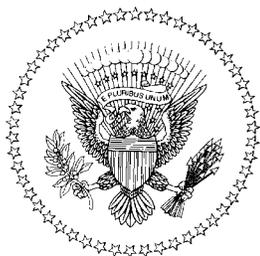


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, December 18, 2000
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Editor’s Note: The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents is also available on the Internet on the *GPO Access* service at <http://www.gpo.gov/nara/nara003.html>.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, December 15, 2000

Remarks on Arrival at Offutt Air Force Base in Bellevue, Nebraska

December 8, 2000

Thank you very much. Thank you. One of my critics once said it would be a cold day when I came to Nebraska. [*Laughter*] But I think I got a pretty warm welcome here today, and I thank you very, very much.

I want to thank all of those who welcomed me, but especially, thank you, Brigadier General Power; thank you, Admiral Mies. I thank the officers and enlisted personnel here.

I want to thank Senator Bob Kerrey for being, first, my colleague. We were Governors together, and we have been friends for a long time, and he has superbly served the people of Nebraska and the United States in the Senate. I know you'll miss him, and I thank him.

I also want to congratulate his successor, with whom I also served as Governor. Thank you very much for running and serving, Senator-elect Ben Nelson and Mrs. Nelson; thank you very much.

I brought with me today former Nebraska Congressman Peter Hoagland, and I thank him; Secretary of State Moore; Mayor Daub; Acting Mayor Sorensen of Bellevue; and the other elected officials who are here.

You know, earlier today I went to Kearney to speak at the University of Nebraska there to the young people about an American foreign policy for the 21st century. And I made a pretty simple argument: that the world is getting smaller and smaller; that people and goods and ideas and information are crossing national borders more freely and faster than ever before; and that, therefore, it was quite necessary, even here in the heartland of America, that every citizen of our country care about what goes on beyond our borders and support the next President and the next Congress across party lines in making the kinds of decisions that will make America

safer and more prosperous and a better partner in an interdependent world.

Now, one of the things that I wanted to do in coming here is to say that none of that would be possible if our foreign policy was not backed by the finest military in the entire world.

I was told a couple of weeks ago, you know, since I'm a short-termer, as you might say—[*laughter*]*—*all the statisticians are coming up to me and saying, "Well, did you know this; did you know that; did you know the other thing?" And I was told a couple of weeks ago by one of the people who is supposed to look at all the White House records that I have now visited more military units than any President in the history of the country.

Having said that, I do not believe my service in that regard would have been complete if I hadn't come to Offutt Air Force Base to see the people of the Fighting 55th and the Strategic Command. Many of those serving in the 55th couldn't be with us today. You heard the General say the Sun never sets on the 55th. They are now serving on this day from Okinawa to Mildenhall to Saudi Arabia, keeping a watchful eye so the rest of us can be secure.

For decades now—for a full decade in the Persian Gulf, the 55th has helped check the ambitions of Saddam Hussein and guard peace in the region. In Bosnia, in Kosovo, you risk your lives to help stop genocide. The days of winter may be short here, but it is really true that the Sun never sets on you and your work.

I also want to honor the men and women of the Strategic Command. For every minute of every day during the past 50 years, you and your predecessors at the Strategic Air Command have never let down our guard. The cold war may be over, but we still need you. You are the cornerstone of our deterrence and our security.

I also want to recognize the other units who serve here: the Defense Finance and Accounting Service, out of Omaha; the U.S. Air Force Heartland of America Band; the 311th Airlift Flight; the 343d Air Force Recruiting Squadron; and the U.S. Air Force Weather Agency. Would someone please ask them to turn up the heat a little bit? [*Laughter*]

Let me just say one other thing. These last 8 years have been a great honor for me, and it has been a joy to serve. But the one thing that I will leave office feeling more strongly than I did even on the day I took the oath of office, almost 8 years ago, is that the true greatness of America resides not in its leaders but in its citizens. And yes, it's important who wins; and yes, it's important that we all believe that the system is truly democratic and fair. But our system is premised on the hard work, the innovation, the values, and the devotion to freedom of our citizens and especially, of course, those who serve us in uniform.

America is a different and better place than it was 8 years ago. We've had all kinds of economic progress, but a lot of social progress, as well. And I would just like to say to you that as you look ahead in this new century, we will become more and more interdependent on each other and on people beyond our borders. It will become more and more important, therefore, that every person has a chance, that every person carries his or her own load, and that we always remember we do better when we work together.

We have a great future out there, but we've got some challenges. If you look at where we are now compared to where we were 8 years ago, we're here because, as a people, we worked hard; we worked more closely together; we thought about the future; and we decided to pay the price for that future. That's why we're still around here after over 224 years.

So, you stay with it. Stay with it here at Offutt; stay with it here in Nebraska. Keep looking toward tomorrow. And remember that I may have been late, but I sure was glad when I got here.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. on the tarmac. In his remarks, he referred to Brig. Gen. Gregory H. Power, USAF, Commander, 55th Wing, and Adm. Richard W. Mies, USN, Commander in Chief, United States Strategic Command, Offutt Air Force Base; Senator-Elect Ben Nelson of Nebraska and his wife, Diane; Secretary of State Scott Moore of Nebraska; Mayor Hal J. Daub of Omaha, NE; and Acting Mayor Bruce Sorenson of Bellevue. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at a Nebraska 2000 Victory Reception in Omaha, Nebraska

December 8, 2000

Thank you very much. First, let me say to my great friend Vin, to Laurel, thank you for having me here. It took me a little while to get to Nebraska. [*Laughter*]

I was at Offutt, and I told the crowd, I said, one of my, sort of, critics said, "It'll be a cold day when the President comes to Nebraska." [*Laughter*] So I just picked a cold day and showed up. [*Laughter*] And I'm very glad all of you came. And I'm glad that this wonderful home has been opened to us and previously, a few months ago, to Hillary, something for which I'm very grateful. I expect some of you were here that night, and I'm very grateful for that.

I want to say congratulations to Ben and to Diane. It's great news for me. You know, I served with both Ben Nelson and Bob Kerrey when I was a Governor. I had a hard time getting a promotion. I was a Governor for 12 years—[*laughter*]—and I never got bored with it. I'd be happy if I were doing it, still. But we served together, and I was thrilled when Ben genuinely mustered the courage—both of them, together—to run again.

I've been through that deal, where you run for something and it doesn't work out. And then it's all very well—everybody else is telling you run to again, but they don't know how bad it hurts when it doesn't work—[*laughter*]—and the sort of pain threshold you have to cross to gather yourself together again. And they did it, and I really believe he'll be an excellent Senator. And we need people representing our party in Congress who have a sense of compassion and who are

progressive, but who can be trusted to manage the economy, as well.

Because the thing that we have proved, I think, in the last 8 years—and I'm coming to Bob Kerrey on this—is that the most progressive social policy begins with a good economic policy that keeps interest rates down, lets the private sector grow, creates jobs with low unemployment, makes it possible for people to borrow money to start or expand businesses, to pay for college loans or car loans or credit cards or home mortgages.

That's why we've got over two-thirds of the American people in their own homes—over 70 percent in Nebraska—for the first time in the history of the country, because we've had a combination of—we had a good progressive policy on health care, on education. We had a balanced policy on crime. But it started with an economic policy that would work. And when you put it all together, we wound up with more economic progress and social progress than the country has had, certainly, in our lifetime.

So I'm very grateful for that. But in order to do it, you have to have the right balance of people in the Congress and, certainly, representing our party. So I'm glad he's going to Congress—to the Senate, and he's going to have a partner in the new Senator from New York, which I'm also very proud of. [Laughter]

Bob Kerrey and I served together a long time ago. We've been together in a lot of places. We were even at the Indianapolis 500 once. You remember that? Nineteen eighty-six or '87, a long time ago. And we've been friends a long time. I had very mixed feelings when he announced that he wanted to retire from the Senate. I was happy for him, because I think he's got a truly exciting opportunity, which I believe will still keep him in the spotlight in national political life, at least I hope it does. I was sorry for the people of Nebraska and sorry for the United States Senate, because the Senate will be a poorer place.

When I was a young man in college, I worked in the United States Senate. And it was a time that was very contentious and quite partisan in some ways. We were having all the civil rights and the Vietnam war battles of the late Johnson years, when I went to

work in the Senate. But the Senate was a place where there were 8 or 10 or 15 people that everybody, without regard to their party, respected and thought, you know, these people talk—they weren't carrying the party line. They weren't just trying to hurt somebody. They were standing up there, saying something that they really believed would make America a better place. Even if they didn't agree, no one really believed that they were just motivated by kind of blind partisanship or power grabbing or manipulation. They believed it was right.

And I think Bob Kerrey has been that kind of Senator. He's been willing to disagree with everybody, including me—[laughter]—if he thought it was right. But the main thing is, he's kept us debating issues that we ought to be talking about. And the real problem with all this intense partisanship—and by the way, with the exponential cost of campaigns—and what it does to both sides is that it tends to freeze people into yesterday's position, at the very time they should be debating what tomorrow's position ought to be. Well, Bob was always thinking about what tomorrow's position ought to be. And America is always about tomorrow. And that's the last point I want to make.

You know, it's gratifying for me for people to come up and say, oh, I feel like I got a leg in the grave, and people say, "Oh, I'm going to miss you and all this, and thank you for it." [Laughter] But it's been an honor to serve. I've loved it. Even the bad days were good. I would do it all again tomorrow in a heartbeat. But what I want to say to you is, the most important thing is that we do the right things, that we have good ideas, good values, work together, do the right thing.

If we hadn't been doing the right things in the last 8 years, I could have given the same speeches, and the results would not be the same. It's not about talking; it's about doing the right thing. So that's another reason I'm glad you're here today. And I want to ask you to keep supporting the direction that our party has taken, generally represented by those of us who are standing up here, because the country desperately needs—and basically even people who don't

know they do, agree with the direction that we've taken in the last 8 years.

About two-thirds of the people support what we're trying to do. They just can't bring themselves to vote for us in an election. [Laughter] That's the truth. That's the truth. And so this is very important, because I've worked as hard as I could to get the country turned around. It's been 50 years since we've paid down the debt 3 years in a row. If we keep going—if we keep going, in somewhere between 9 and 12 years, depending on what judgments are made by my successors in the Congress and the White House, America could be out of debt for the first time since 1835. And I can't tell you what that means.

In a global economy where we compete for every dollar with people all over the world and where, so far, we've been doing so much better than everybody else—we keep buying more than we're selling—to pay that debt off guarantees a whole—all these young people here, we'll give them 20 years of lower interest rates, a stronger economy, higher productivity, a whole different future. That's just one example.

So I'm going to try to be a good citizen, and I'm going to try to help work on the things that I worked on as President as a private citizen but to do it in a way that doesn't get under foot of the next President. And I have loved doing this. But the most important thing is that people like you stay active in our party and keep pushing us to be thinking about tomorrow. Just keep pushing us toward the future, keep moving, and keep reaching out like a magnet.

And again, I would like to thank Ben. I would like to thank Bob Kerrey for the 8 years that we have worked together, President and Senator, and the many years of friendship before that. I want to thank Peter Hoagland, who came down from Washington with us today, for the years that we worked together when he was a Congressman from Nebraska.

I want to say to you that the best days of this country are still out here. We've had 8 good years, but if we build on it instead of reverse it, it's just going to get better.

But keep in mind, I will say again: It's more important that the people be pushing toward tomorrow than who has a particular

office. As long as we're open to the proposition we have to keep working; and we have to keep working together; everybody counts; everybody deserves a chance; we all do better when we work together. That's what the Democrats believe, and if we keep doing it, we're going to be just fine.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:38 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to Vinod Gupta and Laurel Gottesman, reception hosts; and Senator-elect Ben Nelson of Nebraska, and his wife, Diane. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the Death of Representative Julian C. Dixon

December 8, 2000

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of Congressman Julian Dixon. Julian was a champion for the people of his district, his State, and our Nation. In his 22 years in the United States Congress, Julian worked tirelessly for his district, served with distinction on the appropriations and intelligence committees, was a powerful advocate for the people of the District of Columbia, and worked hard to make sure that the voices of the less fortunate could always be heard. He was a kind, gentle man who earned the admiration and respect of all who knew him. I saw that recently when we visited a wonderful diner in his district together. I will miss him, and I join all Americans in honoring Julian Dixon for this lifetime of service to his country. Our thoughts and prayers are with his wife, Bettye, his son, Cary, his family and many friends.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

December 9, 2000

Good morning. Eight years ago this week, I brought together leading minds from all around our country for my first economic summit. The challenge then was immediate and clear: The deficit was \$290 billion and rising; 10 million Americans were out of

work; interest rates were high; and confidence was low.

Al Gore and I were determined to change that by putting into action a new economic strategy, one of fiscal discipline, investment in our people, and expanded trade. Since then, we've turned record budget deficits into record surpluses and produced the longest economic expansion in American history, with more than 22 million new jobs, the lowest Hispanic and African-American unemployment ever, and the highest homeownership on record.

Over the last 2 years, our economy has grown at an exceptional pace, often achieving growth rates as high as 5 percent. Obviously, economic growth at such a brisk level cannot be sustained forever, but the bulk of evidence suggests that our recordbreaking expansion is continuing. In fact, just this week we received a report showing continued growth in private sector jobs. We also learned that unemployment in November was 4.0 percent, among the lowest rates in 30 years.

I'm also pleased to report that the overwhelming majority of private sector experts are predicting solid but measured growth in the coming year, with low unemployment, low inflation, and strong productivity. This is good news for the American economy and for the American people, and this is no time to abandon the path of fiscal discipline that helped get us here.

Our economic success was not a matter of chance; it was a matter of choice—a commitment to commonsense American values, to responsibility and fairness, to putting people first, to not spending what we don't have. We must not take our economic strengths for granted. That's why it is critical that we continue to pay down the debt, to keep inflation and interest rates low. That's why we should keep expanding trade, opening markets abroad, and keep investing in our people—that's the most important thing—closing the skills gap with more training and better education.

Education is an important part of any strategy for economic growth. And in this information age, it is essential. If we want our children to be able to compete in the high-tech, high-wage job market of the 21st cen-

tury, we must ensure that all of them have the skills they need to succeed.

With this in mind, I have met twice this week with congressional leaders of both parties to make sure we pass an education budget that prepares our children for the future. When Congress left town last month, we already had reached an historic bipartisan agreement on education. It would provide much-needed funding to reduce class size, repair crumbling schools, improve teacher quality. It would also expand Head Start, after-school programs, Pell grants, and support students with disabilities.

We know these are the basic building blocks of a 21st century work force. I hope Congress will keep its commitment to America's children and pass a balanced budget that makes education the number one priority.

Once President Lyndon Johnson said, "We must raise our sights to develop more completely our people's talents and to employ these talents fully." If we want to invest in the prosperity of our Nation, we must invest in the education of our children so that their talents may be fully employed. Working together, we can complete this year's unfinished business, keep paying down the debt, keep the prosperity going, and by investing in our children's education, prepare our Nation to meet the challenges of the years to come.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks on the Unveiling of the Design for the William J. Clinton Presidential Library

December 9, 2000

Thank you very much. I want to begin by saying how glad I am to see all of you here. I want to thank my two Arkansas Cabinet members, Rodney Slater and James Lee Witt, for being here. And thank you, Skip Rutherford, for all the work you've done. And I want to thank the other Arkansans here who have tried to help us get this off the ground, including Mack McLarty and Joe Ford and all the local officials. And I want

to say a special word of appreciation, obviously, to Jim Polshek and all the people in the architectural firm who worked on this; and to Ralph Applebaum, who is not here today, but I will say a few more words about why that's important.

I want to thank Hillary and Chelsea, who have spent a lot of time on this, working with me, trying to imagine what we wanted to do and how we wanted to do it. And I want to thank Terry McAuliffe, who is sitting here trying to make sure we can pay for it, as Jim reels off all these things we're going to do. *[Laughter]*

Since President Roosevelt started a Presidential library—and he had the only Presidential library, actually, where the President worked in the library while he was President, because he built it in 1939 and he actually used it whenever he went home to Hyde Park, until his death in 1945—there have been 10 Presidential libraries. I have actually visited seven of them, myself, and I've looked at the plans and the scheme of the other three. And I've tried to lift some of their best ideas in this building.

But basically what I wanted to do was to, first of all, have a building that was beautiful and architecturally significant, that people would want to walk in 100 years from now, but one that would also work—would work for average citizens. Ninety percent of the people who come to Presidential libraries are people who come as visitors. They want to see the museum; they want to know what happened in this point in our history related to everything else and how it relates to the present and the future.

And the challenge for any architect is that you've got to protect all these documents, and they have to be in buildings that don't get overly exposed to the light. So if you put all that stuff in one building, you have to have a lot of solid walls. And so the thing that we were able to work out that I'm really pleased about is, we're protecting all the documents in the back there, and we don't have to worry about that interfering with the enjoyment of the people who actually come to see the museum and the building and participate in all of that.

So I think that's really the thing that will make it fundamentally more interesting and

more enjoyable for all the people, plus the fact that we—thanks to the good people of Little Rock, we've got enough land here to have a park, which will always be accessible to the local citizens as well as to all the visitors. And I'm very, very pleased about that.

I also want to say that it was very important to me to try to faithfully present the history of this time. And I want to say a special word of appreciation to Ralph Applebaum. Some of you know he did the Holocaust Museum here in Washington, which I think is the finest museum of its kind anywhere in the world. And I was elated when he agreed to do this.

I also want to say, since we'll be living in New York, I think that the planetarium that's been done in Manhattan by the Polshek firm, which some of you have seen pictures of, is basically this great square building in steel and glass with a globe inside—it's just breathtaking. And I knew that when I saw that, that they could do what I wanted to do down here. And so I'm very, very pleased.

Skip has already talked about this, but I wanted this library to also benefit the city and the State. And I think recovering this portion of the river, recovering this part of the neighborhood—you can't tell here, but those of you who aren't from Arkansas don't know, but once you get down here, over here, you're immediately into perhaps the most historic part of our State, the Old State Capital, which is mentioned, where I announced for President and where I had my very first reception as a public official in January of 1977 in an ice storm—was built during the period in which we became a State, from 1833 to 1836. And it's a wonderful, wonderful old building.

So it was very close to this present State capital and a lot of other very historically significant buildings, including the magnificent new library we have there. So I'm very pleased about it.

I'm very pleased that the library will be accessible and interactive. You know, because of technology, you don't really have to go anyplace anymore to get whatever is there. And we were laughing about all these tens of millions of documents. The people who work here at the White House who are part of the permanent staff, who work from

administration to administration and preserve these documents, one of the things—I went over to visit them not very long ago, and they showed me what they are doing, and it’s amazing.

This may be somewhat embarrassing for me, but people will actually be able to pull up on the Internet copies of actual memos that I wrote on. And the woman said, “The reason we’ve got to have so many documents here is that you wrote more letters, more notes to your staff on more pieces of paper than any President in history.” [Laughter] And unfortunately, most of them are unreadable, but—[laughter]—at least the people will be able to get a picture of that. You will be able to see drafts of the Inaugural addresses and what I wrote and what they wrote, and that’s good, because it will let a lot of my speechwriters off in history. People will think, “Gosh, what he marked out was better than what he said.” But anyway, all that will be available, and I think that’s very important.

The third thing I would like to say is that I really wanted the relationship that this library would have to the University of Arkansas to be focused on public service. I want more and more people to want to go into public service. And we are going to offer a master’s degree in public service, but in addition to that, I’m going to attempt to set up partnerships with employers all across America to get them to come and send their young executives to our place for a couple of months as a kind of an orientation in preparation for doing a year of public service in the National, State, or local governments all across the country.

I got this idea just basically from the Presidential Fellowship program we have here. But I can tell you that all the people who come here as White House Fellows make an incredibly unique contribution, as do all the volunteers, all the interns, everybody who works here, and it changes them forever, but they also help us do what we’re doing here.

And it occurred to me that if we had a critical mass of people all across the United States who are out there working in businesses of all kinds and nonprofits and whatever, but they had spent at least one year of their lives working in the public sector at

the Federal, State, or local level, that, number one, the Government would always work better, would always have a sense of how whatever is being done affects people who are not in Government, but secondly, we would not ever return to a period where the American people felt as alienated from their Government as we did for, in my judgment, too many years in the latter part of the 20th century.

And I really think it could—if we can get enough people to do this, it could pretty much permanently change the relationship of the American people to the way the Government works and the way that would have the Government making better decisions, and also, having more people in the private sector who had actually had the experience of being there. So I’m very, very hopeful about it.

In 1941 President Roosevelt’s library was dedicated. And he said, and I quote, “Building a library is really an act of faith, a belief in the capacity of a Nation’s people, so it will learn from the past, that they can gain in judgment in creating their own future.”

Well, this is a similar act of faith. And I hope that it will not only allow people to see these remarkable 8 years but will help to empower people and give them the confidence to believe that they can build America’s greatest days in the new century.

So again, I want to thank you all. And especially, I want to thank those who have helped me to develop these plans. And I want to thank Terry and all the others here who have agreed to help me figure out how to build it, which is now the next big challenge. But I’m looking forward to it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to J.L. (Skip) Rutherford, president, and Terence McAuliffe, fundraiser, William Jefferson Clinton Foundation; former White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty; Joe Ford, chairman and chief executive officer, ALLTEL Corp.; and James S. Polshek, lead architect, and Ralph Applebaum, interpretive designer, William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Library.

Exchange With Reporters Following the Unveiling of the Design for the William J. Clinton Presidential Library

December 9, 2000

Florida Supreme Court Decision

Q. Mr. President, can you comment on the Florida Supreme Court decision?

The President. Well, it appears to me that they basically said we ought to get an accurate count, and we have time to get one. I think that's what all the American people want, and I think that the more people feel there was an accurate count, the more legitimacy will be conferred on whoever the eventual winner is. So I think this is a positive development.

