people. If we double it, we can provide mentors for 1.4 million of them. Let's also offer these kids from disadvantaged backgrounds the same chance to take the same college test-prep courses wealthier students use to boost their test scores.

To make the American Dream achievable for all, we must make college affordable for all. For seven years, on a bipartisan basis, we have taken action toward that goal: larger Pell grants, more affordable student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE scholarships, which have already benefitted 5 million young people.

Now, 67 percent of high school graduates are going on to college. That's up 10 percent since 1993. Yet millions of families still strain to pay college tuition. They need help. So I propose a landmark \$30-billion college opportunity tax cut — a middle class tax deduction for up to \$10,000 in college tuition costs. The previous actions of this Congress have already made two years of college affordable for all. It's time to make four years of college affordable for all.

If we take all these steps, we'll move a long way toward making sure every child starts school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed.

We need a 21st century revolution to reward work and strengthen families, by giving every parent the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all — raising children. That means making sure every family has health care and the support to care for aging parents, the tools to bring their children up right, and that no child grows up in poverty.

From my first days as President, we've worked to give families better access to better health care. In 1997, we passed the Children's Health Insurance Program — CHIP — so that workers who don't have coverage through their employers at least can get it for their children. So far, we've enrolled 2 million children; we're well on our way to our goal of 5 million.

But there are still more than 40 million of our fellow Americans without health insurance — more than there were in 1993. Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion to make low income parents eligible for the insurance that covers their children. Together with our children's initiative, this action would enable us to cover nearly a quarter of all the uninsured people in America.

Again, I want to ask you to let people between the ages of 55 and 65 — the fastest growing group of uninsured — buy into Medicare. And this year I propose to give them a tax credit to make that choice an affordable one. I hope you will support that, as well.

When the baby boomers retire, Medicare will be faced with caring for twice as many of our citizens. Yet, it is far from ready to do so. My generation must not ask our children's generation to shoulder our burden. We simply must act now to strengthen and modernize Medicare.

My budget includes a comprehensive plan to reform Medicare, to make it more efficient and competitive. And it dedicates nearly \$400 billion of our budget surplus to keep Medicare solvent past 2025. And, at long last, it also provides funds to give every senior a voluntary choice of affordable coverage for prescription drugs.

Lifesaving drugs are an indispensable part of modern medicine. No one creating a Medicare program today would even think of excluding coverage for prescription drugs. Yet more than three in five of our seniors now lack dependable drug coverage which can lengthen and enrich their lives. Millions of older Americans who need prescription drugs the most pay the highest prices for them. In good conscience, we cannot let another year pass without extending to all our seniors this lifeline of affordable prescription drugs.

Record numbers of Americans are providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. It's a loving, but a difficult and often very expensive, choice. Last year, I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. Frankly, it wasn't enough. This year, let's triple it, to \$3,000. But this year, let's pass it.

We also have to make needed investments to expand access to mental health care. I want to take a moment to thank the person who led our first White House Conference on Mental Health last year, and who for seven years has led all our efforts to break down the barriers to decent treatment of people with mental illness. Thank you, Tipper Gore.

Taken together, these proposals would mark the largest investment in health care in the 35 years since Medicare was created — the largest investment in 35 years. That would be a big step toward assuring quality health care for all Americans, young and old. I ask you to embrace them and pass them.

We must also make investments that reward work and support families. Nothing does that better than the Earned Income Tax Credit — the EITC. The "E" in the EITC is about earning, working, taking responsibility and being rewarded for it. In my very first address to you, I asked Congress to greatly expand this credit. And you did. As a result, in 1998 alone, the EITC helped more than 4.3 million Americans work their way out of poverty toward the middle class. That's double the number in 1993.

Tonight, I propose another major expansion of the EITC: to reduce the marriage penalty, to make sure it rewards marriage as it rewards work — and also, to expand the tax credit for families that have more than two children. It punishes people with more than two children today. Our proposal would allow families with three or more children to get up to \$1,100 more in tax relief. These are working families; their children should not be in poverty.

We also can't reward work and family unless men and women get equal pay for equal work. Today, the female unemployment rate is the lowest it has been in 46 years. Yet, women still only earn about 75 cents for every dollar men earn. We must do better, by providing the

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resources to enforce present equal pay laws; training more women for high-paying, high-tech jobs; and passing the Paycheck Fairness Act.

Many working parents spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. Last year, we helped parents provide child care for about 2 million children. My child care initiative, before you now, along with funds already secured in welfare reform, would make child care better, safer and more affordable for another 400,000 children. I ask you to pass that.

For hard-pressed middle-income families, we should also expand the child care tax credit. And I believe strongly we should take the next big step and make that tax credit refundable for low-income families. For people making under \$30,000 a year, that could mean up to \$2,400 for child care costs. We all say we're pro-work and pro-family. Passing this proposal would prove it.

Tens of millions of Americans live from paycheck to paycheck. As hard as they work, they still don't have the opportunity to save. Too few can make use of IRAs and 401-K plans. We should do more to help all working families save and accumulate wealth. That's the idea behind the Individual Development Accounts, the IDAs. I ask you to take that idea to a new level, with new Retirement Savings Accounts that enable every low- and moderate-income family in America to save for retirement, a first home, a medical emergency, or a college education. I propose to match their contributions, however small, dollar for dollar, every year they save. And I propose to give a major new tax credit to any small business that will provide a meaningful pension to its workers. Those people ought to have retirement along with the rest of us.

Nearly one in three American children grows up without a father. These children are five times more likely to live in poverty than children with both parents at home. Clearly, demanding and supporting responsible fatherhood is critical to lifting all children out of poverty. We've doubled child support collections since 1992. And I'm proposing to you tough new measures to hold still more fathers responsible.

