



Lisel Loy

07/03/2000 03:23:29 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Tomasz P. Malinowski/NSC/EOP@EOP, Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: POTUS SPEECH BOOK

I have met with Nancy to discuss putting the final speech book together -- earlier this year, so the President will have a chance to sign and send books out before Christmas. He has already indicated his interest in including several speeches: Grand Canyon/National Monument; SOTU; Selma; Education Writers; Navajo Nation; DLC/FDR Library (Hyde Park); Charlemagne. I'd like to enlist your help in putting together a list of other highlights; we would submit a full list to him at the end of the summer, and ask him to select 10-12 speeches overall. In the end, some of those he's indicated interest in could come off the list; there will also be speeches this fall (Millennium/NY; Vietnam/Brunei) that may be added later.

If you would, please forward to me by **July 15th** a list of other speeches you would recommend for inclusion in the speech book, keeping in mind he'll be limited to roughly 10-12 total. We can then begin the process of preparing them for his final review. Thanks for your help.

POTUS
SPEECH
BOOK 2000
DRAFTS !

SPEECH
BOOK

SPEECH
BOOK.

Joshua S. Gottheimer
07/19/2000 01:10:59 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Lisel Loy/WHO/EOP@EOP

CC:

Subject: your list, ma'm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
SUGGESTED SPEECHES FOR BOOK**

(* The President has already suggested)

~~Firefighters Memorial~~

-millennium

- → CalTech, 1/21/00
- *State of the Union Address, 1/27/00
- *Selma, 3/5/00
- *Education Writers, 04/14/00
- Navajo Nation, 4/17/00
- → Dedication of Oklahoma City Memorial, 4/20/00
- *DLC/ FDR Library (Hyde Park), 05/21/00
- → Human Genome, 6/26/00
- Davos, 1/29/00
- *Grand Canyon/ National Monument, 1/1//00
- → USS John F. Kennedy, July 4, 2000
- → Anderson Cottage, 7/7/00 ?
- * → NAACP, 7/13/00
- → DNC Convention, 8/14/00

didn't have same emotion this time.

secondary list.

can't find
midway.

☐ ~~Granoff Lecture~~

New Markets/Digital Divide:

- ☐ Remarks at the Wall Street Project Conference, New York, NY, 1/13/00
- ☒ Remarks on Digital Divide, Ballou High School, Washington, D.C. 2/2/00

cf Navajo.

Environment/Monuments:

- ☒ Remarks on Dedication of Lincoln and Soldiers' Home, Washington, DC, 7/7/00

One America

- ☒ Remarks to 91st NAACP Convention, Baltimore, MD, 7/13/00

Science and Technology

- ☒ Remarks at California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA, 1/21/00
- ☒ Remarks on Human Genome Project Survey, Washington, DC, 6/26/00

NAACP
during
debate

Other

- ☒ Remarks at America's Millennium Gala, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC, 12/31/99
- ☒ Remarks Aboard U.S.S. John F. Kennedy, New York, NY, July 4, 2000

2 commercial speeches.

- Millennium.

- ~~Historian~~.

→ cf Navajo.

→ NAACP

→ commerce

→ S + T.

→ for pub. - edit



Tomasz P. Malinowski
07/05/2000 11:05:21 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Lisel Loy/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: terry edmonds/who/eop@eop
Subject: Re: POTUS SPEECH BOOK

suggestions:

- Charlemagne, 6/2
- Indian Parliament, 3/23
- Davos, 1/29
- China PNTR, 3/8
- Africa summit, 2/17
- Korean war, 6/25
- Millenium Around the World, 12/31/99

Carol:
Total list of what
he's edited?

—

			50 POTUS requested	POTUS edited	set date
✓	SOTU	1/27	X	X	
✓	Millennium	12/31/99		X	
	Grand Canyon	1/11	X		
✓	Cal Tech (Technology)	1/23			
	Davos	1/29			
	Africa Summit	2/17		X	
✓	Selma	3/5	X		
	China PNTR	3/8			
	Indian Parliament	3/23			
✓	Education Writers	4/14	X	?	
✓	Navajo Nation	4/17	X	?	
	(Oklahoma City)	4/20			
✓	DLC/FDR Library	5/21	X	X	X
✓	Charlemagne	6/2	X	X	
	Korean War Mem	6/25			
	(Human Genome)	6/26			
	USS JFK	7/4			
	(Anderson Cottage)	7/7			
	NAACP	7/13			
✓	DNC Convention	8/14	X	X	

MOF?

- Africa speech
- Columbia speech
- Father's Day
- UN Summit
- Human rights award - Eleanor Roosevelt

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Human Genome
Anderson Cottage
Addison

Vietnam - Nav.
Digital divide - Disab, Literacy
~~Woodrow Wilson~~



Tomasz P. Malinowski
09/22/2000 01:28:22 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Lisel Loy/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: speechbook

Definitely India

It's then a close call between Davos -- most Clintonesque; SAIS/China -- most important achievement; and NMD -- substantive, not very "speechy", but one he really liked.

If I had to pick, it would be India, Davos, SAIS.



Lisel Loy
09/07/2000 06:39:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Carolyn E. Cleveland/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: speech book

Need your help with a couple of things:

1) Do we have a list of all the speeches he's made since January? It looks from Sean's memo last year like he reviewed some sort of list - *Lee Johnson - getting*

2) Can you pull for me the following speeches to review:

- * Millennium 12/31/99
- * Cal Tech 1/23
- * Davos 1/29
- | Africa Summit 2/17
- | China PNTR 3/8
- * Indian Parliament 3/23
- * Oklahoma city 4/20
- | Korean war 6/25
- | human genome 6/26
- | USS JFK 7/4
- | Anderson Cottage 7/7
- * NAACP 7/13
- MOF August 9
- Remarks on Africa Trip -- Nigeria/Tanzania *Address to Joint Assembly - 8/26 (Nigeria) - working w/ Stens*
- UN Summit remarks *- 9/6*
- not included* - *Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights award (might have been last year; not sure; don't think so) - 450 Dec 6, 99*

3) I believe some of these we've edited for him to send out; do we have a record of which one are edited and which ones aren't? - *attached from typing*

Thanks.

- * From typing - edited
- just prepared by typing - not edited
- 1 From Compilation of Papers

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY

SUBJECT: The 2000 Speech Book

As you know, each year for Christmas you have given out a bound collection of your favorite/most important speeches of the year. This year, you have already indicated 9 speeches, listed below, that you'd like to include. In addition, there may be a few others upcoming that you'd like to consider including (e.g., Woodrow Wilson Center in Princeton, election night), which would round the list out to roughly 10 speeches. *You have typically chosen 10-12 speeches overall.*

In the event that you wish to consider including 1 or 2 other speeches, I have listed below a limited number of personal/historic highlights, based on a review of your remarks over the year and input from speechwriting. If you choose to, please indicate below any of those additional speeches you'd like to include – or others you might prefer. All are available in my office if you'd like to review them.

Speeches Already Selected (9)

State of the Union (1/27/00) (always included)
Grand Canyon National Monument, Hopi Point, AZ (1/11/00)
Remarks to the People of Selma, Alabama (3/5/00)
Remarks to the Education Writers Association, Atlanta, GA (4/14/00)
Remarks to the People of the Navajo Nation, Shiprock, NM (4/17/00)
Remarks at the DLC Retreat, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY (5/21/00)
Remarks on the International Charlemagne Prize, Aachen, Germany (6/2/00)
Remarks at the DNC Convention (8/14/00)
Remarks at the Bronfman Gala, New York, NY (9/11/00)

Additional Speeches For Your Consideration

Foreign Policy:

- ☐ Remarks at World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1/29/00
- ☐ Remarks at Nitze School at SAIS (China PNTR), 3/8/00
- ☐ Remarks to the Indian Parliament, 3/22/00
- ☐ Remarks on National Missile Defense, Georgetown University, 9/1/00

Other:

- ☐ Remarks to NAACP Fight for Freedom Fund Dinner, Detroit, MI, 4/30/00
- ☐ Remarks on Human Genome Project Survey, Washington, DC, 6/26/00
- ☐ Remarks at America's Millennium Gala, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC, 12/31/99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-13-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

Here's the full-text of the speeches you picked for possible inclusion in your Speech Book. Not all have been fully edited yet, but will be when you make your final picks. A couple things:

- Your State of the Union has been sent to the printers to be put in the book (assume you don't need to see it again);
- You should try to narrow your choices to about 10-12; at this point you've picked 20 total (19 attached plus SOTU);
- You asked that we include a political-type speech that lists your accomplishments; please see Tabs H, I & Q.

Sean Maloney 

- SOTU
~~Amman~~
~~Welfare to Work~~
~~Wall St. Angelo~~
Pain Ridge
~~Amman~~
ANGLE or Eugene St. Price
~~Amman 11/13~~
Kosovo 6/16
Sagertin
~~Amman~~
Min. Bruckwarden

LN 9
Oslo
HOPE
Halifax
NH
Belway for Hickey

Foreign Policy:

- ☐ Foreign Policy Address, San Francisco, CA (2/26/99)
- ☒ Hurricane Mitch Disaster Tour, San Salvador, El Salvador (3/10/99)
- ☒ Address to the Nation on Kosovo, Oval Office (3/25/99)
- ☒ Foreign Policy Speech (China), Mayflower Hotel (4/7/99)
- ☒ NATO Summit Commemorative Speech, Reagan Bldg. (4/23/99)
- ☐ Commencement Address at the USAF Academy, Colorado Springs, CO (6/2/99)
- ☒ Address to the Nation on Kosovo, Oval Office (6/10/99)
- ☐ Remarks to Operation Allied Force Troops at Aviano Air Base, Italy (6/22/99)
- ☐ Address to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, NY (9/21/99)
- ☐ Remarks in Bulgaria/Turkey/Italy/Greece (Upcoming)

New/Global Economy:

- ☐ Grambling State University Commencement, Grambling, LA (5/23/99)
- ☐ University of Chicago Commencement, Chicago, IL (6/12/99)

Labor:

- ☐ Remarks at the Labor Unification Legislative Conference, Washington (2/21/99)
- ☐ AFSCME Convention, Washington (3/23/99)
- ☐ Address to the International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland (6/16/99)
- ☐ Remarks to the AFL-IO Executive Committee, Chicago, IL (8/3/99)

Religious Remarks/Tributes:

- ☐ Welcoming Remarks for the Visit of Pope John Paul II, St. Louis, MO (1/26/99)
- ☐ National Prayer Breakfast, Washington (2/4/99)
- ☒ Tribute to Rabbi David Saperstein, Washington (4/26/99)
- ☒ Breakfast with Religious Leaders, Washington (9/28/99)

Memorials:

- ☐ Memorial Service for Lawton Chiles, Washington, D.C. (1/28/99)
- ☒ Remarks on the Death of King Hussein, Rose Garden (2/7/99)
- ☐ Remarks in Memory of Dan Dutko, Washington, DC (8/2/99)
- ☐ Remarks at the Memorial Service for Lane Kirkland, Georgetown U. (9/23/99)

Other:

- ☒ New Hampshire Democratic Party Dinner, Manchester, NH (2/18/99)
- ☒ Dedication of Clinton Birthplace Home, Hope, AR (3/12/99)
- ☐ Remarks to the Citizens of Tarboro, NC (Hurricane Floyd) (9/20/99)

✓ attached final edits done (attached)
requested from typing

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

Here's the full-text of the speeches you picked for possible inclusion in your Speech Book. Not all have been fully edited yet, but will be when you make your final picks. A couple things:

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- You asked that we include a political-type speech that lists your accomplishments; please see Tabs H, I & Q.

Sean Maloney 

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: The 1999 Speech Book

For a number of years now you've enjoyed giving out as Christmas presents bound collections of your favorite/most important speeches of the year. To help you prepare this year's book, I've reviewed your speeches since January and listed below about 40 that I thought you might like to consider. I've tried to group them by theme, though the book is usually done chronologically.

Please note below the ones you'd like to include – or others I may have overlooked. All are on file in my office, if you'd like to review them. *You typically have chosen about 10-12 speeches.*

☐ State of the Union Address (always included)

Domestic Policy Priorities:

- ☒ Americorps Call to Service, College Park, MD (2/10/99)
- ☐ Remarks on Social Security and Medicare, Tucson, AZ (2/25/99)
- ☐ Address to Columbine High School Community, Littleton, CO (5/20/99)
- ☒ White House Empowerment Conference, Edinburg, TX (5/25/99)
- ☐ Remarks on Patient's Bill of Rights, Los Angeles, CA (7/9/99)
- ☒ National Forum on Welfare to Work, Chicago, IL (8/3/99)
- ☐ Labor Day Remarks on School Construction, Norfolk, VA (9/6/99)

New Markets

- ☒ Wall Street Project Conference, New York, NY (1/15/99)
- ☒ Remarks on New Markets Initiative, Hazard, KY (7/5/99)
- ☒ Remarks on New Markets Initiative, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, SD (7/7/99)
- ☐ Remarks to the National Academy Foundation Conference, Anaheim, CA (7/8/99)

One America

- ☒ NAACP 90th Anniversary, Washington (2/19/99)
- ☐ Rosa Parks Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony, U.S. Capitol (6/15/99)
- ☒ Remarks to the ANGLE/David Mixner Dinner, Los Angeles, CA (10/2/99)
- ☒ Remarks to the Empire State Pride Agenda, New York, NY (10/7/99)
- ☐ Congressional Gold Medal for the Little Rock Nine, Washington (Upcoming)

*also get the 7/11/99 memo
may want to get
+ Setu
I want to get
the book (clerk)
new political
speeches that
Malay lab on*

Foreign Policy:

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Other:

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Speech	Tab
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White House Empowerment Conference Edinburg, TX (5/25/99)	B
National Forum on Welfare to Work Chicago, IL (8/3/99)	C
Wall Street Project Conference New York, NY (1/15/99)	D
Remarks on New Markets Initiative Hazard, KY (7/5/99)	E
Remarks on New Markets Initiative Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, SD (7/7/99)	F
NAACP 90 th Anniversary Washington, D.C. (2/19/99)	G
Remarks to the ANGLE/David Mixner Dinner Los Angeles, CA (10/2/99)	H
Remarks to the Empire State Pride Agenda New York, NY (10/7/99)	I
Address to the Nation on Kosovo Oval Office (3/24/99)	J
Foreign Policy Speech (China) Mayflower Hotel (4/7/99)	K
NATO Summit Commemorative Speech Reagan Bldg. (4/23/99)	L
Address to the Nation on Kosovo Oval Office (6/10/99)	M
Tribute to Rabbi David Saperstine Washington (4/26/99)	N

Speech	Tab
Breakfast with Religious Leaders Washington (9/28/99)	O
Remarks on the Death of King Hussein Rose Garden (2/7/99)	P
New Hampshire Democratic Party Dinner Manchester, NH (2/18/99)	Q
Dedication of Clinton Birth Place Home Hope, AR (3/12/99)	R
Remarks to National Italian American Foundation Washington Hilton (10/16/99)	S

Italian-American Remarks
10/16/99 (S)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-18-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: The 1999 Speech Book

For a number of years now you've enjoyed giving out as Christmas presents bound collections of your favorite/most important speeches of the year. To help you prepare this year's book, I've reviewed your speeches since January and listed below about 40 that I thought you might like to consider. I've tried to group them by theme, though the book is usually done chronologically.

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☐ State of the Union Address (always included)

Domestic Policy Priorities:

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- ☒ National Forum on Welfare to Work, Chicago, IL (8/3/99) ☒
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New Markets

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- ☒ Remarks on New Markets Initiative, Hazard, KY (7/5/99) ☒
- ☒ Remarks on New Markets Initiative, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, SD (7/7/99) ☒
- ☐ Remarks to the National Academy Foundation Conference, Anaheim, CA (7/8/99)

One America

- ☒ NAACP 90th Anniversary, Washington (2/19/99) ☒
- ☐ Rosa Parks Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony, U.S. Capitol (6/15/99)
- ☒ Remarks to the ANGLE/David Mixner Dinner, Los Angeles, CA (10/2/99) (S)
- ☒ Remarks to the Empire State Pride Agenda, New York, NY (10/7/99) (S)
- ☐ Congressional Gold Medal for the Little Rock Nine, Washington (Upcoming)

☒ attached in final
typing/steno
S Sean has

CC: BMC
MH

copied
curie
Hennrich
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY 

SUBJECT: 2000 Speech Book

A quick review of where things stand on your 2000 Speech Book: so far, you have indicated 14 speeches you would like to include in this year's book. They are listed below. In addition, you asked to review your Nigeria remarks, a copy of which is attached.

To ensure you have the books by early December, we need your final decision so we can submit your selections by November 8th. As you know, you have typically included 10-12 speeches in your book; you may wish to consider narrowing this list slightly, particularly if you choose to include the Nigeria speech.

Speeches You Have Selected (14)

State of the Union (1/27/00) (always included)

Remarks on America's Millennium Gala (12/31/00)

Remarks at the Grand Canyon National Monument, Hopi Point, AZ (1/11/00)

Remarks to the People of Selma, AL (3/5/00)

Remarks to the Indian Parliament, New Delhi, India (3/22/00)

Remarks to the Education Writers Association, Atlanta, GA (4/14/00)

Remarks to the Navajo Nation, Shiprock, NM (4/17/00)

Remarks at the DLC Retreat, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY (5/21/00)

Remarks on the Charlemagne Prize, Aachen, Germany (6/2/00)

Remarks on the Human Genome Project Survey, Washington, DC (6/26/00)

Remarks at the DNC Convention, Los Angeles, CA (8/14/00)

Remarks at the Bronfman Gala, NY, NY (9/11/00)

Remarks at the CBC Foundation Dinner, Washington, DC (9/16/00)

Remarks at the Hispanic Foundation for the Arts Gala, Washington, DC (9/19/00)

Additional Speech You Asked to Review (1)

Remarks to the Joint Assembly, Abuja, Nigeria (8/26/00)

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO JOINT ASSEMBLY
House of Representatives Chamber
National Assembly Building
Abuja, Nigeria
August 26, 2000

Thank you very much. Mr. President of the Senate, the Speaker, Mr. Deputy President and Deputy Speaker, members of the Assembly. It is a great honor for me to be here with members of my Cabinet and government, members of the United States Congress, mayors of some of our greater cities, and my daughter. We're glad to be here.

I must say, this is the first time I have been introduced as President in eight years -- speaking to parliamentary bodies all over the world -- where they played a song before I spoke. I liked it a lot. It got us all in a good frame of mind.

Twenty-two years ago, President Jimmy Carter became the first President ever to visit sub-Saharan Africa when he arrived in Nigeria, saying he had come from a great nation to visit a great nation. More than two years ago, I came to Africa for the longest visit ever by an American President, to build a new partnership with your continent. But sadly, in Nigeria, an illegitimate government was killing its people and squandering your resources. All most Americans knew about Nigeria then was a sign at their local airport warning them not to fly here.

A year later, Nigeria found a transitional leader who kept his promises. Then, Nigerians elected a President and a National Assembly and entrusted to them -- to you -- the hard work of rebuilding your nation and building your democracy.

Now, once again, Americans and people all around the world will know Nigeria for its music and art, for its Nobel Prize winners and its Super Falcons, for its commitment to peacekeeping and its leadership in Africa and around the world. In other words, once again, people will know Nigeria as a great nation.

You have begun to walk the long road to repair the wrongs and errors of the past, and to build bridges to a better future. The road is harder and the rewards are slower than all hoped it would be when you began. But what is most important is that today you are moving forward, not backward. And I am here because your fight -- your fight for democracy and human rights, for equity and economic growth, for peace and tolerance -- your fight is America's fight and the world's fight.

Indeed, the whole world has a big stake in your success -- and not simply because of your size or the wealth of your natural resources, or even your capacity to help lift this entire continent to peace and prosperity; but also because so many of the great human dramas of our time are being played out on the Nigerian stage.

For example, can a great country that is home to one in six Africans succeed in building a democracy amidst so much diversity and a past of so much trouble? Can a developing country, blessed with enormous human and natural resources, thrive in a global economy and lift all its people? Can a nation so blessed by the verve and vigor of countless traditions and many faiths be enriched by its diversity, not enfeebled by it? I believe the answer to all those questions can, and must, be yes.

There are still those around the world who see democracy as a luxury that people seek only when times are good. Nigerians have shown us that democracy is a necessity, especially when times are hard. The dictators of your past hoped the hard times would silence your voices, banish your leaders, destroy your spirit. But even in the darkest days, Nigeria's people knew they must stand up for freedom, the freedom their founders promised.

Achebe championed it, Sunny Ade sang for it. Journalists like Akinwumi Adesokan fought for it. Lawyers like Gani Fawehinmi testified for it. Political leaders like Yar'Adua died for it. And most important, the people of Nigeria voted for it.