Q. Do you think it gives Gore the advantage for the first time?

The President. Well, I think—I honestly don't know. I don't know the answer to that. I think it shows that what the Supreme Court, in their first decision, is what they meant. People voted and their vote—and it can be determined for whom they voted; their votes ought to be counted so that the count will be accurate. And I think that's a positive thing.

But it's not clear to me—I've got to go back; I've got to look at the decision. I don't know—are they going to go back through Palm Beach again, because there are still a lot of undervotes there? I don't know a lot of the questions. I just know that the thrust was to get the most accurate possible count, and I think that is something the American people feel good about. And when it's done, I think it will help the eventual winner, whether it's Governor Bush or Vice President Gore, to settle things down and get on with the business of America.

So I think it will be positive.

Q. Do you think all of this is going to deliver the people a weakened Presidency?

The President. Not necessarily. I said before, I think that we have had—we had two Presidencies that went into the House of Representatives: One produced John Quincy Adams, who only served one term; one produced Thomas Jefferson, who started a dynasty that lasted 24 years. We had two Presidencies that were decided where a majority

of the votes went to one candidate and the majority of the electoral votes went to another. One was quite controversial, in 1876; the other just happened in the course of things. So I don't think you can draw any conclusions. I think that the American people will be inclined to give a spirit of good will in supporting it and a grace period to the incoming President. The country could hardly be in better shape, if we have to go through this level of uncertainty. And if the Members of the Congress will work in good spirit, I think we can have 4 very good years.

So I wouldn't be very worried about it. I think that, truthfully, if this whole process leads people to believe that every reasonable effort was made to get an accurate count, then I think that will help the incoming President. Then I think the country will rally behind the new President, and we'll go on with our business, the way we always do.

Edmond Pope Pardon

Q. [Inaudible]—Mr. Putin—

The President. Well, I talked to him yesterday, and he told me he was going to do it, and we've had several conversations about this. I'm very appreciative of his action. Mr. Pope is not in good health, and we need to get him—

Q. Does the U.S. have to give back anything?

The President. There was no deal. We just had a discussion about it.

Press Secretary Jake Siewert. Thank you.

William J. Clinton Presidential Library

Q. [Inaudible]—favorite building is?

The President. [Inaudible]—coming here by the tens of thousands all the time, and look at all these exhibits and everything and kind of being caught up in it—unless there was a lot of light in the building. But I didn't want it to be a total energy guzzler and one that would be an environmental nightmare. So we really worked hard on this, and I think we've got a good balance here. I think it's going to be a very good building.

Florida Supreme Court Decision

Q. Do you think the Vice President was thrown a lifeline yesterday?

The President. I think the Supreme Court decision, as I understand it, just said we ought to have an accurate count. And I think that's how the American people feel. And I know that's how the people in Florida must feel. I mean, if you went to vote, you would want your vote counted.

So I think that's all. I don't know how it's going to come out; I don't think anybody does. But I think when it's over, if we believe we've done everything we could do to get an accurate count, that will confer greater legitimacy on the result, whichever one of them wins. And when there is a final winner, then the rest of us ought to say, "Okay, let's give this new President a chance to do the job." That's what I'll do, and I'll do whatever I can to facilitate it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:50 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to President Vladimir Putin of Russia and American businessman Edmond Pope, who had been found guilty of espionage in Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Statement on Russian President Vladimir Putin's Decision To Pardon Edmond Pope

December 9, 2000

I welcome President Putin's statement of his intent to pardon and release Edmond Pope. It will be a great relief to all Americans when Mr. Pope is finally freed and reunited with his family. We want to see him home and safe as soon as possible.

Proclamation 7386—Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 2000

December 9, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

On December 15, 1791, the Bill of Rights was ratified. A century and a half later, on December 10, 1948, the United Nations

General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Though separated by more than 150 years, these two documents are not dusty relics of a distant past—the ideas they so powerfully express continue to shape the destiny of individuals and nations across the globe.

Because the rights guaranteed by these documents, such as freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest, are such an inherent part of America's history and national character, we at times may take them for granted. We sometimes forget that people elsewhere in the world are suffering, struggling, and even dying because these rights are denied them by oppressive governments. In countries such as Afghanistan, Burma, and the Sudan, men and women are harassed, arrested, and executed for worshipping according to their conscience. In many corners of the world, modern-day slavery still exists, with criminals trafficking in women and children and profiting from their servitude.

But there is hope for the future. Globalization and the revolution in information technology are helping to break down the former barriers of geography and official censorship. People fighting for human rights in disparate places around the world can talk to one another, learn from one another, and shine the light of public scrutiny on the dark corners of the world. Free nations can work in concert to combat human rights abuses, as the United States did last spring when we joined with the Philippines and more than 20 other Asian and Pacific nations to develop a regional action plan to combat trafficking in persons and protect trafficking victims.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., once said that the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice. We have seen the truth of that statement in the history of America, where each generation has strived to live up to our founders' vision of human dignity: that we are all created equal and that we all have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But that statement holds true for the world's history as well; in our own lifetime, we have seen the fall of the Berlin Wall and the triumph of democracy in the Cold War. More people

live in freedom today than at any other time in history.

But that march toward freedom is not inevitable; it is advanced by individual acts of courage and will; by the strong voices of people refusing to be silenced by their oppressors; by the willingness of free people and free nations to defend the rights of men, women, and children. Heroes like Lech Walesa in Poland, Vaclav Havel in the Czech Republic, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, and Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma are powerful reminders of how precious our human rights are and how high the cost is to sustain them. The Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that we celebrate this week are not merely proud words preserved on paper; they are a pledge written on our consciences and to oppressed people everywhere, so that they too will some day know the meaning of dignity and the blessing of human rights.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim December 10, 2000, as Human Rights Day; December 15, 2000, as Bill of Rights Day; and the week beginning December 10, 2000, as Human Rights Week. I call upon the people of the United States to celebrate these observances with appropriate activities, ceremonies, and programs that demonstrate our national commitment to the Bill of Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and promotion and protection of human rights for all people.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this Ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., December 13, 2000]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on December 14.

Remarks at “Christmas in Washington”

December 10, 2000

Thank you very much. First, I would like to thank my good friend Gerry Levin, George and Michael Stevens. Thank you, Sarah Michelle Gellar. I thank The Corrs for what they said about the work we’ve tried to do for peace in Ireland.

Thank you, Billy Gilman. I think you’ve got a future. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Brian McKnight, Jessica Simpson, Marc Anthony, and my old friend Chuck Berry.

Our family looks forward to this “Christmas in Washington” every year. But tonight, as many have noted, it’s more special than ever to us, because it’s our last one here. It also is the first Christmas of the new millennium.

Tonight I am grateful that we can celebrate in an America blessed with unprecedented peace and prosperity, a nation that, as we see when we look at all of these young people who sang for us tonight, is growing increasingly more diverse, and yet, at least if the young are our guide, increasingly more united as one community.

So this is a time for us to be grateful for our good fortune and to rededicate ourselves to the lessons of love and reconciliation taught by a child born in Bethlehem 2,000 years ago. As people all around the world gather this season to decorate trees and to light menorahs, we should remember the true meaning of the holidays, the spirit of giving. A gift was given to us, and we should in turn give—to bring a little light into every child’s life, to give a little love and laughter and hope to those who don’t have it.

That’s really what Christmas is all about and what this celebration, and the work of the Children’s National Medical Center, has been about. They’ve been at it for 130 years. In healing children, they remind us that every one of our children is a miracle.

As we rejoice in their lives, let’s also take time tonight, when we look at the Navy Glee Club, to remember our men and women in uniform and all those around the world working for peace who will not be home this Christmas.

Finally, let me just thank all of you and the American people for giving Hillary, Chelsea, and me this incredible opportunity to share this joyous season and seven previous ones with you in the White House.

Thank you. God bless you. Merry Christmas.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:27 p.m. at the National Building Museum. In his remarks, he referred to Gerald M. Levin, chairman and chief executive officer, Time Warner, Inc.; George Stevens, Jr., executive producer, and Michael Stevens, producer, "Christmas in Washington;" actress Sarah Michelle Gellar, master of ceremonies; musicians Billy Gilman, Brian McKnight, Jessica Simpson, Marc Anthony, and Chuck Berry. "Christmas in Washington" was videotaped for broadcast at 8 p.m. on December 17.

Interview With Forrest Sawyer for the Discovery Channel

December 6, 2000

Mr. Sawyer. Good evening, Mr. President.

The President. Good evening.

Mr. Sawyer. Thank you for talking to us.

The President. Glad to do it.

Mars

Mr. Sawyer. Let us talk about Mars. It is much in the news right now, some new discoveries on Mars that suggest there is at least a real possibility that this was once, some good long time ago, a land of lakes. That puts it on the radar screen.

The President. Yes. All along, our people have thought there was some chance, based on other research that had been done, that there might have been some kind of life on Mars, at least for the last couple of years we've had some evidence of it.

Now, these new pictures that we've seen indicate that there might have been water there, quite near the surface, and much more recently than had previously been thought. So I think it's important that we continue our exploration, that we continue to take photographs, and that we keep working until we can set a vehicle down and get some things off the surface of Mars and bring it back home so we can take a look at it.

We had a couple of difficult missions there, but we learned some things from them. NASA was very forthright, and they came up with a new plan, and I think we should keep going at it.

Mr. Sawyer. The question is how you should keep going at it. As you mentioned, there had been a couple of losses, and that's been a hard public relations blow to get by. This new information at least raises what's going on in Mars, to the public's attention, a little higher. Do you continue more aggressively than you had before?

The President. Well, I think the NASA people will be the best judge of that, but they are and they should be committed to Mars exploration. They should continue to do more, I think, with the photographs. We should get as much information as we can from observation, in the greatest detail we can. And I think they should keep working on trying to get a vehicle to land on Mars that will be able to not only give us more immediate photographs but actually, physically get materials off the surface of Mars that we could then return to Earth. I think they should keep working on it.

Priorities for the Space Program

Mr. Sawyer. Look out a little further with me. You recall President Kennedy saying there should be a concerted effort to put a man on the Moon. Should there be a concerted effort to go that much greater distance and put humans—men and/or women—on Mars?

The President. I think it's just a question of when, not if. I think that now that we are committed to space exploration in a continuing way, now that we've got the space station up and the people there are working, and they're there 3 years ahead of the original schedule—I'm very proud of them—I think that what we should do from now on is to figure out how much money we can devote to this and what our most immediate priorities are.

The space station, I think, is going to prove to be an immense benefit to the American people and, indeed, to all the people of the world, because of the research that will go on there and what we'll find out. And so I think it's just a question of kind of sorting

out the priorities, and the people who will come here after me in the White House and the space people and, of course, the interested Members of Congress will have to make those judgments.

Possibility of Life in Space

Mr. Sawyer. Do you think there is life out there?

The President. I don't know. But I think the—what we know from Mars is that the conditions of life may well have, for some sort of biological life, may well have obtained on Mars at some point in the past.

Now, we know also that our solar system is just a very tiny part of this universe, and that there are literally billions of other bodies out there. And we're only now really learning about how many they are, where they are, how far away they are. And we can't know for sure what the conditions are on those bodies. We just can't know yet, but I think that we will continue to learn. And I hope we will continue to learn.

International Space Station

Mr. Sawyer. The International Space Station is not without controversy, and you have pushed hard for it. It is expensive. It is challenging. It is, in good measure, risky. Why do this project in this way?

The President. Well, first of all, it is expensive. It will cost us about \$40 billion over about 10 years. That includes the cost to put it up, our part of the cost, and then to maintain our part of it over 10 or 15 years. But I think it's important for several reasons.

First of all, it is a global consortium. There are 16 nations involved in it, each of them making some special contributions. The Russians, for example have—because they had the *Mir* station and we conducted some joint missions to *Mir*, I think nine of them over the last 2 years and 3 months—have made it possible for us to expand the size of the station and the number of people we can have there.

I think that it's important because we can do a lot of basic research there in biology. We can see without the pull of gravity what happens with tissues, with protein growth. We've got a whole lot of things that we might

be able to find out there that will help us in the biological sciences.

Secondly, I think we'll learn a lot about material science without gravity, how can you put different kinds of metals together and things like that. And the revolution in material science here on Earth is a very important part of America's productivity growth. It's just like our revolutions in energy that are going on now, our revolution in information technology. Advances we've made in material sciences are very important to our long-term productivity and our ability to live in harmony with the environment here.

Then there are a lot of basic physics things we're going to find out there. So I think the whole range of scientific experiments that we'll discover will be enormous.

Now, there are a lot of corollary benefits, too. When countries are working together, they're less likely to be fighting. And we've been able to keep literally hundreds of Russian scientists and engineers occupied who otherwise would have been targets of rogue states to help them produce nuclear or biological or chemical weapons or missiles or do some other mischief-making thing. So I think that's been a positive side effect.

But I believe in the potential of the space station, and I think that over the years we will come almost to take for granted a breathtaking array of discoveries, what they'll be beaming back to us.

Mr. Sawyer. The critics are saying, Mr. President, we've been doing work in weightless conditions for 20 years. This is not new. And when you take 16 nations, each one of them contributing a piece, this is enormously complicated; it makes it much more expensive; and frankly, for the astronauts, it can make it more risky.

The President. First of all, we're ahead of schedule. We're doing well up there, and we have never been able to keep people up, essentially, continuously. There were limits to our previous manned missions in outer space and the period of time in which weightlessness was available to them.

You're going to have now, 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, 52 weeks a year, for more than a decade, to see this work done and develop. And I believe in its potential. The scientists who believe in it sold me a long

time ago, and I've never wavered in my belief that it's a good investment, and it'll pay back many times over what we're doing.

Mr. Sawyer. I think you said \$40 billion for the United States part.

The President. But over 15 years, total.

Mr. Sawyer. Correct. And what the critics say, not the right calculations. In fact, all you have to do is look at the Russians right now, and they're not contributing what they were expected to contribute at all. And that could happen with the other nations, as well.

The President. It could, but I don't expect it will. What I think about the Russians is that as their economy comes back—and it's important to realize they went through a terrible, terrible economic crisis at the same time oil was less than half, almost a third of the price it is now—so I think as their economy comes back and they become more financially stable, I don't have any doubt that they'll pay their part.

Mr. Sawyer. Do you have any question in your mind about sharing technology with a nation that is certainly more politically unstable than we would like—and that includes sharing missile technology?

The President. Well, we try to have some restraints on that. But I think, on balance, the technology we're sharing up there, the benefits of it, the benefits of cooperation, the sense of the—what we get by working together and how much greater it is than what we get from being in competition with one another, I think makes it a good gamble. It's a good risk.

Future of the Space Program

Mr. Sawyer. Look down the road. What do you see the space program transforming to?

The President. Well, I think we will focus—I think we've already talked about it. I think there will be more and more focus on how we can do specific things with enormous potential in the space station. And I think there will be a lot of interest in Mars, in terms of exploration. And then with our powerful telescopes, I think there will be more and more emphasis on what's out there beyond the solar system.

Mr. Sawyer. And to those who say, AIDS, famine, the countless problems that array

themselves before us right here on Earth, those billions of dollars are so precious to those problems—you say?

The President. I say, first, we should address those things. But the United States has tripled the money we're putting into international AIDS program; we pioneered for the last 2 years the largest international debt relief initiative in history. It's one of the finest achievements of this Congress that they embraced in a bipartisan fashion the legislation that I presented them on debt relief. We should continue to move ahead with those things.

But you almost take some of your wealth to invest toward tomorrow, the long-term tomorrow. And that's what our investment in space is. It's the investment in the long term. We have to know more about the universe, and we have to know more about what space conditions, particularly, the space station, can do to help us with our environment here at home, to help us deal with diseases here at home, to help us grow our economy here at home.

I believe this is an investment that has a return. And I feel the same way about other scientific investments. We've increased investment in basic science. You can argue that, well, it has a long-term payout; maybe we should spend something else on that. I just don't agree with that. I think you have to—societies have to take some of their treasure and invest it toward the long run. And that's how I view this.

Wilderness and Wildlife Preservation

Mr. Sawyer. Let's come back down to home, then. Earlier this week you set aside thousands of square miles of coral reefs off Hawaii, to be protected in perpetuity. And your administration is not yet over. Now, if my calculations are right, since 1996, you have 13 times established national wildlife protection areas. And you're considering some more?

The President. Yes, we have set aside more land, through legislation—we've established three national parks in California, the Mojave Desert Park. We saved Yellowstone from gold mining and saved a lot of the old-

growth forests, the redwood forest in California, and we're recovering the Florida Everglades over a multi-year period. We've basically protected more land in this administration in the United States than any administration since Theodore Roosevelt, about a hundred years ago.

So I think that's important. And the coral reefs are important because what's happening to the oceans as a result of global warming and local environmental degradation is deeply troubling, long-term, for everybody in the United States and everybody on the planet. Twenty-five percent of the coral reefs have been lost—are now dead. Over the next several decades, we'll lose another 25 percent of them within 20 to 25 years unless we do something about it. So that's why we moved there.

We did not end all fishing. We did not end all recreation. Indeed, we're preserving for the natives, the Hawaiian natives who live in that area and for those who come as tourists—leave live, vibrant coral reefs. But we had to protect them. And others will have to do the same thing.

We've got big challenges to the Great Barrier Reefs in Australia, big challenges to the magnificent reefs off the coast of Belize, and these are very important sources of biodiversity. So I'm glad we did it.

I'm looking at—I've asked the Secretary of the Interior, Bruce Babbitt, to follow the same process we followed the whole time we've been here, to look at other potential areas for protection, make some recommendations to me, and we'll take one more look before I go to see if there's anything else I should do.

Mr. Sawyer. One of those areas he has just visited is a wide swath of the Sonoran Desert in Arizona—

The President. Yes.

Mr. Sawyer. —which happens to be near a military bombing range.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Sawyer. Will you set that aside for protection?

The President. Well, I'm looking for a recommendation from Bruce on that, but I think there is a lot of support out there for that, across the board, members of both political parties and all the different cultures

that make up Arizona. And we're trying to work through that, and there are some very compelling environmental arguments there. And when he gives me his recommendation, I'll make a decision. But we're both very interested in that, and of course, he's from Arizona, so he knows a lot about it.

Mr. Sawyer. The military wants its flying rights to continue, and you would approve that?

The President. We're working on that. I haven't made a decision yet. We've got to work through all that.

Mr. Sawyer. You know that a lot of folks are talking about the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Sawyer. Some suggest that you could, by executive fiat, establish it as a protected site from oil drilling. Can that be done?

The President. It is. As a national wildlife refuge right now, oil drilling is not legal there. There are some people who believe if I were to make it a national monument, as I have created national monuments, for example, and a million acres around the Grand Canyon to protect the watershed area there, that it would have extra protection.

Now, as a legal matter, I don't believe that's right. That is, there is nothing to prevent Congress from specifically authorizing drilling either in a national wildlife refuge or in an arctic national monument. That is, I don't think—sometimes I don't think people understand that in order to have drilling there, I believe legislation is required, regardless.

So there may be some other reason to establish some part of the National Wildlife Refuge as a national monument, because it would have other beneficial impacts during the time a monument existed. And of course, it depends in part on what happens in the ultimate resolution of this election, because one of the candidates, Vice President Gore, is against drilling; the other, Governor Bush, is for drilling.

But he would still have to get some legislative acquiescence or approval of drilling even if it's a national wildlife refuge, just like it is now.

Mr. Sawyer. Will you consider making the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge a national monument?

The President. I have not made a decision on that, but I will just say I do not believe that the drilling issue should be the determinative factor, based on the research I've seen so far. I don't think it has—in other words, I don't think that it would make it any harder to pass an act of Congress. And I think that as the land is now, it would still require an act of Congress.

So I'm not sure that that should be the determinative factor. There may be other reasons to do it, and as I said, I'm going to talk to Secretary Babbitt, and we'll look at what the arguments are.

Mr. Sawyer. May I ask how many other areas you are considering?

The President. I think there are three or four or five that we've been asked to consider by people around America or things that we've been interested in. We always like to get out and talk to the local people in the communities and see what the arguments are, pro and con.

Mr. Sawyer. Which one stands highest on your radar screen?

The President. I don't want to talk about it until I can give the recommendation. No point in stirring everybody up unless we're going to do it.

Technology in the Future

Mr. Sawyer. High tech underpins all of this. And we've been going through a bit of a resettling period here. It's been a tough, tough time.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Sawyer. Look out. How do you see that happening?

The President. Well, I think the future is still quite bright. I know that a lot of the dot-com companies have been up and down, just like biotech companies go up and down. But that shouldn't be surprising, because a lot of these companies don't make money in themselves, that they really have value, inherent value for what they can do and how they might someday add to some other enterprise. So that shouldn't surprise people.

But I think that the continued explosion in information technology and in bio-

technology is inevitable. I do believe that the vagaries in the market should strengthen the resolve of Members in Congress of both parties who care about science and technology to keep up the basic research budget.

For example, one of the things I have fought very hard for is a lot of investment into nanotechnology, or super, super micro-technology, because, among other things, it will enable us to have computer capacity the size of a supercomputer some day on something the size of a teardrop.

I have a piece of nanotechnology in my office. It's a little outline of me playing the saxophone that has almost 300,000 elements in it, and it's very tiny. So I think that—what does this mean to real people? It means that if you take nanotechnology and you merge within it the sequencing of the human genome and the ability to identify defective or troubled genes, what you're going to have before long, I think, is the ability to identify cancers when they're just several cells in the making, which—and if you could do that and you develop the right kind of preventive screening, you can make virtually 100 percent of cancers 100 percent curable.

Mr. Sawyer. For any of these things to be accomplished, Government has to function and function well.

The President. Yes.

Resolution of the 2000 Presidential Election

Mr. Sawyer. And we are living in an extraordinary time. As you look forward, whoever becomes President, is that President running the risk of not being considered legitimately the President of the United States?