But we should recognize that a lot of fathers want to do right by their children, but need help to do it. Carlos Rosas, of St. Paul, Minnesota, wanted to do right by his son, and he got the help to do it. Now he's got a good job and he supports his little boy. My budget will help 40,000 more fathers make the same choices Carlos Rosas did. I thank him for being here tonight. Stand up, Carlos. Thank you.

If there is any single issue on which we should be able to reach across party lines, it is in our common commitment to reward work and strengthen families, similar to what we did last year. We came together to help people with disabilities keep their health insurance when they go to work. Thanks to overwhelming bipartisan support from this Congress, we have improved foster care. We've helped those young people who leave it when they

turn 18, and we have dramatically increased the number of foster care children going into adoptive homes. I thank all of you for that.

Of course, I am forever grateful to the person who has led our efforts from the beginning, and who's worked so tirelessly for children and families for 30 years now: my wife, Hillary.

If we take the steps I've just discussed, we can go a long way toward empowering parents to succeed at home and at work, and ensuring that no child is raised in poverty.

We can make these vital investments in health care, education, support for working families, and still offer tax cuts to help pay for college, for retirement, to care for aging parents, to reduce the marriage penalty. We can do these things without forsaking the path of fiscal discipline that got us to this point tonight.

Indeed, we must make these investments and these tax cuts in the context of a balanced budget that strengthens and extends the life of Social Security and Medicare and pays down the national debt.

Crime in America has dropped for the past seven years — that's the longest decline on record — thanks to a national consensus we helped to forge on community police, sensible gun safety laws, and effective prevention. But nobody believes we're safe enough. So again, I ask you to set a higher goal. Let's make this country the safest big country in the world.

Last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire, in addition to the 100,000 community police we've already funded, 50,000 more, concentrated in high-crime neighborhoods. I ask your continued support for that.

Soon after the Columbine tragedy, Congress considered common-sense gun legislation, to require Brady background checks at the gun shows, child safety locks for new handguns, and a ban on the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips. With courage — and a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President — the Senate faced down the gun lobby, stood up for the American people, and passed this legislation. But the House failed to follow suit.

Now, we have all seen what happens when guns fall into the wrong hands. Daniel Mauser was only 15 years old when he was gunned down at Columbine. He was an amazing kid — a straight-A student, a good skier. Like all parents who lose their children, his father Tom has borne unimaginable grief. Somehow he has found the strength to honor his son by transforming his grief into action. Earlier this month, he took a leave of absence from his job to fight for tougher gun safety laws. I pray that his courage and wisdom will at long last move this Congress to make common-sense gun legislation the very next order of business.

Tom Mauser, stand up. We thank you for being here tonight.

We must strengthen our gun laws and better enforce those already on the books. Federal gun crime prosecutions are up 16 percent since I took office. But we must do more. I propose to hire more federal and local gun prosecutors and more ATF agents to crack down on

illegal gun traffickers and bad-apple dealers. And we must give them the enforcement tools that they need, tools to trace every gun and every bullet used in every gun crime in the United States. I ask you to help us do that.

Every state in this country already requires hunters and automobile drivers to have a license. I think they ought to do the same thing for handgun purchases. Specifically, I propose a plan to ensure that all new handgun buyers must first have a photo license from their state showing they passed the Brady background check and a gun safety course, before they get the gun. I hope you'll help me pass that in this Congress.

Listen to this — the accidental gun death rate of children under 15 in the United States is nine times higher than in the other 25 industrialized countries combined. Technologies now exist that could lead to guns that can only be fired by the adults who own them. I ask Congress to fund research into smart gun technology, to save these children's lives. I ask responsible leaders in the gun industry to work with us on smart guns, and other steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands, to keep our children safe.

Every parent I know worries about the impact of violence in the media on their children. I want to begin by thanking the entertainment industry for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings on TV programs and video and Internet games. But, frankly, the ratings are too numerous, diverse and confusing to be really useful to parents. So tonight, I ask the industry to accept the First Lady's challenge to develop a single voluntary rating system for all children's entertainment that is easier for parents to understand and enforce.

The steps I have just outlined will take us well on our way to making America the safest big country in the world.

To keep our historic economic expansion going, we need a 21st century revolution to open new markets, start new businesses, hire new workers right here in America — in our inner cities, poor rural areas, and Native American reservations.

Our nation's prosperity hasn't yet reached these places. Over the last six months, I've traveled to a lot of them, joined by many of you, and many far-sighted business people, to shine a spotlight on the enormous potential in communities from Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta, from Watts to the Pine Ridge Reservation. Everywhere I go, I meet talented people eager for opportunity and able to work.

Tonight I ask you, let's put them to work. For business, it's the smart thing to do. For America, it's the right thing to do. And let me ask you something — if we don't do this now, when will we ever get around to it?

I ask Congress to give businesses the same incentives to invest in America's new markets they now have to invest in markets overseas. Tonight, I propose a large New Markets tax

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credit and other incentives to spur \$22 billion in private-sector capital to create new businesses and new investments in our inner cities and rural areas.

Because empowerment zones have been creating these opportunities for five years now, I also ask you to increase incentives to invest in them and to create more of them.

This is not a Democratic or a Republican issue. Giving people a chance to live their dreams is an American issue.

Mr. Speaker, it was a powerful moment last November when you joined Reverend Jesse Jackson and me in your home state of Illinois, and committed to working toward our common goal, by combining the best ideas from both sides of the aisle. I want to thank you again, and to tell you, Mr. Speaker, I look forward to working with you. This is a worthy joint endeavor.

I also ask you to make special efforts to address the areas of our nation with the highest rates of poverty — our Native American reservations and the Mississippi Delta. My budget includes a \$110-million initiative to promote economic development in the Delta, and a billion dollars to increase economic opportunity, health care, education, and law enforcement for our Native American communities. We should begin this new century by honoring our historic responsibility to empower the first Americans. And I want to thank the leaders and the members from both parties who've expressed to me an interest in working with us on these efforts. They are profoundly important.