Now, at last, you have your country back. Nigerians are electing their leaders, acting to cut corruption and investigate past abuses, shedding light on human rights violations, turning a fearless press into a free press. It is a brave beginning.

But you know better than I how much more must be done. Every nation that has struggled to build democracy has found that success depends on leaders who believe government exists to serve people, not the other way around. President Obasanjo is such a leader. And the struggle to build democracy depends also on you, on legislators who will be both a check on and a balance to executive authority -- you know, if I said that to my Congress, they would still be clapping and standing.

And this is important, too -- in the constitutional system, the Legislature provides a check and balance to the Executive, but it must also be a source of creative, responsible leadership, for in the end, work must be done and progress must be made.

Democracy depends upon a political culture that welcomes spirited debate without letting politics become a blood sport. It depends on strong institutions, an independent judiciary, a military under firm civilian control. It requires the contributions of women and men alike. I must say I am very glad to see a number of women in this audience today, and also I am glad that Nigerian women have their own Vital Voices program -- a program that my wife has worked very hard for, both in Africa and all around the world.

Of course, in the end, successful political change must begin to improve people's daily lives. That is the democracy dividend Nigerians have waited for.

But no one should expect that all the damage done over a generation can be undone in a year. Real change demands perseverance and patience. It demands openness to honorable compromise and cooperation. It demands support on a constant basis from the people of Nigeria and from your friends abroad. That does not mean being patient with corruption or injustice, but to give up hope because change comes slowly would only be to hand a victory to those who do not want to change at all.

Remember something we Americans have learned in over 224 years of experience with democracy: it is always and everywhere a work in progress. It took my own country almost 90 years and a bitter civil war to set every American free. It took another 100 years to give every American the basic rights our Constitution promised them from the beginning.

Since the time of our revolution, our best minds have debated how to balance the responsibilities of our national and state government; what the proper balance is between the President and the Congress; what is the roll of the courts in our national life. And since the very beginning, we have worked hard with varying degrees of success and occasional, regrettable, sometimes painful failures, to weave the diverse threads of our nation into a coherent, unified tapestry.

Today, America has people from over 200 racial, ethnic and religious groups. We have school districts in America where, in one school district, the parents of the children speak over 100 different languages. It is an interesting challenge. But it is one that I am convinced is a great opportunity, just as your diversity -- your religious diversity and your ethnic diversity -- is a great opportunity. In a global society, growing ever more intertwined -- a great opportunity if we can find unity in our common humanity; if we can learn not only to tolerate our differences, but actually to celebrate our differences; if we can believe that how we worship, how we

Speak, who our parents were, where they came from are terribly important, but on this Earth, the most important thing is our common humanity, then there can be no stopping us.

Now, no society has every fully solved this problem. As you struggle with it you think of the Middle East, Northern Ireland, the Balkans, the ongoing tragedy of Kashmir. And you realize it is a formidable challenge. You also know, of course, that democracy does not answer such questions. It simply gives all free people the chance to find the answers that work for them.

I know that decades of mis-rule and deprivation have made your religious and ethnic divisions deeper. Nobody can wave a hand and make the problems go away. But that is no reason to let the idea of one, united Nigeria slip away. After all, after all this time, if we started trying to redraw the map of Africa, we would simply be piling new grievances on old. Even if we could separate all the people of Africa by ethnicity and faith, would we really rid this continent of strife? Think of all the things that would be broken up and all the mountains of progress that have been built up that would be taken down if that were the case.

Where there is too much deprivation and too little tolerance, differences among people will always seem greater, and will always be like open sores waiting to be turned into arrows of hatred by those who will be advantaged by doing so. But I think it is worth noting for the entire world that against the background of vast cultural differences, a history of repression and ethnic strife, the hopeful fact here today is that Nigeria's 250 different ethnic groups have stayed together in one nation. You have struggled for democracy together. You have forged national institutions together. All your greatest achievements have come when you have worked together.

It is not for me to tell you how to resolve all the issues that I follow more closely than you might imagine I do. You're a free people, an independent people, and you must resolve them. All I can tell you is what I have seen and experienced these last years as President in the United States and in working with other good people with similar aspirations on every continent of the globe. We have to find honorable ways to reconcile our differences on common ground.

The overwhelming fact of modern life everywhere, believe it or not, is not the growth of the global economy, not the explosion of information technology and the Internet, but the growing interdependence these changes are bringing. Whether we

like it or not, more and more our fates are tied together -- within nations and beyond national borders, even beyond continental borders and across great oceans. Whether we like it or not, it is happening. You can think of big examples, like our economic interconnections. You can think of anecdotal examples, like the fact that we now have a phenomenon in the world known as "airport malaria," where people get malaria in airports in nations where there has never been a single case of malaria because they just pass other people who have it, from around the world, in the airport.

Whether we like it or not, your destiny is tied to mine, and mine to yours, and the future will only make it more so. You can see it in all the positive things we can build together and in the common threats we face from enemies of a nation state, from the narco-traffickers, the gun runners, from the terrorists, from those who would develop weapons of mass destruction geared to the Electronic Age, very difficult to detect and easy to move.

Now, we have to decide what we're going to do with the fundamental fact of modern life -- our interdependence. Is it possible for the Muslims and the Christians here to recognize that and find common ground? Can we find peace in Jerusalem between the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews? Can we find peace in the Balkans between the Muslims, the Orthodox Christians and the Catholics? Will we ever bring an end to the conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland -- I mean, finally ever really have it over with completely? Can the Hindus and the Muslims learn to live together in Kashmir?

Isn't it interesting, when I came here, in part, to help you move into the information revolution more quickly, to spread its benefits to more of your people, that all over the world in this most modern of ages, we are bedeviled by humanity's oldest problem: the fear of the other, people who are different from us.

I'm sure there was a time in the deep, distant mists of memory, when everyone had to be afraid of people who were not of their tribe; when food was scarce and there was no means of communication. But all of us still carry around with us the fear of people who are different from us. And it is such a short step from being afraid of someone to distrusting them, to disliking them, to hating them, to oppressing them, to using violence against them. It is a slippery, slippery slope.

So I say again, the biggest challenge for people in the United States, where people still, I'm ashamed to say, lose their lives because they are different -- not nearly as much as it used to be, it's a rare occurrence, but it still tears at our hearts,

because we know everyone counts, everyone deserves a chance at life, and we all do better when we help each other, and when we find a way for everyone to follow his or her own path through life, guided by their own lights and their own faith.

So I say to you, I come here with that in mind. The world needs Nigeria to succeed. Every great nation must become more than the sum of its parts. If we are torn by our differences, then we become less than the sum of our parts. Nigeria has within it the seeds of every great development going on in the world today, and it has a future worth fighting for. You are already a champion of peace, democracy and justice. Last month in Tokyo, your President reminded leaders of the Group of Eight very firmly that we are all tenants of the same global village.

He said, and I quote, "We must deal with the challenges for development not as separate entities, but in partnership, as members of the same global family, with shared interests and responsibilities." So today, I would like to talk just a few minutes about how our two nations, with our shared experience of diversity and our common faith in freedom, can work as partners to build a better future.

I believe we have two broad challenges. The first is to work together to help Nigeria prepare its economy for success in the 21st century, and then to make Nigeria the engine of economic growth and renewal across the continent. The second is to work together to help build the peace that Nigeria and all of Africa so desperately need.

To build stronger economies we must confront the diseases that are draining the life out of Africa's cities and villages, especially AIDS, but also TB and malaria. AIDS will reduce life expectancy in Africa by 20 years. It is destroying families and wiping out economic gains as fast as nations can make them. It is stealing the future of Africa. In the long run, the only way to wipe out these killer diseases is to provide effective, affordable treatments and vaccines. Just last week, I signed into law a new \$60-million investment in vaccine research and new support for AIDS treatment and prevention around the world, including Nigeria.

In the meantime, however, while we wait for the long run, we have to face reality. I salute President Obasanjo for his leadership in recognizing we can't beat AIDS by denying it, we can't beat AIDS by stigmatizing it. Right now, we can only beat AIDS by preventing it, by changing behavior and changing attitudes and breaking the silence about how the disease is transmitted and how it can be stopped. This is a matter of life or death.

There are nations in Africa -- two -- that have had a significant reduction in the AIDS rate because they have acted aggressively on the question of prevention. Tomorrow the President and I will meet with Nigerians on the front line of this fight and I will congratulate them.

Building a stronger economy also means helping all children learn. In the old economy, a country's economic prospects were limited by its place on the map and its natural resources. Location was everything. In the new economy, information, education, and motivation are everything.

When I was coming down here today, Reverend Jackson said to me, remind everybody that America, to help Nigeria, involves more than the government; it's also Wall Street and Silicon Valley. That's what's growing our economy and it can help to grow yours.

One of the great minds of the Information Age is a Nigerian American named Philip Emeagwali. He had to leave school because his parents couldn't pay the fees. He lived in a refugee camp during your civil war. He won a scholarship to university and went on to invent a formula that lets computers make 3.1 billion calculations per second. Some people call him the Bill Gates of Africa.

But what I want to say to you is there is another Philip Emeagwali -- or hundreds of them -- or thousands of them -- growing up in Nigeria today. I thought about it when I was driving in from the airport and then driving around to my appointments, looking into the faces of children. You never know what potential is in their minds and in their hearts; what imagination they have; what they have already thought of and dreamed of that may be locked in because they don't have the means to take it out.

That's really what education is. It's our responsibility to make sure all your children have the chance to live their dreams so that you don't miss the benefit of their contributions and neither does the rest of the world. It's in our interest in America to reach out to the 98 percent of the human race that has never connected to the Internet, to the 269 of every 270 Nigerians who still lack a telephone.

I am glad to announce that the United States will work with Nigerian NGOs and universities to set up community resource centers to provide Internet access, training and support to people in all regions of your country. I also discussed with the President earlier today a \$300-million initiative we have launched to provide a nutritious meal -- a free breakfast or a free lunch -- for children in school, enough to feed another 9 million kids in school that aren't in school today, including in Nigeria.

We know that if we could offer -- and I'm going to the other developed countries asking them to contribute, and then we're going to go nation by nation, working with governmental groups, working with farm groups -- we don't want to upset any local farm economies -- we understand their challenges here -- but we know if we could guarantee every child in every developing nation one nutritious meal a day, we could dramatically increase school enrollment -- among boys, and especially among girls. We don't have a child to waste. I hope we can do this in Nigeria, and I hope you will work with us to get the job done.

I have also asked the Peace Corps to reestablish its partnership with Nigeria as soon as possible to help with education, health and information technology.

Building a strong economy also means creating strong institutions, and above all, the rule of law. Your Nobel laureate, Wole Soyinka, has written that he imagines a day when Nigeria is "an unstoppable nation, one whose citizens anywhere in the world would be revered simply by the very possession of a Nigerian passport."

I don't need to tell you that the actions of a small group of Nigerians took away that possibility, took away the pride of carrying the passport, stealing the opportunity from every decent and honest citizen of this country. But we will bring the pride and prosperity back by cracking down together on crime, corruption, fraud, and drugs.

Our FBI is again working with Nigeria to fight international and financial crime. Our law enforcement agencies are working to say to narco-traffickers: there should be no safe havens in Nigeria. As we do these things, we will be able to say loud and clear to investors all over the world: come to Nigeria. This is a place of untapped opportunity because it is a place of unlimited potential.

This year, I signed into law our Africa trade bill, and many of its champions are here with me from our Congress. It will help us to seize that opportunity, creating good jobs and wealth on both sides of the Atlantic. The challenge is to make sure any foreign involvement in your economy promotes equitable development, lifting people and communities that have given much for Nigeria's economic progress, but so far have gained too little from it.

Neither the people, nor the private sector, want a future in which investors exist in fortified islands surrounded by seas of misery. Democracy gives us a chance to avoid that future. Of course, I'm thinking especially of the Niger Delta. I hope

government and business will forge a partnership with local people to bring real, lasting social progress, a clean environment and economic opportunity.

We face, of course, another obstacle to Nigeria's economic development, the burden of debt that past governments left on your shoulders. The United States has taken the lead in rescheduling Nigeria's debt within the Paris Club, and I believe we should do more. Nigeria shouldn't have to choose between paying interest on debt and meeting basic human needs, especially in education and health. We are prepared to support a substantial reduction of Nigeria's debts on a multilateral basis, as long as your economic and financial reforms continue to make progress, and you ensure that the benefits of debt reduction go to the people.

Now, let me say, as we do our part to support your economic growth and economic growth throughout Africa, we must also work together and build on African efforts to end the conflicts that are bleeding hope from too many places. If there's one thing I would want the American people to learn from this trip here, it is the true, extraordinary extent of Nigeria's leadership for peace in West Africa and around the world.

I hope our members of Congress who are here today will tell this to their colleagues back home. Over the past decade, with all of its problems, Nigeria has spent \$10 billion and sacrificed hundreds of its soldiers' lives for peace in West Africa. Nigeria was the first nation, with South Africa, to condemn the recent coup in Cote d'Ivoire. And Nigerian soldiers and diplomats, including General Abubakar, are trying to restart the peace process in Congo. In these ways, you are building the record of a moral superpower.

That's a long way to come in just a couple of years, and I urge you to stay with it. But I know -- I know from the murmurs in this chamber and from the murmurs I heard in the congressional chamber when I said the United States must go to Bosnia, the United States must go to Kosovo, the United States must train an Africa Crisis Response Initiative, the United States must come here and help you train to deal with the challenges of Sierra Leone -- I know that many of you have often felt the burden of your peacekeeping was heavier than the benefit. I know you have felt that.

But there's no one else in West Africa with the size, the standing, the strength of military forces to do it. If you don't do it, who will do it? But you should not have to do it alone. That's what's been wrong with what's happened in the last several years. You have too heavy a burden. Because of your size,

everyone expects you to lead, and to do so with enormous sensitivity to the needs of others. But despite your size, you cannot lead alone, and you shouldn't have to pay the enormous price. I am determined, if you're willing to lead, to get you the international support you need and deserve to meet those responsibilities.

This week, the first of five Nigerian peacekeeping battalions began working with American military trainers and receiving American equipment. With battalions from Ghana and other African nations, they will receive almost \$60 million in support to be a commanding force for peace in Sierra Leone and an integral part of Nigeria's democratization. We think the first battalions will be ready to deploy with U.N. forces early next year. We expect them to make an enormous difference in replacing the reign of terror with the rule of law. As they do, all of West Africa will benefit from the promise of peace and stability, and the prospect of closer military and economic cooperation. And Nigeria will take another step toward building a 21st century army that is strong and strongly committed to democracy.

Let me say to the military leaders who are here with us today that the world honors your choice to take the army out of politics and make it a pillar of a democratic state.

Last year, President Obasanjo came to Washington and reminded us that peace is indivisible. I have worked to build a new relationship between America and Africa because our futures are indivisible. It matters to us whether you become an engine of growth and opportunity, or a place of unrelieved despair. It matters whether we push back the forces of crime, corruption, and disease together, or leave them to divide and conquer us. It matters whether we reach out with Africans to build peace, or leave millions of God's children to suffer alone.

Our common future depends on whether Africa's 739 million people gain the chance to live their dreams. And Nigeria is a pivot point on which all Africa's future turns.

Ten years ago, a young Nigerian named Ben Okri published a novel, "The Famished Road," that captured imaginations all over the world. He wrote of a spirit-child who defies his elders and chooses to be born into the turmoil and struggle of human life. The time and place were modern Nigeria, but the questions the novel poses speak to all of us in a language that is as universal as the human spirit.

In a time of change and uncertainty, Okri asks us, "Who can dream a good road and then live to travel on it?" Nigerians, as much as any nation on Earth, have dreamed this road. Since

Anthony Enahoro stood up in a colonial Parliament and demanded your independence in 1953, Nigerians have dreamed this road in music and art and literature and political struggle, and in your contributions to prosperity and progress, among the immigrants to my country and so many others.

Now, at the dawn of a new century, the road is open at home to all citizens of Nigeria. You have the chance to build a new Nigeria. We have the chance to build a lasting network of ties between Africa and the United States. I know it will not be easy to walk the road. But you have already endured such stiff challenges. You have beaten such long odds to get this far. And after all, the road of freedom is the only road worth taking.

I hope that as President, I have helped a little bit to take us a few steps down that road together. I am certain that America will walk with you in the years to come. And I hope you will remember, if nothing else, what I said about our interdependence. Yes, you need us today because at this fleeting moment in history, we are the world's richest country. But over the long run of life and over the long run of a nation's life, and over the long run of civilization on this planet, the rich and the poor often change places. What endures is our common humanity.

If you can find it amidst all your differences, and we can find it amidst all ours, and then we can reach out across the ocean, across the cultures, across the different histories with a common future for all of our children, freedom's road will prevail.

Thank you, and God bless you.

9-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 28, 2000

Let me see the
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*

SUBJECT: The 2000 Speech Book

As you know, each year for Christmas you have given out a bound collection of your favorite/most important speeches of the year. This year, you have already indicated 9 speeches, listed below, that you'd like to include. In addition, there may be a few others upcoming that you'd like to consider including (e.g., Woodrow Wilson Center in Princeton, election night), which would round the list out to roughly 10 speeches. *You have typically chosen 10-12 speeches overall.*

In the event that you wish to consider including 1 or 2 other speeches, I have listed below a limited number of personal/historic highlights, based on a review of your remarks over the year and input from speechwriting. If you choose to, please indicate below any of those additional speeches you'd like to include - or others you might prefer. All are available in my office if you'd like to review them.

Speeches Already Selected (9)

- ☒ State of the Union (1/27/00) (always included)
- ☒ Grand Canyon National Monument, Hopi Point, AZ (1/11/00)
- ☒ Remarks to the People of Selma, Alabama (3/5/00)
- ☒ Remarks to the Education Writers Association, Atlanta, GA (4/14/00)
- ☒ Remarks to the People of the Navajo Nation, Shiprock, NM (4/17/00)
- ☒ Remarks at the DLC Retreat, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY (5/21/00)
- ☒ Remarks on the International Charlemagne Prize, Aachen, Germany (6/2/00)
- ☒ Remarks at the DNC Convention (8/14/00)
- ☒ Remarks at the Bronfman Gala, New York, NY (9/11/00)

Additional Speeches For Your Consideration

Foreign Policy:

- ☒ Remarks at World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 1/29/00
- ☐ Remarks at Nitze School at SAIS (China PNTR), 3/8/00
- ☒ Remarks to the Indian Parliament, 3/22/00
- ☐ Remarks on National Missile Defense, Georgetown University, 9/1/00

Other:

- ☒ *CDC, Hispanic Art and Science*
- ☐ Remarks to NAACP Fight for Freedom Fund Dinner, Detroit, MI, 4/30/00 OR
- ☐ Remarks to NAACP Convention, Baltimore, MD, 7/13/00
- ☒ Remarks on Human Genome Project Survey, Washington, DC, 6/26/00
- ☒ Remarks at America's Millennium Gala, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC, 12/31/99

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Atlanta, GA (4/14/00)

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✓ Remarks to the People of the Navajo Nation
Shiprock, NM (4/17/00)

B

Push ✓ Remarks at the Bronfman Gala
New York, NY (9/11/00)

C

Remarks at World Economic Forum
Davos, Switzerland (1/29/00)

D

✓ Remarks to the Indian Parliament
New Delhi, India (3/22/00)

E

✓ Remarks at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner
Washington, D.C. (9/16/00)

F

✓ Remarks at the Hispanic Foundation for Arts Gala
Washington, D.C. (9/19/00)

G

Shore ✓ Remarks on Human Genome Project Survey
Washington, D.C. (6/26/00)

H

Shore ✓ Remarks on America's Millenium Gala
Washington, D. C. (12/31/99)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *ll*

Subject: Final Selections -- 2000 Speech Book

Based on your feedback on earlier memos (attached), I have listed below your final selection of speeches for the 2000 Speech Book. There is one outstanding question: your Davos remarks. On the most recent memo you indicated you would like to consider Davos; you had earlier left it off the list. The Davos remarks are attached for your review.

If you include Davos, you will have 15 speeches overall, several more than the 10-12 you have typically chosen; you may wish to consider replacing another speech with Davos. In keeping with your note on the last memo, I have not included your Nigeria remarks because they're long and the overall number is already high.

To ensure you have the books by early December, I will submit your final choices to the printer immediately.

Final Selection for 2000 Speech Book (14)

State of the Union (1/27/00) (always included)

Remarks on America's Millennium Gala (12/31/00)
Remarks at the Grand Canyon National Monument, Hopi Point, AZ (1/11/00)
Remarks to the People of Selma, AL (3/5/00)
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Remarks at the Bronfman Gala, NY, NY (9/11/00)
Remarks at the CBC Foundation Dinner, Washington, DC (9/16/00)
Remarks at the Hispanic Foundation for the Arts Gala, Washington, DC (9/19/00)

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Additional Speech You Asked to Review (1)

Remarks at the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland (1/29/00)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
10-27-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*

SUBJECT: 2000 Speech Book

A quick review of where things stand on your 2000 Speech Book: so far, you have indicated 14 speeches you would like to include in this year's book. They are listed below. In addition, you asked to review your Nigeria remarks, a copy of which is attached.