The President. Well, I think—first of all, it's a difficult question to answer, because it depends on how this plays out. If the Vice President is elected, there will always be some Republicans who don't believe he should have been. If Governor Bush is elected, there will always be some Democrats who believe that Al Gore not only won the popular vote in the country but also had more people in Florida who wanted to vote for him, and perhaps more who did, which is—one good argument for counting all the so-called undercounted ballots and all the

punchcard counties is trying to help resolve that.

But once we actually get a determinative decision, that if it is in accord with our Constitution—and the Constitution, you know, our Founders foresaw close elections and tough fights, and they have prescribed all kinds of ways to deal with it. Back in 1800, we had 36 ballots in the House of Representatives before we resolved it. And it produced Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferson turned out to be successful because he was mindful of how divided the country was. He served two terms. He retired in honor. A member of his party succeeded him, served two terms; a member of his party succeeded him and served two more terms.

So then, in 1876—nobody ever really quite felt good about it—the President who won didn't run for reelection, and then everything was sort of up in the air for a while. So I think that you cannot predict how this is going to come out. I think it depends a lot on whether the constitutional system is followed, the will of the people is determined, and then it depends on how people behave once they get in office.

Prospects for the 107th Congress

Mr. Sawyer. I think what a lot of people are worrying is that it's very difficult to determine what the will of the people is when the country appears to be divided right down the middle and, in fact, Congress is divided right down the middle.

The President. That's right.

Mr. Sawyer. And we have the Democrats on one side saying, "What we really want when we have a 50-50 split in a Senate is cochairmen, and we want an equal split of everything." And the Republicans are saying, "Not on your life." Now, that looks to me to be a recipe for gridlock.

The President. Well, it depends. You know, I'm leaving the budget in pretty good shape, and they're going to ride up the surplus a little bit, although they should be cautious about that, because, again, these surplus numbers are 10-year numbers, and I always believe in taking them with a grain of salt.

Our success here these last 8 years has been based in no small measure on being

conservative on economic forecasts and trying to make sure we had the numbers right. And I personally believe that America is best served by continuing to pay the debt down. I know it's not as appealing as having a bigger tax cut now or having the money go to—all to some spending program or whatever. But I think that if you keep paying that debt down, you're going to keep interest rates lower than they otherwise would be, and that's money in everybody's pocket—business loans, car loans, home mortgages, college loans, credit card payments—and it keeps the economy stronger.

But still, even if they do that, they'll still have money for a tax cut; they'll have money to invest in education; they'll have circumstances that will argue for cooperation rather than conflict after the election.

Mr. Sawyer. Your worst critics admire your political acumen. When you look at what's happening in Congress right now and the pushing and shoving that's going on, where is the resolution? How do you resolve the Democrats saying, "I want cochairmen" and the Republicans saying, "It's not going to happen"?

The President. Well, of course, if all the Republicans vote together, they can stop it, because they'll have—if the Vice President is elected President, then Senator Lieberman leaves the Senate and his Republican Governor appoints a Republican Senator, and they have a 51-49 lead. And then it will be a more normal circumstance. If Governor Bush is elected, and then all the Republicans vote with him, with Vice President Cheney, they could vote 51-50 for whatever system they wanted.

But since in the Senate it only takes 41 votes to stop anything except the budget, that's a difficult sell. Now, Senator McCain said today that he thought there ought to be sharing. And I think—all I can tell you is, I think the country would like it. The country would like to see that one House of the Congress shared the resources, even Steven, and shared the responsibilities. Somebody could chair a hearing today; somebody else could chair it tomorrow, because as a practical matter, to pass any of these bills, they're going to have to have broad bipartisan cooperation anyway.

And I think that it—we know that there is kind of a dynamic center in America that has the support of two-thirds of the American people, and if they could reach out for that in the Senate, it might be quite exciting.

Now, it's also going to be interesting in the House. The House is more closely divided. Now, there will only be, depending on—I think there are one or two recounts still going on in the House, so there will be, in effect, a three- or four-vote difference in the House—margin. And they need to decide whether that's going to change their rules any, because individual House Members or even our whole caucus in the minority, no matter how narrow the minority, very often cannot affect a rule. So in the House, debate tends to be cut off much more. So they're going to have to think, should they change the procedures in the House as well, at least—not necessarily to have cochairmen, because they do have a narrow majority in the Republican Party, but at least to have the opportunity for more options to be considered.

It's going to be quite challenging. But I wouldn't assume it's going to be bad because they do have more money. They have a strong economy, and if they keep paying the debt down, it will keep going for some time to come, I think.

Election Reform

Mr. Sawyer. Let's look at what we've learned from this extraordinary period. Should we now consider voting reform, looking at these machines, looking at the vote count?

The President. Oh, absolutely. Absolutely. For one thing, even—I was impressed—I didn't know very much—I'm probably like most Americans; I didn't know very much about some of this beforehand. When I voted absentee most of the time I was here in the White House, from Arkansas, instead of a punchcard system, we had a system with an arrow by every choice, and you had to take a pencil and fill in the arrow. There was a gap in the arrow, and you had to fill it in. So it was much less subject to misinterpretation. I didn't know what a butterfly ballot was until this happened.

And I think—the question I think is, can we find a way to both simplify the ballot but also feel good about the return? For example, in northern California this year, in a county there was an experimental computerized voting system, where you punched on a screen the person you were for, and it would say, “You have voted for Ralph Nader. If that's correct and that's what you meant to do, punch 1,” and you punched 1, so it had a guarantee. None of these 3,400 predominantly Jewish voters that now think they voted for Buchanan—or did vote for Buchanan, who apparently meant to vote for Vice President Gore—you couldn't have that happen there.

The only question I would have with that is, every computer from time to time goes down, so you wouldn't have any error in the voting there like you did with the 19,500 double-punched ballots in Palm Beach County or the 10,000 African-Americans who apparently were told they had to vote on two pages, and then they wind up voting for some of these minor Presidential party candidates they never even heard of and didn't know what they were doing, so that's 10,000 more votes out the window that were lost. You could probably fix that with electronic voting.

Then the question would be, what are your assurances that the count won't be lost if the computer goes down? In other words, there may not be any perfect system, but it seems to me that—I think particularly troubling to people is the evidence that's come out that these punchcard systems where there was most of the trouble had a plastic coating underneath, rather than the original sort of spongelike design which would have made it much easier to pierce all the way through—that they tended to be in the counties that had lower per capita income voters, and therefore, the people that maybe needed to vote the most, that we've always tried to bring into the political system, lost their votes because of a flaw in the system. That's tragic, and we can't let it happen again.

It's interesting. But the only thing that bothers me about the northern California system is—I think you can probably design it, but to have the confidence in the voters—because every system has to be subject to a recount at some point if it's a close enough

election. Even a computerized system has got to be very hard—like in Canada—of course, they only have 30 million people in Canada, but in Canada, interestingly enough, they all still vote with paper ballots, and they have like 100,000 counters, so they count all the ballots within an hour of the polling close, even though they're all paper ballots.

Chretien was just here. He played golf with me over the weekend. And I said, "Don't you all vote with paper ballots?" He said, "Yes." And I said, "How did you count them all?" He said, "We have 100,000 counters." He says, "Every community has equal—all the parties are represented, and then there's sort of a judicial overseer type. And we all sit there and look; everybody can watch everybody else; and you just count the ballots right away." It's interesting.

Mr. Sawyer. You are an advocate of high-tech. You are an advocate of applying science to technology and applying that to our lives. Should that not also be applied to the way that we choose our representatives?

The President. Yes, I think anything that increases the likelihood that a legal voter will have his or her vote counted in the appropriate way should be done. Anything that increases the likelihood that every legal voter will actually fully understand the ballot and not make the wrong choice by accident should be done. And as I said, this new system that we see, that was used in northern California, which is rather like the systems that some companies have—if you order things over the Internet now, some of them have not one but two different checks, where you have to say not once, but twice: Yes, this is what I ordered; this is what it cost; this is what I know. If you can simplify the voting that way, that would be good.

The only question I have is, what do you do if the computer goes down, and how do you know for sure that no votes are lost, so that there has to be a recount, you know that the tabulation is accurate, because that's also very important? You're never going to have a time in America where we're never evenly divided over something. So anyone who runs for office ought to have access to some sort of legitimate recount if it's very tight or if it's a dead-even vote. But I think that, surely, a lot can be done to make sure that no one

ever goes into the polling place in a national election with ballots as confusing and as subject to error as we've seen here. I think that the system has got to be cleaned up.

You just think how you'd feel if you were one of the people who had lost his or her vote. We have a lot of friends with kinfolks down in Florida who think they may be some of the people whose votes were wrongly cast. And they are sick—sick, sick. So you don't want that to ever happen again.

Science and Technology Accomplishments

Mr. Sawyer. Mr. President, we're talking about science and technology. And your administration is coming to a close. In years to come, looking back, how would you like the administration to be remembered in this area?

The President. First, I would like to be remembered for a serious commitment to pushing America forward and keeping us on the forefront of science and technology in two or three areas. We reorganized and revitalized the space program, kept it alive, and kept it moving. We had a very serious attempt to deal with the climate change in the development of alternative energy sources and conservation. We finished the sequencing of the human genome and began to work on its practical implications. We worked on—that's what the whole nanotechnology issue and all that. And fourthly, that we worked on information technology and tried to make sure it was democratic—small "d"—with the Telecommunications Act, the E-rate, hooking the schools up to the Internet, so that—and finally, that we dealt with the scientific and technological implications of national security—biological warfare, chemical warfare, cyberterrorism—that we prepared America for those things.

I think that will be our legacy in this area.

Mr. Sawyer. Mr. President, thank you for talking to us.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was taped at 3:30 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House for later broadcast, and the transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 11. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime

Minister Jean Chretien of Canada; and Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush and Vice Presidential candidate Dick Cheney. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks on the Childhood Immunization Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters

December 11, 2000

The President. Thank you very much. And let me say, I took a lot of pride, just listening to Mrs. Carter speak here. She seemed right at home.

When Hillary and I moved into the Arkansas Governor's mansion in 1979, Betty Bumpers began her lifelong campaign to wear me out about immunizations. [*Laughter*] And I reminded Rosalynn that it was in 1979 or 1980 that we actually did an immunization event in the backyard of the Arkansas Governor's mansion. I can't remember whether it was '79 or '80 now, but it was, anyway, a year or 2 ago.

So I can't thank these two women enough for what they have done. And I was marveling, when Mrs. Carter was going through all those issues, at just how well she knows and understands this issue. So I'm very grateful to both of them, because we wouldn't be here today if it weren't for them.

I also want to thank Secretary Shalala and Secretary Glickman and, in her absence, Hillary. They have worked very hard on this for the last 8 years, and we have made some remarkable progress.

I want to recognize also Dr. Walter Ornstein of the CDC and Shirley Watkins of the Department of Agriculture, who will be very active in the steps that I'm going to announce today.

I think it's worth noting that we're meeting in the Roosevelt Room, which was named for our two Presidents and Eleanor Roosevelt. And Franklin Roosevelt spent almost half his life in a wheelchair as a result of polio. And I was part of the first generation of Americans to be immunized against polio.

And I remember, as a child, seeing other children in iron lungs. And I remember what an enormous elation it was for me and my classmates when we first got our polio vac-

cines, to think that that's one thing we didn't have to worry about anymore. It's hard for people now who weren't alive then and weren't part of it to even imagine what that meant to a whole generation of children. But it was profoundly important.

We now know that vaccines save lives and agony. They also save money. They're a good investment. And we have done what we could, over the last 8 years, to make sure that our children get the best shot in life by getting their shots. And we have, as Rosalynn said, made progress.

In 1993 almost two out of five children under the age of three had not been fully vaccinated. And Secretary Shalala and Hillary and the rest of our team went to work with the Childhood Immunization Initiative to improve immunization services, make the vaccines safer and more affordable, and increase the immunization rates. We enacted the Vaccines for Children program to provide free vaccines to uninsured and underinsured children. And thanks to the work of people in this room and people like you all across America, these rates, as Mrs. Carter said, are at an all-time high. And the incidence of diseases such as measles, mumps, and rubella are at an all-time low.

In recent years, we've been able to say that for the first time in our Nation's history, 90 percent of our children have been immunized against serious childhood diseases. And just as important, vaccine levels are almost the same for preschool kids across racial and ethnic lines. So our children are safer and healthier.

But as has already been said today, there is still a lot to do. At least a million infants and toddlers are not fully immunized. Too many children continue to fall victim to diseases that a simple immunization could have prevented. Low-income children are far less likely to be immunized. In some urban areas, for example, immunization rates are 20 percent below the national average.

In Houston, just 63 percent of low-income kids are vaccinated. In Detroit and Newark, it's 66 percent. And we know areas with below-average immunization rates are at greater risk of potentially deadly outbreaks, such as what we saw with the measles epidemic in the early eighties—the late eighties.

So today we are here to announce three new steps that we hope will build on the record and meet the outstanding challenges.

First, we have to go where the children are, as Mrs. Carter said. Over 45 percent of infants and toddlers nationwide are being served by the Women, Infants, and Children program. It's the single largest point of access to health care for low-income preschool children, who are at highest risk of low vaccination coverage. The immunization rates for children in WIC in some cases is 20 percent lower than the rates for other children. So WIC is clearly the place to start on the outstanding challenge.

Today I am directing WIC to conduct an immunization assessment of every child participating in the program, all 5 million of them. Each time a child comes in, their immunization status will be evaluated. Children who are behind schedule or who don't have records will be referred to a local health care provider. I am asking the CDC to provide WIC's staff with the information they need to conduct immunization assessments accurately and efficiently. We know this will work. WIC centers that have experimented with this type of approach have seen vaccination coverage increase by up to 40 percent in just one year.

Second, I am directing Secretary Shalala and Secretary Glickman to develop a national strategic plan to further improve immunization for children at risk—so they'll have something to do in this last 40 days. [*Laughter*] This would include steps to utilize new technology, share best practices, and examine how we can enlist other Federal programs serving children in the effort to improve immunization rates.

But it isn't a job just for Government alone. We need to work with other caring organizations to succeed. So third and finally, I'm announcing that the American Academy of Pediatrics is launching a new campaign to urge all 55,000 of its members to remind WIC-eligible parents to bring their immunization records with them when they visit WIC sites. I want to thank the members of the AAP for their initiative as well. We need to keep working until every child in every community is safe from vaccine-preventable disease.

Dr. Jonas Salk, the father of the polio vaccine, once said, "The greatest reward for doing is the opportunity to do more." We've done a lot together, and we have more to do. Thank you very much.

Supreme Court

Q. President Clinton, any comment on the Supreme Court today and what they might do?

The President. No, I think we ought to just wait and see what they do. One way or the other, it will be an historic decision that we'll live with forever.

Peace Process in Northern Ireland

Q. Mr. President, on Northern Ireland, you're going to be traveling to Britain and Ireland later this evening. Do you have any particular message for Sinn Fein on the issue of IRA disarmament?

The President. Well, I think I'll save my words for when I get to Ireland. But let me just observe what the state of play is here. We've had a peace now for a couple of years, overwhelmingly endorsed by the people of Northern Ireland, the people of the Irish Republic, the majority of both communities in Ireland. We've had a functioning government where people worked together across lines and did things that amazed one another in education and other areas.

No one wants to go back to the way it was. But there are differences about the implementation of the new police force and how that—and also about the schedule and method of putting the arms beyond use. And those are the two things that could still threaten the progress that we're making. And if there's something I can do before I leave to make one more shot to resolve this, I will do it.

The main thing is, the people there are doing well. The Irish Republic has the highest growth rate, economic growth rate, in Europe now, and things are happening that were unimaginable just a few years ago. So I don't believe the people will let it slip back.

We have just got to get over—ironically, both issues, though they are related to one another, independently reflect kind of the lingering demons of the past, and we just have to get over there and try to purge a

few more. And I hope I can make a contribution.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:54 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to former First Lady Rosalynn Carter; Betty Bumpers, wife of former Senator Dale Bumpers; and Dr. Walter A. Ornstein, Director, National Immunization Program, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

**Memorandum on Improving
Immunization Rates for
Children at Risk**

December 11, 2000

*Memorandum for the Secretary of
Agriculture, the Secretary of Health and
Human Services*

*Subject: Improving Immunization Rates for
Children at Risk*

In 1992, less than 55 percent of children under the age of 3 nationwide had received the full course of vaccinations. This dangerously low level of childhood immunizations led me to launch, on April 12, 1993, the Childhood Immunization Initiative, which helped make vaccines affordable for families, eliminated barriers preventing children from being immunized by their primary care provider, and improved immunization outreach. As a result, childhood immunization rates have reached all-time highs, with 90 percent or more of America's toddlers receiving the most critical vaccines by age 2. Vaccination levels are nearly the same for preschool children of all racial and ethnic groups, narrowing a gap estimated to be as wide as 26 percentage points a generation ago.

Despite these impressive gains, immunization levels in many parts of the country are still too low. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, low-income children are less likely to be immunized than their counterparts. In fact, immunization rates in certain inner-city areas are as low as 65 percent, placing them at high risk for potentially deadly diseases such as diphtheria, pertussis, poliomyelitis, measles, mumps, and rubella. These diseases are asso-

ciated with birth defects, paralysis, brain damage, hearing loss, and liver cancer. In addition, children who are not fully immunized are proven to be at increased risk for other preventable conditions, such as anemia and lead toxicity. Clearly, more needs to be done.

Today, I am directing you to focus your efforts to increase immunization levels among children at risk in a place where we clearly can find them: the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). This program, which serves 45 percent of infants nationwide and more than 5 million children under the age of 5, is the single largest point of access to health services for low-income preschool children who are at the highest risk for low vaccination coverage. State data indicates that in 41 States, the immunization rates for children enrolled in WIC are lower than the rates for other children in their age group—in some cases, by as much as 20 percent.

Therefore, I hereby direct you to take the following actions, in a manner consistent with the mission of your agencies:

- (a) Include a standardized procedure as part of the WIC certification process to evaluate the immunization status of every child applying for WIC services using a documented immunization history. Children who are determined to be behind schedule on their immunizations or who do not have their immunization records should be referred to a local health care provider as appropriate;
- (b) Develop user-friendly immunization materials designed to ensure that information on appropriate immunization schedules is easily accessible and understandable for WIC staff conducting nutritional risk assessments. WIC staff should be trained to use these materials by State and local public health authorities;
- (c) Develop a national strategic plan, within 60 days, to improve the immunization rates of children at risk. In developing the plan, the Departments of Agriculture and Health and Human Services should consult with representatives from the Office of

Management and Budget to ensure consideration for the FY 2002 budget; include input from provider, health care consumer, and nutrition communities, and develop a blueprint for action to:

1. expand the availability of automated systems or computer software to provide WIC clinics with information on childhood immunization schedules, with the eventual goal of providing this service in every WIC clinic nationwide, to provide more accurate and cost-effective immunization assessment, referral, and follow-up, in a manner that addresses cost-sharing concerns by both agencies;
2. disseminate a range of best practices for increasing immunization rates for low-income children to WIC State and local agencies, as well as immunization programs nationwide, including developing efficient and effective ways to educate WIC staff about the importance of immunization, appropriate immunization schedules, and the information necessary to make a meaningful referral;
3. foster partnerships (through written guides and/or technical assistance) between WIC offices and health care providers/advocates who can assist with immunization referrals and conduct appropriate follow-up with families;
4. include information on the importance of immunizations and appropriate immunization schedules in standard WIC efforts to educate families about breastfeeding, anemia, lead poisoning, and other health-related topics; and
5. evaluate whether other Federal programs serving children should require a standard question on immunizations as part of their enrollment process, and if deemed appropriate, develop a plan for implementing that requirement.

The actions I am directing you to take today, and any further actions developed as a result of interagency collaboration or public-private partnerships, should not create

barriers to WIC participation. Immunization outreach and assessment procedures should never be used as a condition of eligibility for WIC services or nutritional assistance. Rather, activities to improve immunization rates for children participating in WIC should be complementary, aggressive, and consistent with my Administration's overall initiative to increase immunization rates for children nationwide.

William J. Clinton

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree

December 11, 2000

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. First, I'd like to thank Peter Nostrand and all the people who work on the Pageant of Peace every year. They give us a wonderful night, and I think we ought to give them all a big hand. Thank you very much. [*Applause*]

I'd love to thank these people who have come out in the cold to perform for us: our friend Kathy Mattea; Charlotte Church; Billy Gilman; the cast of "Fosse;" the West Tennessee Youth Chorus; Al "Santa Claus" Roker. [*Laughter*]

I also want to thank Anastasia Wroblewski and Kwami Dennis, our Camp Fire Boy and Camp Fire Girl. They did a great job up here. It's not so easy to remember those speeches. [*Laughter*] I thought they were terrific.

And I'd like to thank Thomas Kinkadee for his beautiful portrait that's on the cover of our program, and the United States Navy Band. Thank you very much.

On Christmas Eve more than 75 years ago, President Calvin Coolidge lit the first National Christmas Tree. He later said, "Christmas is not a time or a season but a state of mind, to cherish peace and goodwill, to be plenteous in mercy."

Every President since President Coolidge has been part of that tradition, gathering around the Colorado spruce to rejoice in the spirit of Christmas and to celebrate a new season of peace and good will.

Hillary, Chelsea and I always look forward to celebrating the Pageant of Peace with you, and the many traditions of the holiday season. Tonight, as we enjoy our last Christmas

season in the White House and the last time I'll have a chance to be here at the lighting of the Christmas tree, we are profoundly grateful for the gift you and all the American people have given us, the privilege to serve these last 8 years, to live in this marvelous old house, and to participate in wonderful ceremonies like this.

For Americans of many faiths, this is a season of renewal, of light returned from darkness, despair transformed to hope, a time to reflect on our lives, rejoice in our blessings, and give thanks. Tonight, on this first Christmas of the new millennium, we celebrate an America blessed with unprecedented peace and prosperity and a nation that through more than 220 years and even the toughest times has held together by the enduring values enshrined in our Constitution.

