

Final 1/8/01 10:25 a.m.

1-8-01

John Pollack/Speechwriters

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF

THE PRESIDENTIAL CITIZENS MEDAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 8, 2001

1-8-01

Good afternoon. Senator Cleland; Senator Kennedy; (Departed)
Representatives Gilman, Holmes-Norton, and Sununu; - Sununu
honored guests, family and friends – welcome to the
White House.

One of the great privileges I've had as President has
been the chance to recognize – on behalf of the American
people – the rich and diverse accomplishments of some of
our greatest fellow citizens.

This ceremony marks the last time I will honor such a
remarkable group at the White House, and I am
profoundly grateful for the opportunity.

1-8-01

More than two centuries ago, the founders of our nation staked their fortunes and their lives on a revolutionary proposition: that people of competing ideas, yet common ideals, could form a more perfect union – a democracy built solely on the strength of its citizens.

They felt it essential that America honor both the individual *and* the idea that a free people can accomplish their greatest deeds only by working together, for a common good. Today we honor citizens whose individual contributions to the common good embody this ideal in its purest essence, ~~and we present them~~ with the Presidential Citizens Medal.

This medal ^{is} among our nation's highest civilian honors, ^{is} a symbol of our gratitude – as a people – to those who have performed exemplary deeds of service. ^{to thank you} Now, let me say a few words about each of the people we honor.

Hank Aaron

Every baseball fan knows that Hank Aaron holds more records than any other single ballplayer. ~~But just as~~ baseball symbolizes something greater than itself, so too ~~does~~ ^{But} Hank Aaron, ^{is} ~~whose~~ courage and dignity have left a lasting mark on far more than his sport.

We honor him today not only for the power of his swing, but for the power of his spirit; for breaking down barriers not just on the field or in the front office, but within America's heart.

In the spotlight and under pressure, he always answered bigotry and brutality with poise and purpose.

~~And~~ in chasing his dream, Hank Aaron gave others the inspiration to chase their own. Hank Aaron, you are an American hero, and we salute you for your leadership.

to give you guys a deep hard but clean

Muhammad Ali

~~In the boxing world, he is known simply as "the greatest."~~ And in the ring, he proved it time and again.

And we loved him for it. Ever able to “float like a butterfly and sting like a bee,” Muhammad Ali became the first boxer in history to capture the heavyweight title three separate times. But more than that, he captured the world’s imagination – and its heart.

Outside the ring, Muhammad Ali has dedicated his life to working for children, feeding the hungry, supporting his faith and standing up for racial equality. He has always fought for a just and more humane world, breaking down barriers here in America and around the world. Today we honor Muhammad Ali, once and always “the greatest.”

Juan Andrade (Ahn-DRAH-day)

As a civics teacher fresh out of college, Juan Andrade showed up for the first day of class eager to teach his students the fundamentals of American democracy. Two days later, he was under arrest. His crime? Teaching in his students' native tongue, Spanish – which was, at that time, a violation of Texas law.

That early injustice helped spark Juan's lifelong crusade for Hispanic-American civil rights – including the founding of the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute, and nearly a thousand registration drives that have enfranchised over one million new voters.

Today we honor Juan Andrade for his courage, his commitment to both diversity and democracy, and for giving so many Americans a voice in their own destiny.

Ruby Bridges

Ruby Bridges was born in 1954, the year the Supreme Court decided Brown v. Board of Education. But six years later, when she entered the first grade, the schools in her hometown of New Orleans were still separate and unequal. Ruby was chosen to integrate William Frantz Public School – single-handedly. When mobs gathered and shouted, Ruby knelt and prayed. She had two U.S. marshals ahead of her and two behind; but "prayer," she said later, "was my protection."

Today, in lectures and books, Ruby is telling younger generations her story of strength and faith. And through the Ruby Bridges Foundation, she is helping schools to establish diversity programs – to achieve, without the struggle and pain, what she did four decades ago. Today, we pay tribute to that lifelong commitment.

Ron Brown

One of Ron Brown's favorite Bible passages came from the Book of Isaiah: "They who wait upon the Lord shall have their strength renewed. They shall mount up with wings as eagles. They will run and not grow weary. They will walk and faint not."

Ron Brown walked, ran, and soared through life, and he never grew weary. As party chairman, he inspired people to believe in our democratic system, and to get involved. As Secretary of Commerce, he opened up new markets at home and abroad, so that all people might make a better life for their families.

Ron's legacy burns brightly, not only in the hearts of those who knew him, but also ^{the work of his spirit - both -} in the living testimony of ^{SM - RB Found.} all the young people who – even now – walk through the doors he opened and cross the bridges he built. We honor his memory today; Alma, I'm glad you could be with us to share this moment.

Don Cameron

For almost two decades, Don Cameron has served as Executive Director of the National Education Association. But his career began long before, as a Michigan junior high school teacher in the early '60s.

His starting salary was \$5100 a year – hardly enough to support a family. So he worked odd jobs – pumping gas, selling hardware, driving a truck, even digging graves – all for the love of teaching. (Let no one say this man was not deadly serious about his job.)

Don Cameron's enthusiasm has never wavered. During his tenure, the NEA grew by more than a million members – nearly doubling in size. He has fought for quality schools, smaller classes, and making sure that we treat teachers as the professionals that they are. Our schools are stronger and our children's future brighter because of his leadership. Thank-you, Don Cameron.

Sister Carol Coston

When Pope John the 23rd urged Catholics to engage in the world and address the needs of the poor, Sister Carol Coston, an Adrian Dominican nun, answered the call. She left the security of her convent to live and work in a public housing project.

Then she helped create NETWORK, a national Catholic lobby that has mobilized thousands of nuns and lay people to fight for social progress in South Africa, for women's rights, and for economic justice.