To ensure you have the books by early December, we need your final decision so we can submit your selections by November 8th. As you know, you have typically included 10-12 speeches in your book; you may wish to consider narrowing this list slightly, particularly if you choose to include the Nigeria speech.

Speeches You Have Selected (14)

State of the Union (1/27/00) (always included)

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Additional Speech You Asked to Review (1)

Remarks to the Joint Assembly, Abuja, Nigeria (8/26/00) — all to give — 4 to buy

— What about the WFF speech in Abuja?
it's really important.

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F

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Washington, D.C. (9/19/00)

G

Short ✓ Remarks on Human Genome Project Survey
Washington, D.C. (6/26/00)

H

Short ✓ Remarks on America's Millenium Gala
Washington, D. C. (12/31/99)

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9-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 28, 2000

Let me know
speeches -
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SUBJECT: The 2000 Speech Book

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- ☒ Remarks at America's Millennium Gala, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC, 12/31/99

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Speeches Selected as of 6/22/00:

Announcement of New National Monuments
Grand Canyon Hopi Point, Arizona
January 11, 2000

State of the Union
January 27, 2000

Remarks to the People of Selma, Alabama
Commemorating the 35th Anniversary of
the 1965 Voting Rights March
Selma, Alabama
March 5, 2000

Remarks to the Education Writers Association
Atlanta, Georgia
April 14, 2000

Remarks to the People of the Navajo Nation
Boys and girls Club of Shiprock
Shiprock, New Mexico
April 17, 2000

Remarks at Democratic Leadership Council Retreat
Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library
Hyde Park, New York
May 21, 2000

Remarks Upon Being Presented the International
Charlemagne Prize 2000
Aachen, Germany
June 2, 2000

Average Number of Speeches Used Per Year:

Number of Speeches Selected for 2000 Speech Book:

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~~December 7, 2000~~

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if yes → seth.

- ② Betty - will pick color.
- ③ Betty to set meeting w/ seth.
- ④ memo from NH to POTUS re: timing

⑤ ask speechwriters if we've missed any.
- domestic
- NSC.

⑥ memos to POTUS
a) 1st 6 mo
b

⑦ - Sept 15th memo & letter

POTUS seen

✓

✓

?

✓

✓

✓

✓ → Democratic Convention - Aug.
month. 14th.

→ NGA ? - July 8.

→ later day

→ millennium

→ 1st lady

COPY

SELECTED SPEECHES
OF
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
1993

Inaugural Address of President William Jefferson Clinton	January 20, 1993
Address to a Joint Session of Congress on Administrative Goals	February 17, 1993
Signing Ceremony for the Israel-Palestinian Agreement	September 13, 1993
Signing Ceremony for the North American Free Trade Agreement Supplemental Agreements	September 14, 1993
Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Health Care Reform	September 22, 1993
Address Before the 86th Annual Holy Convocation of the Church of God in Christ	November 13, 1993

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SELECTED SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON 1994

Presidential Address:	
The State of the Union 1994	January 25, 1994
Remarks to	
Kramer Junior High School Students	February 3, 1994
Goals 2000 Legislation Signing Ceremony	March 31, 1994
Address before the	
75th Anniversary Convocation of the University of California at Los Angeles	May 20, 1994
Address to Graduates of the	
United States Naval Academy	May 25, 1994
Address at the	
United States National Cemetery above Omaha Beach	June 7, 1994
Address to the People of Berlin	July 12, 1994
Address to the City Club of Cleveland	October 24, 1994
Signing of Treaty of Peace between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel	October 26, 1994
Address to the Jordanian Parliament	October 26, 1994
Address to the Israeli Knesset	October 27, 1994

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SELECTED SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON 1995

Presidential Address:

The State of the Union 1995 January 24, 1995

Remarks During

Oklahoma City Prayer Service April 23, 1995

Remarks on

Religious Liberty in America July 12, 1995

Remarks on

Affirmative Action July 19, 1995

Remarks in

Freedom House Speech October 6, 1995

Address to the

Liz Sutherland Carpenter
Distinguished Lectureship October 16, 1995

Radio Address to the Nation

October 28, 1995

Remarks on the Death of

Prime Minister of Israel Yitzhak Rabin November 6, 1995

Remarks to

Democratic Leadership Council November 13, 1995

Remarks to

Mackie Metal Plant, Belfast, Northern Ireland November 30, 1995

COPY

**SELECTED SPEECHES
OF
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
1996**

Presidential Address: The State of the Union	January 23, 1996
Remarks by the President in Eulogy at The Funeral of Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown	April 10, 1996
Remarks by the President at Princeton University Commencement	June 4, 1996
Remarks by the President and The First Lady to the U.S. Olympic Team	July 19, 1996
Remarks by the President to the Democratic National Convention	August 29, 1996
Remarks by the President to The 51st General Assembly of The United Nations	September 24, 1996
Remarks by the President to the Congregation of St. Paul's AME Church	November 3, 1996
Remarks by the President to Family, Friends, the People of Arkansas, and The People of the United States	November 5, 1996

COPY

**SELECTED SPEECHES
OF
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
1998**

Presidential Address: The State of the Union	January 27, 1998
Remarks by the President at Goree Island	April 2, 1998
Remarks by the President at the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of The World Trade Organization	May 18, 1998
Remarks by the President at Portland State University Commencement	June 13, 1998
Remarks by the President to the Students and Community of Beijing University	June 29, 1998
Remarks by the President at the Congressional Tribute Honoring Officer Jacob J. Chestnut and Detective John M. Gibson	July 28, 1998
Remarks by the President to The Northern Ireland Assembly	September 3, 1998
Remarks by the President to The Council on Foreign Relations	September 14, 1998
Remarks by the President to The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Convention	September 17, 1998
Remarks by the President at the Middle East Peace Agreement Signing Ceremony	October 23, 1998
Remarks by the President at The New Psalmist Baptist Church	November 1, 1998

COPY

**SELECTED SPEECHES
OF
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
1999**

Presidential Address: The State of the Union	January 19, 1999
Remarks by the President at AmeriCorps Call to Service Event	February 10, 1999
Remarks by the President at the Dedication of His Childhood Home	March 12, 1999
Address to the Nation By the President	June 10, 1999
Remarks by the President to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation Community	July 7, 1999
Remarks by the President at the Access Now For Gay and Lesbian Equality Dinner	October 2, 1999
Remarks by the President to the National Italian American Foundation Dinner	October 16, 1999
Remarks by the President and the First Lady at "Broadway for Hillary" Event	October 25, 1999
Remarks by the President at Commemoration Ceremony in Honor of Yitzhak Rabin	November 2, 1999
Remarks by the President in Presentation of The Congressional Gold Medal to the Little Rock Nine	November 9, 1999
Remarks by the President at the First Annual National Coalition of Minority Business Award Dinner	November 10, 1999

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 of Environmental Quality, George Frampton, are here.

I want to thank someone 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 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 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 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, 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?

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.



STATE OF THE UNION

ADDRESS TO THE 106th CONGRESS



SECOND SESSION

President William J. Clinton

JANUARY 27, 2000 • WASHINGTON, D.C.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 27, 2000

Mr. 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 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.

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 preschool 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.

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 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,

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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 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.

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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.

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 work-

ing 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.

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.

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.

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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.

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.

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.

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 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 County has risen from 250 to more than 20,000.

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.

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 Jesse 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
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.

This intense national commitment has produced real progress. Today I am pleased to announce a new report by the Department of Education which documents the progress of the last seven years, some of which Kit mentioned. The report makes clear that math and reading scores are rising across the country, with some of the greatest gains in some of the most disadvantaged communities. For instance, in the national assessment of education progress, reading scores of 9-year-olds in the highest poverty schools rose almost an entire grade level between 1992 and 1996, reversing a downward trend.

The report also shows that 67 percent of high school graduates now go on to college, up 10 percent since 1993. This is a copy of it and it will be available soon, and I hope all of you will read it and then distill it for the people who read you.

Clearly, we're making progress. Our young people are getting the message they need a college education to have the future of their dreams. We've tried to make those dreams more affordable, with the largest expansion of college opportunity since the G.I. Bill, including the creation of the HOPE Scholarship tax credit, which over 5 million families have already claimed since 1998; education IRAs; more affordable student loans, which have saved students \$8 billion -- about a third of our student loan recipients are in the direct loan program now -- and the taxpayers \$5 billion more. They have helped us to take the default level from over 22 percent to under 9 percent, and to triple annual loan repayment rates.

We also have more Pell Grants; we're up to a million work-study slots; we've got over 150,000 young Americans who earn scholarships by serving in AmeriCorps, many of them in our public schools. And the GEAR-UP program is now pairing college mentors with a quarter of a million middle school students who are at risk, to prepare them for college and convince them the money will be there when they're ready to go.

College entrance exam scores are rising, even though more students from disadvantaged backgrounds are taking the test. And before the Congress this year is my proposal to provide a tax deduction for college tuition of up to \$10,000. If we can do that, along with another increase in the Pell Grants and the other proposals I've mentioned, I think when we leave, Dick and I, we'll be able to say that we have truly opened the doors of four years of college education to all Americans.

We also see progress in the fact that about two-thirds of all of our classrooms are connected to the Internet, with the help of the e-rate program, which the Vice President pioneered. That's up from only 3 percent in 1993. Ninety-five percent of our schools have at least one Internet connection, including 90 percent of our poorest schools. And I think we'll be right at 100 percent by the end of the year for not only the schools, but for almost all the classrooms, except -- and this is a big except -- in those schools that are literally too dilapidated to be wired for the Internet.

We see progress in falling class sizes in the early grades, and we're trying to help that with our program to hire 100,000 new highly-trained teachers, 30,000 of whom have been funded, and we're trying to go to 50,000 in this year's budget. We see progress in the very large increase we've had for pre-school -- and I've proposed the largest increase in history for this year -- and in the fact that 1,400 of our colleges and universities are providing volunteers for the America Reads program to help make sure all our 3rd graders can read independently by the time they finish that year.

And we see progress in the growing public consensus about what must be done to reach our ultimate goal, providing a world-class education for every child in America. I think this consensus can be summed up in a simple phrase that has been our mission for the last seven years: invest more in our schools, demand more from our schools.

When I became President in 1992, the education debate in Washington, I felt, was fairly stale and predictable, and unfortunately, divided into what I thought were partisan camps with false choices. On the one side were those, most of them in my party, who believed that money could solve all the problems in our schools, and who feared that setting high standards and holding schools, teachers and students accountable to them would only hold back poor children, especially poor minority children.

On the other side, there were those, mostly in the other party, who fundamentally did not think the public schools were fixable, and therefore, didn't want to spend much money trying. They also felt education was a state responsibility, and therefore, should not have a comprehensive national response. Some of them, you'll remember, even tried to get rid of the Department of Education.

Vice President Gore and I believed both those positions were wrong. There was plenty of evidence, even then, that high levels of learning were possible in even the most difficult social and economic circumstances. The challenge was to make the school transformation going on in some schools available, active and real in all schools. And we sought to do it by investing more in our schools and demanding more from our schools.

This did not require, as some have charged even recently, micromanagement of our schools by the Department of Education. Indeed, under Secretary Riley's remarkable, steady leadership, federal regulations on schools, K through 12, have been reduced by two-thirds. In addition, we made ed-flex available to all 50 states, which makes it possible for them to reduce even further federal regulations on the details of how federal dollars are spent.

In 1993, we passed a new economic plan that cut hundreds of programs in order to reduce the deficit and improve the economy. But even in that harsh budget year, we boosted education spending. Over the last seven years, we've nearly doubled investment in education and training, even as we've turned record deficits into record surpluses.

In 1994, we overhauled the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, requiring states to set academic standards for what their students should know. We passed the Goals 2000 legislation, which provided states with more resources to create and implement strategies to achieve standards. Since then, we've gone from only a handful of states having standards to nearly every state with them.

Forty-eight states also have assessments in place to measure student progress in meeting those standards -- although, as Kit noted, I have been unsuccessful so far in convincing the Congress that we ought to have national standards and a voluntary national test to measure them. But because we insisted in 1994 that Title I funds be better targeted, 95 percent of high-poverty schools get them today, up from 79 percent seven years ago. And I think it's very important that this progress not be undone as Congress looks at Title I again this year.

In 1994, we began encouraging more competition and more choice for parents within the public school system, including magnet schools, schools within schools, work-site schools, and the creation of public charter schools. We also invested the resources necessary to get the charter school movement off the

ground. When I became President, there was just one charter school in all of America, in Minnesota. Today, thanks in part to our investments, there are over 1,700. Vice President Gore has called for tripling that number.

I think the spread of the charter school movement is one of the great under-reported stories in education, one that makes the whole debate over vouchers into something of a sideshow. Charter schools provide choice, and competition, that proponents of vouchers say they want. And unlike private schools, charter schools are accountable to the public for results. They all haven't succeeded, although most of them have done quite well. But then, they can be shut down if they don't. I think we should be working to make all public schools more accountable, not diverting much-needed energy and money away from them.

The strategy of greater accountability and greater investment continues to guide everything we're fighting for in education. I have sent Congress an Education Accountability Act, to fundamentally change the way the federal government invests in our schools -- to support more of what we know works, and to stop supporting what we know does not work.

We want quality teachers in all classrooms; report cards to parents on school performance, for all parents and all schools; no social promotion, but help for students, not blaming them when the system fails them; a plan to identify failing schools and improve them, or shut them down; a systematic effort to make our schools safe, disciplined and drug-free.

I've also asked Congress to make a range of other investments to make accountability work. Yes, we must end social promotion. But I say again, we need more investments in after-school and summer school programs. It is wrong to blame the students for the failure of the system.

We had the first federal support for after-school programs in 1997, at a million dollars a year; \$40 million in '98; \$200 million in '99; \$453 million in 2000; and we're asking for a billion dollars in 2001. If we get it, we will soon be able to provide after-school programs to every student in a poor-performing school in the United States.

We must also invest in modernizing our schools, to get our kids out of overcrowded classrooms. Our classrooms where the walls are too old to be wired for the Internet, or where it's so

stifling hot in the summer that students in summer school can't learn. There are many cities in this country where the average school building is 65 years of age or more. There are schools in New York City that are still being heated by coal-fired furnaces. There are literally school buildings all across the country that cannot be hooked up to the Internet -- they simply can't be wired. And we all know the stories of how many of our kids are in trailers. The largest number of trailers I have seen behind the smallest school was 12, outside an elementary school in Jupiter, Florida, a couple of years ago. So I think that is very important.

We have also worked on this for a long time. For four years I have tried to get the Congress to approve my tax credit to help to build or modernize 6,000 schools. I have made the proposal again this year, along with an appropriation that would allow us to do renovations on another 5,000 schools a year for the next five years, in districts that are so poor it is simply unrealistic to expect that they could float a bond issue and raise the money, even with a tax credit.

Six years ago, we passed legislation calling on states and school districts to identify and improve low-performing schools. States have now identified some 7,000 low-performing schools, and they're working to improve them. The education budget that we passed last year required states that failed to turn around their low-performing schools to let their students transfer out of those schools to other public schools.

I've asked Congress now to double our investment in the educational accountability fund, so that we'll have adequate funding to help more schools turn around or be shut down. School districts can use this money to make the sweeping systematic changes that have proven so effective in turning around low-performing schools -- from Dade County to Kentucky to Chicago.

Last year, for example, I gave a blue ribbon schools award to Beaufort County Elementary in Beaufort, South Carolina. Classified as one of the state's worst-performing schools five years ago, Beaufort embraced accountability and higher academic standards, and started after-school and summer school programs for students who are lagging behind.

Today, their math and test scores exceed the state average, and local parents are pulling their children out of private school and putting them in the city's public schools. If, for

whatever reason, a school doesn't turn around, our educational accountability fund can be used to allow parents to transfer their students out of these schools into better-performing ones, including charter schools.

The standards movement is making a difference. I believe when we passed Goals 2000 and provided funds to help states develop standards and strategies for meeting them, we made a contribution. Now, the real key is -- and I think it's embodied in the topic of your conference -- if we have standards in all the states, how do we get them in the classrooms? And how do we make sure they're making a difference in the lives of the students? That, to me, is the real key.

And you have to begin, I think, with improving the capacity of principals and teachers to do their jobs. We have \$40 million in our budget to help states improve school management and school leadership, instructional leadership, by principals. I have proposed a new teacher quality initiative -- to recruit more talented people into the classrooms, to reward good teachers for staying there, to give all teachers the training they need. This will build on the strong support we have given for incentives for people to go into inner-city and other underserved areas.

We've given to the National Board for Professional Teacher Certification. There were no board-certified master teachers when I took office; there are now 5,000. We've done everything we could to support that program. There are 10,000 teachers who are in the application process at this time. Our goal is to provide funding enough to get up to 100,000 teachers that are board-certified master teachers, with the idea that there ought to be one in every school building in America. When that happens, I think it will significantly change the culture of education in our country, because of the rigorous certification process and the work that is done to make sure that the teachers are actually effective at teaching our children.

We're also trying to help deal with some of our teacher shortages. Secretary Riley has established a commission on math and science teaching, and Senator John Glenn has taken that on as his next mission. In October, they will give us a report, which I hope will spur further action in that area. The Secretary has also called for the creation of more dual schools, that provide English plus education in at least one other foreign language, which could, I think, help to moot the whole English-only debate, show that we're interested in teaching all of our kids English, and teaching them in English, but recognize the vast diversity we

have in the country, and the need we have to have more teachers who are bilingual and who can teach in an effective manner the students who come to our schools whose first language is not English.

I would also like to mention that in our proposal to create 100,000 new teachers for smaller class sizes, every new teacher under that proposal is required to be fully qualified. And I think that this whole movement to improve teacher quality is really catching on. I know that you know that today the American Federation of Teachers is proposing a national standard and a national test for all new teachers. And I applaud them for it. I've been fighting for testing for higher standards, for better pay for teachers for almost 20 years now. In 1993, Hillary and I passed a law that made Arkansas the first state in the country to test teachers. That was really popular at the time. It was an interesting experience.

But because our teachers performed, I might add, better than anyone anticipated, it happened that the children began to perform better, as well. Today, I think Al Shanker would be very proud of the AFT; his successor, Sandy Feldman, and all of them -- and I think all of you should be proud of them. We need to demand more of our teachers, but we need to reward them better. We're going to have a couple million teachers retiring in the next few years.

We already have the largest student population and the most diverse one in our history. We're going to have to work very, very hard to get more qualified teachers in the classroom. There are already too many teachers teaching classes for which they're not fully qualified and this problem is going to be dramatically exacerbated by the size of the student population, combined with the retirement plans and the ticking of the time clock for many of our teachers. So we will have to focus more and more attention on this.

And in that connection, let me say I have repeatedly challenged states, I'd like to do it again today, to spend more of their budget surpluses on raising teacher pay. Most of our states are in terrific shape today, but they, too, every one of these states is facing the prospect of too many teacher retirements. With very low unemployment, they're having the same problem recruiting teachers that we're now having in some of our military positions, recruiting into training. But they don't have any of the sort of supplemental benefits that you get if you're in the military.

Everybody says this is the most important thing in the world; most of the money still comes at the state level. When the budget surpluses are there, when the money is there, now is the best time most states have had in a generation to make a dramatic increase in teacher pay and I hope they will do so.

Now, let me just make a couple of points about where we are and where we're going. The fundamental lesson of the last seven years, it seems to me, is that an education investment without accountability can be a real waste of money. But accountability without investment can be a real waste of effort. Neither will work without the other. If we want our students to learn more, we should do both.

The strategy is working. But, again, I say, with the largest, most diverse student body in history and the educational premium rising every year in the global information society, we must do more. I've been very pleased at the proposals that Vice President Gore has made and the education plans he's put forth. I'm also pleased that after some struggle we have had bipartisan majorities for the education budgets of the past few years. Unfortunately, it's still a fight every year. Yesterday, the House Education Committee passed a so-called reform bill that eliminates after-school programs, abandons our class size efforts, which are totally bipartisan, and fails to modernize a single school in yet another year. This comes on top of the Senate's Education bill, which rolls back reform even more.

I believe that the majority of people in the other party in Congress are still resisting the investments our schools need. In the name of accountability, they are still pushing vouchers and block grants that I believe would undermine accountability. And both bills greatly under-fund education.