This is a time for us to reflect, too, on that good fortune and a time to rededicate ourselves to the lessons of love and reconciliation taught by a child born in Bethlehem 2000 years ago. As we gather to decorate our trees and light our menorahs, let us remember the true meaning of the holidays by taking some time to give to those who need it most. And let us be thankful for the sacrifices of all those who serve us, especially those who serve us in the military who won't be home this year for Christmas.

Let me say that when I leave you tonight, I'm going to Northern Ireland, to a small island where people were born that eventually came to America and gave us over 40 million of our citizens; a place where Saint Patrick brought the spirit of Christmas almost 1,500 years ago. I hope that we can finish the business of peace there and help, again, America to give a gift to the rest of the world.

To all of you, again I say, this has been a humbling and wondrous gift. We thank you, all of us in our family, for the chance to serve yours. God bless you; merry Christmas, and let's light the tree.

Thank you very much. Ready, set, go!

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to musicians Kathy Mattea, Charlotte Church, and Billy Gilman; television weatherman Al Roker, master of ceremonies, and Peter Nostrand, chairman,

Christmas Pageant of Peace; and artist Thomas Kinkade.

Statement on the Termination of Irish Deportation Proceedings

December 11, 2000

I strongly support the Attorney General's decision, at the request of the Secretary of State, to take action to terminate deportation proceedings against six individuals and to refrain from initiating proceedings against three others. All nine individuals had served sentences in the United Kingdom for activity connected with the IRA but are physically present in the United States. While in no way approving or condoning their past criminal acts, I believe that removing the threat of deportation for these individuals will contribute to the peace process in Northern Ireland. The Attorney General's decision is consistent with steps taken by the British Government under the Good Friday accord to release prisoners in Northern Ireland and reintegrate them into normal society as part of a process of reconciliation. Her decision will also reinforce efforts by the Governments and the parties in Northern Ireland to implement in full all aspects of the Good Friday accord.

Statement on Signing the Water Resources Development Act of 2000

December 11, 2000

Today I have signed into law S. 2796, the "Water Resources Development Act of 2000," a multibillion dollar omnibus bill to authorize water projects and programs of the United States Army Corps of Engineers.

I am very pleased that this bill authorizes the Administration's plan to restore an unprecedented natural resource—America's Everglades. Thanks to an historic partnership among Federal, State, tribal, and local leaders, we can begin in earnest an over 30-year journey to complete the largest and most ambitious ecosystem restoration project in the world.

Since the beginning of our first term, the Vice President and I have made Everglades restoration a priority. We have provided the

necessary resources to Federal agencies and made timely completion of the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan an essential part of our environmental agenda. Through the leadership of the Army Corps of Engineers and the support of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of the Interior, and other Federal agencies, the State of Florida, and a diverse group of stakeholders, the authorized plan provides a scientifically sound blueprint to guide Everglades restoration. The legislation provides assurances that water developed under the Plan will be available for the restoration of the natural systems. We must all now make implementation of this Plan a priority if we are to save this threatened resource and leave an Everglades legacy that will make future generations proud of their Government. By acting now, we can reverse the damage of the past and rescue this unique and remarkable landscape.

I am pleased that S. 2796 also authorizes a major project to deepen channels into New York/New Jersey harbor, our Nation's third largest container port, that will benefit consumers and producers, create jobs, and make the United States more competitive in world markets. The Act also authorizes my proposal for projects to improve the Puget Sound ecosystem and authorizes efforts to restore the estuary of the lower Columbia River, boosting the recovery of threatened and endangered salmon species in the Pacific Northwest.

In addition, I am pleased that the Congress has adopted my proposals to strengthen the authority of the Army Corps of Engineers to evaluate comprehensively the water resources needs of watersheds throughout the Nation and to enhance its ability to work with Native American tribes and Alaska native communities to study proposed water resources projects. I also endorse the authorization for a National Academy of Sciences study on suggestions for an independent review of Army Corps of Engineers projects.

I am very concerned and disappointed, however, with many of the provisions in S. 2796. Earlier this year, I submitted water resource legislation to the Congress directed at certain fundamental issues. First, the bill included several high-priority Corps initia-

tives addressing important needs currently facing the Nation. Second, the bill proposed a number of much needed water project reforms. Finally, my Administration developed this bill with a Federal cost of about \$1 billion within a framework of overall fiscal discipline that helps ensure that only the most worthwhile projects are funded.

The version of this legislation as passed authorizes roughly \$5 billion in new Federal spending according to Corps of Engineers estimates, an amount that far exceeds a reasonable assessment of the available future Federal budgetary resources for this program. The vast majority of the new projects and modifications to existing projects in this bill have not completed the study phase or are under review and simply are not ready for authorization at this time. Until these proposals have completed the appropriate prior planning and review, including the review required for water resources project proposals under Executive Order 12322, neither the executive branch nor the Congress knows which of them will raise significant concerns regarding scope, feasibility, environmental acceptability, cost-sharing, or other issues. I strongly recommend that the Congress await completion of this process before reaching a decision on authorizing future projects and project modifications. Particularly in view of the Congress' directive to study benefits of an independent review of Corps of Engineers water projects, we need to find ways to strengthen the project planning and review process. I am pleased, however, that the Congress decided to drop proposed authorizations totaling more than \$550 million for local infrastructure projects that should not become a responsibility of the Army Corps of Engineers.

Furthermore, my Administration proposed improvements to the procedures used for deauthorizing dormant projects, changes to close a loophole in the existing ability-to-pay law, an increase in the local cost-share for structural flood damage reduction projects, and a program to clean up brownfields. I am disappointed that the Congress did not authorize any of these important reforms.

Finally, section 601(b)(2)(D)(iii) provides that appropriations for certain water resources projects within the Everglades shall

not be made unless technical reports on those projects have been approved by the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works. This provision is a direction to the Congress regarding how the Congress will exercise its authority to appropriate funds. The provision does not limit the authority of agencies to spend funds that the Congress has appropriated.

Notwithstanding our concerns, the Water Resources Development Act of 2000 authorizes the Army to undertake much needed and important projects for improvements to the Nation's ports and harbors, and the restoration of our aquatic resources, including America's Everglades, and deserves enactment into law.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
December 11, 2000.

NOTE: S. 2796, approved December 11, was assigned Public Law No. 106-541.

**Memorandum on Emergency
Military Assistance to the United
Nations Mission in Sierra Leone**
December 11, 2000

Presidential Determination No. 2001-04

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the
Secretary of Defense*

Subject: Determination to Authorize the Furnishing of Emergency Military Assistance to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), Countries Participating in UNAMSIL, and Other Countries Involved in Peacekeeping Efforts or Affiliated Coalition Operations With Respect to Sierra Leone

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 506(a) (1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2318 (a) (1) (A) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that:

(1) an unforeseen emergency exists that requires immediate military assistance to UNAMSIL, countries currently or in the future participating in UNAMSIL, and other countries involved in peacekeeping efforts or

affiliated coalition operations with respect to Sierra Leone, including the Government of Sierra Leone, and

(2) the emergency requirement cannot be met under the authority of the Arms Export Control Act or any other law except section 506(a) (1) of the Act.

I therefore direct the drawdown of defense articles from the stocks of the Department of Defense, defense services from the Department of Defense, and military education and training of an aggregate value not to exceed \$36 million to UNAMSIL and such countries to support peacekeeping efforts with respect to Sierra Leone.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this Determination to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 12 and was published in the *Federal Register* on December 18.

**Exchange With Reporters Prior to
Discussions With Prime Minister
Bertie Ahern of Ireland in Dublin**
December 12, 2000

President's Visit to Ireland

Q. Mr. President, why do you keep coming back to Ireland?

The President. Well, I got invited. And you know, I've had a special interest in my tenure here and the peace process, and the *Taoiseach* and Prime Minister Blair have worked hard, as the parties in Northern Ireland have, and there's still a little work to be done. So I thought maybe if I came back, I could help a little, and I hope I can.

Peace Process in Northern Ireland

Q. What's your message to the politicians, to the people of Northern Ireland and, indeed, to the paramilitaries?

The President. Well, first, I think the people, by and large, have embraced the peace and are in some ways leading the process. And I don't think they want to go back. I

think the leadership of the Irish Government, the *Taoiseach* particularly, and the support of the British Government have helped. I think the incredible success of the Irish economy has helped.

I think people can see the benefits of peace. So my message is, to those parties which aren't involved in the process, they ought to join and not wreck it. There's too much to be gained, and too much has already been gained. And to those who are part of the process and have disagreements, I hope they'll try to work them out.

Q. Mr. President, do you care to comment on the suggestion that after you leave the White House, you might be prepared to become a special peace envoy to Ireland?

The President. [Laughter] Well, I think the new President, whoever it may be, will want to have a new team in place, and I will support that. I want to support whatever decisions the new administration makes on foreign policy. And if I can be a resource, I will. If I can ever help the Irish, of course I will.

But I think in terms of my Government's representation, that will be entirely up to the new President, and I will support whatever decisions are made on that.

Q. *Taoiseach*, do you expect the President's visit, and especially the visit to Belfast tomorrow, to move the process forward? At the moment, it's caught up in the old difficulties over demilitarization—and all the rest of it. Do you expect the President—

Prime Minister Ahern. Well, first, I say it's a great honor for us in the Irish Government and, I think, everybody in Ireland that the President is here. He is more and more welcome than I think even his other two visits. We're so pleased, and I think everybody in this country is pleased, and all of you in the media know that from the reaction over the last number of weeks since it was confirmed.

Of course I think the President can help. To expect all of the problems to be resolved in one go, of course, is impractical. But the very fact the President's coming has helped in the last few weeks for people to focus on still what are difficulties and to try to narrow down those difficulties and to look at the pos-

sibilities—and they are only possibilities—of what we can do.

I know that the talks we'll have now, the talks during the course of the day and tomorrow and the visit to Dundalk tonight, will allow people to see all that we have achieved. And I think now, what we're doing is, we're dealing with some of the side issues that are still residual issues out of the Good Friday agreement, and we still have to deal with those. And we are dealing with them, and this visit will help that.

Q. *Taoiseach*, will you miss Bill Clinton when he steps down?

Prime Minister Ahern. I will, yes. No doubt about that.

Q. Mr. President, when you were here, you called on the parties to take a risk for peace. Are we now at a situation where you will call on the parties again to take a further risk?

The President. Well, I think we have to keep going. I don't think there's—I don't think reversal is an option. And as I said, the people are not there. It's obvious to me, from all the human contact, just the increasing cross-border contacts, that the people want this thing to go on. And I think the leaders just have to find a way through the last three or four difficult issues, and I think it can be done.

I'll do what I can to be helpful.

Q. You really care about this, don't you?

The President. Yes, I do. I always have. You know—let me just say, the Americans—you know, the American people, about 40 million of us have some Irish blood. And we also have had a unique relationship with Great Britain. It's been—I mean, they burned the White House in 1814, but since then it's been pretty good. [Laughter] You know, we fought two World Wars together; we stayed through the cold war together; and the way it used to be was a source of immense pain to a lot of Americans.

Many of the American people who have wanted to be involved had no constructive way to do that. And I hope and believe we've changed that over the last 8 years. So to me, it's just a question of you've just got to keep going and keep bringing more and more and more people in, because the Irish have proved that you can do this.

I said something before when I was here, I'll say again: I don't think you can possibly imagine the impact of a success in the Irish peace process on trouble spots throughout the world. That's another thing that's been very important to me as the President of the United States, because I have to be involved in Latin America and Asia and Africa, the Balkans.

And so I care a lot about this. But I also—I want you to know how much people around the world look to you—and draw courage from what you do here.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:15 p.m. in the Office of the *Taoiseach*. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks at a Reception Hosted by Prime Minister Ahern in Dublin

December 12, 2000

Thank you very, very much. First, let me say to the *Taoiseach*, I am delighted to be back in Ireland, glad to be with him and Celia, glad that Hillary and Chelsea and I could all come together at once. We've all been here, sometimes together, sometimes at different times. I thank you for your friendship and the work we have done. I thank your predecessors, who are here and all the members of the Dail. I thank the ministers of the Government and Members of our Congress who are here, and the citizens of Ireland.

I have often wondered how I got involved in all this. [Laughter] I have pondered all these deep explanations. For example, less than a month ago we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the White House. And you may know that America's most famous home was designed by an Irish architect named James Hoban, who defeated an anonymous design presented by Thomas Jefferson. [Laughter] Maybe there's something in Hoban's spirit in the house that infected me.

In the Oval Office of the President on the mantle, there is a beautiful ivy plant which has been there for almost 40 years now. It was given to President Kennedy by the then-Irish Ambassador to the United States as an

enduring sign of the affection between our two people. Maybe I got the political equivalent of poison ivy. [Laughter]

When I started coming here, you know, I got a lot of help in rooting out my Irish ancestry. And the oldest known homestead of my mother's family, the Cassidys, that we've been able to find is a sort of mid 18th century farmhouse that's in Rosleigh and Fermanagh. But it's right on the—literally right on the border. And in my family, all the Catholics and Protestants intermarried, so maybe I was somehow genetically prepared for the work I had to do. [Laughter] Maybe it's because there are 45 million Irish Americans, and I was trying to make a few votes at home. [Laughter] The truth is, it just seemed to be the right thing to do.

America has suffered with Ireland through the Troubles, and even before. And we seemed paralyzed and prevented from playing a constructive role when I became President. I decided to change America's policy in the hope that, in the end, not only the Irish but the British, too, would be better off. I think it is unquestionable, after 8 years of effort, thanks to the people and the leaders of Northern Ireland, of the Republic, and of Great Britain, that the people of Ireland and the people of Britain are better off for the progress that has been made toward peace.

So when the *Taoiseach* and our friends in Northern Ireland, the leaders of the parties, and the British Prime Minister asked me to come back to Ireland one more time, Hillary and Chelsea said, yes—[laughter]—and I said a grateful yes.

I also want to say to all of you, with reference to the comments Bertie made about the Irish economy, I think every one of you that has played any role in the remarkable explosion of economic opportunity in Ireland and the outreach and impact you're having beyond the borders of your nation, is also a part of the peace process, because you have shown the benefits of an open, competitive, peaceful society.

And nobody wants to go back to the Troubles. There are a few hills we still have to climb, and we'll figure out how to do that, and I hope that our trip here is of some help toward that end. But as long as the people here, as free citizens of this great democracy,

and as long as their allies and friends in the North increasingly follow the same path of creating opportunities that bring people together instead of arguments that drive people apart, then the political systems will follow the people.

So it is very important that all of you recognize that whatever you do, whether you're in politics or not, if you are contributing to the present vitality of this great nation, you are helping to make the peace hold. And for that, I am very grateful.

Let me just say in closing, when I started my involvement with the Irish peace process, to put it charitably, half the political experts in my country thought I had lost my mind. [Laughter] In some of the all-night sessions I had making phone calls back and forth over here through the whole night, after about the third time I did that, to put it charitably, I thought I had lost my mind. [Laughter] But I can tell you that every effort has been an honor. I believe America has in some tiny way repaid this nation and its people for the massive gifts of your people you have given to us over so many years, going back to our beginnings. I hope that is true.

For me, one of the things I will most cherish about the 8 years the American people were good enough to let me serve as President is that I had a chance to put America on the side of peace and dignity and equality and opportunity for all the people in both communities in Northern Ireland, and for a reconciliation between the North and the Republic. I don't know how I happen to have such good fortune, and even though it gave me a few more gray hairs, I'm still grateful that I did.

Good luck. Stay with it, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Arrol Suite at the Guinness Storehouse. In his remarks, he referred to Celia Larkin, who accompanied Prime Minister Ahern; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Prime Minister Bertie Ahern.

Statement on the Signing of the Ethiopia-Eritrea Final Peace Agreement

December 12, 2000

I congratulate the leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea for the final peace agreement signed today in Algiers. My relief and happiness on this occasion mirrors the sadness I felt when I witnessed two allies and friends embroiled in a tragic conflict. I look forward to resuming our strong cooperation with Ethiopia and Eritrea across the spectrum of bilateral issues.

Remarks to the Community in Dundalk, Ireland

December 12, 2000

Thank you very much. First let me thank the *Taoiseach*, Bertie Ahern, for his leadership and his friendship and his kind and generous words tonight.

Mr. O'Hanrahan, thank you so much for the gift and your words. Joan McGuinness—it's not easy for someone who makes a living in private business to stand up and give a speech before a crowd this large. If you look all the way back there, there's a vast crowd. You can't see it in the dark, but all the way back here there are just as many people. So I think we ought to give Joan McGuinness another hand for the speech she gave here. [Applause]

I thank the Government ministers, the Members of the Congress, and other Americans who are here. I'd like to thank the musicians who came out to play for us tonight and those who still will. You know, I like music, and so I have to say it may be cold and dark, but I'm back in Ireland, so, in the words of U2, it's a beautiful day.

And I am particularly glad to be here in Dundalk, the ancient home of Cuchulain. I want to acknowledge some natives of Dundalk who are among our group here—the *Taoiseach's* spokesman, Joe Lennon; the White House correspondent for the Irish Times, Joe Carroll; a member of our American Embassy team in Dublin, Eva Burkury,

who has been taking late-night calls from us all week to make sure we do the right things in her hometown.

Let me also say that for Hillary, Chelsea, and me, it's great to be in the home town of the Corrs. Now, we had the privilege of being with them and hearing them sing in Washington just Sunday night. They did you proud. I understand their success has been great for your community, except that in this tight labor market, you haven't been able to replace them down at McManus' Pub.

In a few weeks, I'll have a little free time. [Laughter] You know, I feel at home here. And so, even though I can't claim to have a granny buried in Castletown, I hope you won't call me a blow-in. In America, over 40 million of us claim Irish roots, and the number keeps going up every year. I'm not sure whether that's because so many millions are green with Irish ancestry or just green with envy of Ireland.

There are so many reasons to admire Ireland: the beauty of the land, the people, the music, the dance, the movies, the golf—[laughter]—the literature. You know, according—Americans in the audience will understand this—according to the latest manual count—[laughter]—you have won approximately 66 times the number of Nobel Prizes in literature you would be entitled to, based on your percentage of the world population. In so many ways, you have had an impact far beyond your numbers, especially in your worldwide reputation for compassion and taking on humanitarian causes.

And then there is your amazing Irish economy. Today, we're seeing your economy reaching out across the ocean to us in the United States, with Irish technology firms in Boston, New York, and Atlanta.

And I want to note, because we're here in County Louth, that the man famous for the ideas behind this prosperity grew up just a short distance from here, in Drogheda—or Drogheda. [Laughter] Anybody here from Drogheda? [Applause] I told them to put you in the front row. [Laughter]

Listen to this: In a major report in the late 1950's, T.K. Whittaker wrote, "Sooner or later, protectionism will have to go and the challenge of free trade accepted, if Ireland wishes to keep pace with the rest of Europe."

Well, over the last 6 years, Ireland has outpaced the rest of Europe. Indeed, you have turned deficit to surplus, slashed debt, seen employment grow 4 times the rate of Europe, and seen your economy grow faster than any other nation in the entire industrialized world.

Earlier this year, as the *Taoiseach* said today, Ireland was selected by our distinguished Massachusetts Institute of Technology as the European location for its media-lab research center. The director said he did this because—I love this—because of Ireland's antiestablishment attitude to innovation. [Laughter] The Wall Street Journal says, Ireland enjoys one of the freest economies in the world and one of the most responsive governments.

With the strong leadership of Prime Minister Ahern and the Government, computer science graduates in Ireland have jumped fourfold in just the last 4 years. Now Microsoft, Intel, Nortel, IBM, Oracle, Lotus, Xerox, and Heinz and so many others are in Ireland. And Ireland has now displaced the United States as the number one software exporting country in the entire world. But you enjoyed respect in the world long before this boom because Ireland has been exporting compassion a lot longer than software.

Probably the saints in heaven don't spend too much time boasting of their achievements. But if they do, I suspect the saints can bear no more bragging from Saint Patrick, for no nation has ever lived up more fully to the virtues of its patron saint than Ireland.

Some years ago, when your then President, Mary Robinson, paid a visit to America, she told of a kindness Ireland received and never forgot. During the Potato Famine, the Choctaw Indians in the United States, who, themselves, were very poor and displaced from their own land, collected from among themselves \$147 and sent it to Ireland to help ease the suffering. One hundred and fifty years later, the President of Ireland remembered that kindness on the South Lawn of the White House, because it so closely mirrors your own compassion.

To know suffering and reach out to others in suffering is woven into the heart of Ireland. And in your rising prosperity, you have not forgotten what it is to be poor. So you continue to reach out to the dispossessed around the world. In your newfound peace, you have not forgotten what it is to be at war, so you continue to stand guard for peace around the world. That is a powerful reason that I am very glad Ireland is now on the United Nations Security Council.

You might be interested to know—and you may not—that Ireland is so well thought of around that world that when the campaign was on for the Security Council members, you found help in surprising places. Your Ambassador to Australia, Dick O'Brien, visited 14 countries in the South Pacific, seeking their votes. In the tiny island nation of Tuvalu, he was met by a local journalist by the name of O'Brien. *[Laughter]* He learned then that the Prime Minister of Tuvalu's mother's name was O'Brien. *[Laughter]* Turns out, there was an Irish sailor in the 19th century shipwrecked on Tuvalu, named O'Brien. *[Laughter]* He liked it there, stayed on, and now, a full quarter of the population are O'Briens. If the math is right, maybe there are more than 45 million Irish-Americans.

We are delighted to have you as our partner on the Security Council. But as we look to Ireland and to America, we remember that for all our efforts to heal the world, sometimes the toughest healing problems are right at home.

The story of the United States, I believe, is largely about three things: love of liberty; belief in progress; struggle for community. The last has given us the most trouble and troubles us still. Matters aren't so different for Ireland. For hundreds of years and intensely for the last 30, you confronted the challenge of religious difference. You in Dundalk know what it's like to face fear and isolation with unemployment rising, the economy stalling, and hope failing.