There's another part of our American community in trouble tonight — our family farmers. When I signed the Farm Bill in 1996, I said there was great danger it would work well in good times, but not in bad. Well, droughts, floods, and historically low prices have made these times very bad for farmers. We must work together to strengthen the farm safety net, invest in land conservation, and create some new markets for them by expanding our programs for bio-based fuels and products.

Opportunity for all requires something else today—having access to a computer and knowing how to use it. That means we must close the digital divide between those who have the tools and those who don't.

Connecting classrooms and libraries to the Internet is crucial, but it's just a start. My budget ensures that all new teachers are trained to teach 21st century skills, and it creates technology centers in 1,000 communities to serve adults. This spring, I'll invite high-tech leaders to join me on another New Markets tour, to close the digital divide and open opportunities for our people.

I want to thank the high-tech companies that already are doing so much in this area. I hope the new tax incentives I have proposed will get the rest of them to join us. This is a national crusade. We have got to do this, and do it quickly.

Again I say to you, these are steps. But step by step, we can go a long way toward our goal of bringing opportunity to every community.

To realize the full possibilities of this economy, we must reach beyond our own borders, to shape the revolution that is tearing down barriers and building new networks among nations and individuals, and economies and cultures: globalization. It's the central reality of our time.

Of course, change this profound is both liberating and threatening to people. But there's no turning back. And our open, creative society stands to benefit more than any other—if we understand, and act on, the realities of interdependence. We have to be at the center of every vital global network, as a good neighbor and a good partner. We have to recognize that we cannot build our future without helping others to build theirs.

The first thing we have to do is to forge a new consensus on trade. Now, those of us who believe passionately in the power of open trade have to ensure that it lifts both our living standards and our values, never tolerating abusive child labor or a race to the bottom in the environment and worker protection. But others must recognize that open markets and rule-based trade are the best engines we know of for raising living standards, reducing global poverty and environmental destruction, and assuring the free flow of ideas.

I believe as strongly tonight as I did the first day I got here, the only direction for America on trade is to keep going forward. I ask you to help me forge that consensus.

We have to make developing economies our partners in prosperity. That's why I would ask you again to finalize our groundbreaking African and Caribbean Basin trade initiatives.

Globalization is about more than economics. Our purpose must be to bring the world together around freedom and democracy and peace, and to oppose those who would tear it apart. Here are the fundamental challenges I believe America must meet to shape the 21st century world.

First, we must continue to encourage our former adversaries, Russia and China, to emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic nations. Both are being held back today from reaching their full potential: Russia by the legacy of communism, an economy in turmoil, a cruel and self-defeating war in Chechnya; China by the illusion that it can buy stability at the expense of freedom.

But think how much has changed in the past decade: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons taken out of commission; Russian soldiers serving with ours in the Balkans; Russian people electing their leaders for the first time in a thousand years; and in China, an economy more open to the world than ever before.

Of course, no one can know for sure what direction these great nations will take. But we do know for sure that we can choose what we do. And we should do everything in our

power to increase the chance that they will choose wisely, to be constructive members of our global community.

That's why we should support those Russians who are struggling for a democratic, prosperous future; continue to reduce both our nuclear arsenals; and help Russia to safeguard weapons and materials that remain.

And that's why I believe Congress should support the agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO, by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China as soon as possible this year.

I think you ought to do it for two reasons. First of all, our markets are already open to China; this agreement will open China's markets to us. Second, it will plainly advance the cause of peace in Asia and promote the cause of change in China. No, we don't know where it's going. All we can do is decide what we're going to do. But, when all is said and done, we need to know we did everything we possibly could to maximize the chance that China will choose the right future.

A second challenge we've got is to protect our own security from conflicts that pose the risk of wider war and threaten our common humanity. We can't prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But where our interests are at stake and we can make a difference, we should be, and we must be, peacemakers.

We should be proud of our role in bringing the Middle East closer to a lasting peace; building peace in Northern Ireland; working for peace in East Timor and Africa; promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey and in Cyprus; working to defuse these crises between India and Pakistan; defending human rights and religious freedom.

We should be proud of the men and women of our Armed Forces and those of our allies who stopped the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, enabling a million people to return to their homes.

When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his terror on Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide. And when another American plane was shot down over Serbia, he flew into the teeth of enemy air defenses to bring his fellow pilot home. Thanks to our Armed Forces' skill and bravery, we prevailed in Kosovo without losing a single American in combat. I want to introduce Captain Cherrey to you. We honor Captain Cherrey, and we promise you, Captain, we'll finish the job you began.

A third challenge we have is to keep this inexorable march of technology from giving terrorists and potentially hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses. Keep in mind, the same technological advances that have shrunk cell phones to fit in the palms of our hands can also make weapons of terror easier to conceal and easier to use.

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We must meet this threat by making effective agreements to restrain nuclear and missile programs in North Korea; curbing the flow of lethal technology to Iran; preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors; increasing our preparedness against chemical and biological attack; protecting our vital computer systems from hackers and criminals; and developing a system to defend against new missile threats — while working to preserve our ABM missile treaty with Russia. We must do all these things.

I predict that, when most of us are long gone, but some time in the next 10 to 20 years, the major security threat this country will face will come from the enemies of the nation state: the narco-traffickers and the terrorists and the organized criminals, who will be working together, with increasing access to ever-more sophisticated chemical and biological weapons.

I want to thank the Pentagon and others for doing what they're doing right now to try to help protect us and plan for that, so that our defenses will be strong. I ask for your support to ensure they can succeed.