There's an even bigger problem with many of the plans being discussed in this election season, many of them apparently appealing. But the problem is, even the apparently appealing plans advanced by Republicans are in trouble because of the combined impact of their proposed tax cut and defense spending increases. You know, one of the things -- somebody asked me the other day, well, Mr. President, what was your major contribution in your economic reform package for this longest expansion in American history? And you know what my answer was? The return of arithmetic. We brought arithmetic back to the budget. We replaced supply-side economics with arithmetic. And lo and behold, it worked.

And so when anybody says anything -- they're for this, that, or the other thing -- you have to say, well, how does all this add up? Here's the surplus; it's going to be reduced by X amount, depending on what your tax cut is. Then it's going to be reduced by Y amount, depending on what you require for defense. Now, what are your plans for the retirement of the baby boomers? How will you deal with the fact that Social Security today is slated to run out in 2037, before the end of the baby boomers' life expectancy? What about Medicare? What are you going to do with education? Arithmetic is a very important element in politics and public life. And it is often ignored -- you're laughing, but I'm telling the truth and you know it.

And so here's the problem with some of these education proposals. If you take over \$1 trillion out over 10 years for a tax cut, and you increase defense even more than I have -- and I've been a pro-defense Democrat; we've increased defense spending every year I've been President -- there simply will not be the money left to fund a lot of these education and other proposals. I think it's wrong to spend about \$100 of the surplus on tax cuts for every \$1 you spend on education. I just don't think that is consistent with our national priorities.

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 of a family's future, for the strength of the nation? And do you believe we know how to do that now -- with more investment and more accountability for higher standards?

If the answer to all three of those questions is, yes, then I will consider that work that the Secretary and I have done -- even though we haven't won every battle -- will have been more than worth the effort.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NAVAJO NATION
BOYS AND GIRLS CLUB OF SHIPROCK
SHIPROCK, NEW 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.

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.

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 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.

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.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT 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, 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.

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 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 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 to 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.

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.

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 can you 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, 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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.

At the same time, there is a perception in Europe that America's power -- military, economic, cultural -- is at times too 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 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.

Selected Speeches of President William Jefferson Clinton—1999



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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
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The White House • Washington

December 1999

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OF
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
1999**

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President William Jefferson Clinton
State of the Union Address

U.S. CAPITOL
January 19, 1999

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans:

Tonight, I have the honor of reporting on the State of the Union.

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

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

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

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

We have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century and the cleanest environment in a quarter century. America is a strong force for peace from Northern Ireland to Bosnia to the Middle East.

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

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

America is working again. The promise of our future is limitless. But we cannot realize that promise if we allow the hum of our prosperity to lull us into complacency.

How we fare as a nation far into the 21st Century depends upon what we do as a nation today.

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

THE AGING OF 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

Our fiscal discipline gives us an unsurpassed opportunity to address a remarkable new challenge—the aging of America. With the number of elderly Americans set to double by 2030, the baby boom will become a senior boom.

So first, and above all, we must save Social Security for the 21st Century.

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

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

The best way to keep Social Security a rock-solid guarantee is not to make drastic cuts in benefits, not to raise payroll tax rates, not to drain resources from Social Security in the name of saving it.

Instead, I propose that we make an historic decision to invest the surplus to save Social Security.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Third, we must help all Americans, from their first day on the job—to save, to invest, to create wealth. From its beginning, Americans have supplemented Social Security with private pensions and savings. Yet, today, millions of people retire with little to live on other than Social Security. Americans living longer than ever simply must save more than ever.

Therefore, in addition to saving Social Security and Medicare, I propose a new pension initiative for retirement security in the 21st Century. I propose that we use a little over 11 percent of the surplus to establish Universal Savings Accounts—USA Accounts—to give all Americans the means to save. With these new accounts Americans can invest as they choose and receive funds to match a portion of their savings, with extra help for those least able to save. USA Accounts will help all Americans to share in our nation's wealth and to enjoy a more secure retirement. I ask you to support them.

Fourth, we must invest in long-term care. I propose a tax credit of \$1,000 for the aged, ailing or disabled, and the families who care for them. Long-term care will become a bigger and bigger challenge with the aging of America, and we must do more to help our families deal with it.

I was born in 1946, the first year of the baby boom. I can tell you that one of the greatest concerns of our generation is our absolute determination not to let our growing old place an intolerable burden on our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. Our economic success and our fiscal discipline now give us an opportunity to lift that burden from their shoulders, and we should take it.

Saving Social Security, Medicare, creating USA Accounts—this is the right way to use the surplus. If we do so—we will still have resources to meet critical needs in education and defense. And I want to point out that this proposal is fiscally sound.

Listen to this: if we set aside 60 percent of the surplus for Social Security and 16 percent for Medicare, over the next 15 years, that saving will achieve the lowest level of publicly-held debt since right before World War I, in 1917.

So with these four measures—saving Social Security, strengthening Medicare, establishing the USA Accounts, supporting long-term care—we can begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to establish true security for 21st Century seniors.

21ST CENTURY SCHOOLS

There are more children from more diverse backgrounds in our public schools than at any time in our history. Their education must provide the knowledge and nurture the creativity that will allow our entire nation to thrive in the new economy.

Today we can say something we couldn't say six years ago: with tax credits and more affordable student loans, with more work-study jobs and more Pell grants, with education IRAs and the new HOPE Scholarship tax cut that more than five million Americans will receive this year, we have finally opened the doors of college to all Americans.

With our support, nearly every state has set higher academic standards for public schools, and a voluntary national test is being developed to measure the progress of our students. With over \$1 billion in discounts available this year, we are well on our way to our goal of connecting every classroom and library to the Internet.

Last fall, you passed our proposal to start hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now I ask you to finish the job.

Our children are doing better. SAT scores are up; math scores have risen in nearly all grades. But there's a problem. While our 4th graders outperform their peers in other countries in math and science, our 8th graders are around average, and our 12th graders rank near the bottom.

We must do better. Each year, the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, to support what works and to stop supporting what does not work. Later this year, I will send to Congress a plan that, for the first time, holds states and school districts accountable for progress and rewards them for results. My Education Accountability Act will require every school district receiving federal help to take the following five steps.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fourth, we must empower parents, with more information and more choices. In too many communities, it's easier to get information on the quality of the local restaurants than on the quality of the local schools. Every school district should issue report cards on every school.

And parents should be given more choices in selecting their public schools. When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. With our support, on a bipartisan basis, today there are 1,100. My budget assures that early in the next century, there will be 3,000.

Fifth, to assure that our classrooms are truly places of learning, and to respond to what teachers have been asking us to do for years, all states and school districts must both adopt and implement sensible discipline policies.

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

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

21ST CENTURY SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES

We must do more to support the millions of parents who give their all every day at home and at work.

The most basic tool of all is a decent income. So let's raise the minimum wage by a dollar an hour over the next two years. And let's make sure that women and men get equal pay for equal work by strengthening enforcement of equal pay laws.

That was encouraging. There was more balance on the seesaw. I like that. Let's give them a hand. That's great.

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

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

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

America's families deserve the world's best medical care. Thanks to bipartisan federal support for medical research, we are now on the verge of new treatments to prevent or delay diseases from Parkinson's to Alzheimer's, from arthritis to cancer. But as we continue our advances in medical science, we can't let our medical system lag behind.

Managed care has literally transformed medicine in America—driving down costs, but threatening to drive down quality as well. I think we ought to say to every American: you should have the right to know all your medical options—not just the cheapest. If you need a specialist, you should have the right to see one. You have a right to the nearest emergency care if you're in an accident. These are things that we ought to say. And I think we ought to say, you should have a right to keep your doctor during a period of treatment, whether it's a pregnancy or chemotherapy, or anything else.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A 21ST CENTURY ECONOMY

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

Today's income gap is largely a skills gap. Last year, the Congress passed a law enabling workers to get a skills grant to choose the training they need. And I applaud all of you here who were part of that. This year, I recommend a five-year commitment in the new system so that we can provide, appropriate training opportunities for all Americans who lose their jobs, and expand rapid response teams to help all towns which have been really hurt when businesses close. I hope you will support this. And, I ask your support for a dramatic increase in federal support for adult literacy, to mount a national campaign aimed at helping the millions and millions of working people who still read at less than a 5th grade level.

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

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

For years and years and years, we've had OPIC, because we knew we had untapped markets overseas. But our greatest untapped markets are not overseas—they are right here at home. And we should go after them.

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

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

We also must be ready for the 21st Century from its very first moment, by solving the so-called Y2K computer problem. We had one member of Congress stand up and applaud. And we may have about that ratio out there applauding at home, in front of their television sets. But remember, this is a big, big problem. And we've been working hard on it. Already, we've made sure that the Social Security checks will come on time. But I want all the folks at home listening to this to know that we need every state and local government, every business, large and small, to work with us to make sure that this Y2K computer bug will be remembered as the last headache of the 20th Century, not the first crisis of the 21st.

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

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

I also ask you to support creating a freer and fairer trading system for 21st Century America.

I'd like to say something really serious to everyone in this chamber in both parties. Trade has divided us, and divided Americans outside this chamber, for too long. Somehow we have to find a common ground on which business and workers and environmentalists and farmers and government can stand together.

I believe these are the things we ought to all agree on. So let me try.

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

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

We must enforce our trade laws when imports unlawfully flood our nation. I have already informed the government of Japan that if that nation's sudden surge of steel imports into our country is not reversed, America will respond. We must help all manufacturers hit hard by the present crisis with loan guarantees and other incentives to increase American exports by nearly \$2 billion.

I'd like to believe we can achieve a new consensus on trade, based on these principles. And I ask the Congress again to join me in this common approach and to give the President the trade authority long used—and now overdue and necessary—to advance our prosperity in the 21st Century.

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

If we do these things—invest in our people, our communities, our technology, and lead in the global economy—then we will begin to meet our historic responsibility to build a 21st Century prosperity for America.

A STRONG AMERICA IN A NEW WORLD

No nation in history has had the opportunity and the responsibility we now have to shape a world that is more peaceful, more secure, more free.

All Americans can be proud that our leadership helped to bring peace in Northern Ireland.

All Americans can be proud that our leadership has put Bosnia on the path to peace. And with our NATO allies, we are pressing the Serbian government to stop its brutal repression in Kosovo—to bring those responsible to justice, and to give the people of Kosovo the self-government they deserve.

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

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

support they need, the safest possible workplaces, and the resources they must have so America can continue to lead.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Captain Taliaferro.

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

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

The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security. The United Nations plays a crucial role, with allies sharing burdens America might otherwise bear

alone. America needs a strong and effective U.N. I want to work with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts.

We must continue to support security and stability in Europe and Asia—expanding NATO and defining its new missions; maintaining our alliance with Japan, with Korea, with our other Asian allies; and engaging China.

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

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

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

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

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

If we do these things—if we pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, renew our alliances—we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st Century America in a freer, more peaceful world.

21ST CENTURY COMMUNITIES

As the world has changed, so have our own communities. We must make them safer, more livable and more united.

This year, we will reach our goal of 100,000 community police officers—ahead of schedule and under budget. The Brady Bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives and stalkers from buying handguns. Now, the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years and the crime rate has dropped for six straight years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our new immigrants must be part of our One America. After all, they're revitalizing our cities, they're energizing our culture, they're building up our economy. We have a responsibility to make them welcome here; and they have a responsibility to enter the mainstream of American life. That means learning English and learning about our democratic system of government. There are now long waiting lines of immigrants that are trying to do just that. Therefore, our budget significantly expands our efforts to help them meet their responsibility. I hope you will support it.

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

THE MILLENNIUM

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

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

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

Already, the response has been remarkable. And I want to say a special word of thanks to our private sector partners and to members in Congress of both parties for their support.

Just one example: because of you, the Star-Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages. In ways large and small, as we look to the millennium we are keeping alive what George Washington called "the sacred fire of liberty."

Six years ago, I came to office in a time of doubt for America, with our economy troubled, our deficit high, our people divided. Some even wondered whether our best days were behind us. But across this country, in a thousand neighborhoods, I had seen—even amid the pain and uncertainty of recession—the real heart and character of America.

I knew then that we Americans could renew this country.

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

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

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

A hundred years from tonight, another American President will stand in this place and report on the State of the Union. He—or she—will look back on a 21st Century shaped in so many ways by the decisions we make here and now.

So let it be said of us then that we were thinking not only of our time, but of their time; that we reached as high as our ideals; that we put aside our divisions and found a new hour of healing and hopefulness; that we joined together to serve and strengthen the land we love.

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

Thank you and good evening.

Remarks by the President at AmeriCorps Call to Service Event

RICHIE COLISEUM
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND
February 10, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen, when I was listening to Stephen and Leslie and Justin and Pepe talk, I was reminded of why I wanted to be President — so that I could give young people like them the chance to make America a better place.

I want to thank all those who are here today who have supported our efforts. I thank Harris Wofford for his outstanding leadership of the Corporation of National Service. Deb Jospin and John Gomperts of AmeriCorps. I thank Governor Glendening and Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend for making Maryland America's leading state for citizen service. They have really done — I thank my good friend, Prince George's County Executive Wayne Curry; Senator Mike Miller, my longtime friend; and Mayor Jacobs, thank you for making us welcome. Carson Dailey, thank you for the work MTV did on those wonderful spots, the PSAs.

I would like to thank also the mother of the Lt. Governor, my good friend, Ethel Kennedy, for being here today. And I thank Mark Gearan, our Peace Corps Director, and I'll say a little more about the Peace Corps in a minute and its relationship to AmeriCorps.

I'd like to thank one person who is not here today, but who was on the front lines of creating AmeriCorps, Senator Barbara Mikulski, your United States Senator from Maryland. I thank her. I want to thank the President of the University of Maryland, on my right; and the President of the Student Government of the University of Maryland, on my left — for making me welcome. Avery and Dr. Mote, thank you.

You have already heard from Dr. Mote and others that six years ago I came here to celebrate the end of the Summer of Service, which was our dry run for this national service program. We wanted to work out the kinks and see whether we could make this idea go. There were three people who are here who were instrumental on that day; I would like to thank them: Georgia Sorensen, Marilyn Smith and my former White House staffer, whom I miss very much, Bill Galston. Thank you all very much for what you have done.

And I thank the University of Maryland for the College Park Scholars, the Team Maryland Athletes — the work-study students that are tutoring, and the others from the students and faculty who demonstrate the power of citizen service.

Let me say to all of you, when I ran for President in 1992 I wanted to get America working again and moving again, but I also wanted to bring America together again. It seemed to me that we had two great problems. One is that our economy was not functioning very well and we seemed to be getting weaker, but also that we seemed to be letting our divisions overcome what we have in common.

Martin Luther King once said that the old law of an eye for an eye sooner or later leaves everyone blind. I always believed that America's differences could be the source of our strength if we respected and we celebrated our differences, but we understood that, underneath it all, there was something that bound us together that was more important.

So, as I look back on the last six years, I think we can all take a great deal of pride in what our country has achieved together — economically, the longest peacetime expansion in history; the lowest peacetime unemployment rate since 1957, 42 years ago — welfare rolls cut nearly in half; the lowest crime rate in over a quarter-century. I think those are great things.

But I think we can also celebrate the evidence that we are coming together — over 90 percent of our children across all racial and ethnic lines immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time in history; the doors of college literally open to all with the HOPE scholarship, the lifetime learning tax credit, the more generous Pell grants, more affordable student loans, more work-study slots. Those things matter.

But maybe most of all, those of you here in Americorps, and those in citizen service — whether in the Peace Corps, serving our country in the military, or serving in some other way — embody the determination of America to draw closer together as we grow more diverse. And that, I think, is terribly important.

When you saw the four Americorps volunteers up here speaking, and each of you identifying with them in turn — if they worked in your project or you knew them — you know they were a picture of America, of the changing face of America, and the best of America that never changes.

If you look around the world today, at many of the challenges that I face as your President and that the United States faces — the sad trip that the First Lady and I recently took to Jordan for the funeral of our friend, the King of Jordan, who survived decades of assassination attempts — literally decades of assassination attempts, probably 50 in all — to stand as a symbol of peace among people in a very tough neighborhood, who use religion as a reason to find their differences more important than their common humanity. All over the world

today you see that. If the United States wants to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity in a new century in a new millennium, it is actually quite an advantage for us to have within our borders people from all races, all religions, all ethnic groups, all cultural backgrounds doing all kinds of different things.

But we cannot do good around the world unless we are good at home. And, therefore, we have to find this magical balance, being honest about our differences of opinion on matters from the serious to the mundane — and I'll leave it to you to decide whether it was serious or mundane when the President asked me to take sides in the basketball game. You've got a great team here, though, I'll tell you that, I've watched it. We have to find a way to do that, to say, this is what I believe, this is where I stand, this is what I'm for — and also to say how lucky we are to stand on the verge of a new millennium in a totally global society, where people are being brought closer together than ever before, and we are finding ways to relish, to celebrate, to honor our differences in a way to bring us closer together, instead of driving us apart.

AmeriCorps is the living, breathing symbol of the answer to that. Where we do not ask people to check their differences at the door, but we do ask them to reaffirm our common humanity. We do not ask for a handout, but we do ask for a hand up for everyone who needs it, and we say we are going forward together. That is what you represent. That is my fondest hope for America. And I thank you for your service.

You know, all during the 20th century, the tradition of citizen service grew stronger in America. In the great Depression I remember my parents telling me about the chance President Roosevelt gave able-bodied, unemployed people to work in the Civilian Conservation Corps — the CCC. They cleared trails, they fought fires, they planted trees. They built whole state parks — the Appalachian Trail, Skyline Drive in Virginia; parks in my home state that Hillary and I have stayed in, with rather interesting names like Petit Jean, and Devil's Den. I have in the back office of the White House an old CCC cap — a cap that one of the volunteers wore in the '30s, that I found wedged in between a chimney and a wall, in a cabin in a state park in the mountains of north Arkansas. And I have kept it with me all these long years, to remember the unifying power of citizen service in one of the most difficult moments of the 20th century for the United States.

President Kennedy in the 1960s asked young people to serve in the Peace Corps — to teach English, to provide health care, to bring running water and electricity to some of the most remote villages in Africa, Asia and South America. My brother-in-law served in the Peace Corps in Colombia. And the other night, he was getting together with some of the people who served there with him. When we were getting ready to come out here today, and Senator Wofford came in with Mark Gearan, the present Peace Corps Director, we were

celebrating the fact that, if our new budget passes, we will have more people serving in the Peace Corps in the next two years than have ever served in any given year. We'll be back at an all-time high.

And we were lamenting the fact that we just had to withdraw our Peace Corps volunteers from Eritrea and Ethiopia, two countries that I have felt particularly close to in the last couple of years, because of the trouble the two countries are having — the threat to go to war. And the Peace Corps volunteers, going all the way back for decades, have volunteered to try to come in and solve the conflict and deal with the disputed area of land. I don't know if they will accept it, but think of that. All these years later, people that were there years and years and years ago remember what it was like — not to give a handout, but to give a hand up, and to ask people to understand that their differences are not as important as what they have in common.

So I thank our Peace Corps volunteers, I thank Mark Gearan, and I thank all of you in AmeriCorps, because you are in the rich tradition of America's citizen service, from the CCC to the Peace Corps to AmeriCorps.

Now, six summers after I first came here, AmeriCorps is thriving. There now have been over 100,000 people serve in AmeriCorps in just four years of the full-time program. Everywhere I go around the country I see you — I see you in all kinds of different contexts. I was in San Jose right before the election and there were a lot of — the Peace Corps volunteers had just come to start their mission, and so I saw them standing on the street as I pulled into the hotel. And I asked them all to come see me and we took a little picture — and they were from everywhere.

And then when I went home to Arkansas after the terrible tornadoes a couple of weeks ago, in both the communities I visited there were AmeriCorps volunteers there and there were people there who, believe me, would never have come to Arkansas in their lives if they hadn't been in AmeriCorps. I know it was good for the people they were helping and I think it was pretty good for them.

This has been an astonishing encounter for tens of thousands of people. Now, all of you know what it's like — I love talking to people who have been in AmeriCorps because I always hear two things — number one, they're proud of what they did to help people — teaching a child to read, or immunizing a child, or having a playground that's safe in an area that used to be dominated by gangs, or cleaning up some polluted site, or doing something to preserve the environment. I love that.

The second thing I always hear is, "I like the people with whom I serve;" "I met people I never would have met;" "I got to know people I never would have gotten to know;" "we were all so different and, yet, when we worked together, we grew together, and it made my life different and better." That is what AmeriCorps needs to do — and that is what America needs to do.

America needs to think of itself as sort of a giant AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps at home, getting things done together. Getting things done together. If our budget passes this fall, we can boost the number of AmeriCorps volunteers by one quarter, to 50,000 members. In our new budget we want to keep expanding AmeriCorps every year so that by the year 2003, and there forward, every year 100,000 young people will be serving in AmeriCorps.