A young businessman once said, "Now, money isn't everything, but it's up there with oxygen." We know violence suffocates opportunity. We know in the end, there can be no full justice without jobs. Fortunately, the

Irish had the courage to grasp the chance for peace and the new beginning.

Those who argued for peace promised a better life. But then, there was no proof. Today, you are the proof of the fruits and wisdom of peace. The border between Ireland and Northern Ireland is now more a bridge than a barrier. Newry, just across that border, is your sister city and economic partner.

Some fear the change won't last, but some of the smartest business people in the world are already betting that it will last. You have a cluster of information technology companies and broadband networks. Here in this community, Xerox is making the second-largest American investment in all of Ireland, and your Institute of Technology is building classes to meet the growing needs of technology-based employers.

I appreciated Prime Minister Ahern mentioning the late Secretary Ron Brown and his trip here in 1994. When he came back, he encouraged us to continue investing in Dundalk through the International Fund for Ireland. I'm very glad we did. I know you haven't solved every problem, but this is now a boomtown. It's a new day in Dundalk and a new day in Ireland.

My friends, I come here near the end of my 8 years of service as President of the United States to ask you to protect this progress, to cherish it, and to build on it. As Pope John Paul said in Drogheda more than 20 years ago, "Violence only delays the day of justice." The Bible says, "There are many parts, but one body. If one part suffers, every part suffers with it." It takes some people a long, long time to fully grasp that. But life teaches us over and over and over again that in the end, you cannot win by making your neighbor lose.

Unionists and nationalists, native-born Irish and immigrants, to all of you, I say again, you cannot win by making your neighbor lose. Two years ago, after the horrid bombing in Omagh, you good people filled these streets. Young people came, not wanting to lose their dreams. Older people came because they wanted a chance to live in peace before they rest in peace. You stared violence in the face and said, "No more." You stood up for peace then, and I ask you, stand up

for peace today, tomorrow, and the rest of your lives.

Oh yes, there are still a few hills to climb on the road ahead. The *Taoiseach* mentioned them. But the people of Ireland have two advantages now. You now know the value of peace, and in the hard moments, you can also still draw strength from the inspiration of your poets. Seamus Heaney once said of William Butler Yeats, "His intent was to clear a space in the mind and in the world for the miraculous." Seamus was born the year Yeats died, and has spent his own life clearing that space, following this instruction to himself: "Walk on air against your better judgment."

As extraordinary as Ireland's efforts are in exporting peace and peacekeepers to troubled areas all around the world, I can tell you nothing—nothing—will compare to the gift Ireland gives the world if you make peace here permanent. You can give people all over the world desperately needed hope and proof that peace can prevail, that the past is history, not destiny. That is what I came to ask you to redouble your efforts to do.

Every Saint Patrick's Day, the *Taoiseach* comes to the United States, and we have a ceremony in the White House. We sing Irish songs, tell Irish stories—everything we say is strictly true, of course. [Laughter] In my very first Saint Patrick's Day occasion as President, I said I would be a friend of Ireland not just on Saint Patrick's Day but every day. I have tried to be as good as my word. And every effort has been an honor and a gift.

Your kindness to me has brought life to Yeats' wonderful lines, "Think where a man's glory most begins and ends, and say my glory was, I had such friends." And so, my friends, as I prepare to leave my office, a large part of my heart will always be in Ireland, for all the days of my life. And let me say, I will pray: May the road of peace rise up to meet you. May the wind of prosperity be always at your back. And may the God of Saint Patrick hold you in the hollow of his hand.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:52 p.m. in the Courthouse Square. In his remarks, he referred to Pearce O'Hanrahan, councillor, Dundalk Urban District Council No. 1; and Joan

McGuinness, company secretary, Facility Management Workshop, Ltd. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Prime Minister Bertie Ahern.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, First Minister David Trimble, and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of Northern Ireland in Belfast

December 13, 2000

Supreme Court Decision

Q. Mr. President, do you have any reaction to the Supreme Court's decision?

The President. Actually, I haven't had a chance to read all the opinions yet. I think that what I'd like to focus on now is what I can do, what the United States can do to be helpful to this ongoing peace process. I may want to make a statement later, but I'd really like to have a chance to read all the opinions first and then I'll probably—

Q. Have you spoken to the Vice President today?

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, what would you say to your successor, whoever he may be, about continued involvement in the peace process here?

The President. I think it's important for the United States to continue. I think it also has the side benefit of increasing confidence among American investors in Northern Ireland. I saw a story yesterday in the local press, indicating that some 600 million pounds in American investment had come here over the last 5 years. That's the sort of thing we need more of. So I hope the next President will be intimately involved and highly supportive of the efforts that the parties are making to carry out the Good Friday accords and get on with it.

Q. Mr. President, what progress do you think can be made today? Do you think the peace process can be improved upon?

The President. I hope so. But I think it's important for me to listen to the leaders here and see what we can do first.

Q. Would you like to return and have a role in the peace process?

The President. Oh, I'd like to return, but I won't be President. And that's—the next American administration that will have to take up that mantle.

Q. Mr. President, will your last act—will one of your last acts be to do something in relation to dissident republican groups, like the Real IRA, and do something in terms of stopping them from fundraising and organizing in the United States?

The President. Well, we've got this whole subject under review as part of our ongoing look at people who use violence for political or other means, not just here but throughout the world. And I may have something more to say about that later but not now.

Q. Mr. President, the two men to your left and right, in many ways, hold the key to our future. What can be done—what can the Prime Minister do to bring the two men together, to secure this?

The President. I don't—I think that we'd better get on with our talks. [Laughter] I want to give a speech later, but I'd like to get on with the business here.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:26 a.m. at the Stormont Parliament Buildings. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks to the People of Northern Ireland in Belfast

December 13, 2000

The President. Thank you very much. Let me, first of all, thank Prime Minister Blair, First Minister Trimble, Deputy First Minister Mallon, for their strong leadership and their kind and generous remarks today.

I am delighted to be with them, Cherie, Mrs. Trimble, my longtime friend John Hume; Senator George Mitchell, who is here; the Members of the Parliament in Northern Ireland; the Members of the United States Congress and the American delegation over here to my right. I thank Chris Gibson of the Civic Forum and many others who helped to make this day possible. Hillary, Chelsea, and I are delighted to be back in Northern Ireland, and here.

I also can't help noting that this magnificent new arena is new since I was last here in '98—a new team, a new sport, a new facility, a new Northern Ireland. I want to thank the Belfast Giants for letting us use the arena tonight. I understand they don't treat their opponents as kindly as me, and I thank them for that. [Applause] Thank you.

Believe it or not, I actually read in the press this reference that said that since I'll be out of work soon—[laughter]—that if I can skate and shoot and I'm not very expensive, the Giants would consider offering me a position. Well, I'm used to absorbing blows, but that's about the only qualification I have. [Laughter] Senator Mitchell, however, comes from Maine, where they play hockey all the time, and I think you should consider offering him a position. He is very well suited for it.

Let me say to all of you, I have been honored to be involved in the quest for peace here for almost 8 years now. It has been not a passing interest but a passion for me and my administration and, as many of you know, for my family as well. And I want to say a special word of thanks to my wife and to the women here in Northern Ireland who have worked with her through the Vital Voices program and other things to try to make a contribution to the peace.

I came here 5 years ago for the first time. Now I am back on my third visit. No other American President can say that. I want you to know that I'm here not just because I have Irish roots, like millions of Americans, and not simply because I love the land and the people. I believe in the peace you are building. I believe there can be no turning back. I believe you are committed to that. And I think it's very important that people the world over see what you are doing and support you along the way.

Some of you may know, I left Dublin yesterday, and I had to drive to Dundalk for this rally we had last night—and there were one or two people there. We had this vast crowd of enthusiastic supporters of the peace. And because the weather was too bad for me to helicopter there and I drove, apparently, some people thought I was going to drive from there to Belfast. So I want to give a special word of thanks to the thousands of

people in Armagh who waited along the road. I'm sorry I wasn't there. If I'd known you were there, I would have been there. But thank you for supporting the peace process.

Let me say to the leaders who are here and the others who were involved with the development of the Good Friday accord back in 1998, I remember it very well. I remember how hard Prime Ministers Blair and Ahern, and George Mitchell, and all the leaders here worked on the Good Friday accord. I remember time and time again being called, saying that this or that problem had arisen and maybe the agreement couldn't be reached.

And just before dawn on Good Friday, when the final momentum was building, one of your leaders said to me in a very tired voice—I'll never forget it—"This is a life-and-death meeting." And then he added, "But we'll make it happen." When they did, I remember saying to that person, "Go and claim your moment."

That is what I have to say today. After the Good Friday accord was reached, the people of Northern Ireland sealed it in an overwhelming vote for peace. And so I say, it is still for you to claim your moment.

Look what has happened: a local government representing all the people; everyday problems addressed by local ministers who answer to local citizens—across party lines, I might add, as I have personally witnessed; an Executive that has adopted a budget and a program of government; and along the way, all the sort of messy squabbles and fights that you expect in a democracy.

I mean, look at us; we've been doing it in America for 224 years, and as you might have noticed, we still have these minor disagreements from time to time. *[Laughter]*

I ask you to remember this. The difficulties of sharing power in a free, peaceful democratic system are nothing compared to the difficulties of not having any power at all or of living with constant insecurity and violence. It's easy to overlook that. When people are in war, they measure the progress by counting victims. When people are involved in peaceful endeavors, it's easy to forget to measure because the measurement is in pain avoided.

How many children are alive today in Northern Ireland because deaths from sectarian violence are now a small fraction of what they were before the Good Friday accords? How many precious days of normality have been—

[At this point, there was a disruption in the audience.]

The President. Tell you what, I'll make you a deal: I'll listen to you if you let me finish. *[Applause]* Thank you. Thank you.

[The audience interruption continued.]

The President. I think he rejected the deal. *[Laughter]* I'll tell you what. I'll make you a deal. I'll ignore him if you will. *[Applause]* Thank you.

How many days of normality have you gained because the checkpoints on the border aren't there anymore, because honest people can go to a pub or a school or a church without the burden of a search or the threat of a bomb? You have spent so many years mourning your losses. I hope you will now celebrate with pride and defend with passion the progress you have made.

Just look at this arena here. Ten years ago I'm not sure you could have gotten the investment necessary to build this arena or to revitalize the entire Laganside area. But over the 5 years just passed, as hopes for peace have grown, the economy has grown, manufacturing up 27 percent, foreign investment almost 70 percent, the number of American firms growing from 40 to 100, 22,000 new jobs there alone, more people coming in than moving out.

Once, President Kennedy said that happiness is, I quote, "the full use of your powers along lines of excellence." Today, more and more young people have a chance to fully use their powers along lines of excellence here at home. Of course, there are still challenges, to spread opportunity to the most disadvantaged, to integrate into the mainstream those who have turned their backs on violence. But bitter, old divisions are falling away.

A few months ago, students from St. Joseph's College and Knockbreda High School, who study a half-mile apart, met for the very first time and toured the sights of Belfast.

One of them said, "I always just saw their school badge but never talked to them. But when we met, we got on brilliant."

Students from both schools are working with their counterparts from Mullingar Community College in the Republic to promote local recycling efforts. They're all taking part in Civic Link, an initiative supported by the Department of Education in the United States. Give them a hand there. [*Applause*]

This initiative we have supported through the Department of Education, and under your good friend Secretary Dick Riley, it has already brought together some 2,000 students and over 70 schools to break down barriers, build good will, and live lives based on tolerance and mutual respect. So I thank the ones, the students who are here, and I hope more will participate.

Now, amidst all this momentum, why are we having this meeting and why are all you showing up here? Because we've still got problems and headaches. And I just went through a whole lot of meetings about it.

Two years ago George Mitchell said that implementing the Good Friday agreement would be harder than negotiating it. Why? Well, first, because the devil is always in the details, and second, because human nature being what it is, it's always easier to talk about high-minded change than it is to pull it off, or even to feel it inside.

In spite of the overwhelming support for the Good Friday agreement and the evident progress already brought, opponents of peace still try to exploit the implementation controversies, to rub salt in old wounds, and serve their own ends. And others, for their own purposes, still stand on the sidelines watching and just waiting for something to go wrong. Well, I wanted you all to come together, first to show the world that the great majority of the people of Northern Ireland are still on the side of peace and want it to prevail; second, to say again to the proponents of violence that their way is finished; and third, to reaffirm, even in this great arena, that peace, unlike hockey, is not a spectator sport. No one can afford to sit on the sidelines. The progress that the leaders have made has only been possible because they knew when they took risks for peace

they were acting on the yearning of the people for peace.

For years you have made your view clear: Violence is not the answer; peace is the path to justice. The Good Friday accords define that path. Last week's tragic killings are a brutal reminder of a past we all wish to leave behind that is not completely gone and a sober reminder that failing to move forward risks slipping backward.

As the promises of the Good Friday accords are fulfilled or deferred, trust between the parties will rise or fall. We have seen that when trust rises and people work together, peace grows stronger, and when trust unravels, peace is made more vulnerable.

The people of Northern Ireland must be clear and unequivocal about your support for peace. Remember, the enemies of peace don't really need your approval. All they need is your apathy.

I do not believe you want Northern Ireland ever again to be a place where tomorrow's dreams are clouded by yesterday's nightmares. The genius of the Good Friday agreement still remains its core principles of consent, equality, justice, respect for each other and for law and order. These ideas are big enough to embody the aspirations, hopes, and needs of all the people of Northern Ireland.

As I said before, your progress in putting these principles into practice has truly been remarkable. But again, we all know there is still much to do before the agreement's vision is fully and finally realized. We know, for example, there must be a full and irrevocable commitment to effecting change only through peaceful means, through ballots, not bullets. That means putting all arms fully, finally, and forever beyond use. Last week's IRA statement on this topic was a welcome development; the followthrough will be even more so.

We welcome the contribution of those paramilitaries observing a cease-fire. Those who reject peace should know there is no place for them to hide. Based on my conversations with Prime Minister Ahern in Dublin yesterday and with Prime Minister Blair today, I want to say that the United States will intensify its cooperation with British and Irish authorities on counterterrorism,

to combat groups seeking to undermine the Good Friday accords through violence.

We are going to get experts from the three nations together in the near future, and the United States will continue to work in a systematic way to do whatever we can to help to root out terrorism and to make this peace agreement take hold.

Now, we also know that real respect for human rights must be woven into the fabric of all your institutions. The light this will cast is the best guarantee that political violence will disappear. That's why it is so important to have a police force that inspires pride and confidence in all the people.

Just before our gathering here, I met with victims of the violence, quite a large number of them who lost their children, their husbands, their wives, their limbs, their livelihood. Among them was the widow of an RUC officer and the sister of a slain defense attorney. Together, they offer the best testimony to the need to honor those who unjustifiably sacrificed their lives, their health, or their loved ones. We should honor those who have done their duty in the past while making a fresh start toward a police service that will protect, serve, and involve everyone equally in the years to come.

Finally, and maybe most important of all, for the vision of the Good Friday agreement to be fully realized, all sides must be fully engaged with each other, understanding that they must move forward together or not at all, that for one community to succeed, the whole community must succeed.

Over the last several hours today, I have talked to the parties. I'm convinced they do all genuinely want this peace process to work. They know how far it has come. They know how irresponsible it would be to permit it to fail. On the basis of our discussion, it is clear to me that's what must happen to move the process forward. First, the Patton Report must be implemented, and on that basis leaders from every part of the community must commit to make the new police service work.

There must be security normalization, and arms must be put beyond use. This will lead to a reduction of fear and mistrust on all sides. And somehow these processes must take place together, giving practical effect on

the ground to the rhetorical promise of peace.

I think we can do this. Of course, it will be difficult. But I urge the parties, the political parties here, the British and Irish Governments, the communities themselves, to work out the way forward in the coming days and weeks. And we will do all we can to help.

I have said before to all of you—I did 2 years ago when I was here—how profoundly important peace in Northern Ireland is to the rest of the world.

This morning, when I got up, I saw the Prime Minister of Ethiopia on television, discussing the agreement the United States helped to broker there, between Ethiopia and Eritrea. I have been heavily involved in the Middle East for 8 years now and in many of the tribal conflicts in Africa, in a little understood border conflict in the Andes, and many other places. And let me tell you, you cannot imagine the impact of the Good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland on troubled regions of the world—in Africa and the Middle East, in Latin America and, of course, in the Balkans, where the United States has been heavily involved in my time. Peace continues to be challenged all around the world. It is more important than ever to say, but look what they did in Northern Ireland, and look what they are doing in Northern Ireland.

In the end, there has to be a belief that you can only go forward together, that you cannot be lifted up by putting your neighbor down. You know, I think—and I talk in the United States about this a lot—our children will live in a completely different world than the one we have known. Just for example, because of the human genome project, which is going to give us cures for many kinds of cancers—Parkinson's, Alzheimer's, and more important, will give mothers bringing little babies home from the hospital, roadmaps of their children's genetic makeup and future—very soon, life expectancy in places with decent health systems will be over 90 years. And the lives of the young people in this audience, I am convinced, average life expectancy will rise to 100 years.

You will see new sources of energy tapped and new conservation technologies developed that will enable human beings for the

first time both to increase wealth and to reduce energy use and global warming, ensuring a longer future on this planet for the great-grandchildren of the youngest people in this audience today. You will be able to, you young people, travel farther and faster through outer space and cyberspace even than people can today. The world will be so different for you.

Now, I think the children of Northern Ireland deserve their fair chance to be a full part of that future. I believe the people of Northern Ireland want that for their children, and that means the leaders of Northern Ireland must find a way to do what is necessary to give that future to your children.

You know, this is the last chance I will have as President to speak to the people of Northern Ireland. Let me say to all of you that I have tried to be pretty straightforward today in my remarks and not nearly as emotional as I feel. I think you know that I have loved this land and love the work I have tried to do for peace. But the issue is not how I feel; it's how your kids are going to live.

I say to all of you, it has been a great honor for me; it has been an honor for the United States to be involved in the cause of peace in a land that produced the forbearers of so many of present-day America's citizens. I believe that the United States will be with you in the future. I know I will be with you in the future in whatever way I can.

But in the end, I will say again, what really matters is not what America does, and what really matters is not even all the encouragement you give to people around the world. What really matters is what you do and whether you decide to give your children not your own yesterdays but their own tomorrows.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:06 p.m. at the Odyssey Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, and his wife, Cherie; First Minister David Trimble of Northern Ireland and his wife, Daphne; John Hume, member, Social Democratic and Labor Party; former Senator George J. Mitchell, who chaired the multiparty talks in Northern Ireland; Chris Gibson, chairperson, Civic Forum; Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland; Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of Northern Ire-

land; and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Prime Minister Blair, First Minister Trimble, and Deputy First Minister Mallon. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Faith Leaders Initiative of the National Conference for Community and Justice

December 13, 2000

Today I want to commend the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) on its innovative efforts to further engage the faith community in racial reconciliation. NCCJ's Faith Leaders Initiative builds on my Initiative on Race and the March 9 White House meeting where leaders of institutions of faith announced important new steps as they rededicated themselves to fight racism.

Today's Joint Statement on Racism, drafted and endorsed by a broad group of faith leaders, recognizes the important role of people of faith in fighting racism. It states: "Racism is a problem of the heart and an evil that must be eradicated from the institutional structures that shape our daily lives, including our houses of worship." Those who affirm this statement and make its seven pledges will indeed be part of transforming our society to eradicate racism.

In addition, the directory of promising practices, guidelines for interreligious forums, and list of 10 actions every individual can take to fight racism are significant contributions toward fulfilling our vision of one America.

Many groups and individuals have worked long and hard to develop the initiatives announced today. It will take many more groups and many more individuals to put these initiatives into action. When the National Conference for Community and Justice chose to continue the work of the race initiative within the faith community, I trusted this unique organization to bring new vision and extra vigor to that call. Today's announcement again attests to both its creativity and your commitment. It is only through work such as this that our Nation

will truly come to know both racial justice and racial reconciliation—truly be one America.

Statement on Guidelines for Environmental Review of Trade Agreements

December 13, 2000

I am pleased to announce the completion of a strong set of guidelines for environmental review of major new trade agreements. These detailed guidelines, required by an Executive order I issued last year, will ensure that we fully integrate environmental considerations into our negotiation of new trade agreements and will provide unparalleled opportunities for public involvement in trade policy. America's experience has proven that a strong economy and a healthy environment go hand in hand, and these new guidelines will help protect the global environment as we work with other nations to build prosperity worldwide. Bringing environmental issues into the mainstream of our trade policy has been a top priority for my administration. The guidelines issued by the United States Trade Representative and the Council on Environmental Quality are another major milestone in this effort.

Remarks on the Resolution of the 2000 Presidential Election and an Exchange With Reporters in North Aylesbury, United Kingdom

December 14, 2000

The President. Good morning. Last night President-elect Bush and Vice President Gore showed what is best about America. In this election, the American people were closely divided. The outcome was decided by a Supreme Court that was closely divided. But the essential unity of our Nation was reflected in the words and values of those who fought this great contest. I was proud of both men.

I pledged to President-elect Bush my efforts and the best efforts of every member of our administration for a smooth and successful transition.

I want to say I am profoundly grateful to Vice President Gore for 8 extraordinary years of partnership. Without his leadership, we could not have made the progress or reached the prosperity we now enjoy and pass on to the next administration.

I am also profoundly grateful to him for putting into words last night the feelings of all of us who disagreed with the Supreme Court's decision, but accepted it. And as he said, all of us have a responsibility to support President-elect Bush and to unite our country in the search for common ground.

I wish President-elect Bush well. Like him, I came to Washington as a Governor, eager to work with both Republicans and Democrats. And when we reached across party lines to forge a vital center, America was stronger at home and abroad.

The American people, however divided they were in this election, overwhelmingly want us to build on that vital center without rancor or personal attack.

I thank the Members of Congress from both parties who have pledged to work with the President-elect. They have also pledged to elect commonsense bipartisan election reforms so that the votes of all citizens can be easily cast and easily counted in future elections.