I also want to ask you for a constructive bipartisan dialogue this year to work to build a consensus, which I hope will eventually lead to the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

I hope we can also have a constructive effort to meet the challenge that is presented to our planet by the huge gulf between rich and poor. We cannot accept a world in which part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, and the rest live on the bare edge of survival. I think we have to do our part to change that — with expanded trade, expanded aid, and the expansion of freedom.

From Nigeria to Indonesia, more people got the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell. We've got to stand by these democracies — including, and especially tonight, Colombia, which is fighting narco-traffickers, for its own people's lives and our children's lives. I have proposed a strong two-year package to help Colombia win this fight. I want to thank the leaders in both parties in both Houses for listening to me and the President of Colombia about it. We have to pass this. I ask your help. It's so important for the long-term stability of our country, and for what happens in Latin America.

I also want you to know I'm going to send you new legislation to go after what these drug barons value the most — their money. I hope you'll pass that as well.

In a world where over a billion people live on less than a dollar a day, we also have to do our part in the global endeavor to reduce the debts of the poorest countries, so they can invest in education, health care and economic growth. That's what the Pope and other religious leaders have urged us to do. Last year, Congress made a down payment on America's share. I thank you for what you did, and ask you to stay the course.

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America also must help more nations to break the bonds of disease. Last year in Africa, 10 times as many people died from AIDS as were killed in wars — 10 times. The budget I give you invests \$150 million more in the fight against this and other infectious killers. And today, I propose a tax credit to speed the development of vaccines for diseases like malaria, TB and AIDS. I ask the private sector and our partners around the world to join us in embracing this cause. We can save millions of lives together, and we ought to do it.

Our final challenge, as always, is the most important. I ask you to pass a national security budget that keeps our military the best-trained and best-equipped in the world, with heightened readiness and 21st century weapons; which raises salaries for our servicemen and women; which protects our veterans; which fully funds the diplomacy that keeps our soldiers out of war; which makes good on our commitment to pay our U.N. dues and arrears.

I also want to say something, if I might, very personal tonight. The American people watching us at home, with the help of all the commentators, can tell from who stands and who sits, and who claps and who doesn't, that there are still modest differences of opinion in this room. But I want to thank you for something, every one of you. I want to thank you for the extraordinary support you have given — Republicans and Democrats alike — to our men and women in uniform.

I also want to thank, especially, two people. First, I want to thank our Secretary of Defense, Bill Cohen, for symbolizing our bipartisan commitment to national security. Thank you, sir. Even more, I want to thank his wife, Janet, who, more than any other American citizen, has tirelessly traveled this world to show the support we all feel for our troops. Thank you, Janet Cohen.

These are the challenges we have to meet so that we can lead the world toward peace and freedom in an era of globalization.

I am very grateful for many things as President. But one of the things I'm most grateful for is the opportunity that the Vice President and I have had to finally put to rest the bogus idea that you cannot grow the economy and protect the environment at the same time.

As our economy has grown, we've rid more than 500 neighborhoods of toxic waste, and ensured cleaner air and water for millions of people. In the past three months alone, we've helped preserve 40 million acres of roadless lands in the national forests, and created three new national monuments.

But as our communities grow, our commitment to conservation must continue to grow. Tonight, I propose creating a permanent conservation fund, to restore wildlife, protect coastlines, save natural treasures, from the California redwoods to the Florida Everglades.

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This Lands Legacy endowment would represent by far the most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed in this House. This is a gift we should give to our children and our grandchildren for all time, across party lines. We can make an agreement to do this.

Last year, the Vice President launched a new effort to make communities more liberal—livable—liberal, I know. Wait a minute, I've got a punchline now. That's this year's agenda; last year was livable, right? That's what Senator Lott is going to say in the commentary afterwards. To make our communities more livable. This is a big issue. What does it mean? You ask anybody that lives in an unlivable community, and they'll tell you. They want their kids to grow up next to parks, not parking lots; the parents not to spend all their time stalled in traffic when they could be home with their children.

Tonight, I ask you to support new funding for the following things, to make American communities more liberal—livable. I've done pretty well with this speech, but I can't say that.

We need more funding for advanced transit systems. We need more funding for saving open spaces in places of heavy development. And we need more funding for helping major cities around the Great Lakes protect their waterways and enhance their quality of life. We need these things and I want you to help us.

The greatest environmental challenge of the new century is global warming. The scientists tell us the 1990s were the hottest decade of the entire millennium. If we fail to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases, deadly heat waves and droughts will become more frequent, coastal areas will flood, and economies will be disrupted. That is going to happen, unless we act.

Many people in the United States—some people in this chamber—and lots of folks around the world still believe you cannot cut greenhouse gas emissions without slowing economic growth. In the Industrial Age that may well have been true. But in this digital economy, it is not true anymore. New technologies make it possible to cut harmful emissions and provide even more growth.

For example, just last week, automakers unveiled cars that get 70 to 80 miles a gallon—the fruits of a unique research partnership between government and industry. Before you know it, efficient production of bio-fuels will give us the equivalent of hundreds of miles from a gallon of gasoline.

To speed innovation in these kinds of technologies, I think we should give a major tax incentive to business for the production of clean energy, and to families for buying energy-saving homes and appliances and the next generation of super-efficient cars when they hit the showroom floor. I also ask the auto industry to use the available technologies to make all new cars more fuel-efficient right away.

And I ask this Congress to do something else. Please help us make more of our clean energy technology available to the developing world. That will create cleaner growth abroad and a lot more new jobs here in the United States of America.

In the new century, innovations in science and technology will be the key not only to the health of the environment, but to miraculous improvements in the quality of our lives and advances in the economy. Later this year, researchers will complete the first draft of the entire human genome, the very blueprint of life. It is important for all our fellow Americans to recognize that federal tax dollars have funded much of this research, and that this and other wise investments in science are leading to a revolution in our ability to detect, treat, and prevent disease.