But I want to challenge the young people of this country — and the not so young who are willing to do it -- to sign up for AmeriCorps, to see for yourselves what you can do to solve America's problems and reap America's promise. I want to challenge high school students, as well. Maryland has done a wonderful job as the Governor and the Lt. Governor said, being the only state in the country to actually require community service as a part of a public education. In our balanced budget we propose to allow high schoolers for the very first time to join AmeriCorps by serving part-time during the school year and full-time in the summers.

And I want to challenge, again, the young people beyond this room, to dedicate a year or two of your lives to a cause larger than yourselves. It may be your best chance to change the lives of others for the better, and to enrich your own life in the process.

Today, so many young people have the time and freedom and energy they will never have in the future, to tackle the kind of challenge Americorps represents — to pack a bag at a moment's notice, to fight a forest fire, or move into our most remote towns or Native American reservations to teach children, or work with churches in some of our toughest neighborhoods. At the end of your service, as all of you know, Americorps will provide help to pay for college or pay off student loans. So I ask you all to help me reach others — to take advantage of this opportunity, to use this moment to prove that this generation of young people, far from being a generation of cynics and slackers, is instead a generation of doers and patriots.

Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend quoted something her father said. I would like to close with a quotation from Senator Robert Kennedy, in a speech he gave to college students in South Africa when I was a young man. It resonated around the world, and every person my age, which was then your age now — every young person I knew, without regard to their party or their opinions or anything else, was riveted by the notion that a United States Senator could go to South Africa and talk to the young people about building a different future, a long time before, for the first time in over 300 years, all South Africans had a chance to choose their future.

This is what he said: "Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

That is still true today. For those in AmeriCorps, I thank you for sending forth those ripples of hope. I thank you for bringing out the best in yourselves and others.

For those who could still yet serve, I ask you to join the rest of your fellow citizens in building that bridge to the 21st century that all can walk across, arm-in-arm, to the best days of America.

Thank you and God bless you.

Remarks by the President at Dedication of His Childhood Home

HOPE, ARKANSAS
March 12, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. My friend, Tillman Ross, thank you for the prayer. And, Joe, thank you for the introduction.

I have to say that I'm here with mixed feelings — this is the coldest March 12th in the past 100 years in Hope, Arkansas. You have totally destroyed the case I have been making for global warming for the last five years.

You know, we were at the airport and the congressmen and state officials and the judge and county officials and city board, everybody came out there. And it was worse there than it is here, believe it or not. It was raining a whole lot harder, the wind was blowing. And there must have been 600 people out there — all the school kids — I'm sure I made a lot of money for the hospitals in the area. There will be people being treated for flu for three or four weeks after this.

But I was very moved. And in a funny way, the rain makes this day more poignant for me. I'd like to thank the young people who sang from the Hope and Yeager Choirs. I want to thank my good friends who are here from the State Legislature, and Jimmy Lou Fisher, Mark Pryor and Gus Winfield, and Charlie Daniels, our state officials who came. I don't know if Congressman Dickey is still here — he was at the airport — I thank him. I thank all the people who had anything to do with this, that people on the Foundation and those who gave their money and time, those who gave memorabilia and memories.

I'd like to thank all the members of my family who are here. I'd like to say a special word of appreciation because my brother and sister-in-law and my little nephew came all the way from California to be with us today, and they're over there. I'm glad they're here.

I would like to thank all the people from Arkansas who came down here and who have been a part of my administration, but I have to single out my good friend, Mack McLarty — he and Donna Kay came down and, as all of you know, he's been an integral part of every good thing that's happened since I've been President. I want to thank him and thank them for coming down with me today.

And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Bob Nash, because I'm going to Texarkana when I leave here and he's from there. Thank you, Bob. He also has the worst job in the White House, because he supervises my appointments — which means when I appoint somebody I write them a letter and they're happy; and when I disappoint them, which is about a 10-1 ratio, Bob has to tell them.

I want to thank Becky Moore and Joe Purvis and my longtime friend, Rose Crane, for all the work they've done, along with the Foundation Board. The three of them just gave me a tour of the house. I saw the old pictures and the toys and everything, and I'm just stunned by the work that has been done.

There are so many more people I'd like to thank: Brent Thompson, the architect, Stan Jackson, all of you who rescued this old place. Last time I was here before you started working on it was in 1990, and I thought when I walked through the front door it would come down around my ears. I cannot tell you how moved I am by this.

It's cold and it's windy and it's rainy and I won't keep you long, but I would like to say a few things that I worked on last night and this morning.

A poet once wrote, "The accent of one's birthplace lingers in the mind and in the heart, as it does in one's speech." Well, so many accents of Hope linger in my mind and my heart.

We're not far from the site of the old sawmill where my grandfather worked as a night watchman, and where as a little boy I used to go spend the night with him, climbing in the sawdust pile and sleeping in the back seat of his car. We're just minutes from the place on which his little grocery store stood, where I used to look up at the countertop and wish I could reach the jar of Jackson's cookies.

I still remember that my grandfather was the first person who taught me by his example to treat all people the same without regard to their race. And also without regard to their income, because he gave food to people whether or not they had a dime in their pocket.

We're not far from Miss Mary Perkins' kindergarten where I went with my friends, Mack McLarty, Bill Purvis, Vince Foster, George Wright — maybe some more people who are here today — and where I broke my leg in the first of many major mistakes I was to make in my life, jumping rope in my cowboy boots.

And we're not far from Rosehill Cemetery, where my beloved mother, my grandparents, and my father whom I knew only in my dreams and my mother's memory, lie now in eternal rest.

In this house, I learned to walk and talk; I learned to pray; I learned to read; I learned to count from the playing cards my grandparents tacked up on the kitchen windows which are directly behind us now.

Though I was only four when I left this place, it still holds very, very vivid memories for me, and I just relived a lot of them walking through the house. I remember we watched a house burn right across the street there, where the trucks are. I remember throwing a pocketknife into the ground in that backyard I shared with my friend, Vince Foster. I remember hurrying down the stairs on Christmas morning and dragging my little toys across the living room floor; waiting outside on that sidewalk for my grandmother to walk home from work.

I remember watching the old telephone when it rang, always hoping that it was Mother calling from New Orleans, where she went to study anesthesia after my father died. I still miss her every day. She would love what you have done here — the fact that you preserved her mother's rosebush and that her birthday club planted one of her bushes here. And I want to especially thank my good friends, Elias and Jody Ghanem, for this garden which they have made possible to be planted in her memory. Thank you and God bless you.

In that wonderful video that my friends, Harry and Linda Thomason, made when I ran for President in 1992, I talked about how I used to fly all over our country, look out across the vast landscape of America, and think about how far I had come from this little woodframe house. Well, believe it or not, I still think about that, no matter where I travel.

I said back then something I want to say again. In many ways, I know that all I am or ever will be came from here — a place and a time where nobody locked their doors at night, everybody showed up for a parade on Main Street, and kids like me could dream of becoming part of something bigger than themselves. Of course, Hope wasn't perfect; it was part of the segregated South and it's had its fair share of flaws. And as Mack and I were reminiscing this morning, it had a gossip or two. But in those long-ago days after World War II, we were raised to believe in two great qualities that I have tried to bring back to America: a sense of personal optimism and a sense of community, of belonging, of being responsible for the welfare of others as well as yourself.

I believed then and I believe now, the places we come from say a lot about us. And places like this say a lot about America, Mr. Mayor. That's why people take family trips to towns like Lamar, Missouri, to see the birthplace of Harry Truman — it's a small white frame house, just 20 feet by 28 feet — why they go to Stonewall, Texas, to see the two-story farmhouse where Lyndon Johnson was born.

We visit these places not because great events happened there, but because everyday events happened there. Not because they're grand, but precisely because they are ordinary — the modest homes of modest people. We make them into landmarks because they remind us that America's greatness can be found not only in its large centers of wealth and culture and power, but also in its small towns, where children learn from their

families and neighbors the rhythms and rituals of daily life. They learn about home and work, about love and loss, about success and failure, about endurance and the power and dignity of their dreams.

I want to close with a story. Back when I was Governor, whenever I would come to Hope, I'd always drop by and visit my Uncle Buddy and Aunt Ollie. They helped to raise me, and I loved them a lot. After they had been married well over 50 years, my Aunt developed Alzheimer's, and she had to be moved to that nursing facility that's connected to the hospital.

One night, I stopped by to see my Uncle Buddy when he was living alone and going to see his wife, when most of the time she didn't really know who he was anymore. Our talk was like so many we had over the years; it was full of his country wisdom and his funny jokes, and he was laughing and making me laugh. But when I got up to go, for the first and only time in our long, long relationship, he grabbed my arm and I turned around and I saw tears in his eyes. And I said to my uncle, "This is really hard, isn't it?" And he said these words I will remember until the day I die. He said, "Yeah, it is. But I signed on for the whole load — and most of it's been pretty good."

Now, in this town, from my family and friends, that's what I learned — to sign on for the whole load. Though far from perfect, I have tried to do just that for my family and my friends, for our beloved state and nation. If I had not learned that lesson here, 50 years ago, we wouldn't be here today.

And so, to my family and friends I say, thank you for love and loyalty and the lessons of a lifetime; thank you for being there for me through this whole wonderful ride. To these young people I say, dream your dreams and know that you can best fulfill them if your neighbors get to live their dreams, too.

Because of these gifts I can say with even greater conviction today what I said to America back in 1992: I still believe in a place called Hope.

Thank you and God bless you.

Address to the Nation by the President

THE OVAL OFFICE

June 10, 1999

My fellow Americans, tonight for the first time 79 days, the skies over Yugoslavia are silent. The Serb army and police are withdrawing from Kosovo. The one million men, women and children driven from their land are preparing to return home. The demands of an outraged and united international community have been met.

I can report to the American people that we have achieved a victory for a safer world, for our democratic values and for a stronger America. Our pilots have returned to base. The air strikes have been suspended. Aggression against an innocent people has been contained, and is being turned back.

When I ordered our armed forces into combat, we had three clear goals: to enable the Kosovar people, the victims of some of the most vicious atrocities in Europe since the Second World War, to return to their homes with safety and self-government; to require Serbian forces responsible for those atrocities to leave Kosovo; and to deploy an international security force, with NATO at its core, to protect all the people of that troubled land -- Serbs and Albanians, alike. Those goals will be achieved. Unnecessary conflict has been brought to a just and honorable conclusion.

The result will be security and dignity for the people of Kosovo, achieved by an alliance that stood together in purpose and resolve, assisted by the diplomatic efforts of Russia. This victory brings a new hope that when a people are singled out for destruction because of their heritage and religious faith, and we can do something about it, the world will not look the other way.

I want to express my profound gratitude to the men and women of our Armed Forces and those of our allies. Day after day, night after night they flew, risking their lives to attack their targets and to avoid civilian casualties when they were fired upon from populated areas. I ask every American to join me in saying to them, thank you, you've made us very proud.

I'm also grateful to the American people for standing against the awful ethnic cleansing, for sending generous assistance to the refugees and for opening your hearts and your homes to the innocent victims who came here.

I want to speak with you for a few moments tonight about why we fought, what we achieved and what we have to do now to advance the peace, and together with the people of the Balkans, forge a future of freedom, progress and harmony.

We should remember that the violence we responded to in Kosovo was the culmination of a 10-year campaign by Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, to exploit ethnic and religious differences in order to impose his will on the lands of the former Yugoslavia. That's what he tried to do in Croatia and in Bosnia, and now in Kosovo. The world saw the terrifying consequences. Five hundred villages burned. Men of all ages separated from their loved ones to be shot and buried in mass graves; women raped; children made to watch their parents die. A whole people forced to abandon, in hours, communities their families had spent generations building.

For these atrocities, Mr. Milosevic and his top aides have been indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal for war crimes and crimes against humanity. I will never forget the Kosovar refugees I recently met. Some of them could barely talk about what they had been through. All they had left was hope that the world would not turn its back.

When our diplomatic efforts to avert this horror were rebuffed and the violence mounted, we and our allies chose to act. Mr. Milosevic continued to do terrible things to the people of Kosovo, but we were determined to turn him back. Our firmness finally brought an end to a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing, and we acted early enough to reverse it — to enable the Kosovars to go home.

When they do, they will be safe. They will be able to reopen their schools, speak their language, practice their religion, choose their leaders and shape their destiny. There'll be no more days of foraging for food in the cold of mountains and forests; no more nights of hiding in cellars, wondering if the next day will bring death or deliverance. They will know that Mr. Milosevic's army and paramilitary forces will be gone, his 10-year campaign of repression finished.

NATO has achieved this success as a united alliance, ably led by Secretary General Solana and General Clark. Nineteen democracies came together and stayed together through the stiffest military challenge in NATO's 50-year history.

We also preserved our critically important partnership with Russia, thanks to President Yeltsin, who opposed our military effort but supported diplomacy to end the conflict on terms that met our conditions. I'm grateful to Russian envoy Chernomyrdin and Finnish President Ahtisaari for their work, and to Vice President Gore for the key role he played in putting their partnership together. Now, I hope Russian troops will join us in the force that will keep the peace in Kosovo, just as they have in Bosnia.

Finally, we have averted the wider war this conflict might well have sparked. The countries of southeastern Europe backed the NATO campaign, helped the refugees and showed the world there is more compassion than cruelty in this troubled region. This

victory makes it all the more likely that they will choose a future of democracy, fair treatment of minorities and peace.

Now we're entering a new phase: building that peace — and there are formidable challenges. First, we must be sure the Serbian authorities meet their commitments. We are prepared to resume our military campaign should they fail to do so.

Next, we must get the Kosovar refugees home safely: mine fields will have to be cleared; homes destroyed by Serb forces will have to be rebuilt; homeless people in need of food and medicine will have to get them; the fate of the missing will have to be determined; the Kosovar Liberation Army will have to demilitarize, as it has agreed to do. And we in the peacekeeping force will have to ensure that Kosovo is a safe place to live for all its citizens — ethnic Serbs, as well as ethnic Albanians.

For these things to happen, security must be established. To that end, some 50,000 troops from almost 30 countries will deploy to Kosovo. Our European allies will provide the vast majority of them; America will contribute about 7,000. We are grateful that during NATO's air campaign we did not lose a single serviceman in combat. But this next phase also will be dangerous. Bitter memories will still be fresh — and there may well be casualties. So we have made sure that the force going into Kosovo will have NATO command and control and rules of engagement set by NATO. It will have the means and the mandate to protect itself while doing its job.

In the meantime, the United Nations will organize a civilian administration while preparing the Kosovars to govern and police themselves. As local institutions take hold, NATO will be able to turn over increasing responsibility to them and draw down its forces.

A third challenge will be to put in place a plan for lasting peace and stability in Kosovo and through all the Balkans. For that to happen, the European Union and the United States must plan for tomorrow, not just today. We must help to give the democracies of Southeastern Europe a path to a prosperous, shared future — a unifying magnet more powerful than the pull of hatred and destruction that has threatened to tear them apart. Our European partners must provide most of the resources for this effort, but it is in America's interest to do our part, as well. A final challenge will be to encourage Serbia to join its neighbors in this historic journey to a peaceful, democratic, united Europe.

I want to say a few words to the Serbian people tonight. I know that you, too, have suffered in Mr. Milosevic's wars. You should know that your leaders could have kept Kosovo as a part of your country without driving a single Kosovar family from its home, without killing a single adult or child, without inviting a single NATO bomb to fall on your country. You endured 79 days of bombing, not to keep Kosovo a province

of Serbia, but simply because Mr. Milosevic was determined to eliminate Kosovar Albanians from Kosovo, dead or alive.

As long as he remains in power, as long as your nation is ruled by an indicted war criminal, we will provide no support for the reconstruction of Serbia. But we are ready to provide humanitarian aid now, and to help to build a better future for Serbia, too, when its government represents tolerance and freedom, not repression and terror.

My fellow Americans, all these challenges are substantial, but they are far preferable to the challenges of war and continued instability in Europe. We have sent a message of determination and hope to all the world. Think of all the millions of innocent people who died in this bloody century because democracies reacted too late to evil and aggression. Because of our resolve, the 20th century is ending not with helpless indignation, but with a hopeful affirmation of human dignity and human rights for the 21st century.

In a world too divided by fear among people of different racial, ethnic and religious groups, we have given confidence to the friends of freedom, and pause to those who would exploit human difference for inhuman purposes.

America still faces great challenges in this world, but we look forward to meeting them. So, tonight, I ask you to be proud of your country, and very proud of the men and women who serve it in uniform — for in Kosovo, we did the right thing. We did it the right way. And we will finish the job.

Good night, and may God bless our wonderful United States of America.

Remarks by the President to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation Community

PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
July 7, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you to all of you here from Pine Ridge and all the other tribal leaders who are here for HUD's Shared Vision Conference. I am profoundly honored to be in Pine Ridge and in the Lakota Nation. In fact, to try to demonstrate my appreciation and respect, I would like to try — to try to say something in Lakota. Mitakuye Oyasin.

My neighbors, my friends, we are all related. Consider those who have come here today to join hands with you, along with Secretary Cuomo, Secretary Glickman, your great congressional delegation, our Democratic leader, Tom Daschle in the United States Senate and Senator Johnson, Congressman Thune. You don't know this, but we have members of Congress from all over America who have come here to express their support and their commitment to join you in building a better tomorrow.

Congressman Ed Pastor from Arizona; Congressman Dale Kildee, from the state of Michigan; Congressman Jim Clyburn, from South Carolina; and Congressman Paul Kanjorski, from Pennsylvania, he has come all the way from Pennsylvania to be here.

I want to thank the other people from the administration, especially Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Kevin Gover and Lynn Cutler, in the White House, who work with all of our Native American leaders around America, for what they do. I want to thank the CEO of Fannie Mae, Frank Raines; the CEO of Northwest, Mark Omen; the PMI President, Roger Horton; Mortgage Bankers Association President Don Lang; Champion Homes CEO Walter Young — for all the work that they are prepared to do in building a better future and they're here today.

I want to thank my good friend, Jesse Jackson, for never letting us forget our common obligations. I thank the other members of our delegation today — Bart Harvey, from Enterprise; Al From, from the Democratic Leadership Council. I'd like to thank the young AmeriCorps volunteers who are here today for all the work they do.

I would like to say a word of appreciation to all the people who live here on this reservation, who welcomed me into their homes, who talked to me today as I walked down their streets. I thank especially Geraldine Bluebird, whom Secretary Cuomo

mentioned — she let me sit on her porch and she told me how she tries to make ends meet for the 28 people that share her small home and the house trailer adjoining.

I thank the children who stopped their playing and shook hands with me and listened to me while I encouraged them to stay in school and to go onto college and to live out their dreams. I want to bring you greetings from two people who are not here — first, from Vice President Gore, who has headed our empowerment zone effort that Pine Ridge became a part of today. And, second, just a little over an hour ago, I talked to the First Lady, and Hillary has spent more time in Indian Country than any First Lady in history. She is intensely committed to this effort, and she asked me to say hello to you.

President Salway said today I was the only President ever to come to an Indian reservation for a nation to nation business meeting. I remember back in 1994, I invited all the tribal leaders in America to the White House, and it was the first such gathering since the presidency of James Monroe in the 1820s. Now, I know that Calvin Coolidge came to Pine Ridge in the 1920s, and that President Roosevelt visited another Native American reservation, but no American President has been anywhere in Indian Country since Franklin Roosevelt was President. That is wrong, and we're trying to fix it today.

I was profoundly moved by the pipe ceremony, just as I was when your congressional delegation took me last night not only to Mount Rushmore, but to the Crazy Horse Memorial, and to the museum that is there with it.

But I ask you today, even as we remember the past, to think more about the future. We know well what the failings of the present and the past are. We know well the imperfect relationship that the United States and its government has enjoyed with the tribal nations. But I have seen today not only poverty, but promise.

And I have seen enormous courage. I came here today for three reasons. First of all, to celebrate the empowerment zone and the housing projects that are going on here now. Second, to talk about my New Markets Initiative and what else we can do. But, third, with the business leaders who are here — and I've already introduced them, but I'd like to ask the business leaders I just mentioned to stand up. We want to send a message to America that this is a good place to invest. Good people live here. Good people live in Indian country, they deserve a chance to go to work. Thank you. Thank you.

You've already heard President Salway and Secretary Cuomo recite the statistics. It's a hot day out here, and I know you're suffering in the sun. But I want to send a message to America. So I just want to say a few things, and I want you to think about this. Think about the irony of this. We are in the longest period of economic growth in peacetime in our history.

We have in America almost 19 million new jobs. We have the lowest unemployment rate ever recorded for African Americans and Hispanics. For over two years our country has had an unemployment rate below 5 percent. But here on this reservation, the unemployment rate is nearly 75 percent. That is wrong, and we have to do something to change it, and do it now.