Finally, I want to thank the American people for their patience, passion, and patriotism throughout this extended election season. In the days of service left to me, I will do all I can to finish our remaining work with Congress and to help President-elect Bush get off to a good start.

As I've said so many times over the last year, our country has never before enjoyed so much peace and prosperity with so few internal crises and so little external threat. We have the opportunity to build the future of our dreams for our children, and every one of us has an obligation to work together to achieve it.

Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to Democrats who want to run on the election issue in 2 years? Do you think that's a way to take back the House?

The President. Well, I think, first of all, the election 2 years from now is difficult to predict, and it will take whatever shape it

does. But for right now, we're in a period where we've had an election, but we haven't had the inauguration. We have to ensure a smooth and constructive transition, and all of us should ensure that we do our part to give the President-elect his chance to do this job. And I would hope—and I believe that my fellow Democrats would be willing to do that, and I hope they will. I hope they will set a good example by getting off to a good start and trying to unite the country.

Two years from now, what I hope will happen is that the honest differences that remain between the two parties will be the subject of a wholesome, vigorous, constructive debate but that we will be moving further and further away from rancor. That, I think, is actually good for our party, because I think people do agree with us on the issues—on so many of the vital issues of the day.

But I don't think that now is the time to do anything other than follow Vice President Gore's lead. He spoke for all of us last night, and he did it eloquently and well. And President-elect Bush responded with generosity in kind, I thought, in his remarks. And I think we ought to use this opportunity to let the country come together and try to get the new administration off to a good start.

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, will your successor continue the special relationship you've enjoyed with Britain, do you hope?

The President. I can't imagine anybody who wouldn't do that. I think he will, yes. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:49 a.m. outside Chequers, the country estate of Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Remarks at the University of Warwick in Coventry, United Kingdom

December 14, 2000

Thank you very much, Vice Chancellor Follett and Lady Follett, Chancellor Ramphal. Lord Skidelsky, thank you for your biography of Keynes. I wonder what Mr. Keynes would think of us paying down the national debt in America today. [*Laughter*]

I would like to thank the president of the student union, Caitlin McKenzie, for welcoming me. And I am delighted to be here with all of you. But I'd like to specifically, if I might, acknowledge one more person in the audience, a good friend to Hillary and me, the renowned physicist Stephen Hawking. Thank you, Stephen, for being here. We're delighted to—[*inaudible*].

Tony and Cherie Blair and Hillary and Chelsea and I are pleased to be here. I thank the Prime Minister for his kind remarks. It is true that we have all enjoyed an unusual friendship between the two of us and our families. But it is also true that we have honored the deeper and more important friendship between the United States and Great Britain, one that I believe will endure through the ages and be strengthened through changes of party and from election to election.

I wanted to have a moment before I left this country for the last time as President just to say a few words about a subject which, as the Prime Minister said, we have discussed a lot, that I believe will shape the lives of the young people in this audience perhaps more than any other, and that is the phenomenon of globalization.

We have worked hard in our respective nations and in our multinational memberships to try to develop a response to globalization that we all call by the shorthand term, Third Way. Sometimes I think that term tends to be viewed as more of a political term than one that has actual policy substance, but for us it's a very serious attempt to put a human face on the global economy and to direct the process of globalization in a way that benefits all people.

The intensifying process of economic integration and political interdependence that we know as globalization is clearly tearing down barriers and building new networks among nations, peoples, and cultures at an astonishing and historically unprecedented rate. It has been fueled by an explosion of technology that enables information, ideas, and money, people, products, and services to move within and across national borders at increasingly greater speeds and volumes.

A particularly significant element of this process is the emergence of a global media

village in which what happens anywhere is felt in a flash everywhere—from Coventry to Kansas to Cambodia. This process, I believe, is irreversible. In a single hour today, more people and goods move from continent to continent than moved in the entire 19th century.

For most people in countries like ours, the United States and Britain, this is helping to create an almost unprecedented prosperity, and along with it, the change to meet some of the long-term challenges we face within our nations.

I am profoundly grateful that when I leave office, we will still be in the longest economic expansion in our history, that all income levels have benefited, and that we are able to deal with some of our long-term challenges. And I have enjoyed immensely the progress of the United Kingdom, the economic progress—the low unemployment rate, the high growth rate, the increasing numbers of people moving off public assistance, and young people moving into universities.

But I think it's important to point out that globalization need not benefit only the advanced nations. Indeed, in developing countries, too, it brings the promise but not the guarantee of a better future. More people have been lifted out of poverty the last few decades than at any time in history. Life expectancy in developing countries is up. Infant mortality is down. And according to the United Nations Human Development Index, which measures a decent standard of living, a good education, and a long and healthy life, the gap between rich and poor countries actually has declined since 1970. And yet, that is, by far, not the whole story. For, if you took another starting point or just one region of the world, or a set of governments that have had particular vulnerability to developments like the Asian financial crisis, for example, you could make a compelling case that from time to time, people in developing countries and whole countries themselves, if they get caught on the wrong side of a development like the Asian financial crisis, are actually worse off for quite a good while.

And we begin the new century and a new millennium with half the world's people struggling to survive on less than \$2 a day, nearly one billion living in chronic hunger.

Almost a billion of the world's adults cannot read. Half the children in the poorest countries still are not in school. So, while some of us walk on the cutting edge of the new global economy, still, amazing numbers of people live on the bare razor's edge of survival.

And these trends and other troubling ones are likely to be exacerbated by a rapidly growing population, expected to increase by 50 percent by the middle of this century, with the increase concentrated almost entirely in nations that today, at least, are the least capable of coping with it. So the great question before us is not whether globalization will proceed, but how. And what is our responsibility in the developed world to try to shape this process so that it lifts people in all nations?

First, let me say, I think we have both the ability and the responsibility to make a great deal of difference by promoting development and economic empowerment among the world's poor; by bringing solid public health systems, the latest medical advances, and good educational opportunities to them; by achieving sustainable development and breaking the iron link between economic growth, resource destruction, and greater pollution, which is driving global warming today; and by closing the digital divide.

I might say, parenthetically, I believe there are national security and common security aspects to the whole globalization challenge that I really don't have time to go into today, so I'll just steer off the text and say what I think briefly, which is that as we open borders and we increase the freedom of movement of people, information, and ideas, this open society becomes more vulnerable to cross-national, multinational, organized forces of destruction: terrorists; weapons of mass destruction; the marriage of technology in these weapons, small-scale chemical and biological and maybe even nuclear weapons; narcotraffickers and organized criminals; and increasingly, all these people sort of working together in lines that are quite blurred.

And so that's a whole separate set of questions. But today I prefer to focus on what we have to do to see that this process benefits people in all countries and at all levels of society.

At the core of the national character of the British and the American people is the belief in the inherent dignity and equality of all humans. We know perfectly well today how children live and die in the poorest countries and how little it would take to make a difference in their lives. In a global information age, we can no longer have the excuse of ignorance. We can choose not to act, of course, but we can no longer choose not to know.

With the cold war over, no overriding struggle for survival diverts us from aiding the survival of the hundreds of millions of people in the developing world struggling just to get by from day to day. Moreover, it is not only the right thing to do; it is plainly in our interest to do so.

We have seen how abject poverty accelerates turmoil and conflict, how it creates recruits for terrorists and those who incite ethnic and religious hatred, how it fuels a violent rejection of the open economic and social order upon which our future depends. Global poverty is a powder keg, ignitable by our indifference.

Prime Minister Blair made the same point in introducing his government's White Paper on international development. Thankfully, he remains among the world's leaders in pressing the commonsense notion that the more we help the rest of the world, the better it will be for us. Every penny we spend on reducing worldwide poverty, improving literacy, wiping out disease will come back to us and our children a hundredfold.

With the global Third Way approach that he and I and others have worked on, of more open markets, public investments by wealthy nations in education, health care, and the environment in developing countries, and improved governance in those countries themselves, we can develop a future in which prosperity is shared more widely and potential realized more fully in every corner of the globe.

Today I want to briefly discuss our shared responsibility to meet these challenges, and the role of all of us, from the richest to the poorest nations to the multilateral institutions to the business and NGO and religious and civil society communities within and across our borders.

First, let me say, I think it's quite important that we unapologetically reaffirm a conviction that open markets and rule-based trade are necessary proven engines of economic growth. I have just come from Ireland, where the openness of the economy has made that small country the fastest growing economy in Europe, indeed, for the last few years, in the entire industrialized world. From the early 1970's to the early 1990's, developing countries that chose growth through trade grew at least twice as fast as those who kept their doors closed and their tariffs high.

Now what? If the wealthiest countries ended our agricultural subsidies, leveling the playing field for the world's farmers, that alone could increase the income of developing countries by \$20 billion a year.

Not as simple as it sounds. I come from a farming State, and I live in a country that basically has very low tariffs and protections on agriculture. But I see these beautiful fields in Great Britain; I have driven down the highways of France; I know there is a cultural, social value to the fabric that has developed here over the centuries. But we cannot avoid the fact that if we say we want these people to have a decent life, and we know this is something they could do for the global economy more cheaply than we, we have to ask ourselves what our relative responsibilities are and if there is some other way we can preserve the fabric of rural life here, the beauty of the fields, and the sustainability of the balanced society that is important for Great Britain, the United States, France, and every other country.

The point I wanted to make is a larger one. This is just one thing we could do that would put \$20 billion a year in income into developing countries. That's why I disagree with the antiglobalization protestors who suggest that poor countries should somehow be saved from development by keeping their doors closed to trade. I think that is a recipe for continuing their poverty, not erasing it. More open markets would give the world's poorest nations more chances to grow and prosper.

Now, I know that many people don't believe that. And I know that inequality, as I said, in the last few years has increased in

many nations. But the answer is not to abandon the path of expanded trade but, instead, to do whatever is necessary to build a new consensus on trade. That's easy for me to say—you can see how successful I was in Seattle in doing that. [*Laughter*]

But let me say to all of you, in the last 2 years we not only had this WTO ministerial in Seattle—I went to Switzerland three times to speak to the WTO, the International Labor Organization, and the World Economic Forum at Davos, all in an attempt to hammer out what the basic elements of a new consensus on trade, and in a larger sense, on putting a human face on the global economy would be.

We do have to answer those who fear that the burden of open markets will fall mainly on them. Whether they're farmers in Europe or textile workers in America, these concerns fuel powerful political resistance to the idea of open trade in the developed countries.

We have to do better in making the case not just on how exports create jobs but on how imports are good, because of the competition they provide; because they increase innovation and they provide savings for hard-pressed working families throughout the world. And we must do more to improve education and job training so that more people have the skills to compete in a world that is changing very rapidly.

We must also ask developing countries to be less resistant to concerns for human rights, labor, and the environment so that spirited economic competition does not become a race to the bottom. At the same time, we must make sure that when we say we're concerned about labor and the environment and human rights in the context of trade, it is not a pretext for protectionism.

Both the United States and Europe must do more to build a consensus for trade. In America, for example, we devote far, far too little of our wealth to development assistance. But on a per capita basis, we also spend nearly 40 percent more than Europeans on imports from developing countries. Recently, we passed landmark trade agreements with Africa and the Caribbean Basin that will make a real difference to those regions. If America matched Europe's generosity in development assistance and Europe matched

our openness in buying products from the developing nations, think how much growth and opportunity we could spur.

At the same time, I think it's important that we acknowledge that trade alone cannot lift nations from poverty. Many of the poorest developing countries are crippled by the burden of crushing debt, draining resources that could be used to meet the most basic human needs, from clean water to schools to shelter. For too long, the developed world was divided between those who felt any debt forgiveness would hurt the creditworthiness of developing nations and those who demanded outright cancellation of the debt with no conditions.

Last year, at the G-7 Summit in Cologne, we—Prime Minister Blair and I and our colleagues—began to build a new consensus responding to a remarkable coalition, asking for debt relief for the poorest nations in this millennial year.

We have embraced the global social contract: debt relief for reform. We pledged enhanced debt relief to poor countries that put forward plans to spend their savings where they ought to be spent, on reducing poverty, developing health systems, improving educational access and quality. This can make a dramatic difference.

For example, Uganda has used its savings, already, to double primary school enrollment, a direct consequence of debt relief. Bolivia will now use \$77 million on health and education. Honduras will offer its children 9 years of schooling instead of 6, a 50 percent increase.

The developed world must build on these efforts, as we did in the United States when we asked for 100 percent bilateral debt relief for the least developed nations. And we must include more and more nations in this initiative. But we should not do it by lowering our standards. Instead, we should help more nations to qualify for the list—that is, to come forward with plans to spend the savings on their people and their future. This starts with good governance—something that I think has been overlooked.

No matter how much we wish to do for the developing world, they need to have the capacity to absorb aid, to absorb assistance, and to do more for themselves. Democracy

is not just about elections, even when they seem to go on forever. [*Laughter*] Democracy is also about what happens after the election. It's about the capacity to run clean government and root out corruption, to open the budget process, to show people an honest accounting of where their resources are being spent, and to give potential investors an honest accounting of what the risks and rewards might be. We have a moral obligation both to provide debt relief and to make sure these resources reach people who need them most.

The poorer these people are, of course, the less healthy they're likely to be. That brings me to the next point. The obstacles to good health in the developing world are many and of great magnitude. There is the obvious fact of malnutrition, the fact that so many women still lack access to family planning and basic health services. Around the world today, one woman dies every minute from complications due to childbirth.

There is the fact that 1½ billion people lack access to safe, clean drinking water; and the growing danger of a changing climate, about which I will say more in a moment. But let me just mention the health aspects.

If temperatures keep rising, developing countries in tropical regions will be hurt the most, as disease spreads and crops are devastated. Already, we see in some African countries malaria occurring at higher altitudes than ever before because of climate change.

Today, infectious diseases are responsible for one in four deaths around the world—diseases like malaria, TB, and AIDS, diarrheal diseases. Just malaria, tuberculosis, and diarrhea kill 8 million people a year under the age of 15. Already, in South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, half of all the 15-year-olds are expected to die of AIDS. In just a few years, there will be three to six African countries where there will be more people in their sixties than in their thirties. This is a staggering human cost. Parenthetically, the economic toll is also breathtaking.

AIDS is predicted to cut the GDP of some African countries by 20 percent within 10 years. It is an epidemic with no natural boundary. Indeed, the fastest growing rate of infection today is in Russia and the nations

of the former Soviet Union. Why? Makes the point of what we should do. In no small measure because those nations, in the aftermath of the end of communism, and actually beginning a few years before, have seen a steady erosion in the capacity of their public health systems to do the basic work that must be done.

We must attack AIDS, of course, within our countries—in the United States and Britain. But we must also do all we can to stop the disease from spreading in places like Russia and India, where the rates of growth are large, but the overall numbers of infected people are still relatively small. But we must not also forget that the number one health crisis in the world today remains AIDS in Africa. We must do more in prevention, care, medications, and the earliest possible development of an affordable vaccine.

The developing countries themselves hold a critical part of the answer. However limited their resources, they must make treatment and prevention a priority. Whatever their cultural beliefs, they must be honest about the ways AIDS spreads and how it can be prevented. Talking about AIDS may be difficult in some cultures, but it's far easier to tell children the facts of life in any culture than to watch them learn the fact of death.

In China, a country with enough resources to teach all its children to read, only 4 percent of the adults know how AIDS is transmitted. Uganda, on the other hand, has cut the rate of infection by half. So there are a lot of things that the developing world will have to do for itself. This, too, is in no small measure an issue of governance and leadership. But the bulk of the new investment will have to come from the developed world.

In the last few years, our two nations have gotten off to a very good start. And yet the difference between what the world provides and what the world needs for treatment and prevention of AIDS, malaria, and TB is \$6 billion a year. Now that may seem like a great deal of money, but think about this: Take America's fair share of closing that gap, \$1.5 billion. That is about the same as our Government spends every year on office supplies, or about what the people of Britain spend every year on blue jeans.

So I hope that some way will be found for the United States and its allies to close that \$6 billion gap. It will be a very good investment, indeed. And the economic and social consequences to our friends in Africa and to other places where the rates of growth is even greater will be quite profound unless we do.

The government alone cannot meet the health needs, but thus far, neither has the market. What is the problem? There is a huge demand for an AIDS vaccine, but the problem is, as all the economists here will readily understand, the demand is among people who have no money to pay for it. Therefore, the companies that could be developing the vaccines have virtually no incentive to put in the massive amounts of research money necessary to do the job. Only 10 percent—listen to this—10 percent of all biomedical research is devoted to diseases that overwhelmingly affect the poorest countries.

Now, we have sharply increased our investment in vaccine research, boosted funding for buying vaccines so that companies know there will be a guaranteed market not just for AIDS but for other infectious diseases, proposed a tax credit to help provide for future vaccines to encourage more companies to invest in trying to find vaccines where there are none presently.

I think we should expand that approach to the development of drugs and keep pressing pharmaceutical companies to make life-saving treatments affordable to all. But we can't ask them to go broke; we're going to have to pay them to do it—directly or indirectly through tax credits.

One of the best health programs, the best economic development programs and the best antipoverty strategies, as the vice chancellor said very early on today, is a good education. Each additional year spent in school increases wages by 10 to 20 percent in the developing world. A primary education boosts the farmers' output by about 8 percent. And the education of girls is especially critical. Studies show that literate girls have significantly smaller and healthier families. I want to say just parenthetically here, I'm very grateful for the work that my wife has done over the last 8 years around the world to try to help protect young women and girls, get

them in school, keep them in school. And I hope that we will do more on that. That can make a huge difference. And there are still cultures where there is dramatically disparate treatment between girls and boys and whether they go to school and whether they can stay. If all children on every continent had the tools to fulfill their God-given potential, the prospect for peace, prosperity, and freedom in the developing world would be far greater.

We are making progress. In the past decade, primary enrollments have increased at twice the rate—twice the rate—of the 1980's. Still, more than 100 million kids get no schooling at all; 60 percent of them are girls. Almost half of all African children and a quarter of those in south and west Asia are being denied this fundamental right.

Just this year 181 nations joined to set a goal of providing basic education to every child, girls and boys alike, in every country by 2015. Few of our other efforts will be successful if we fail to reach this goal. What it will take is now known to us all. It's going to take a commitment by the developing countries to propose specific strategies and realistic budgets, to get their kids out of the fields and factories, to remove the fees and other obstacles that keep them out of the classroom. And it's going to take an effort by the wealthier countries to invest in things that are working.

I hope a promising example is something that we in the United States started in the last year, a \$300 million global school lunch initiative, using a nutritious meal as an incentive for parents to send their children to school. I am very hopeful that this will increase enrollment, and I believe it will. And I want to thank the U.K. and other countries that are willing to contribute to and support this.

But the main point I want to make is, we can't expect to get all these children in the developing world into schools unless we're willing to help pay. I've been to schools in Africa that have maps that don't have 70 countries that exist today on them. And yet, we know that if they just had one good computer with one good printer, and someone paid for the proper connections, they could

get all the information they need in the poorest places in the world to provide good primary education. Should we pay for it? I think it would be a good investment.

Let me say just a few words about the digital divide. Today, south Asia is 700 times less likely to have access to the Internet than America. It's estimated that in 2010, in the Asia-Pacific region, the top 8 economies will have 72 percent of their people on line, but the bottom 11 will have less than 4 percent. If that happens, the global economy really will resemble a worldwide web, a bunch of interlocking strands with huge holes in between.

It's fair to ask, I suppose, are computers really an answer for people who are starving or can't yet read? Is E-commerce an answer for villages that don't even have electricity? Of course, I wouldn't say that. We have to begin with the basics. But there should not be a choice between Pentium and penicillin. That's another one of those false choices Prime Minister Blair and I have been trying to throw into the waste bin of history.

We should not patronize poor people by saying they don't need 21st century tools and skills. Microcredit loans in Bangladesh by the Grameen Bank to poor village women to buy cell phones has proved out to be one of the most important economic initiatives in one of the poorest countries in the world.

I went to a village co-op in Nayla, Rajasthan, India, last year, last March, and I was astonished to see the women's milk co-op doing all of its billing on computers and marketing on computers. And I saw another computer there that had all the information from the federal and state government with a wonderful printer, so that all the village women, no matter how poor, could come in. And one woman came in with a 2-week-old baby and printed out all the information about what she ought to do with the baby for the next 6 months.

So I think it's a copout to say that technology cannot be of immense help to very poor people in remote places. If it's done right, it may be of more help to them than to people who are nearer centers of more traditional, economic and educational and health opportunity.

So from my point of view, we have to begin to have more places like those poor villages in India, like the cell phone businesses in Bangladesh, like the city of Hyderabad in India, now being called "Cyberabad." Developing countries have to do their part here, too. They have to have laws and regulations that permit the greatest possible access at the lowest possible cost. And in the developed world, governments have to work with corporations and NGO's to provide equipment and expertise. That's the goal of the digital opportunity task force, which the G-8 has embraced, and I hope we will continue to do that.

Let me just say one word about climate change. If you follow this issue, you know we had a fairly contentious meeting recently about climate change, with no resolution about how to implement the Kyoto agreement, which calls for the advanced nations to set targets and for some mechanisms to be devised for the developing nations to participate. There are lots of controversies about to what extent countries should be able to get credit for sinks. Trees—do the trees have to be planted? Can they already be up? To what extent the developing countries should agree to follow a path of development that is different from the one that we followed in the United States and the United Kingdom. I don't want to get into all that now, except to say there will be domestic and regional politics everywhere. But let's look at the facts.

The facts are that the last decade was the hottest decade in 1,000 years. If the temperature of the Earth continues to warm at this rate, it is unsustainable. Within something like 50 years, in the United States, the Florida Everglades and the sugarcane fields in Louisiana will be under water. Agricultural production will have to be moved north in many places. And the world will be a very different place. There will be more extreme weather events. There will be more people displaced. It will become virtually impossible in some places to have a sustainable economy. This is a big deal.