For example, researchers have identified genes that cause Parkinson's, diabetes, and certain kinds of cancer. Now, they are designing precision therapies that will block the harmful effect of these genes for good. Researchers are already using this new technique to target and destroy cells that cause breast cancer. Soon, we may be able to use it to prevent the onset of Alzheimer's. Scientists are also working on an artificial retina to help many blind people to see and microchips that would directly stimulate damaged spinal cords in a way that could allow people now paralyzed to stand up and walk.

These kinds of innovations are also propelling our remarkable prosperity. Information technology only includes eight percent of our employment, but now it counts for a third of our economic growth—along with jobs that pay about 80 percent above the private sector average. Government-funded research brought supercomputers, the Internet, and communications satellites into being. Soon, researchers will bring us devices that can translate foreign languages as fast as you can talk; materials 10 times stronger than steel at a fraction of the weight; and molecular computers the size of a tear drop with the power of today's fastest supercomputers.

To accelerate the march of discovery across all these disciplines in science and technology, I ask you to support my recommendation of an unprecedented \$3 billion in the 21st Century Research Fund—the largest increase in civilian research in a generation. We owe it to our future.

Now, these new breakthroughs have to be used in ways that reflect our values. First and foremost, we have to safeguard our citizens' privacy. Last year, we proposed to protect every citizen's medical records. This year, we will finalize those rules. We've also taken the first steps to protect the privacy of bank and credit card records and other financial statements. Soon I will send legislation to you to finish that job. We must also act to prevent any genetic discrimination whatever by employers or insurers. I hope you will support that.

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These steps will allow us to lead toward the far frontiers of science and technology. They will enhance our health, the environment, the economy in ways we can't even imagine today.

But we all know that at a time when science, technology and the forces of globalization are bringing so many changes into all our lives, it's more important than ever that we strengthen the bonds that root us in our local communities and in our national community.

No tie binds different people together like citizen service. There's a new spirit of service in America—a movement we've tried to support with AmeriCorps, an expanded Peace Corps, and unprecedented new partnerships with businesses, foundations, and community groups. Partnerships, for example, like the one that enlisted 12,000 companies which have now moved 650,000 of our fellow citizens from welfare to work. Partnerships to battle drug abuse, AIDS, teach young people to read, save America's treasures, strengthen the arts, fight teen pregnancy, prevent violence among young people, promote racial healing. The American people are working together.

But we should do more to help Americans help each other. First, we should help faith-based organizations to do more to fight poverty and drug abuse, and help people get back on the right track, with initiatives like Second Chance Homes that do so much to help unwed teen mothers. Second, we should support Americans who tithe and contribute to charities, but don't earn enough to claim a tax deduction for it. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives that would allow low- and middle-income citizens who don't itemize to get that deduction. It's nothing but fair, and it will get more people to give.

We should do more to help new immigrants to fully participate in our community. That's why I recommend spending more to teach them civics and English.

And since everybody in our community counts, we've got to make sure everyone is counted in this year's census.

Within 10 years, there will be no majority race in our largest state of California. In a little more than 50 years, there will be no majority race in America. In a more interconnected world, this diversity can be our greatest strength. Just look around this chamber. We have members in this Congress from virtually every racial, ethnic, and religious background. And I think you would agree that America is stronger because of it.

You also have to agree that all those differences you just clapped for all too often spark hatred and division even here at home. Just in the last couple of years, we've seen a man dragged to death in Texas just because he was black. We saw a young man murdered in Wyoming just because he was gay. Last year, we saw the shootings of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Jewish children just because of who they were. This is not the American way, and we must draw the line.

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I ask you to draw that line by passing without delay the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. And I ask you to reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act.

Finally tonight, I propose the largest-ever investment in our civil rights laws for enforcement, because no American should be subjected to discrimination in finding a home, getting a job, going to school, or securing a loan. Protections in law should be protections in fact.

Last February, because I thought this was so important, I created the White House Office of One America to promote racial reconciliation. That's what one of my personal heroes, Hank Aaron, has done all his life. From his days as our all-time home run king to his recent acts of healing, he has always brought people together. We should follow his example, and we're honored to have him with us tonight. Stand up, Hank Aaron.

I just want to say one more thing about this, and I want every one of you to think about this the next time you get mad at one of your colleagues on the other side of the aisle. This fall, at the White House, at one of Hillary's millennium dinners, we had this very distinguished scientist there, who is an expert on the human genome. He said that we are all, regardless of race, genetically 99.9 percent the same.

Now, you may find that uncomfortable when you look around here. But it is worth remembering. We can laugh about this, but you think about it. Modern science has confirmed what ancient faiths have always taught: the most important fact of life is our common humanity. Therefore, we should do more than just tolerate our diversity—we should honor it and celebrate it.

My fellow Americans, every time I prepare for the State of the Union, I approach it with hope and expectation and excitement for our nation. But tonight is very special, because we stand on the mountaintop of a new millennium. Behind us we can look back and see the great expanse of American achievement; and before us we can see even greater, grander frontiers of possibility. We should, all of us, be filled with gratitude and humility for our present progress and prosperity. We should be filled with awe and joy at what lies over the horizon. And we should be filled with absolute determination to make the most of it.

When the framers finished crafting our Constitution in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin stood in Independence Hall and reflected on a carving of the sun that was on the back of a chair he saw. The sun was low on the horizon. So he said this—"I've often wondered whether that sun was rising or setting. Today," Franklin said, "I have the happiness to know it's a rising sun." Today, because each succeeding generation of Americans has kept the fire of freedom burning brightly, lighting those frontiers of possibility, we all still bask in the glow and the warmth of Mr. Franklin's rising sun.