When we are on the verge of a new century and a new millennium where people are celebrating the miracles of technology, and the world growing closer and closer together, and our ability to learn from and with each other and make business partnerships with each other all across our globe, and there are still reservations with few phones and no banks, when still three or four families are forced to share two simple rooms, where communities where Native Americans live have deadly disease and infant mortality rates at many times the national rate, when these things still persist, we cannot rest until we do better. And trying is not enough; we have to have results. We can do better.

Our nation will never have a better chance. When will we ever have this kind of opportunity where unemployment is low, inflation is low, there's a lot of money in our country, the value of our stock market has tripled and then some. Business people are looking for new places to invest, and people who have done well feel a moral obligation to try to help those who are less fortunate, who have not fully participated.

And we see it from Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to the inner cities of our country, to the Native American communities. If we can't do this now, we will never get around to doing it. So let us give ourselves a gift for the 21st century — an America where no one is left behind and everyone has a chance.

We will do our part. You have suffered from neglect, and you know that doesn't work. You have also suffered from the tyranny of patronizing inadequately funded government programs, and you know that doesn't work. We have tried to have a more respectful, more proper relationship with the tribal governments of this country to promote more genuine independence, but also to give more genuine support. And the empowerment zone program, as the Vice President and I designed it six years ago, is designed to treat all communities that way. We're not coming from Washington to tell you exactly what to do and how to do it, we're coming from Washington to ask you what you want to do, and tell you we will give you the tools and the support to get done what you want to do for your children and their future.

President Salway and a number of tribal leaders came to me at the White House a couple of months ago. You may have heard in the national press that I repeatedly referred to this profoundly emotional meeting. I have given a great deal of thought to what was said then and what I heard now. We can do better. I would like to mention just a few specific things, for you have all heard years of pretty words.

There is no more crucial building block for a strong community and a promising future than a solid home. Today, I want to talk about a number of things the government and the private sector are going to do to increase homeownership. Our whole team visited those new homes that are being built not far from here. We talked to the families that are moving into those homes. I had a little boy take me through every room in the home, tell me exactly where every closet was, tell me what his sister's room had that he didn't have, and why it was all right, because she was older and she needed such things.

This is important. So what are we going to do? Private lenders, like Bank of America, Northwest, Bank One, Washington Mutual, are going to work with the Mortgage Bankers Association and HUD, to more than double the number of government-insured or guaranteed home mortgages in Indian country in each of the next three years.

Right here in Pine Ridge, Fannie Mae, under Frank Raines' leadership, has set aside millions of dollars to help you buy those homes at below-market rates. And they are spending hundreds of millions of dollars all across this country to help people just like you become homeowners for the first time. And Secretary Cuomo's Partnership for Housing is giving financial incentives and counseling to help families figure out how to actually get this done, how to buy their own homes and pay for them.

But, as I heard over and over today, even if we went in and tried to repair or rebuild or build new homes for every family here, and in every Indian community throughout the United States, we must have jobs if we want these communities to work. Adults need to have something to look forward to every morning when they get up. And if they want their kids to stay in school, and stay out of trouble, and look to tomorrow, their lives have to be evidence that looking to tomorrow pays off. It is appalling that we have the highest growth rate in peacetime in our history; that we have an unemployment rate below 5 percent for two years, and the unemployment rate on this hallowed reservation is almost 75 percent. That is appalling, and we can do better.

No community in America can grow, however, without basic blocks. No community in America should be without safe running water and sewer systems. So the Department of Agriculture will put nearly \$16 million in water projects throughout Indian country, including two right here in Pine Ridge, that will also help you get jobs, as well as improve the quality of life.

As you can see, in this Big Sky country, it is rather warm and it gets windy from time to time, as the Natives will attest. The Department of Energy will help you harness the power and profits of wind and solar energy, to save money and make money. Owens Corning and North American Steel Framing Alliance will provide skills training and the promise of quality jobs. And Citibank and Gateway Computer Company will work with

Oglala Lakota College and other schools to help Native American students get the computer skills that will allow them to get 21st century jobs.

And our Federal Communications Commission will work with you to improve telephone service throughout Indian Country, an absolute prerequisite for getting any new business in here.

Let me just say that one of the things that we have learned is that the computer and the Internet make it possible for many people to do many kinds of work in any community, anywhere in the United States; indeed, increasingly, anywhere in the world. The fact that this reservation is a long way from an urban center would have been an absolute prohibitive barrier to a lot of economic development just 10 or 15 years ago.

The explosion of computer technology and the Internet, if you know how to use it and you know how to deliver for others with it, has literally made the distance barrier almost insignificant for many kinds of economic activity. So I want to implore you to use your tribal college and work with these companies and make the most of the skills they are offering, and we can get the jobs to come here once you can do them.

Finally, we must seize the vast potential of tourism right here in Pine Ridge by building a Lakota Sioux heritage cultural center. Every year, millions of families travel long, long distances to see Mount Rushmore — 2.7 million last year. The Crazy Horse Memorial, about a million and a half, even though only the head has been finished. The Crazy Horse Memorial last year had 1.5 million visitors; only the head has been finished. I went there late last night. And the Badlands National Park.

Now, if you look at that, you have to ask yourself: How can you have — how many people, if you did everything right down here, if we built this cultural center, of all the people that go to see Crazy Horse, of all the people that go to see Mount Rushmore, of all the people that go to Badlands National Park, how many would come here. I'll tell you — a whole lot. An enormous percentage, if you give them something to come and see. That is nothing more than the simple, profound, powerful story of your eloquent past and your present, of your skills and your heritage and your culture and your faith.

These commitments that we are making today are just the beginning. Thirty-one years ago this spring, Senator Robert Kennedy came to Pine Ridge. Many of you probably still remember that visit. Senator Kennedy, seeking medical care for his child, lying sick in the back of an abandoned car, refusing to sit and begin an important meeting until all of the tribal leaders had their proper seats.

You may remember his message of hope. Let me say that all across America, people were watching that. I have to say, on a purely personal note, one of the most touching things about this day for me is that the wife of our HUD Secretary is Robert Kennedy's daughter, and she is here today. I'd like to ask her to stand. Kerry, please stand. Thank you.

We lost all those years. There were a lot of reasons, and a lot of things are better than they were 30 years ago. But this is the first time since the early 1960s when we had this kind of strong American economy, and we have no excuse for walking away from our responsibilities to the new markets of America.

I have asked the members of Congress to go back and pass legislation that will give major tax breaks and government-guaranteed loans to people who will put their money in Indian Country, to lower the risk of taking this chance. We are going to do everything we can to make your empowerment zone work. But remember — there is nothing that we can do except to help you to realize your own dreams.

So I say to every tribal leader here: The name of the conference you are attending is Shared Visions. We must share the vision, and it must be, fundamentally, yours — for your children and their future. If you will give us that vision and work with us, we will achieve it.

Thank you and God bless you.

Remarks by the President at the Access Now for Gay and Lesbian Equality Dinner

BEVERLY HILLS HILTON HOTEL
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA
October 2, 1999

Thank you. Let me say, first of all, I thank you for that. I'm profoundly moved. And I was thinking when I was watching David Mixner make those remarks that 30 years ago, when I let him sleep on my floor — when we were much younger men in England, and I didn't charge him a nickel for it — I never dreamed that either of us would be in this place tonight doing these things.

David's life has taken a lot of twists and turns since then. He's had his ups and his downs like all the rest of us. But I can tell you something — when I met him when he was young, I thought I had never met a person whose heart burned with the fire of social justice so strongly. He has never forgotten the roots of his childhood. He has never forgotten not only the pain that he and other gay and lesbian Americans have endured, he also cares for other people who are dispossessed and downtrodden and under-represented and often forgotten.

And tonight I was watching him when he introduced his wonderful sister — who has also been a friend of mine for nearly 30 years now — and I was thinking how fortunate we are in this country at this time, with all the things we've had to do, to have had his energy, his heart, his devotion, his passion. It was eight years ago that he and Scott Hitt and a few other ANGLE members met with me — this week, eight years ago, here. Then in May of '92 we had a big event out here. And some of you were there. I told you that I had a vision of America and you were part of it; that we were all part of the same community.

Well, tonight, I thank you for helping to make that happen. I thank my good friend, Governor Gray Davis for the leadership he has given in California. I thank our leader in the House of Representatives, who — when David made that crack about the Canterbury Tales and how we're known by our traveling companions — it kind of made me feel sorry for Dick Gephardt. You talk about a guy that gets up and goes to work every day under adverse conditions and continues to do the right thing, he does.

I know that Representative Baldwin and Becerra and Kennedy and Sherman and Waxman are here, and they're his good fellow travelers. We just may need five more in the company to make it a much better trip.

I want to thank Bill Melamed, Skip Hall, Gwen Baba, Roberta Bennett for putting this together. I want to thank the members of our administration who came — Sean Maloney, Karen Tramontano, Minyon Moore, Fred Hochberg, Richard Socarides, Marsha Scott. And I want to thank Scott Hitt, especially, whose been the Chair of the AIDS Council. He's having his last meeting as chair on Monday, and he's been magnificent, and we ought to give him a big hand. Thank you.

I'd also like to thank the Gay Men's Chorus. I was back there, feverishly trying to write down all those lines. I want to call Hillary and give her the best lines tonight. You know, I'm trying to remember them all. It was unbelievable. If someone would furnish me with the lyrics of that song, I would be eternally grateful.

You know, I'd like to put what brought us all here tonight just for a minute — I know a lot of other people are going to speak and have a lot of great things to say, but I would like to put this in the context of history and the larger context of our future, and how the fight for equal rights and equal opportunity and full participation to build One America fits in with all the other things we should be doing as a country, and how what we are at home will determine what we can do around the world in the new millennium.

When I ran for President in 1992, most Americans felt things were pretty dismal in this country. The economy was in bad shape; the society was divided; all the social indicators — crime, welfare, and other things -- were going in the wrong direction. Politics was, as we all remember from the convention they had back then on the other side, a matter of division. You know — just drive a wedge in society and make sure your wedge is bigger than their wedge; you get more votes, you win; and if everybody is all torn up and upset, who cares, you're in power.

And over and over and over again, things in Washington were sort of repeating themselves like a broken record. And I felt that we could do better with a unifying vision. That's why I set out a vision of America — and you were part of it. But I also had a vision that we could build an economy that was good for working people and employers. I believed we could build a country where we could grow the economy and make the environment better, not worse.

I have always believed that the real purpose of life and growth is to try and figure out how to develop these unifying visions and to move closer to them, and to break down all these funny walls we have to put up in our minds to organize life into little boxes so we can figure out how to get from here to there.

And, you know, in '92, the American people just sort of took a chance on me and Al Gore. I mean, it was an argument we made and there was no evidence for it because the other crowd had been in so long. We just made an argument. And it was not an easy race. A month after we had that meeting out here in May of '92, I won the California primary and

the headline the next day was that the exit poll showed that all the people that voted for me really wanted Ross Perot to be President. And I was in third place.

And then he and President Bush got in a fight about who messed up whose daughter's wedding or something — you remember that? I mean, it was an amazing. And I thought to myself, people don't have jobs, they're being foreclosed on; why are you guys fighting about this? The wedding went off without a hitch — what is this about? And somehow the American people decided to give me a chance, decided to give Al and Hillary and Tipper and all the people that came in the administration a chance.

I guess what I'd like to say tonight, first of all — not with arrogance, but with humility — is that we now know that there is evidence that we're right and that pulling things together and moving forward actually works. We have the lowest unemployment in 29 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 32 years, the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, the lowest crime rates in 26 years, the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years, the highest home ownership in history, the longest peacetime expansion in history. Fifteen million Americans have taken leave under the Family Leave law. And when it was vetoed in the previous administration, they said, oh, well, we've got to veto this bill because if we let people take time off from work when their babies are born or their parents are sick, why, it will ruin the small business economy. And every year, we've set a new record for new small businesses in America.

Ninety percent of our kids are immunized against serious disease for the first time. We're giving 5 million more of them health insurance. A hundred thousand young people served in AmeriCorps. I could just go on and on. And along the way, we gave America the most diverse, truly representative government by far in the history of America. That included you and everybody else.

What I want to say to you is, this is not an argument anymore. We have evidence. And so you should be of good cheer. And when you look ahead to these elections in 2000, you should be absolutely sure that anybody who is not with you knows they're doing it in the face of the evidence.

What really bothers me about what's going on in Washington now is that there are all these people up there making decisions in the congressional majority as if the last six and a half years just didn't happen. And that bothers me. So I say to you, when they say, looking at the Vice President and our party, well, America needs a change — I agree with that. America always needs a change. We've got a lot more to do on your agenda. America needs a change. The question is not whether we'll change, but how are we going to change. How are we going to change?

You mark my words, the world is changing so fast in how we work and live and relate to each other and folks around the globe, that we will change. The question is how. Are we going to use this unprecedented moment, the chance of a lifetime to say, okay, what are our big challenges out there, and seize them? Or are we going to do what got us into so much trouble in the first place? Are we going to pretend that the last six and a half years just didn't happen?

That's very important. And I want to try to put the things that you're thinking about now into that context. What are the really big challenges facing America that affect you, too? One, the aging of America. I hate it because I'm doing it. But I'm the oldest of the baby boomers; the number of people over 65 will double in the next 30 years; there will be two people working for every one person retired and drawing Social Security.

Now, we have never been in a position until now, in my lifetime, to deal with that challenge. But we now have the ability to run the life of Social Security out 50 years, to add more than a decade to the life of Medicare, to cover prescription drugs for elderly people — three-quarters of them cannot afford quality prescription drugs today — and to do it in a way that all of you who are younger than that should rejoice about. Because I can tell you those of us in the baby boom generation are plagued by the notion that our retirement will be so expensive for our country that it will burden our children and our ability to give our grandchildren the childhoods they deserve. But we can fix it now. So I gave them a plan to do it — so far, they say, no.

Another thing that really bothers me: we've got the largest and most diverse group of children in our school in history: we never had over 53 million children in schools. They come from more different backgrounds than ever before. That will be a godsend to 21st century America if, but only if, they all have a world-class education. And I think they're entitled to it.

So I gave Congress a plan to build and modernize 6,000 schools and hire 100,000 teachers for smaller classes; make sure all the kids had computers in their classrooms; make sure we stopped social promotion, but had after-school programs for the kids who needed it; and more of these charter schools that California has led the way in bringing to our children — so far, they said, no.

Funny thing, maybe Mr. Gephardt will talk about this later, but one of the most interesting things is last year, right before the election in '98, they got religion on this education program. They supported a big down payment on our plan for 100,000, and we funded 30,000 of those teachers. You had those real liberals, like Mr. Armey going home — this is serious business, ask Dick — you had these real liberals going out and saying, man, this is a great thing we've done, we've made a big down payment on 100,000 teachers, we're going to put

30,000 teachers out there, and this is a great Republican program because there is no bureaucracy in it. We just give it to the schools and they hire the teachers. They thought it was the greatest thing since sliced bread before the election.

They have just voted not only to refuse to fund any more of those, but to no longer earmark the money for the 30,000. So there's a big difference here.

I'm worried about the families of our country. I'm worried about all these working people. How are they going to have the child care they need? How are they going to have the health care they need? Why don't we pass the Patients' Bill of Rights that protects working people? There's a difference between the two parties on that, and I think it's important. We're finally going to get a chance — we've been working for two years — to vote on the Patients' Bill of Rights in the House next week.

I'm very worried that in this fabulous economy, we've left some people behind. Yes, we've got the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, but there are still people and places that have not felt this recovery: the Mississippi Delta, Appalachia, the Indian reservations, many of the inner cities. So I want to do some things that I think will change all that. I want to, first of all, give Americans with money the same incentives to invest in poor areas in America we give them to invest in poor areas around the world. I think that's important.

I hope in the near future we'll be able to make access to the Internet as universal as telephone access is. It will have a huge impact on the economy. Last night, I was in Northern California and I was with some people who work with E-Bay. A lot of you probably buy things on E-Bay. It seems like everybody does now. And I learned that over and above the employees of that company, there are now over 20,000 people, including a lot of people that used to be on welfare, who actually make a living buying and selling things, trading on E-Bay — over 20,000 people.

Well, I'm telling you, that means nothing at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, where the unemployment rate is 73 percent. Now, we can do better. And we ought not to quit until every American has the chance to participate in our prosperity if he or she is willing to work. And I won't rest until that happens.

I want you to keep a check list in your mind, and when I get to the end, ask yourself what's all this about, what's it got to do with you, as Americans. This is part of being part of America. I think we need to do more, not less, for the environment. The Vice President has this livability agenda to deal with, using all kinds of computer technology to alleviate traffic congestion, to buy more greenspace in urban areas. We're trying to lead the world toward recognizing that this global warming is real, but that you do not have to end your economic growth because now there are technologies available to

allow us to grow the economy as we reduce our greenhouse gas emissions. There are people in the other party who believe that this is some sort of subversive plot to wreck America's economic future.

Not very long ago I came out here and went to San Bernardino, to the Inland Empire, and we announced a housing development for low-income working people in which the developers pledged by the use of energy conservation technologies to cut the utility bills of these low-income working people by 40 percent. And I just got a report that the average reduction is 60 percent. That's good for the economy, and it's good for the environment.

Let me just mention a couple of other things. I am very concerned that America, even though we've got the lowest crime rate in 26 years, is still a pretty dangerous country compared to other countries. We should be the safest big country in the world. This is a free and prosperous place. We welcome all kinds of people. It is not rational. Why aren't we the safest country in the world? Because we haven't taken reasonable steps, not enough of them, to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children — and because, frankly, even though we've put 100,000 more police on the street in community policing, we've still got neighborhoods that don't have enough coverage.

So I gave Congress a plan to deal with both those things — put 50,000 more police officers out there to prevent crime in the highest crime areas of the country and to deal with guns and so forth. They say, no — our crowd says, yes; their crowd says, no. Big difference.

What about our role in the world? I've tried, from Bosnia to Kosovo to the Middle East, to Northern Ireland, to stand up for the idea that people ought not to be murdered or moved wholesale because of their race or their religion.

We have worked to support other countries and to build the capacity in Africa to prevent future Rwandas, because people ought not to be murdered because of what tribe they're in. And you can define tribe however you want.

We're about to start a great debate on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to end nuclear testing, something that Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy wanted us to do years ago. We're finally going to have a chance to do it. In so many of these areas there are partisan differences that surprise me. And let me come back to you.

Why are we for the hate crimes legislation, why are we for ENDA? Because if we can't build one America, it's going to be very hard to have a unifying force that will deal with every other one of these issues. And that's what I want you to think about. Don't you think that it's interesting that here we are on the verge of this new millennium with all these absolutely breathtaking technological breakthroughs that people who are technologically challenged, like me, can hardly keep up with?

I mean, isn't it amazing to you that modernity is bursting out all over in the form of high technology, and yet the world's largest problem, and America's largest problem — that you can see when those kids got shot at that Jewish school and that Filipino postal worker was murdered here; that you could see when that guy who said he belonged to a church that didn't believe in God but did believe in white supremacy killed all those people of color and wounded others in Illinois and Indiana; that you could see when Matthew Shepard was murdered and James Byrd was torn apart; and that you can see in the tribal slaughters of Rwanda, and the persecution of the Kosovar Albanians or the Bosnian Muslims, or fights in Northern Ireland, or the continued agonies of the Middle East. Here we are on the verge of this great modern world, where we can make movies with virtual reality now and virtual reality seems sometimes more real than what is real. And the biggest problem we've got is the primitive, age-old fear and hatred and dehumanization of the other people who aren't like us.

And so I say I'm going to do everything I can every day that I have to remind people of that, that we have to be one America. We can have honest differences over issues, but we can't have honest differences about whether we share a common humanity. And we cannot be under the illusion that either material prosperity or technological breakthroughs alone can purge the darkness in our hearts.

I believe that America's best days are still out there. I believe with all my heart that we can find a way to marry prosperity and peace and humanity. But we must have a unifying vision. I want to say, again, I am grateful to people who have worked in my administration who have made me more alive to the concerns of your community, not only those who, themselves, are gay and lesbian, but others, beginning with my Vice President, who has been terrific on all of that in ways you will never know.

But people are still scared of people who aren't like them. And other people are scared of themselves, and they're afraid they won't count unless they've got somebody to look down on. And if you have to find somebody to look down on, it must be somebody that is different from you. Because if you look down on somebody who is just like you, then you're looking down on yourself. And so, we in our little minds, come up with all these boxes. But all of life is a struggle to find a more and more unifying vision that, at least for me, makes us both more human and more in tune with our Maker.

I wish I could have done better. But we've done pretty well. And we're a long way from where we were. But I want you to think about this a little bit every day between now and next year. Thirteen months until the millennial election to define what America will be like; whether we will continue to embrace these big challenges and change in a

positive way, building on what we now have evidence of; whether we will continue to look for those unifying visions that allow us all to join hands and go forward together.