And the only thing I would like to say is that I do not believe that we will ever succeed unless we convince people—the interest groups in places like the United States

which have been resistant and the driving political forces in countries like India and China who don't want to think that we're using targets in climate change to keep them poor—we have to convince them that you can break the link between growing wealth and putting more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

There is ample evidence that this is true and new discoveries just on the horizon which will make it more true. But it is shocking to me how few people in responsible positions in the public and private sector even know what the present realities are in terms of the relationship in energy use and economic growth. So I think one of the most important things that the developed world ought to be doing is not only making sure we're doing a better job on our own business, which is something the United States has to do—not only doing more in the missions' trading so that we can get more technology out of the developed world but making sure people know that this actually works.

An enormous majority of the decision-makers in the developed and the developing world still don't believe that a country can grow rich and stay rich unless it puts more greenhouse gas into the atmosphere every year—it is not true. And so this is one area where we can make a big contribution to sustainable development and to creating economic opportunities in developing countries, if we can just get people in positions of influence to get rid of a big idea that is no longer true.

Was Victor Hugo who said, "There's nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come"? The reverse is also true: There's no bigger curse than a big idea that hangs on after its time has gone. And so, I hope all of you will think about that.

Finally, let me just say that no generation has ever had the opportunity that all of us now have to build a global economy that leaves no one behind and, in the process, to create a new century of peace and prosperity in a world that is more constructively and truly interdependent. It is a wonderful opportunity. It is also a profound responsibility. For 8 years, I have done what I could to lead my country down that path. I think for the rest of our lives, we had all better stay on it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:08 p.m. in Butterworth Hall at the University of Warwick Arts Center. In his remarks, he referred to Sir Brian Follett, vice chancellor, Sir Shridath Ramphal, chancellor, and Lord Robert Skidelsky, professor of economics, University of Warwick; Sir Follett's wife, Lady Deb Follett; and Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and his wife, Cherie.

Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One

December 14, 2000

[The President's remarks are joined in progress]

European Union

The President. Seriously, what we were just talking about—maybe I should make the general point I was going to just make. She said it was so interesting to her when she goes to Europe, people are so interested in these decisions, and Americans don't seem to be. But the truth is, this is their lives, you know. I mean, for people in the Republic, they live with sort of an open wound with all this trouble in Northern Ireland.

But for people in Northern Ireland, it's just being able to get in your car and not worrying about going down the street and having a bomb go off. It's worth a lot.

So, it matters to them that—some people, you know, questioned over the last 8 years whether—first of all, whether I should have done that, because it made the British mad eventually. But in the end, they were very glad we did. But when the United States is involved, even in a small place, it has big psychological significance to the entire Continent. It makes a big difference.

I mean, it's obvious what was at stake in Bosnia and Kosovo, but in Northern Ireland it said to the rest of Europe that the U.S. still cares about Europe; we're still involved with them. So it has an effect in helping us, because we have all kinds of problems with Europe. You know, we have all these tough environmental issues related to the trade issues and then the trade issues themselves

and all that, and we will have. And they're going through all their growing pains.

You saw they just had this real tough meeting in, I think, Nice, where they were arguing over how to aggregate the votes and whether Germany should have more because they have more people. And they argue they should have more because they have more people and they have to pay more money. So, if they have to pay more money and have more people, they ought to have money.

And then you've got France, Italy, and Britain all at the same population. They're all at 60 million, and then it's a pretty good drop down to Spain. I think Spain has got like 40 million.

Q. But no recounts from what I understand.

The President. No. They all use hand ballots, pencil ballots. So go ahead, what were you going to say about Ireland?

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. If you wanted to give some advice about Northern Ireland—

The President. To President-elect Bush?

Q. Yes, on Ireland. The people there are faced with a significant amount—[inaudible]—on Gerry Adams. What was the make-up? How did you come to that?

The President. Well, I reached the conclusion that it was worth the risk for two reasons. And the risks were two. One is, would it do irreparable damage to our relationship with Great Britain? And two, would the IRA really declare a cease-fire and honor it, or would it look like I gave a visa to him, and they were still getting money out of Boston and New York for bad purposes that were still going on?

On the second, I felt based on people we knew in Ireland, starting with the then-*Taoiseach*, Albert Reynolds, that they would honor their word, because it was in their interest to do so, and they had made a decision to try to work out a peace.

And on the first, I felt that the relationship between the U.S. and Britain was so strong, and we agreed on so many foreign policy issues related to Europe—like the expansion of NATO, the importance of trying to solve the Balkans crisis, just to mention two—that if I put a lot of my time and effort into going

to the U.K. and working at it, that we could work through it. And it turned out to be a good gamble.

And I had actually quite a good relationship with John Major. I mean, the British press just killed us for a while, and they said, "Clinton did this because Major and the Tories supported President Bush, helped—look at Clinton's passport file." It was all ridiculous. I didn't give a rip about that.

Q. But what finally made you—

The President. So my advice to the President-elect, I think—and I really haven't had a chance to talk about it—is just sort of stick with the policy and work with the leaders, because now, you know, you have a consensus in Great Britain and in Ireland for continuing to work with the parties in Northern Ireland. And they will have to make—there will be specific calls along the way they will have to make. Maybe they will make them the same way I would; maybe they wouldn't. But that's not as important as the general trend there, because, you know, there are some problems that are unresolved where time is running against you, so you might as well go ahead and bite the bullet and do it.

I feel very strongly about that in the Middle East. They need to reach some sort of new accommodation; that is, we have come to the end of the road of the September '93 agreement, plus the Wye accord, plus incremental measures. They need a new understanding. They need to—they've got to either resolve it all or at least decide what the next step up is, so they can get back to living in peace and the Palestinian economy can start to grow.

With Ireland, the Irish Republic is the fastest growing economy in Europe. Northern Ireland is now the fastest growing part of the U.K. They come in from a low base, but they're catching up in a hurry.

There was a big headline, I don't know if you saw it, in one of the papers during our trip that said that there had been 600 million pounds in American investment alone in Northern Ireland, where it only has a million-and-a-half people, in the 5 years since I went there the first time.

So, in Ireland, all you got to do is just keep it going because the people will stay a little

ahead of the politicians. The people will not let the politicians crater this deal as long as their lives are getting better.

Q. Have you heard back from Belfast, sir, and has your trip had its desired effect?

The President. Well, they all were happy with it. You know, that is, all the parties that are actually involved in the Government and the peace process support the Good Friday accords, are all happy, and we're inching along. And they may get another breakthrough. The point is that the atmosphere was much better.

I saw Sky TV. That's the European—the way they played the Northern Ireland event—they had a little clip from me; they had little deal about my swansong in Ireland and blah, blah, blah; and then they have a little clip from me, a little clip from Tony Blair; and then they had a great line from David Trimble's speech about how he wouldn't let us go back to the—he had that one poetic line about the dark and the hatred.

Q. Grudges.

The President. All that, that line. They played that on television. Well, that's a huge deal because it reassures the Protestants that they're supported, and it's immensely reassuring to the Catholic community that, you know, he's still—even if they disagree with some particular position that he's taking, that he's still on the track.

And so my belief is that they will eventually work this out if they just give it enough time, because they're doing better every day. That's the right strategy. So, I don't think this is going to be a difficult challenge for President Bush.

Q. [Inaudible].

The President. That's entirely up to all of them, starting with him. I don't think it's—I think the Irish—a lot of them asked me about it, but it's only because they know me and they're comfortable. And once he gets in there and has a good policy, they'll be fine.

So, if they ever needed me, I would do it. But I think, on balance, it's not going to be essential. They'll do just fine with this.

Q. What do you see when people—when the Irish, for instance, asked you to stay involved, or in the Middle East, a lot of people have suggested you should stay involved? Is

that an apprehension on their part just about the change? I mean, you also have a unique relationship with the people.

The President. I think that always happens. And we're going to have a good transition. Al Gore made a fabulous speech last night. The country will get into it. We'll adjust very quickly, and so will all of them. They'll all adjust quickly. So it will be fine. I think, you know, it will just be fine.

The essential thing about democracy is that no one is indispensable. That's why you have a system like this. And you know, whenever you're the first person to do something, people have a feeling about you. That's a nice thing for me personally. And if I can ever be helpful in some—you know, if your President asks you to do something, you do it. Bob Dole was on television last night talking about how I had asked him to go to Bosnia and Kosovo and things we had done together.

But it's not important. The most important thing is that we have a good transition and that he get off to a good start. The rest of it will take care of itself.

Conversation With President-elect Bush

Q. Can we ask what you said to the President-elect?

The President. I congratulated him, and I told him that I thought he made a fine statement last night, and I thought that Al had made a fine statement, and that I look forward to seeing him. He said he was coming early next week, and we would get together. That's all.

Conversation With Vice President Gore

Q. What about Vice President Gore? Did you have to console him at all?

The President. I just called him—he was having his Christmas party—I called him and told him how proud I was of the statement. I told him that it was—I thought it was fabulous. I told him I wasn't sure I could have done it as well as he did. It was just fabulous, and he laughed. Al's got a friend that he went to college with who is a standup comic, and he says his best line now is something like, "Gore got the best of all worlds: He won the popular vote and doesn't have to do the job." It's a great line.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—*where they have to go now—a lot of it in our country seems to be reconciliation, reconciliation for the U.S., as is typical Presidential race, reconciliation for the issues that you had to face in the last couple of years, reconciliation for Catholics and Protestants, what would you take away from that? What advice would you give to somebody—

The President. To the Irish? Well, they have to keep working together. For example, it's hard for us as outsiders to appreciate the significance of that event yesterday. But in that event yesterday, you had huge numbers of Catholics and huge numbers of Protestants sitting in a room together, a big room, clapping at the same lines. Now, that seems like self-evident, say, "Well, it's almost like the rhetoric of peace, and so what's the deal here?"

But I'm not sure even 2 years ago we could have gotten that big a crowd from both communities, from the young to the old—the kids would have done it that were there yesterday, but all the adults, I don't know that we could have done it, even 2 years ago. So, I really believe this is largely a question of sustained personal contact.

Their interests are clearly far more served by what they have in common than their differences. They just have to continue to build trust. All these issues that they're debating now are basically trust issues.

Immigration in Ireland

Q. In regard to that, the Celtic Tiger, the economy that's going so strong—but a new component in Ireland is the idea of immigration to their country, and the eight people killed in Ireland, immigrants, last year—

The President. It's going to be a whole new challenge for them because they're—it's funny, the Irish have emigrated all over the world, and I don't believe there has been day since the United Nations sent its first peacekeeping force out that there hasn't been an Irish peacekeeper somewhere around the world involved in peacekeeping efforts. It's stunning.

So, there is no nation on Earth as small as Ireland that has had the impact and the outreach Ireland has had to the rest of the

world, partly because they had to come to America to live, the Potato Famine and later, and significant numbers of them were still coming when I became President. You know, there were an enormous number of nurses in Arkansas from Northern Ireland when I was Governor.

Q. Which they'd like back now.

The President. Yes, which they would like back now, and they may want to go home because they can make decent money now, but they never had the reverse happen. Saint Patrick was an Englishman. He was practically the last significant immigrant into Ireland, if you think about it. I mean, he was an Englishman. There had never been a huge in-migration. So, you know, it's tragic that those people were killed, but they're dealing—this is going to be a whole new experience for them.

It's not like London. England has had—I saw some of this when I was a student in England in the late sixties and 1970. They had—what was that guy's name—I never thought I would forget that rightwing politician's name that was leading all the anti-immigrant stuff?

Q. In America?

The President. In Great Britain. I can't believe I've forgotten his name. But the point is, there was all this early tension. Now you walk the streets of London, and the immigrants are there. They're all intermarried, but they still have their communities and their traditions. There are movies being made now about kind of like—I saw a great movie on the plane about a—a British movie about a Pakistani family, about the Pakistani family trying to preserve its traditions and cultures, a Pakistani husband and English wife, but he wants his kids all to have proper Muslim marriages with other Pakistani families. All those things that are—they're still playing themselves out. But they're operating at a highly, I think, functional level now compared to 30 years ago.

The Irish will work through this. They're basically incredibly generous, spirited people, but they have had a very distinct Irish culture and mentality for hundreds of years. And with the economic success of the Irish Republic now and the romantic appeal of Ireland and the great lifestyle—and Dublin

is a fabulous city, you know; it's big enough to be fascinating and not too big to be overwhelming—they're going to have a lot of people who want to live there.

Q. Did Chelsea like it?

The President. Oh, Chelsea loves Dublin. Chelsea loves Ireland. Chelsea loved Ireland before I ever got involved in all of this. She was reading Irish historical novels when she was a kid.

Q. Would she go to grad school there?

The President. I don't know. But if she did, it would be fine with me. It would give me an excuse to go back.

But I think the Irish will do fine with this. They will just have to work through it. I don't think people should be too judgmental or alarmist because this is an experience they're dealing with that the Americans had to begin dealing with at the turn of the century when we had our big wave of immigrants, or even before, when the Chinese came to build the railroad, and the British dealt with, in the middle of this century, the last century, up through the 1960's and the early seventies. And they're dealing with it.

You know, so you will have some of this stuff happen. It's terrible and regrettable, but they will absorb them. And I think it will be quite amazing 10 years from now to go there and see all these people with different colored skin quoting Yeats' poetry.

President's Future Plans

Q. Mr. President, did this trip, and the fact that there is now a President-elect, cement your thoughts about your own future any more?

The President. Not really. I'm thinking about it. I need to get a little sleep here. I've worked pretty hard for the last 8 years, for the last 27 years, and I'm going to just—I want to try to be a useful citizen. But I will—I've got to build that library. I've got a lot of things to do.

Q. So, you're tired. Does that mean that this is your last foreign trip? You don't have that look about you, sir?

Q. We could do this all the way to North Korea.

The President. I don't have anything to say about that now. [*Laughter*] I can't comment on that.

Q. I do have an example of Irish generosity, if you will hold on for just a second.

The President. Do it.

President-elect Bush

Q. Some people are comparing George Bush to you, saying that he has the same type of—[*inaudible*]. Do you see that in him?

The President. Well, I think he's, you know, trying to build good will, which I think is important. And maybe the last few years have bled enough poison out of the system where it will be possible. And I think the Democrats, anyway, are more generally inclined toward working—you know, we basically believe in Government. We believe in the possibility of doing things. And so I think that the Democrats will give him a honeymoon and an opportunity to get his feet on the ground and pass some of his program and do some things. And I think they ought to.

Discussions With Queen Elizabeth II

Q. Can I ask you about the visit with the Queen? You were saying earlier that you actually discussed a little bit of politics.

The President. Yes. She's very careful, you know. She observes strictly the British tradition of not making policy statements. But she's a highly intelligent woman who knows a lot about the world. She has traveled a lot. She has fulfilled her responsibilities, I think, enormously well, and I always marvel, when we meet, at what a keen judge she is of human events. I think she's a very impressive person. I like her very much.

Q. Did you have tea?

The President. We had tea. We had proper tea, yes. Actually, I had a little coffee, but Hillary had tea.

[*A reporter presented the President with a souvenir.*]

Q. Last time I went to Ireland with Hillary, she liked that.

The President. Yes, we do like this.

Q. And because you won't be having this, I think you deserve a little memory of your time. [*Laughter*]

The President. Believe it or not, I don't have one of these.

Q. You can keep the limo and play with that, you know, up on the desk.

The President. What I need is an automated tape of “Hail to the Chief” so I know when I’m going into a room that I won’t be lost. [*Laughter*] This is great. Thank you.

Supreme Court

Q. Mr. President, you said in your statement this morning that the Vice President spoke for a lot of people who disagreed with the Supreme Court decision. Is there a way—

The President. But accept it. I agree with both the things he said. He said it just right. Is there a way what?

Q. Do you think, though, there is the sense that the Court was political or is—and that is bad for the country that the Court ever got involved in deciding the election?

The President. I think that the statements of the Vice President and the President-elect should stand on their own, and at this time I should not say anything about it. I think it’s just—I don’t think I should comment on it now.

Q. You said on Saturday that in order to bestow legitimacy on the President-elect, the Supreme Court should allow the vote. Do you not feel that same way now?

The President. No, I said I disagree with the Court decision, but I accept it. The right of judicial review established by John Marshall in *Marbury* against *Madison*, then involving review of executive actions of the President, has been extended to every other aspect of our law wherever there is a Federal question involved.

And somebody has to make the final call. And the American people obviously make their judgments about it. And the Court, as you know, often had different positions than they do now, that we’ve been through a lot of, you know, a lot of cycles of this. Remember, the Supreme Court struck down all the New Deal legislation until 1937. Then they turned around, and they changed.

Plessy v. Ferguson was the law until the Warren Court came along and basically re-deemed the promise of the Civil War and the 13th and 14th and 15th amendments. Before Abraham Lincoln and the war and the amendments, the Supreme Court said in the

Dred Scott case that even a freed slave that—I mean a slave that escaped to a free State was still property.

So, the Supreme Court—people can make their judgments there. No one looking back on history would say that every decision they have made is right. We could all find ones we agree and disagree with. But the principle of judicial review is very important in this country, and therefore we must all accept the decisions we don’t agree with.

Q. Justice Stevens, in his dissent, said the one loser here is—I’m paraphrasing, obviously—the belief of Americans in a non-political unbiased nature of the Court. [*Inaudible*] Is that what he said?

The President. I just don’t want to comment on it. I don’t think—I can serve no purpose by commenting on it. If I did, I would not be honoring what Vice President Gore said he wanted us to do in his speech and what President-elect Bush said he was trying to establish in the country.

There will be time enough to comment on it. And a lot of law professors and other people who understand the history of the Constitution will comment on it. And the American people will read it and discuss it. And at some future time, it might be appropriate for me to put down somewhere my thoughts about it. But I don’t think it’s right, now. I think that this is a period when we ought to let—get the country going forward and give the President-elect a chance to put his transition in order. That’s what’s best for the country, and I want to honor that.

Favorite Visit to Ireland

Q. What was your favorite trip to Ireland?

The President. My favorite trip to Ireland? It’s very hard. But the first time I went—I loved ’98. I loved Limerick. You know, that was great when we went there.

Q. Not to mention Ballybunion?

The President. Not to mention Ballybunion, yes, which I missed because of Bosnia. You remember, in ’95, I had to go see our troops off in Germany. I think I went to Ramstein in Germany.

But in ’95 it was like a dam breaking. You know, the emotion, the feeling for peace. Keep in mind, things were much more uncertain then. We had a good cease-fire, but

we were still 3 years away from the Good Friday accord, or 2½ years. It was the end of '95 when I went, and then the spring of '98 was the Good Friday accord. But you know, I never will forget being in Derry, turning on the Christmas lights in Belfast with—who was singing there?

Q. Van Morrison.

The President. Van Morrison was singing there, and then I went to Derry, and Phil Coulter sang “The Town I Love So Well” in the square with all the people filling the square, and then that street that goes up the hill behind it as far as you could see.

I mean, there wasn't a dry eye in the place, you know. I mean, I just can't—and then we went to Dublin. There were over 100,000 people in the streets in front of Trinity. We set up on the bank, you know, in front of the Bank of Ireland building—it was just amazing; there were a lot of interesting people—and quoted Seamus Heaney's poem, you know, from the “Cure of Troy,” for which the next year I took a phrase and made it the title of the book I put out in '96.

And when I got to Dublin, Seamus came over to the Ambassador's residence and had handwritten out the section of the poem that I quoted. It's what the chorus says, “History says don't hope on this side of the grave. But once in a lifetime the longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up, and hope and history rhyme. Believe in miracles and cures and healing wells.” I have it on the wall in my private office on the second floor, and I look at it every day.

And so he wrote it out in his hand, and then at the end he said, “To President Clinton: It was a fortunate wind that blew you here,” and that line is also from the “Cure of Troy,” which I would have every person involved in any of these kinds of things read.

It's only about 90 pages long, and it's a play written in the form of a Greek tragedy so that the chorus speaks for the collective wisdom of the people. It's a play about Philoctetes, who was a Greek warrior with Ulysses. He had the magic bow, and whenever the Greeks have Philoctetes in the Trojan Wars, they always won. They never lost a battle when he was there.

And they were in a battle, and he was badly wounded. And they thought he was certain

to die. His leg was horribly wounded, and they were afraid to carry him. And they were trying to make a quick getaway. So they dumped him on this tiny island in the Aegean, which was just basically rock and shrub. And he didn't die, and his leg never fully healed. It just sort of became a stump.

And for 10 years, he was alone on the island. He became this sort of wild feral creature, just hair everywhere and his stump leg. And Odysseus got a message for the gods—Ulysses did—that Philoctetes was alive and that he had to have him to win the final battle of the Trojan War with the famous Trojan Horse.

So, he—Ulysses devised this ruse to try to con him back into the deal. He took a very nice young man with him on a boat, and they found this island, and he sent the young guy up to see him. And he had some line he put on him about—he figured out there was something wrong; this didn't make sense; this guy appears after 10 years.

So finally Ulysses kind of fessed up, went up and said, “I left you. I shouldn't have. I'm sorry, but we need you. Will you come?” And he forgives him, and he comes. He gets his magic bow, and he limps down to the boat, and they go off, and they win the Trojan War.

So, it's a story about how this guy is living alone on this God-forsaken rock while his leg never heals, and yet somehow what happened to him over those 10 years, he just gives it up. And he goes on. And when he is leaving, as he is pulling out of the—you know, away from the island, the three of them in the boat—Philoctetes looks back at the island and says, “It was a fortunate wind that blew me here.”

But he somehow, in that 10 years, just purged his soul. I mean, it's really—all the things Seamus ever wrote for the peace process in Northern Ireland and for people struggling with tribal wars in Africa or any of these conflicts, or people that are still mad at each other—you know, when I got to Washington, there were Members of Congress still mad at each other over things that happened in the 1970's, literally, still mad. And you know, there were times when I felt like a pinata in somebody else's ballgame.