After 224 years, the American revolution continues. We remain a new nation. And as long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. That is our destiny. And this is our moment.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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Remarks by the President During Bronfman Gala

THE GRAND BALLROOM
THE PIERRE HOTEL
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
September 11, 2000

Thank you very much. Let me say, first of all, Hillary and I are delighted to be here with all of you, and especially you, Edgar, with all of your family, including Edgar, Clarissa, and the about-to-be 22nd grandchild here. They are probably an even more important testament to your life than this important work we celebrate tonight.

I thank Israel Singer and the World Jewish Council Leadership, Elie Wiesel, my fellow award recipients, especially Senator D'Amato and Congressman Leach, without whom we could not have done our part, and Stuart Eizenstat, without whom I could have done nothing, and I thank you all.

I thank the members of the Israeli government and Cabinet who are here, and those of you who have come from around the world. But I would like to say, not only as President, but as an American, a man who studied German as a student and went to Germany as a young man in the hopes of reconciling my enormously conflicted feelings about a country that I loved which had done something I hated.

Foreign Minister Fischer, I have rarely in my life been as moved as I was by your comments tonight. And I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Edgar once said that, "In forcing the world to face up to an ugly past, we help shape a more honorable future." I am honored to have been part of this endeavor, and I have tried to learn its lesson.

Within our country, I have been to Native American reservations and acknowledged that the treaties we signed were neither fair nor honorably kept in many cases.

I went to Africa — to Goree Island, the Door of No Return — and acknowledged the responsibility of the United States in buying people into slavery. This is a hard business, struggling to find our core of humanity.

As Edgar said, we are here in an immediate sense because Edgar buttonholed Hillary back in 1996, and said I had to see him the next day. And that night, she told me I had to see him the next day, because the time for redress was running out. And I did as he said.

BRONFMAN GALA

MISS
WILL MAICE

So I want to thank Hillary too. I can't tell you how many times she reminded me of her meetings with elderly survivors all around the world, and how many times she tried to shine a light on the quest for material and moral justice.

I would like to say again, Senator D'Amato and Representative Leach made it possible for us to do what we did together as Americans — not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans. Governor Pataki and Alan Hevesi marshalled city and state governments all across America, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans. People like Paul Volcker, Larry Eagleburger, and Stan Chesley, all of whom could choose to do pretty much whatever they like, chose instead to spend their time and their talents generously on this cause.

And I would like to thank Avraham Burg, Former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and Prime Minister Ehud Barak and the members of his government who have supported this cause after it had begun earlier under a different administration of a different party, not out of party reasons, but because of humanity. And again, let me say how personally grateful I am for the dedication of Stu Eizenstat, who is literally unmatched in his commitment to doing the right thing and his skill in actually finding a way to get it done.

I would like to echo what Foreign Minister Fischer said about the German Bundeskanzler, Gerhard Schroeder. He showed remarkable leadership. He showed a generosity and a courage of memory, and no little amount of political prodding, to do what his country has done. And we are grateful to him as well.

Thanks to all of you, humanity begins this new millennium standing on higher ground. Of course, we can never compensate the victims and their families for what was lost. It is beyond our power to restore life or even to rewrite history. But we have made progress towards setting history straight, and providing compensation for lost or stolen assets, and forced or slave labor.

We have an especially sacred obligation to elderly survivors, particularly the double victims who endured first the Holocaust and then a half century of communism. For their sake, there can be no denying the past or delaying the compensation.

We must also meet our obligations to the future, to seek the truth and follow where it leads. That's why it is so terribly important that your efforts have led to commissions in the United States and a dozen other nations examining their own involvement in the handling of assets that rightfully belong to victims of the Holocaust, and why it is so important that the horror of the Holocaust never fade from our memories, and that we never lose sight of its searing lessons.

At the beginning of this new century with all of its promise, we still are beset by humanity's oldest failing: the fear of the other. The fear that, somehow, people who are

different from us in the color of their skin or the way they worship are to be distrusted, disliked, hated, dehumanized, and ultimately killed. It is a very slippery slope, indeed.

This fear makes us vulnerable in two ways. It makes societies vulnerable, as ours have been, to individual crimes of hate by people who cannot come to grips with their own sense of failure or rage or inadequacy, and so, blame someone else.

Not very long ago, a poor demented person blamed a Filipino postal worker, and killed him dead in California shortly after he shot at innocent little Jewish children going to their school. A little before that, a demented person who said he belonged to a church that did not believe in God, but believed in white supremacy, killed an African American basketball coach walking in his neighborhood in Chicago, and then shot a young Korean American Christian walking out of his church.

James Byrd, dragged to death in Texas because he was black. Matthew Shepard, stretched out on the rack of a fence to die because he was gay. People still can be quickly brought into the grip of that kind of poison hatred.

And even more troubling, whole societies still can be exploited in their fears by unscrupulous leaders who seek to convince them that they should blame their problems on groups within or beyond their midst. It is still true today, even though German and American and Russian and French troops serve together for peace in the Balkans, and Israeli rescue teams travel the world to help people of every faith, and Greeks and Turks help to dig out one another's dead amid the rubble of earthquakes. And the latest breakthrough in genetic science tells us that we are all genetically 99.9 percent the same, and that within any ethnic group, the genetic differences are greater than they are from group to group.

Still, we have not completely learned this lesson. And, still, when you strip it all away, at the root of the not-quite-finished peace process in Ireland, at the root of the ethnic and tribal wars of Africa, at the root of the uprooting of almost a million people in Kosovo, and at the root of the hard, unresolved questions in the Middle East, is the fear of the other.

Here in our country, we have made great strides, but we have a lot to do. One of the reasons I have so strongly supported the hate crimes legislation that is pending in the House is that it gives us another chance to say in America we are going to let go of the fear of the other. And if anybody can't let it go, we are going to take a strong and unambiguous stand against it so it will never infect us as a people again.