I want you to remember the enthusiasm with which you greeted me tonight. And I want you to remember that it's easy to shout in the moment. But the world is turned by those who day in and day out, with courage and determination and heart and hope stay the course. We need you. America needs you. I still believe in the future of America, and you are a part of it.

Thank you and God bless you.

Remarks by the President to the National Italian American Foundation Dinner

THE WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
October 16, 1999

Thank you ladies and gentlemen. First of all, let me thank you for your warm welcome to Hillary and me. Thank you, Frank Guarini, for being my friend for all these years. Thank you President Joe Cerrell. To all the distinguished guests here and the honorees; the members of Congress, Gerry Ferraro, Ambassador Foglietta, Ambassador Rosepepe. To our distinguished Italian guests, Maria Bartomoli, Ambassador Salleo and, especially, Foreign Minister Dini.

I would like to say a special word of appreciation at this point to the Prime Minister and the government of Italy for standing with us and working with us for the cause of our common humanity in Kosovo and, before that, in Bosnia. We could not have done it without Italy, and I am grateful.

Justice Scalia and Cardinal Hickey and all the others here — you stole my line about 50 percent of my four Chiefs of Staff being Italian. The other two wish they were. I thank you for all the gifts from Campania, including the beautiful flowers for Hillary. We visited there when the 1994 conference of the G-7 nations was held in Naples. And we have been very blessed by our times there. I understand my friend, Dick Grasso, and the Barnes and Noble CEO, Leonard Riggio, are both from that region of Italy. I'm about to go back to Florence and I'm only supposed to stay a day, so if I play hookey and stay an extra day I want 3,000 of you to write an excuse for me, just like I used to get when I missed a day of school.

I guess I ought to say, since this is baseball season, that I'm sure of one person who would like to be here tonight who can't be — Joe Torre. Now, I'm not taking sides in the baseball series; but the Yankees do have two Italian Americans on their team — Joe and the catcher, Joe Girardi. And no city in America has been better to me than Boston; but the Red Sox haven't had an Italian since their pitcher, Frank Viola, retired. So I think we ought to get the Red Sox an Italian baseball player to balance out our equal opportunity agenda throughout the country.

You know, from the earliest days of our country, Italian Americans have made invaluable contributions. And I want to say a special word of thanks, not for all those which I could litanize, and you know them, but for the National Italian American Foundation's leadership, for our efforts to build one America.

I'm very grateful that this is a country in better shape than it was seven years ago when I first came here. I am very grateful for the chance that I have had to serve. I'm grateful for the Italian Americans who have helped to ensure the success of our administration. I'm glad that we have the lowest unemployment rate in 29 years and the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years and the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, the lowest crime rates in 26 years and the first back-to-back surpluses in 42 years.

But I have to tell you that the most important thing we have to do to get ready for the 21st century — even more important than our efforts to continue to grow our economy — is to build one country out of our diversity. If we do, if the American people really can come to have that wonderful balance which enables us to celebrate our diversity and our unique ethnic and religious tradition — which makes America a very interesting place to live — and still say our common humanity is even more important, we'll figure out how to deal with all the other things.

Last year, one of only two years I've missed since I first came here seven years ago, I was up for nine days and nights at the Wye Plantation trying to keep the Middle East peace process on track. If you look around the world at how I have spent my time as your President — working for peace in the Balkans, among Muslims and Croats and Serbs, among Albanian Muslim and Serbian Orthodox Christians; for peace in the Middle East, among Arabs and Jews, among Israelis, Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians and Lebanese; for peace in Northern Ireland among Catholics and Protestants; to set up protections against the kind of tribal slaughter we've seen in Africa among people who shared the same land, in one case in Rwanda, for 500 years.

It is truly interesting that at the dawn of this new millennium, when we're exhilarated by all these technological and scientific advances that are being made — one man told me that when I have grandchildren they may be born with a life expectancy of 100 years; we know that our kids are using the Internet and talking to people all over the world and knowing things we couldn't know — isn't it interesting that in this quintessentially modern era our biggest problem is the most primitive and ancient of human failings: the fear of the other, people who are different from us.

And what a short step it is from fearing people to hating them to dehumanizing them, which legitimizes doing away with them. And isn't it interesting that at a time when the crime rate in America is at a 26 year low, we still have these vicious examples of a man

shooting children at a Jewish community school and then going out and murdering a Filipino postman; another man saying he belonged to a church that didn't believe in God, but did believe in white supremacy, killing an African American basketball coach in Illinois and then murdering a young Korean Christian as he walked out of his church.

And all these other examples — the young gay man, Matthew Shepard, a year ago this week being stretched out, literally, upon a rack; James Byrd being pulled apart in Texas because he was an African American. Not because all Americans are like that — almost all of us aren't — but because in each of us there is this fragile scale, like the scale of justice Mr. Scalia must try to balance in his work. And in this scale we wake up every morning with some curious balance of light and dark, of hope and fear. And when the scale gets badly enough out of whack, the easiest thing to do is to strike out against the other.

So I say again to you, Italian Americans have been subject to discrimination and bigotry in times past in America. You still are subject to stereotypes that I think are unfair and unrepresentative, to be kind about it. But it is because of the values you share with other Americans that we have a prosperous economy and a healing society. And we just have to remember that overall. Yes, I hope a lot of your children make hundreds of millions of dollars by starting Internet companies; yes, I hope that my plans to take care of the aging of America and save Social Security and Medicare will prevail; I hope our plans to elevate the quality of all of our schools will prevail; I hope I can convince both parties in Congress to resist temptation and save enough of this surplus to get us out of debt for the first time since 1835 over the next 15 years. I hope all of that. But remember this: the most important thing is to build one America out of this crazy quilt of all of us who live here.

Last week, Hillary and I had the 8th of her Millennium Evenings at the White House. And we had an expert in the Internet, who helped to design the architecture of the Internet; and an expert in genomics, who talked to us about the human genome project and the miracles it will bring. He says one day the intersection of computers and gene studies will enable us to put digital, microscopic digital pieces in all parts of the human body to do even the repair work on shattered nerves to the spine. We talked about all the miracles out there.

And the genomics experts said, but what I want you to understand is that of all the possible permutations among people with all many, many parts of every gene, 99.9 percent of us is identical to every other human being. And the genetic differences within groups — that is, individuals among the Italian community, for example — are more significant and greater than the aggregate average genetic differences between Italians and the Irish and Africans and Latinos. It's important to remember. For people of faith, it reflects the wisdom of our Creator.

So I say again, I'm indebted to you for many things: your work ethic, your family ethic, your creativity, your energy, your passion — it made America a much more interesting place and it fueled this remarkable run we have had. But most of all, to your commitment, to seeing that neither Italians nor any other human beings are subject to degradation and prejudice because of who they are, that we will learn to honestly and openly express our differences and enjoy our differences, but always to reaffirm our common humanity.

Make no mistake about it. Just pick up the paper and look at the perils of the present day. We are in a conflict between modern possibility and primitive hatred. One America is the only answer, and you're leading the way.

Thank you and God bless you.

*Remarks by the President and the First Lady
at "Broadway for Hillary" Event*

FORD CENTER
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
October 25, 1999

Now, you all just relax while I get used to my new role. Somewhere between the Amen Corner for Jimmy Naughton, the straight man for Rosie and the warmup for Hillary, I'll figure out something to do.

Jim, that was a heck of a speech. It's a good thing you didn't file — Al and Bill would be nervous about that.

I want to thank all of you for being here tonight. I'm profoundly grateful to everyone who conceived and put together this program, and all the people who gave their time. I remember the "Broadway for Clinton" program back in June of '92. And I remember the people who performed and the people who came, because I was running third in the polls back then. But, by the time the convention rolled around, everything had changed.

I want to thank Senator Schumer for his remarks and his support; the New York legislative leaders that are here: Speaker Silver, Majority Leader Bragman, Senator Martin Connor; Judith Hope, the state Democratic Chair; our borough President, C. Virginia Fields; the Bronx borough President, Freddy Ferrer; City Council Speaker Peter Vallone; Comptroller Alan Hevesi; and Mark Green, our longtime friend, the Public Advocate. Thank you all very much. And thank you, Rosie, and everyone else who performed.

Jim Naughton said most of the stuff I was going to say — and better. So I would just like to say a few things. First, thank you for being so good to us in New York. Thank you for 1992, for the convention, for the vote. Thank you for 1996 — the largest margin of victory we had in any state in America. Thank you for welcoming us here when we leave the White House. Thank you for being here tonight, not only as supporters but as friends.

October's a great month for us and our family. First, we celebrate, on the 11th, our anniversary. We just had our 24th wedding anniversary. And then we celebrate Hillary's birthday. And now, thanks to your doing this, and the fact we get back about 2:00 in the morning, we expect to have a 24-hour celebration.

We have been very blessed, Hillary and I; we've been blessed by our family, our friends, and the opportunity to serve in public life. I am very grateful for all the work that we have done together over all these years. I am very grateful that now my wife has a chance to do what I thought she ought to do 26 years ago when we finished law school.

And I was really afraid, as I have told many of our friends — and some of our old friends are nodding their heads out there — the only thing that really worried me about our getting married was that somehow Hillary would be denied the opportunity to share her gifts in the most important way. For we have always only cared most, in our work life, about public service. I have watched her for over 30 years give — I've only watched her for 29 years, but, for 30 years and more — care passionately about children, and give herself to service.

The first job she had out of law school was with the Children's Defense Fund. She could have gone to work for any number of law firms, but she wanted to help kids. Then she became head of the Legal Services Corporation Board, when President Carter was in office. She then became Chair of the Children's Defense Fund Board.

She headed the education reform movement in Arkansas when I was Governor. And as First Lady, she has literally inspired tens of millions of mothers and their children all around the world, trying to get a better deal for young girls and their families in poor villages from Africa to Latin America to Asia.

She has been a major force in the passage of legislation that will enable us to insure over 5 million children with health insurance, which makes it easier for people to adopt children. She has worked on all the things we have done to try to reduce violence against our young people. She has played a major role in all of our reforms in education, early childhood learning, and health care. And in so doing, she has always been willing to do it without getting, really, anything like the credit she deserved for the work she did and the impact she had.

Over all these years, I have seen her driven by a personal sense of responsibility to serve — partly because she does believe it takes a village to raise a child, or to raise a country.

When we went to Washington in 1992, late '92, about three weeks before the inaugural, we had some ideas that we thought would work to turn our country around in a very troubled time. They were just ideas, just an argument. But the country gave us a chance, and the results have been good. Jimmy Naughton listed some of them.

What I want to say to you tonight in bringing Hillary on is this: in my lifetime, we have never had the chance, as a nation, that we have today. The country was going in the wrong direction; now it's going in the right direction. We have the lowest unemployment in 29

years; the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years; the lowest crime rate in 30 years; the first back-to-back surpluses in 42 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years. We're moving in the right direction.

But we all know there are these huge challenges out there — the aging of America, the largest and most diverse group of kids we've ever had, the opportunity and the responsibility we have to give poor people a chance to be a part of this prosperity for the first time ever. In my lifetime this has never happened. In the 1960s we had an economy that, for a few years, was maybe about like this. But we had the civil rights crisis, and we had the war in Vietnam, and we became divided and we never got around to doing it.

Now all we have to overcome is the politics of pettiness and personal destruction. We have to lift ourselves out of that as one country, one America.

All the things that Jim said a senator will have to decide are true. But the thing you ought to think about is this: New York has distinct challenges and unprecedented opportunities. Your state has the first chance in your lifetime to imagine, and then to build, the future of our dreams, for our children and for our grandchildren. And it will only happen if we are led by the right people.

I have done everything I could do to leave this country in good shape. There is still a lot more we can do in the next 15 months. But fundamentally, the decisions the voters make in the year 2000, the millennial year, will determine whether we do what so many people do when times are good — get distracted, become self-indulgent, make short-term and often foolish decisions — or we seize the chance of a lifetime.

The best I can give the American people now is to do my best to make sure that they know that the person I love most in the world is without any doubt the ablest, most passionate, most committed, most visionary public servant I have ever known.

Remarks by the President at Commemoration Ceremony in Honor of Yitzhak Rabin

CITY HALL
OSLO, NORWAY
November 2, 1999

Your majesties; Prime Minister and Mrs. Bondevik; Mr. Mayor; President Ahtisaari; Shimon Peres; Prime Minister Barak; Chairman Arafat; Leah Rabin; ladies and gentlemen. Today we bear witness to the wisdom of the psalm which says, "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance." We honor a righteous man whose memory is everlasting, because he devoted his life to the security of his country, but gave his life to the promise of peace.

Yitzhak Rabin's life was a lesson, teaching us that old fears and suspicions and hatreds can be overcome. For he would be the first to remind us that he felt all those things, too, but he let them go.

Teaching us that there could be no security without lasting peace, and no peace without charity for all and malice toward none. Teaching us that the only final answer to violence is reconciliation.

Almost seven years ago, those principles brought Israelis and Palestinians to this city of peace to find common ground. Today, our friend brings us back to Oslo. We can almost hear his kind but stern voice telling us, well, this is all very nice, but if you really want to honor me, finish the job.

He would be pleased to see Israel's cause represented by Prime Minister Barak, his friend, fellow soldier and fervent ally for peace.

In his last hour, Yitzhak Rabin, who was a shy person in public, sang to a peace-loving throng of Israelis the Shir Ha Shalom, the Song of Peace. Its words sing out to us today: "Don't say the day will come; make it come." Today, in honor of our friend and leader, we must all say: we will make it come — a new day of peace that is more than the absence of war; a new day of tolerance and respect, of trust and shared destiny, when the fears of the past are released so that the hands and heart are free to embrace the promise of the future.

The enemies of peace remain alive and active. Even in this day we see their dark work. But the Scripture reminds us that evil can be overcome by good, and only by good. So we pursue Yitzhak Rabin's vision not only because we loved and admired him — although we surely did — but because it is right and the only way.

We have now a chance, but only a chance, to bring real and lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors. If we let it slip away, all will bear the consequences: Israel still trapped within a circle of hostility; the Palestinians still saddled with poverty and frustration and pain; both and their Arab neighbors wrapped in an endless and pointless cycle of conflict.

So if Rabin were here with us today, he would say there is not a moment to spare; all this honoring me and these nice words, they're very nice, but please finish the job.

The way ahead will be full of challenges — for the Israelis, the Palestinians, the Syrians, the Lebanese, for the friends of peace here represented. President Mubarak and King Abdullah will be important to our efforts. I am determined that the United States will do all we can, including living up to the commitments we made at Wye River. But the most important thing we can do today is to say to our friend, Rabin: we can still hear you; we are prepared to finish the job.

When President Kennedy was assassinated, Abba Eban said, "Tragedy is the difference between what is and what might have been." That is the way we felt in the months and years after Prime Minister Rabin was killed. Today, let us say together, we are done with tragedy. We will close the gap between what is and what might have been.

The other night my wife had to the White House one of the great scientists in our country who is unlocking the mysteries of the human gene. And he said to us the most astonishing thing. He said all humanity, genetically, are 99.9 percent the same. And if you compare any ethnic group, together — say 100 Norwegians — with another ethnic group — 100 West Africans — you find that the genetic differences among individuals within each group are greater than the genetic profile of differences between the Norwegians and the Africans.

Think of that. Think of all the bodies that have been piled up, one after another, the young and the old, throughout human history in tribute to that one-tenth of one percent difference. Think about what brings us here today — that the greatest quality a human being can have is the ability to reach beyond that last one-tenth of one percent to unite in the common humanity of the other 99.9 percent.

Yitzhak Rabin led us in that great reach out — reaching across the last divide of one-tenth of one percent. It was his greatness. It is his lesson. It is his message to us today. Let us hear him, even as we loved him.

Thank you very much.

*Remarks by the President in Presentation
of the Congressional Gold Medal to the
Little Rock Nine*

THE EAST ROOM
November 9, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Speaker; Senator Daschle, Leader Gephardt, Senator Hutchison, Senator Lincoln, members of Congress; Secretary Riley and members of the Cabinet and administration. A special word of thanks to Congressman Thompson and to my good friend, Senator Bumpers.

The great privilege of speaking last is that you get the last word. The great burden is that everything that needs to be said, has been said.

I would like to begin by introducing some people who have not yet been introduced, but whose presence here is altogether fitting. The story of the Little Rock Nine in the end is the story of the triumph of the rule of law and the American Constitution, which was given expression not only by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, but by a decision of a President determined to enforce the rule of law.

A couple of hours ago I had the great honor of signing legislation naming the Old Executive Office Building the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building. President Eisenhower's son, daughter-in-law and granddaughter are here, and I would like to ask General John Eisenhower, Joanne and Susan to be stand and be recognized, and thank them for their presence here.

I want to thank all the previous speakers for their very moving words. This is a special day for me, a happy day and a sad day, an emotional day. I thank all of you for what you said about Daisy Bates, who, in my years of service in Arkansas became a good friend to Hillary and to me. I was privileged to go to the Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, which is built around the Lorraine Motel, when we dedicated the exhibit on Central High School, with the statue of Governor Faubus on one side and Daisy on the other. And even though by then she had to get around in a wheelchair, she got a big laugh out of that. And what a wonderful laugh she had.

So I ask you all to remember her today, her smiling self, that gave so much confidence to those whom we honor. Secretary Slater is representing the administration at her funeral today, and I thank him for that, because he would dearly love to be here with his friends.

I think it was Senator Hutchinson who first mentioned that we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Berlin Wall's fall today. And it is fitting that we, on this same day, recognize what these people did to make the walls of bigotry and prejudice fall in America. For when they marched up the steps to school — a simple act — they became foot soldiers for freedom, carrying America to higher ground.

You know, when Little Rock happened I was 11 years old, living 50 miles away. When Little Rock happened, all the kids in Arkansas, white and black, we all went to segregated schools, with very few exceptions. And these people, they just burst in on our lives. And I feel like I've been walking along with them for 42 years, now. Because they forced everybody to think. Before then, I was 11 years old, and my grandparents believed in school integration, and they taught me about that, and I thought it was a great thing.

But the truth is, nobody really thought about it very much, because segregation was a way of life, and most people just got up and went through their lives, and nobody questioned it, nobody challenged it. It was just the way things were. It was unfortunate, but that's the way things were.

And all of a sudden they showed up, and it wasn't the way things were anymore. And then everyone had to decide. Everyone. Everyone in everybody's little life had to decide — where do you stand on this; what do you believe; how are we going to live? So these people, when they were young, they changed the way we were.

I would like to say to all of you that they paid a price for doing that. And they look real fine sitting up here today, and they have this vast array of family and supporters here, and they have lived good lives, and accomplished remarkable things. But we're giving them this medal because they paid the price.

Daisy said what they endured was a volcano of hatred. And like Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, they walked out without being burned. But they have their scars. They taught us that you can turn your cheek from violence without averting your eyes to injustice. And they taught us that they could pay their price and go on.

On this journey that started 42 years ago, I could never have known that life would bring us in contact. But 12 years ago, on the 30th anniversary of the Central High incident, I invited them all to come to the Governor's Mansion. And I showed them around in the rooms where Governor Faubus plotted all the stratagems to keep them

out of school. They got a kick out of that. And so did I. Ten years later, as President, I had the profound honor of going to Central High School to hold the doors open for them as they walked in, without incident. And it was great.

That school now has a very diverse student body, a great faculty, and one of the best records of academic excellence in our home state. It had then an African American student body president, which it frequently does, and in all the years I was governor it was the only high school in my state and one of the few in the country where you could still study Greek.

Now we open the doors of this house to them. I want to say a special word of thanks to the Speaker and the other congressional leaders for allowing us to make this presentation — let's not forget, this is the Congressional Gold Medal — which the President always participates in, but usually we do it in their house — now, on Pennsylvania Avenue. But because of our relationship, Mr. Speaker and the other leaders have agreed for us to come here. And I thank them for that — for personal reasons, for our friends.

Today we celebrate the faith of our founders, the faith of parents in their children, the faith of children in their future. We celebrate it because we can. And we can because these nine people helped us to keep it alive and to redeem it. And now, as others have said, it is for us to take that faith into a new millennium, once again to redeem the promise of our country by giving all of our children a world-class education and all of our people a chance to be part of our prosperity, and by giving all of our increasingly diverse citizens a chance to be a part of One America.

So, in addition to giving them a medal, we ought to make that commitment. For, like all people, we — and I certainly include myself in this — we all find it easy to condemn yesterday's wrongdoing. But these people stood up as children to condemn today's. And so let us learn from them and honor their example.

The Speaker joined me in Chicago the other day, in the common cause of giving economic opportunity to those who haven't had it in this most remarkable of economic recoveries. Many of you have committed yourselves to opening the doors of quality education to all of our children.

But the most important thing we have to do is to truly build One America in the 21st century. I want to read you something that Melba Patillo Beals put in her book. "If my Central High experience taught me one lesson," she wrote, "it is that we are not separate. The effort to separate ourselves — whether by race, creed, color, religion or status — is as costly to the separator as to those who would be separated. The task that remains is to see ourselves reflected in every other human being and to respect and honor our differences."