So you know, when I read this—I remember I read it one night in the Presidential guest residence in Cairo. I had been carrying it around with me, and you know, my body clock was all messed up and I couldn't sleep. So Hillary went to sleep, and I just sat up and read it. And I thought, "Wow, this is really—I wish I could just get everybody to read this."

Q. Cario was—[inaudible].

The President. Well, whenever—one of the times I was in Cairo. The one thing about me, I have a reputation for having a good memory, but it's totally shot. I literally—I remember things that we did now, and I can't remember what year we did them. And if I'm going to write my memoirs, I'm going to have to get all these young people that work for me to come in and sort of fill in the blanks.

So much has happened in such a compressed way. On a deal like this, you know, maybe I get 3 hours of sleep a night. I just can't remember things, or I remember things, but I don't remember exactly when they happened.

Q. Why did an Irish playwright write a Greek tragedy?

The President. I think that he believed that it was a simple, clear way to capture some timeless wisdom that would speak to Ireland and maybe to others in the same position.

It's really an astonishing work, you know, because if you read it—if you didn't know anything about it, you would think, is this some play of Aeschylus I missed when I was in Greek Literature 101 or something?

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. Before you leave office, do you think that there will be a sense of permanency—[inaudible]?

The President. That's what I was trying to say in the beginning. I think that it's creeping in. And I think that the psychological impact of this visit, more than anything else, was designed to help create that. But I think there will be rough spots along the road. I think there will be arguments back and forth.

Q. Do you think there will be—[inaudible]?

The President. No, I think they will still have arguments. I just don't think they will ever let it slip the tracks.

Q. Do you think that the policing and de-commissioning—[inaudible]—have some kind of common ground—[inaudible]?

The President. I think they're moving on them. Whether they will be resolved or not, I don't know. But the main thing is, I think every time you do something that really builds confidence and mutual trust, at least if they think—both sides think that they want to make it, you know, then it's—you increase the likelihood of success one way or the other. And the time deadlines don't matter so much.

I'm more concerned about, you know, giving that sense again to the Middle East. We had that sense for a while, and then Rabin got killed, and then we had those two terrible terrorist incidents, and the whole Middle East rallied around the Israelis at Sharm al-Sheikh, totally unprecedented, never happened before.

And then there was this sense of possibility again. And then, even with all the difficulties they had with the Netanyahu government, the differences of opinion wound up producing the Wye accords. It was 9 days and nights, and it was sort of like the last person standing won the argument, but it was—they did it. There was a sense of it. That's what they need again. They need a sense that, you know, the direction is right, and it's going to work.

Q. [Inaudible]—some Israelis suggest that you will go back there and give it one more shot.

The President. I don't want to comment on that either. I don't want to comment on that or North Korea, because all these things are very delicate. The less I say, the better it is for them and for whatever I can do and for the next President.

Q. Were you surprised by Prime Minister Barak's resignation—[inaudible]?

The President. Well, sort of, but you know it's—it's all been written about. Everybody knows kind of what's going on. I think he decided that he wanted to bring some finality to it. He wanted to have some deadline, some election, whether either his course will be ratified or something will happen. I

think it was—it's bold move. We will have to see how it works.

Q. [*Inaudible*—mentioned that Jim Baker being back on the scene—remembered that he was the one that uttered that you were working on “Gulliver’s Travels” in 1996, regarding your work in Northern Ireland. Do you think he owes you an apology for that statement?

The President. I don’t know. I don’t make judgments about—I think when it comes to apologies, you ought to save your judgments for yourself—to whom should you apologize, and let other people make those decisions. I think that, look, nobody is right about everything. He is an immensely talented man. And I think the course is right, now. And I think the fact that I’m leaving the scene is not—won’t be significant. I just don’t think they will let it go.

Q. Do you think Hillary will take up where you left off in Washington?

The President. Well, she will be a Senator, not President, but I think that she will be passionately interested in the Irish question, and she is kind of like me. Although, unlike me, she has no Irish relatives. Her people are English and Welsh, but she is very familiar with Great Britain. She made all my trips there, and I think she will be a very positive force.

And of course, we’ve got that huge Irish crowd in New York. They were the people that really introduced me to the Irish issues—the New York Irish and Bruce Morrison from New Haven, who had been a friend of Hillary’s and mine since we went to law school together, and the late Paul O’Dwyer and his son—Niall O’Dowd, that whole crowd.

Q. [*Inaudible*—the Irish Echo.

The President. The Irish Echo, yes. They were there at the beginning, my first meeting in 1991. We had that little meeting, you know. And I thought, you know, it makes a lot of sense to me. I will do something on this. I will pander to her. I don’t mind. I will give her the pander. Hey, I’m leaving. I’ll pander. [*Laughter*]

Favorite Visit Outside Ireland

Q. What was your favorite trip outside of Ireland?

The President. I don’t know. I loved so many of them. I loved that trip to India. I loved my trip to China. I loved the—the Africa trip was amazing. There was a Guinean woman—you were standing there on the street today; you were there with me—when we were walking down, you know, on Portobello Road. Did you see that woman come up to me and say, *Aproba, aproba, aproba?* That’s the Guinean word for welcome. I said, “Were you there?” She said, “I was there. I was there in the square.” It was so touching. It was wonderful.

I think it’s really important that the United States have a sort of 21st century view of what really counts in the world. I think that Africa has to count for us. I think that Latin America has to count for us. I think President-elect Bush, I think, will be very, very good in Latin America.

One of the things that I noticed about him that I liked, during all the years when I fought the Republicans in Congress and in California over immigration issues, he never got over there with them. And it’s probably the only issue on which Texas Republicans are more liberal or less conservative than California Republicans. And it’s because of the whole history and culture of the Rio Grande Valley, which I love very much.

I went down there 30 years ago, and I’ve always loved it. I think I was the first President in 50 years, almost, to go down there as President. And I have been three times to the Rio Grande Valley. And you can’t understand how Texans feel about immigration if you’ve never spent any time in the Rio Grande Valley and understand how it works for them. It’s a whole different deal.

And he will be very comfortable. He will be good with Mexico. And I think it will lead him to an interest in not only in the big countries of South America but, I would hope, the small countries of Central America too. But I expect he will be quite successful in building on the outreach we’ve done in the Latin American countries.

It’s going to be important. That’s the point I was trying to make today in my speech at Warwick. As the world becomes more interdependent, pursuing our interests involves more than great power politics.

It's like in the Middle East. Now, I think pursuing our interests involves having a good relationship with the Saudis and, insofar as we can, the other oil producers, except for Iraq, where I just don't think—I think they're still unreconstructed.

But it also involves caring about the Palestinians. Life is more than money and power. And ideas are power, and emotions are power. I have tried to reconcile the legitimate desires of both the Israelis and the Palestinians. We didn't succeed yet, but we—I think that in the end, if we want Israel to be fully secure and at peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian question has to be resolved in a way that enables them, actually, not only to live but to actually start, you know, having a successful economy and a functioning society.

I've got to go. It's been interesting.

I can't really say I had a favorite trip because all of them, you know, I can remember too many things about them all.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. e.s.t. aboard Air Force One en route from the United Kingdom to Andrews Air Force Base, MD. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair and former Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; First Minister David Trimble of Northern Ireland; musicians Van Morrison and Phil Coulter; former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel; and Niall O'Dowd, publisher, *The Irish Voice*.

Statement on the Release of Edmond Pope

December 14, 2000

I welcome today's release of Edmond Pope after 8 months of detention in Russia and appreciate President Putin's decision to pardon Mr. Pope.

Mr. Pope's ordeal was unjustified. It is fortunate that humanitarian considerations prevailed in the end.

I admire the impressive support Mr. Pope received from his wife and family and from Congressman John Peterson of Pennsylvania and other Members of Congress. I commend their tireless efforts on his behalf.

Statement on the 2000 Monitoring the Future Survey

December 14, 2000

Today's 2000 Monitoring the Future Survey confirms that we are making real progress in our fight against youth drug and tobacco use. The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) study released by Secretary Donna Shalala and Office of National Drug Control Policy Director Barry McCaffrey shows teen cigarette use falling sharply across all grades surveyed. The percentage of teenagers reporting cigarette use in the past month dropped by nearly 10 percent among high school seniors, and over 15 percent among eighth graders. The study also shows that efforts to change student attitudes on tobacco are having a positive impact: More teens now believe that smoking carries risks, while fewer report that cigarettes are readily available. This year also marks the fourth in a row that overall teenage use of illicit drugs has remained stable or declined. In particular, the data shows a significant drop in cocaine use among high school seniors and heroin use among eighth graders in 2000. In combination with the National Household and PRIDE surveys this year, these results demonstrate a continuing downward trend in overall youth drug use.

Today's research shows that the efforts of the Clinton/Gore administration have put us on the right track to give our children safer, healthier futures. Vice President Gore and I have fought hard to reverse the dangerous youth smoking trends we saw throughout the earlier part of the 1990's. We worked to raise the price of tobacco to keep it out of the hands of children and urged States to do their part by implementing effective, comprehensive tobacco control and prevention approaches. My administration also developed the first nationwide plan to protect children from the dangers of tobacco, and I have continued to call on Congress to take further steps, including passing legislation to approve FDA's authority to implement this plan. Meanwhile, our National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and other initiatives have helped to change attitudes and steer children away from illegal drugs.

These efforts have made a difference, but we cannot afford to let up in this fight. Today's results also show emerging threats, such as increased Ecstasy use, while also reminding us that the overall levels of youth drug, tobacco, and alcohol use remain unacceptably high. I urge the next Congress to support these proven efforts to give our children the safe and healthy futures that they deserve.

Proclamation—Wright Brothers Day, 2000

December 14, 2000

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In 1903, Orville and Wilbur Wright were poised on the brink of one of history's most remarkable advances. For years, the two brothers had been mesmerized by the principle of flight and had studied birds to understand how these fascinating creatures rose, fell, and darted through the air. The Wright Brothers' studies affirmed what they had long believed: that powered, controlled human flight was possible. After much research and experimentation and many trials and failures, the brothers tested their prototype biplane on the windy dunes of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. On December 17, their efforts were rewarded and their dream realized when the Wright Flyer rose through the air, soaring for 12 seconds and traveling 120 feet.

While it took humanity thousands of years to reach that pivotal moment, we have achieved stunning advances in aviation in the past century alone. Less than 25 years after the Wright Brothers' inaugural flight, Charles Lindbergh conquered the Atlantic Ocean flying nonstop aboard *The Spirit of St. Louis*; in less than 50 years, Chuck Yeager broke the sound barrier; and in less than 70 years, the United States reached the heavens and landed two men on the Moon. Today, we continue to explore the frontiers of space as the International Space Station orbits the Earth.

The creative vision, ingenuity, and indomitable spirit that sparked the Wright Brothers' achievement still power our Nation's aviation accomplishments today. Air travel is a vital part of life in America, and people across the country depend on our air transportation system to link them with one another and to sustain our growing economy. Last year alone, U.S. airlines safely transported almost 700 million passengers on 13 million flights.

The gift of flight has immeasurably strengthened our Nation and enriched the lives of people around the world. It is only fitting that we should remember on December 17 the two visionary Americans whose scientific curiosity, independent thinking, and technical genius began a new era that has taken us to the threshold of space and beyond. The Congress, by a joint resolution approved December 17, 1963 (77 Stat. 402; 36 U.S.C. 143), has designated December 17 of each year as "Wright Brothers Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue annually a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 17, 2000, as Wright Brothers Day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord two thousand, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-fifth.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: At the time of publication, this proclamation had not been received by the Office of the Federal Register for assignment of a proclamation number.

Remarks at a Special Olympics Dinner

December 15, 2000

Thank you, Senator. Trying to get in practice, guys. I want to thank Victor and Katy and Barry and all the Special Olympics global messengers. Let's give them all a big hand

again. [Applause] Actually, I don't know whether I want to thank Victor or not. I understand that the very first time you played golf, you hit a ball 250 yards. And I want to know the secret before we go any further with this friendship of ours.

I also want to thank our friend Jamie Lee Curtis, who has been a great master of ceremonies and has walked us all through this tonight. Let's give her a big hand—[applause]—and all the wonderful performers who have graced this stage tonight because they believe in Special Olympics. Hillary and I have been proud supporters of Special Olympics for many, many years, and we're proud to be part of this very special evening.

Special Olympics is a program of sports, training, and competition, but ultimately it's a strong statement of optimism about human life. It says that every human being can learn and grow and contribute to the society we all share. It casts a spotlight on the dignity of human life and the beauty of the human soul.

Special Olympics teaches us that when people with disabilities gain skill and confidence, we all win from their abilities. When Special Olympic athletes from America meet their counterparts from places like China and Botswana, people all over the world are enriched. And in this century, we have just begun. If we help Special Olympics establish global networks for families, create new health programs for athletes, and open new opportunity for 2 million athletes around the world, every one of us will be better off.

Special Olympics began as a small flicker in the heart of one remarkable woman, Eunice Kennedy Shriver. We miss her tonight, and we thank Sarge and her whole family for being here. Special Olympics enters a new century, not a small flicker but a bursting flame of pride and a beacon of inspiration for every one of us.

So tonight we celebrate what has been accomplished, and even more, we look forward to the future with determination and confidence. And now, I want all of our artists to get a big hand. They're back on the stage, and they're going to sing us—you know, I only have just a few days left—[laughter]—so I'm going to take every opportunity I can

to ask for everything I can. I want one more song.

Merry Christmas, everybody.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:11 a.m. in a pavilion on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Special Olympics Global Messengers Victor Stewart, Texas; Katy Wilson, Georgia, and Barry Cairns, Jr., United Kingdom; actress Jamie Lee Curtis; and Eunice Kennedy Shriver, founder of the Special Olympics, and her husband, Sergeant Shriver.

Videotape Remarks on the Shutdown of the Chernobyl Nuclear Powerplant

December 15, 2000

President Kuchma, honored guests, people of Ukraine, today is a great day for Ukraine and for the world.

On April 26, 1986, reactor number four at the Chernobyl nuclear powerplant suffered a runaway chain reaction, causing the worst nuclear disaster in history. That horrible destruction has offered us lessons not only in nuclear technology but also in people and governments. For when governments are arrogant and unaccountable, they will impose unacceptable risks on the health and safety of their people.

After the disaster, the outspoken father of the Soviet atomic program, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, declared that the safe use of nuclear technology demands open discussions and informed citizens. So it is fitting that while a Communist government of the U.S.S.R. built the unsafe plant, a free and independent Ukraine is shutting it down. It is also fitting to recall that the very event that exposed the weakness of the Soviet system revealed the courage and valor of the Ukrainian people.

Fourteen years ago Ukrainians took heroic steps to contain the danger and protect their people. Today, we see that same commitment, as Ukraine, with the cooperation of the United States, the G-7, and the EU, fulfills its historic decision to shut down the Chernobyl nuclear powerplant forever. This is a triumph for the common good. It is what is possible when free, democratic nations pursue common goals. As President Kuchma

noted some years ago, after Ukrainian cosmonaut Leonid Kadenyk joined American astronauts on the space shuttle, “Not even the sky is the limit to Ukrainian-U.S. cooperation.”

America will stand with Ukraine as you fight for a free and prosperous future. We will support Ukraine’s efforts to take your rightful place among the nations of Europe and alongside the world’s free market democracies.

As you open your economy, strengthen the rule of law, and protect a free press, you are both attacking the ills that led to the Chernobyl disaster and building a future where the children of Ukraine can live their dreams. America is on your side. We wish you Godspeed.

Slava Ukrayini.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:15 p.m. in Room 459 in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building, and his remarks were videotaped for later broadcast in Ukraine. In his remarks, he referred to President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on International Trade Commission Action Against Gray Market Cigarettes

December 15, 2000

Today I am allowing the U.S. International Trade Commission’s exclusion order and cease and desist order regarding certain Brown & Williamson cigarettes (ITC Case Number 337-TA-424) to stand. Together with the legislation (Public Law 106-476) that I signed on November 9, 2000, these orders will ensure that no so-called gray market cigarettes are imported into the United States—including not only the two brands covered under the ITC orders but all brands of gray market cigarettes as provided in the November legislation. In the same way that the report language for the November legislation made clear that it was in no way intended to alter current policies with respect to other gray market goods, I want to make clear that my allowing these orders to take effect should not be interpreted as setting

a precedent for the treatment of other gray market goods.

Statement on Action Against International Crime

December 15, 2000

The growing reach of international crime poses threats to American citizens and American interests, both at home and abroad. Illegal activity from terrorism to trafficking in arms, drugs, or humans violates our values and threatens our safety. Intellectual property theft, financial fraud, and corruption also can endanger our prosperity and undercut public confidence in democracy and free markets around the world.

To confront these challenges, today I am pleased to announce several important initiatives in our ongoing efforts to combat international crime.

First, we are releasing a comprehensive International Crime Threat Assessment, prepared at my direction, as part of our International Crime Control Strategy adopted in May, 1998. The new assessment highlights the global dimensions of international crime and the ways this pervasive problem threatens U.S. interests. This broader understanding is necessary if we, together with our international partners, are to strengthen our response to this global problem.

Second, earlier this week in Palermo, Italy, the United States joined many other countries in signing the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime, along with two supplementary protocols on migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons. By harmonizing criminal laws and promoting increased cooperation, the new convention and its protocols will enable the international community to better combat international organized crime.

Third, the Departments of State and Justice are establishing a Migrant Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Coordination Center. The Center will integrate and improve our efforts to counter these distinct but related global crime problems. The Center also will promote and assist increased efforts by foreign governments and international organizations to combat these problems.

The United States is strongly committed to strengthening our international crime control programs to achieve a world of greater safety, prosperity, and justice. We urge the international community to join us in enhancing our common efforts to advance these common aims.

Memorandum on Funding for Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance

December 15, 2000

Presidential Determination No. 2001-05

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Presidential Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as Amended

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I hereby determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$33 million be made available from the U.S. Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to meet the unexpected urgent refugee and migration needs, including those of refugees, displaced persons, conflict victims, and other persons at risk, due to crises in Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan, the North Caucasus, Serbia, and the Middle East. These funds may be used, as appropriate, to provide contributions to international, governmental, and nongovernmental organizations. I understand that you will be forwarding a separate request to meet requirements for refugee assistance in Bosnia and Croatia.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the use of funds under this authority, and to arrange for the publication of this determination in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

December 10

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel concerning the Middle East peace process and the Prime Minister's resignation.

December 11

In the evening, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Dublin, Ireland, arriving the following morning.

December 12

In the morning, the President met with President Mary McAleese of Ireland in the Drawing Room of the President's House. Later, he met with Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland in the Prime Minister's Office. In the afternoon, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Dundalk, Ireland, and in the evening, they traveled to Belfast, Northern Ireland.

The President announced his intention to appoint Evan S. Dobbelle as a member of the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development.

The President announced his intention to appoint Bob Armstrong, William Debuys, Karen Durkovich, Palemon A. Martinez, Stephen D. Stoddard, Thomas W. Swetnam, and David R. Yepa as members of the Valles Caldera Trust.

The President announced his intention to appoint Joseph E. Pizzorno, Jr., as a member of the White House Commission on Complementary and Alternative Medicine Policy.

December 13

In the morning, the President met with First Minister David Trimble and Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon of Northern Ireland in the Members Dining Room of the Stormont Parliament Building. Later, he had separate meetings with Prime Minister Tony

Blair of the United Kingdom and leaders of the Ulster Unionist Party, Sinn Fein, and the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to North Aylesbury, England. During the day, the President also had separate telephone conversations with Vice President Gore and President-elect George W. Bush.

The President declared a major disaster in Wyoming and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe winter storms on October 31 and continuing through November 20.

December 14

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to London, where they had an audience with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of England in the Queen's Audience Room at Buckingham Palace. In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Coventry, England, and later, they returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced the recipients of the National Medal of Arts and the National Humanities Medal, which will be presented at a ceremony on December 20 at D.A.R. Constitution Hall.

December 15

The President announced the appointment of Richard L. Friedman as Chair and member of the National Capital Planning Commission.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted December 15

Edwin A. Levine, of Florida, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice David Gardiner, resigned.

Islam A. Siddiqui, of California, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Marketing and Regulatory Programs, vice Michael V. Dunn.

Sarah McCracken Fox, of New York, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for a term expiring April 27, 2005, vice Stuart E. Weisberg, term expired.

Julie E. Samuels, of Virginia, to be Director of the National Institute of Justice, vice Jeremy Travis, resigned.

Withdrawn December 15

Stuart E. Weisberg, of Maryland, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for a term expiring April 27, 2005, which was sent to the Senate on February 3, 2000.

Stuart E. Weisberg, of Maryland, to be a member of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission for a term expiring April 27, 2005, which was sent to the Senate on May 11, 1999.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released December 9

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Council Director Gene Sperling and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Martin Baily on the national economy

Released December 11

Announcement: Official Delegation Accompanying the President to Ireland, Northern Ireland, and England

Released December 12

Transcript of a press readout by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the President's visit to Ireland

Statement by the Press Secretary on Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson's upcoming travel to Kiev, Ukraine, to represent the U.S. at a ceremony marking the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear powerplant

Released December 13

Citation for the Presidential Citizens Medal awarded posthumously to David B. Hermelin

Released December 14

Announcement: President Clinton Announces Year 2000 Recipients of National Medal of Arts and National Humanities Medal

Released December 15

Transcript of a press briefing by NSC National Coordinator for Security Infrastructure Protection and Counterterrorism Richard Clarke, Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Rand Beers, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement Joseph Myers, and NSC International Crime Group Director Fred Rosa on the International Crime Threat Assessment

Fact sheet: Migrant Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons Coordination Center

Fact sheet: Progress in Efforts To Combat International Crime

Fact sheet: International Crime Threat Assessment

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved December 8 *

H.J. Res. 128 / Public Law 106-540
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2001, and for other purposes

Approved December 11

S. 2796 / Public Law 106-541
Water Resources Development Act of 2000

H.J. Res. 129 / Public Law 106-542
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2001, and for other purposes

*This law was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.