I just came back from Africa where I went to Arusha, Tanzania to the Peace Center with Nelson Mandela, to meet with all the parties, some 20 of them, in the Burundian peace process where, at the beginning of the last decade, somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000 people were killed in the ongoing ethnic struggle between the Hutus and the Tutsis, which cost over 700,000 lives in neighboring Rwanda just a couple of years later.

BRONFMAN GALA

The point I'm trying to make is, it is not enough for us to do everything we can to make whole the Holocaust victims, survivors and their family members. What we have to do, all of us, to merit the forgiveness of the Almighty, is to root out the cancer which gave it life wherever we find it. For it is not something that was localized in Germany. How many nations can thank God that at a particularly vulnerable point in their history, they did not produce a Hitler, or, God forbid, they might have done the same thing.

And so I say to you, we have to fight this everywhere. We can't give up on the Balkans and let them go back to slaughtering each other because some are Muslim and some are Orthodox Christian and some are Catholics. And we cannot give up on the Middle East until the whole thing is done.

Several of you have come up to me tonight and said, well, what do you think now, what's going to happen? I say, well, I'm pretty optimistic. The Speaker of the Knesset said, ah, yes, but that's your nature, everyone knows it. The truth is, we have come to a painful choice between continued confrontation and a chance to move beyond violence to build just and lasting peace.

Like all life's chances, this one is fleeting. And the easy risks have all been taken already.

I think it's important to remind ourselves that the Middle East brought forth the world's three great monotheistic religions, each telling us we must recognize our common humanity, we must love our neighbor as ourselves, if we turn aside a stranger, it is as if we turn aside the most high God.

But when the past is piled high with hurt and hatred, that is a hard lesson to live by. We cannot undo past wrongs in the Middle East, either. But we are never without the power to right them to some extent. And the struggle you have waged and won here for restitution, the struggle we honor tonight, shows that the effort is always worth making.

I thank you for supporting that good work. I salute you for what you have accomplished. But I remind you: the demon that has driven so much darkness since the dawn of human history has not yet quite been expunged from the human soul. And we all still have work to do.

Thank you and God bless you.

Remarks by the President at the Democratic Leadership Council Retreat

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
May 21, 2000

Thank you. Bill, thank you for welcoming me back to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library. I love coming here. I'm sorry I've only come three times. And, Al, thank you for your wonderful introduction. And to you and Ginger, thank you for your years of friendship. He's very good at giving the credit to everybody else, but the truth is it would be hard to think of a single American citizen who, as a private citizen, has had a more positive impact on the progress of American life in the last 25 years than Al From.

I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, the Family Leave law, and NAFTA. Mack, the other day a commentator said you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's average approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened.

Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. Thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do.

I've often, in quiet moments at the White House, thought about my predecessors — the ones who succeeded, the ones who didn't, why they did or didn't. Roosevelt had what Justice Holmes called a first-class temperament, a lot of personal courage, a good mind, and a great attitude. He had a good time being President, even in difficult times. And he learned to have a good time in the midst of almost constant personal pain.

It's worth remembering that life's successes are a curious blend of what you make happen and what happens to you; the gifts God gives you and what you do with them. But today I want to focus on the fact that he was always interested in ideas.

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The other day I read Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get a feeling that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities — and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add — that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

So you come here today to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. And Al's already said a lot of what I want to say, but I want to say some of the things he said and tie it back to what we did in New Orleans in 1990, because I believe that thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas matter.

Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse — I believe he's at Harvard now — Thomas Patterson — said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read — and I've read a lot a stuff I'd just as soon not have in the last eight years — was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments.

The point I want to make today, to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about what I would

do. And I had thought with many of you — with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you who were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s — so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing — I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas — but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration was a milestone in that process.

Therefore, you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

Let's just look the New Orleans Declaration. We met there in 1990. As Al said, the times were different — the economy was bad, the deficit was high, the debt had exploded, all the social conditions were worsening. And Washington seemed to be stuck in a kind of ideological trench warfare, where the Republicans said that government was the problem, and we said that it was the solution. And we always had to have a false choice — you had to choose the economy or the environment; you had to choose impoverishment or entitlement; you had to choose business or labor.

By contrast, the DLC — this is one of the reasons the DLC succeeded, by the way — had people who were in politics in Washington and out in the country, and a lot of our people in Washington spent a lot of time in the country, and we realized that no one else in the world thought about things or experienced things in the way the Washington media and political establishment talked about issues; and that we didn't agree with all these false choices.

And so, in New Orleans 10 years ago, we set out to outline what we believed ought to be done. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. Basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

In 1992, the American people gave us a chance to put our ideas into action. And we have done our best to do that, working across party lines where possible, and where bitter partisanship forced it, going alone.

This is what the New Orleans Declaration said. We believe the Democratic Party's fundamental mission is to expand opportunity, not government; economic growth is a prerequisite for expanding opportunity for everyone; and the way to build America's economic security is to invest in the skills and ingenuity of our people, and to expand trade, not restrict it.

Now, these ideas were all turned into action in the '93 economic plan, in the '97 Balanced Budget Act, in the Telecommunications Act, in our commitment to science and technological research, and in our education budget. We doubled investment for education and training

even as we were reducing the deficit, and we emphasized results and proven strategies. We very nearly opened the doors of college to all Americans. We had 300 trade agreements. Those ideas put into action have given us those 21,615,000 jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the highest home ownership ever, and the longest economic expansion in history. And the government is now continuing to shrink. It is now the smallest it has been since 1958.