A couple of weeks ago in this very room Hillary hosted one of our nation's top scientists and one of the founders of the Internet. They discussed the remarkable convergence of the explosion in computer advances with the unlocking of the mysteries of the human gene and the genome.

The scientist said that if you put all the people together, and you had a genetic map of every individual on Earth, you would find that we are 99.9 percent the same genetically. Then even more surprising, perhaps, the scientist said, if you took a representative group of people of different races — if you took 100 African Americans, and 100 Chinese Americans, and 100 Hispanic Americans, and 100 Irish Americans — and you put them in these little groups, you would find that the genetic differences within each group, from individual to individual, are greater than the genetic differences of one group to another.

Now, Melba knew that before the scientists found it out.

I say that to make this point: Every one of us, in some way or another, almost every day, is guilty in some way, large or small, of forgetting that we are 99.9 percent the same. Every person, every family, every group, every nation is guilty from time to time of trying to give meaning to life by denigrating someone else who is different in some way. Honest and real differences can only be explored, confronted and worked through, and diversity can only be celebrated, when we recognize that the most important fact of life is our common humanity. They all knew that in some instinctive way.

The truth is, almost all children know that. They have to be taught differently. Because so many were taught differently, it fell to these nine Americans when they were young, as children, to become our teachers. And because they taught us well, we are a better country. We honor them today, but let us also not forget to heed their lessons.

The Book of Job says, "My foot has held fast. I have not turned aside. And when tried, I shall come forth as gold." For holding fast to their steps, for not turning aside, we now ask these nine humble children, grown into strong adults, to come forth for their gold.

*Remarks by the President at the First
Annual National Coalition of Minority
Business Award Dinner*

FOUR SEASONS HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
November 10, 1999

Thank you very much. Thank you. Whew, this is a pretty rowdy crowd tonight. We may have to sing that song before we're done.

Chairman Garrett, when you were sort of introducing Weldon, and you kept reading all those quotes about his influence and this, that and the other thing — and I thought this can all be distilled in one sentence: Bill Clinton does what he asked him to.

I want to thank Weldon and Mel for having me here. And I want to thank you, Chairman Garrett, and the board and all of you who made this dinner possible tonight. I want to thank the members of the administration who are here. Secretary Slater — do you know what I thought about when Secretary Slater got up to read Reverend Jackson's letter? If Jesse had known Rodney was going to read for him — he probably would have come back — for fear that Rodney would read it better than he would. I'll pay for that later.

I want to tell you, I think Reverend Jackson is where he ought to be tonight, and you should know that he's been with me every step of the two New Markets tours we have taken, and it's been a great joy. We've been friends for many years. I can still remember when we ate french fries in the kitchen of the Arkansas Governor's Mansion more than a decade ago, and talked about how foolish it was that we weren't trying to include all Americans in the economic mainstream of our life. And he was on this road before I was, and I'm glad that we're walking it together now.

I want to thank Secretary Alexis Herman and Aida Alvarez for their leadership. There are others here in this administration — Alvin Brown does a wonderful job for the Vice President and for me, leading our empowerment zones and enterprise community initiative. And one of the things I want to compliment him on is that we just got, among the victories in this last-minute budget process is we've now fully funded the second round of empowerment zones to give more poor communities opportunities. Thank you, Alvin.

I told Aida Alvarez that if Weldon really had the guts to tell Erskine Bowles that she was the best Administrator of the SBA. We could all enjoy his misery tonight — because you have done a wonderful job. And there are others who are here — Bill Lann Lee, the head of the Civil Rights Division, thank you, sir, for your leadership. And I see Dave Barram, the government's landlord, GSA, thank you for what you have done here. And Fred Hochberg, at the SBA, out there. And a person who used to be a part of this administration who had a lot to do with "mend it, don't end it," and a lot of other good things, Deval Patrick. Thank you for being here tonight. Bless you, sir.

And thank you for acknowledging Minyon Moore, my political director; and Ben Johnson who runs our One America office; and my good friend, Ernie Green. I tell you, I wish every one of you had been in the White House yesterday for that Gold Medal celebration for the Little Rock Nine. It was one of the most moving things that I have ever had the opportunity to be involved in. Thank you.

I want to also acknowledge the members of Congress here tonight that I believe are here — Congresswoman Lucille Roybal Allard; Congressman Ruben Hinojosa, my good friend from south Texas; Congressman John Conyers is here, obviously.

And I want to pay special recognition to one other person who is here because he's up for reelection next year; he needs your help, and he is one of the most courageous members of the United States Congress. If ever we had a friend who deserves to be reelected, it's Senator Chuck Robb from Virginia. And I want to ask him to stand up. Thank you.

He may well be the greatest governor Virginia had since Thomas Jefferson in his record in education and in so many other ways. We served together, and I have seen him cast vote after vote in the Senate, knowing that it might cost him his seat. He just gets up every day and does what he thinks is right. And he deserves the support of every thinking person in America who cares about the direction of the United States Senate. He's got a hard fight; I believe he's going to win, but he has to have all kinds of help — financial, vote, and otherwise to win. I want to urge you to support him in every way you can. Thank you.

I'm told that Mayor David Dinkins from New York is here tonight. If he's here, or was here, anyway -- and if you're not here, I still think you're great. You've heard this speech before.

I thank you for this award. You know, I always feel generally that Presidents shouldn't receive awards, that having the job is award enough. But I confess I kind of like this one. And I'm going to put it on my desk in the Oval Office tomorrow, so you'll begin to see it on television and you'll know how much I like it.

You told that joke about lift every voice and sing. I remember one time Vernon Jordan and I sang that song to a group of unbelieving people on Martha's Vineyard. You know, this is all beginning to cause me some difficulty. Last night I spoke to a Hispanic Democratic dinner, and I was introduced by my friend, Miguel Lausell, from Puerto Rico. And he stood up and said, this President has a Latino soul. Not long ago, Tony Morrison, the Pulitzer Prize-winning African American writer said that I was the first black President America had ever had. So I thought to myself, now I'll never be able to go home to Ireland. What am I going to do?

All of this that we're laughing about really stems from something I deeply believe about America, and every person's journey through life. We all struggle, and we all fail. But we all struggle to live a life of integrity, which means literally that we are integrated; that our mind and our body and our spirit are in the same place at the same time, centered and connected to other human beings.

And I've always believed that in so many ways the purpose of politics is to find a unifying vision that will allow people to release the barriers that keep them from one another so they can join hands and enhance our common destiny.

It's been a privilege to serve. I don't really deserve any awards. I got to be President. And it's the greatest honor that any American could ever have. Your success is the greatest award I could get, because the eternal mission of our country is to deepen the meaning of our freedom and widen the circle of opportunity and strengthen the bonds of our community. And it turns out that trying to make sure that everybody shares in our prosperity is not only the morally right thing to do, it's good for all the rest of America, too — which is why all these businesses are here tonight.

So we have come a long way by following the admonition of the Scriptures to be doers of the word and not hearers only.

In the 12 years before the Vice President and I came here, we had a very different view, I think, of ourselves as a country which dominated Washington, and a very different economic philosophy. By 1992, it had brought us to a place where we had economic distress and social division, with a government that had been discredited by the people who were running it, who said the government was the problem. Along the way I thought they did some quite good things — standing up against communism, signing the Americans With Disabilities Act -- but all the time they were telling us that the government was the problem. And also defying the basic laws of arithmetic when it came to doing our budget.

So in 1992, Vice President Gore and I asked the American people to give us a chance to put people first, to be driven by a vision of opportunity for all, but responsibility from all Americans. I always thought, contrary to the prevailing political rhetoric, that most

people wanted to be responsible and would respond to a challenge to do that. And to build a community of increasingly diverse Americans.

We had some new ideas about the economy, about welfare, about crime, about the environment, about national service, about America's role in the world. And with the help of a lot of you here, the American people gave us a chance to try our ideas. And after seven years, the results are in.

I am very grateful that we have the longest peacetime expansion in our history. By February it will be the longest economic expansion in American history, including the war times we were fully mobilized.

Nearly 20 million new jobs. A 30-year low in unemployment; a 32-year low in the welfare rolls; a 25-year low in the crime rate; a 20-year low in the poverty rates; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years, with the smallest federal government in 37 years.

You've been a part of that. That's the America you have made because you have been given a chance to make it. And you should be very proud of yourselves for the role you played in it.

Along the way we tried to make sure that people who worked 40 hours a week and had kids in their homes should not be poor. So we doubled the earned income tax credit and cut taxes for 15 million working Americans; raised the minimum wage, and I hope we're about to raise it again. We passed the Brady Bill which has now kept 400,000 people with criminal or other problem histories from getting handguns, giving us the lowest murder rate in 30 years.

We fought for and won an increase in children's health coverage that will enable us, I hope and believe, over the next year or so to cover 5 million more children with health insurance. Ninety percent of our kids are immunized against serious childhood diseases, for the very first time in our history. We've expanded Head Start, and the Family and Medical Leave law has now enabled over 15 million Americans to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs when a baby is born or a parent is sick.

We've opened the doors of higher education with the HOPE Scholarship and other tax credits and more Pell Grant fundings and tax deductibility for interest on student loans. The air is cleaner; the water is cleaner; the food is safer. We set aside more land in protected areas than any administration in the history of this country except those of Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt.

One hundred and fifty thousand young Americans, and some not so young, have entered the AmeriCorps program and served in their communities all across America, solving problems and working with people, helping children, dealing with natural disasters, rebuilding dilapidated housing, doing any number of things to make our country a better place.

And we have made a clear commitment to building one America in the 21st century.

We've tried to reach out. I like that joke about how my administration doesn't look like the one on the T.V. show *West Wing*. I don't recognize that White House, you know? It's a cute show, but it ought to be more diverse because America is. And our administration is.

You know that. You know the record of our appointments to the federal bench and the efforts to increase the effectiveness of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We've also, I might add, tried to make sure that people who have different political views than mine had their rights respected, that all federal employees were citizens and could be citizens, that the religious convictions of federal employees and children in our schools could have the widest possible protection. So I haven't tried just to bring into this tent of one America people who will vote for me at the next election, but all people who should feel that they have a place at America's table.

We have also made a special effort on the economic front to help people who have traditionally been left behind. We've increased by two and a half times the number of small business loans to African American entrepreneurs, and by two and a half times the number of SBA loans to Hispanic entrepreneurs since 1992.

And beneath those economic statistics that I just ran off — the 30 years, 30 years, 20 years — I wish you all could remember that and just tell everybody between now and the next election — we have the lowest levels ever recorded of African American poverty and child poverty; the lowest Hispanic poverty rate in a generation; the lowest female unemployment rate — listen to this — in 46 years. And the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded since we started separate statistics in the 1970s.

Now, I think the important question is what do we intend to do with this. You know, I worked as hard as I could, and I will continue to every day for the next 430-some odd days I have to be President, to keep this country going in the right direction, to build that bridge to the 21st century we talked about in 1996.

A nation is almost like a vast ocean liner out in the Pacific somewhere — you can't turn it around on a dime, it takes time. We've worked hard for seven years, and the country is moving in the right direction. The question is, what are we going to do with it?

This is the only time in my lifetime that we have had this level of economic strength, free of any pressing domestic crisis or foreign threat, so that we literally can look ahead into this new millennium and say, what would we like America to be for our children and our grandchildren. Because as good as things are, we know two things — we know, number one, nothing stays the same forever, good or bad. So like all moments, this one will pass. Something will happen sometime down the road. Nothing stays the same forever.

The second thing we know is, we know right now that we have some big challenges still out there. I'll mention some I won't talk about tonight in any detail, but just you ought to think about them. We know right now that the number of people over 65 is going to double in the next 30 years and we'll only have two people working for every one person drawing Social Security. We have to decide right now whether we're going to deal with that.

We know right now that Medicare is supposed to run out of money in 15 years and that 75 percent of the elderly people in this country can't afford prescription drugs. We know right now we have more children than the baby boom generation, and they're much, much more diverse. In Senator Robb's home state, just across the river from the White House, the Alexandria school district has children from 180 different racial and ethnic groups whose parents speak 100 different languages. One school district.

And we know that while we have the best system of higher education in the world, and this administration has succeeded, literally, in opening the doors of college to everybody who is willing to work for it now, no one can seriously assert that every one of our children is getting a world-class education kindergarten through 12th grade. And we know if we really want to have one America we have to deal with that.

We know right now that people who are connected to the Internet and are computer-literate and understand that have big economic advantages. Even poor people get big economic advantages. I learned in northern California last week that this company, E-Bay — I bet a lot of you have bought things from E-Bay, you know E-Bay — you know there are now over 20,000 people making a living off E-Bay? Not working for the company, trading through the site. Many of them, I learned from the company people, used to be on welfare. So we know that it makes a huge difference, and yet we know there's a digital divide out there. The Vice President and I have worked hard to close it in the schools.

Four years ago, we had only 4 percent of our schools and classrooms connected to the Internet. Now 51 percent are, and we're trying to make sure 100 percent are by the end of next year. We're getting close. But there are kids out there in schools that cannot be wired because they are so old and in such disrepair. Forty percent of the schools in New York are over 70 years old. Some of them are still heated by coal. The average age of school buildings in Philadelphia is 65 years. And I could go on and on.

I was in a little town in Florida not very long ago, a little town, where there were 12 trailers out behind the grade school. So this is a challenge; we know about this.

I know, and I hope that you believe that there is really an environmental challenge that the whole world faces in this climate change business, and that if we continue to warm the climate at this rate, at some time in the next century the water levels will rise as the polar ice caps melt, the sugarcane fields in Louisiana will be flooded; much of the Florida Everglades will be

flooded; some island nations could disappear. And the whole quality of life in America could be changed. The distribution of agricultural opportunity could be irrevocably altered.

But we also know that you don't have to burn more greenhouse gases to get rich anymore, as a nation. It's not necessary. There are technological advances that are now available, and those that will soon be available which will enable us to totally change that.

Congressman Conyers and I went to the Detroit Auto Show together and we looked at automobiles that use mixed gasoline and electrical engines that will soon become commercially available that get 70 miles a gallon, and that can be economical even at presently relatively low gasoline prices. But we have to — we know that.

We know that in the future we'll have to deal with the challenges from terrorists and drug runners and organized criminals around the world, and they'll increasingly work together, and they will use the very things that we're using — the Internet and technology and the openness of borders — against us. We know that. What are we going to do about it?

I say all these things not to alarm anyone, but to say that we know right now what most of the large challenges of the next 30 years will be, and right now, for the first time in my lifetime, we have the prosperity and the confidence and the coherence to deal with them. But they require decisions.

I said yesterday when we were celebrating the Little Rock Nine that when they walked up the steps and into the schools, and they were abused and they were run off and they went through their trial, they forced everybody else to make a decision. Before that I was like everybody else; I thought segregation was a terrible thing, but I never had to really speak about it. I was 11 years old; what the heck did it matter to me? I was more worried about when recess was, or something. It was just the way things were.

But sometimes when people act, they change everything. And everybody had to make a decision then. Because there it was. Well, that's where we are now. Except there is no crisis, so we don't have to make a decision. We can just wander on and not deal with this.

Now, how many times in your personal life, in your family life, or in your business life, have you made a mistake because you thought things were going so well you could afford to be distracted, diverted, or indulgent? How many times? It happens to everybody. There's not a person in this room it hasn't happened to. It is human nature.

And so I say to you, the greatest honor I could have is to know that you will work with me for the next 430-some odd days and that you will continue to work to make sure that we do not blow this precious moment. This is an incredible opportunity and an enormous responsibility. And it's never happened in my lifetime, ever. Not once have we ever had this much prosperity, this much confidence, and the absence of a pressing, convulsing domestic crisis or foreign threat. And we will never forgive ourselves if we

let our children and our grandchildren down by not looking into the future and saying, here are the big challenges facing this country and we intend to meet them.

I just want to mention two more. Number one is there are people and places which still have not participated in this prosperity. That's what the Vice President's employment zones and enterprise community initiative has been all about. That's why we worked hard to establish these community development financial institutions that some of you have participated in. That's why we worked so hard to enforce the Community Reinvestment Act and then to save it in this last banking legislation — because 95 percent of all the lending ever made under that 22-year-old law has happened since this administration has been in office.

And that's what this New Markets Initiative is all about. We will never have every single neighborhood in an employment zone; we can only pick those that have their act together and have the biggest problems, and try to make the fairest judgments we can. But what I have sought to do by going around the country is to say, look, there are all these other places, and shouldn't we at least give investors in America the same incentives to invest in poor areas in America we give them to invest in poor areas in Latin America, or Africa, or Asia.

I support American investment around the world. I am trying to pass right now the Africa trade bill and the Caribbean Basin Initiative before this Congress goes home. But I believe that the most important markets we have are the untapped markets still in this country that need to be developed.

So I ask you to think about that. You'd be amazed — again, this is another example where doing what the right thing to do is also good for the rest of America. You would be amazed how much time we have spent over the last year and a half figuring out how can we keep this economic expansion going. All previous economic expansions have come to an end either because the economy gets so heated up that we get inflation, and then when you break the inflation, the medicine to break the inflation is so strong, it breaks the recovery — or because the recovery just runs out of steam.

Now, we've kept this one going, largely thanks to you and people like you. Thirty percent of it has been powered by technology; 30 percent of it, until this Asian financial collapse, was powered by exports. Traditional economic theory dramatically underestimated the impact of technology to increase productivity, and underestimated the impact of open markets in holding down inflation.

So we can keep it going. But to keep it going, with unemployment at 4.1 percent, what have we got to do? If you go into a neighborhood in an inner city, if you go into an abandoned small town that lost its factory and has nothing left, if you go into a Native American

reservation — Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota — there are plenty of smart people up there. I walked up and down the street with a 17-year-old girl that is as intelligent as any high school child I've talked to since I've been President. But they have 73 percent unemployment. That is wasted human potential.

And if you invest there, you create new businesses, new jobs, and new consumers and new taxpayers, and you grow the economy without inflation, by definition, because you are getting both new producers and new consumers. This is the right thing to do for the people that are there. It's the right thing to do for the rest of us because we want this ride to go on just as long as it can.

The other thing I want to say is, if I could leave America with one legacy, and somebody said to me tonight, well, you're going to have to go now and we'll give you one wish -- you know, the genie deal — but you don't get three wishes, you just get one — I'd still pick One America. Why? Because I think when we're getting along and when we're not just tolerating each other, but when we respect and like each other, when we've got a framework for dealing with our honest differences that enables them to be worked out without everybody falling out, the American people nearly always get it right. I mean, why do you think we're around here after over 220 years?

Look at all the stuff we've weathered. I mean, we had these founding fathers who said we're all created equal, and they were slaveholders. And even white guys couldn't vote if they didn't own property, never mind the women, right? We worked it out. And we just kept on working at it. What is the signal measure of our progress? We kept finding ways to bring more and more and more people into the circle of freedom and opportunity. And then their minds figured out how to maximize the benefits of the Industrial Revolution, how to provide mass education, how to integrate immigrants from all over the world into the mainstream of American life.

This One America deal is much bigger than just sort of feel good, let's all be nice, don't anybody be prejudiced or say anything at a dinner party you'd be embarrassed by. And, to be serious, it's much more than being tough on people who commit hate crimes, although I badly want that hate crimes legislation to pass. It is an understanding about the way we should live if we all want to do well. It is in the nature of the American idea and the core of what it means to be a human being.

Isn't it interesting to you that we continue to have these horrible hate crime incidents in America, and then we see these other countries convulsed by the tribal slaughter in Rwanda; the awful, terrible treatment of the Kosovar Albanian Muslims in Kosovo; the treatment of the Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia; the continuing conflict among the Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland which we're trying to bring to an end; the

continuing conflict in the Middle East. What is the common element in that and the hate crimes?

It is that, for all of the wonders of the modern world, we're most bedeviled as societies by the oldest problem of folks living together — we still have a hard time with people who aren't like us. And yet, the truth is, when we get over it and let it go, we find that life is a lot more interesting than it used to be.

I told somebody last night, the first time I went to a Cinco de Mayo celebration in San Francisco I thought, where has this been all my life? Man, I like this.

So we're laughing, but there's a grain of truth here. Why do American Christians buy books by the Dalai Lama in record numbers, about the ethics of the new millennium? Because he has a very important piece of the truth, and he has very important peace inside.

So I say to you, look for the unifying vision and continue to work for it. And be clear and focused on the magic moment in which we live. Be humble enough to know it will not last forever, it is not in the nature of human affairs. And if you really want to honor what you have done and the spirit of this award, which you have so kindly given me, make the most of this moment. It is the chance of a lifetime to build a future of our dreams.

Thank you.

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and Fifteen Proof Copies
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