We said we believe the purpose of social welfare is to bring the poor into this nation's economic mainstream, not to maintain their dependency. That idea, turned into action through the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Vice President's empowerment zone program, and welfare reform, has given us the smallest welfare rolls in absolute numbers in 32 years; a 20-year low in the poverty rate; the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years — while we fought and succeeded in maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care and transportation for lower-income workers.

We said we believe in preventing crime and punishing criminals, not explaining away their behavior. That idea was turned into action through the crime bill, which gave us 100,000 police and an assault weapons ban, and through the Brady law which has kept a half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers from getting handguns. That's given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest homicide rate in 30 years, and a 35-percent reduction in gun crime since 1993.

We said we believe in the politics of inclusion, in the protection of civil rights and the broad movement of minorities into the American economic and cultural mainstream. That idea, turned into action, has given us the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded; record numbers of minority-owned businesses; vigorous enforcement of civil rights; and the widest participation of minorities in the federal government at high levels and in the federal judiciary in American history.

We said we believe in the imperative of work and the importance of family. I could give you lots of examples of that, but just take the Family and Medical Leave law, the first bill I signed, vetoed by the previous administration: 21 million-plus Americans have taken some time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. And they said it would wreck the economy. Well, 21 million families are stronger, and so is the American economy. The idea in the New Orleans Declaration was right.

We said we believe American citizenship entails responsibility as well as rights, and we mean to ask citizens to give something back to their community. That idea, turned into action, has led to a whole series of remarkable partnerships. The welfare-to-work partnership, for example, has led 12,000 companies to voluntarily commit to hire now something like

400,000 people off the welfare rolls. The Vice President's partnership with the auto companies and the auto workers has led to this whole effort to develop the next generation vehicle, which already has prototypes that will be on the market within two years — 60, 70, 80 miles a gallon.

The partnership we had with the entertainment industry led to the passage of the v-chip requirement and rating systems for television programs and video games. And most of all, of course, it led to AmeriCorps, which now has permitted over 150,000 young Americans to serve in their communities. We had more people in AmeriCorps in its first five years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20 years, because of the idea that the DLC relentlessly advanced.

We said we believed the U.S. must remain energetically engaged in the worldwide struggle for individual liberty, human rights and prosperity, not retreat from the world. That idea turned into action has given us a stronger and expanded NATO; new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction; progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East; forceful stands against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and new initiatives to expand trade and advance democracy in Africa, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and the Asian Pacific region.

In short, because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones. They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life, and inspired the rise of new progressive governments throughout Europe and the industrialized world. Indeed, I'm going to be meeting with many of these leaders next month in Berlin, people all over the world who have seen what happened here, taken ideas seriously, and want to see what they can do to lift their people and make them a part of the new information age of globalization.

Most important of all, these ideas put into action have brought our country into a moment of unparalleled prosperity and promise. Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century. And I think the DLC — to borrow a little of your own medicine — has both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years.

That's your task. What is the new Democratic agenda for the 21st century? Here's what I think it ought to say.

First, we will keep the economy strong by paying down the debt, maintaining our lead in science and technology, and extending our economic benefits to people and places left behind, opening new markets and closing the investment and digital divide.

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Second, we will lift up all working families out of poverty, and end child poverty, by increasing the EITC, the minimum wage, and our support for child care, housing, transportation, and responsible fatherhood.

Third, we will make sure every child starts school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, and has the chance to go to college, by investing more in education and demanding more of all the participants in our education process, and by opening college to everyone by making tuition deductible.

Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, a patients' bill of rights, and tax relief for middle class families to educate their kids, afford quality child care, and take care of aging or disabled relatives who need long-term care.

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care and for uninsured Americans over 55 to buy into Medicare, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow the economy and improve the environment. This is an even more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world — and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations — still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore.

By contrast, the other party is making an assault on my decision to set aside the 40 million roadless acres in the National Forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years.

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The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed should, work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let the big wrong idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work.

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people who know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what you can get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold.

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think an elected official needs to know. But we do need to know. This is a huge, huge issue.

Seventh, we will keep working to build one America at home — to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that we gave them a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and to understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just got out of the airplane and there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, I do. And he said, why? I said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. For a trade agreement, I get a few things and I have to give up a few things. But this is a

membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. That's their dues for membership in the World Trade Organization.

That's why, in narrow, self-interested terms, it's a 100-to-nothing deal not only for the United States, but for anybody else who votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

I think it is also worth pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people — in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, and in the cities.

I think it is quite interesting that the people in China who hope we will beat this next week are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this. This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered, *persona non grata*. But he said to me, we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades

of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed bringing China into the international system.

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members than others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in America's next 10 years. Just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration. It really matters whether you think and whether you organize your thoughts into principles and specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three. You remember Franklin Roosevelt — one of the great reasons for the success of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states, especially in New York, and went national with it.

State Senator Marc Pacheco from Massachusetts, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers' unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, the Georgia Labor Commissioner, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and given them training, jobs and the values of responsible fatherhood. Now 84 percent of those fathers who have been in this program are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about.

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path, I couldn't have done it. And if it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had a far more positive impact on the way the American people live than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features: one, it was pro-competition — we didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

Second, he developed and pushed our positions on the environment, including the Partnership for Next Generation Vehicles, and climate change. Third, he ran the REGO program, which many of you were involved in, and which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies. Fourth, he and Tipper led our efforts on expanding the mental health parity issue, the fatherhood initiative, and the V-chip and ratings for TV programs and video games.

He also cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate. And on every tough decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico, (Now, there was a winner—the day I made that decision, there was a poll that by 81-15, the people didn't want me to do it!), to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for NAFTA at the beginning and making the calls on China PNTR, he's been there — always.

Here's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament. He had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. What happens in 2000, fundamentally, is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what your work at Hyde Park ought to be for the next decade. You can change America forever for the better.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.

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