She helped win passage of the Community Reinvestment Act, which has led to billions in investment in America's inner cities. And she has founded Partners for the Common Good, a fund that invests in housing and entrepreneurship in low-income neighborhoods. For your work as an agent of change, rooted the values of your faith, Sister Carol, I award you this medal.

Archibald Cox

As a young government lawyer during World War II, Archibald Cox helped get labor unions and corporations to stop fighting each other, and to start working together for an allied victory. That same steely resolve and sense of high purpose have marked his entire career.

Fighting for labor rights in the 50s, civil rights in the 60s, and – during Watergate – rising that fateful Saturday night to defend our Constitution, Archibald Cox has come to embody the highest ideals of integrity and courage in public life. For a career of service to your country, we offer you our profound thanks.

Charles DeLisi

Just as Lewis and Clark set forth to explore a continent shrouded in mysterious possibility, Charles DeLisi pioneered the exploration of a modern-day frontier – the human genome. As an administrator and researcher in the Department of Energy in the mid-1980s, he worked *in close partnership with* ~~with key Congressional leaders like~~ Senator Pete Domenici, *and other Leaders* ~~enlisting their support~~ to marshal federal resources and secure funding for this groundbreaking research.

Charles DeLisi's imagination and determination helped ignite the revolution in sequencing that would, ultimately, unravel the code of human life itself.

Thanks to Charles DeLisi's vision and leadership, researchers are now closer than ever to finding therapies and cures for ailments once thought untreatable.

At once a scientist, entrepreneur and teacher, Charles DeLisi is also – in the truest sense – a humanitarian, a man whose life's work has been life itself. We honor you today.

Jack Greenberg

The spread of civil and human rights, throughout America and across the globe, has been one of the triumphant dramas of the last half-century. Jack Greenberg has been at the center of the action.

As a young lawyer, he helped Thurgood Marshall argue *Brown vs. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. As head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund for 23 years, he himself argued dozens of key racial discrimination cases before the Supreme Court. Through his early involvement with organizations such as Asia Watch, he has aided the expansion of human rights around the world.

Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that to truly live, one must “share the action and passion of one’s time.” By that standard, Jack Greenberg has truly lived.

Dr. David Ho

When David Ho was a boy, he used puppets to act out stories about heroes who used supernatural powers to defend the weak. Everyone knew that young David was uncommonly bright, but few could have imagined that he would one day harness the unimagined powers of science to defend patients whose immune systems were fatally weakened by AIDS.

By demonstrating the ways HIV attacks the human body, he fundamentally changed the way we understand and treat that devastating disease.

His groundbreaking work using protease inhibitors in combination with standard therapies has offered a longer life to countless people living with AIDS. Thank you, Dr. Ho, for giving us new hope that AIDS can be treated – and one day cured.

I. King Jordan

In 1988, the students at Gallaudet University rose up to demand a university President who was, like them, deaf or hard of hearing. Gallaudet, the only university in the world designed entirely for students who are deaf or hard of hearing, had never had a deaf president. Not until I. King Jordan.

His appointment was not only a triumph for the students of Gallaudet, but an historic breakthrough for all people with disabilities. It was also a powerful reminder for the rest of our nation – that deaf people like I. King Jordan can excel, and lead, just as well as any American. Moved by his example and the efforts of the entire disability community, Congress soon passed the Americans with Disabilities Act – the most important civil rights legislation in the past quarter century.

I. King Jordan has been a great teacher, a great university president, and a great inspiration to millions of people around the world. Thank you, President Jordan, for your leadership.

Anthony Lewis

Franklin Roosevelt once said: "We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all our citizens, whatever their background." In the decades since, America has known few guardians of liberty more scrupulous – or staunch – than Anthony Lewis.

As a reporter, columnist, professor and author, Tony Lewis has been a clear, courageous voice for the values at the core of our Constitution. In books like "Gideon's Trumpet," he has deepened our understanding of our freedom of speech and our continuing battle for civil rights. Twice, his reporting has won the Pulitzer Prize.

More important, his life's work has shown that a civil tone and careful, thoughtful, legal reasoning are far more powerful than the forces of injustice. Thank-you, Tony Lewis.

Irene Morgan

It was 1944 – wartime – and African-American soldiers were fighting and dying to protect freedom around the world. Unfortunately, African-Americans were also battling an insidious enemy right here at home – Jim Crow. A young mother named Irene Morgan took up that fight, and did it with dignity and determination.

On her way to a doctor's appointment, she refused to give up her seat on a segregated Greyhound Bus, and appealed her subsequent arrest all the way to the Supreme Court. The Court's 1946 ruling – banning segregation on interstate transportation – was an early victory in the struggle for civil rights and signaled the beginning of the end of Jim Crow.

Irene Morgan has never asked for accolades. But today we honor her, and acknowledge our eternal debt to her quiet – yet brave – fight for freedom.

She once said she sought to prove “in everything I do that blacks and women are as capable as anyone.” As an advocate, lawyer, public servant and judge, she has been not only capable, but superb. Constance Baker Motley, we are all in your debt.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias

In the 1960s, Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias grew outraged at the poor quality of pediatric health care in her native Puerto Rico. So she created the island's first center for newborn babies at the University of Puerto Rico Medical Center, and cut the hospital's infant death rate in half.

Constance Baker Motley

When Constance Baker Motley joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, she set out to do nothing less than re-make American law. Along the way, she made history. A key strategist in the civil right movement, she argued nine winning cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

She went on to become the first African-American woman elected to the New York State Senate; the first woman and the first African-American to be Borough President of Manhattan; and the first African-American woman to be named a Federal Court judge.

Ever since, in New York, California, and across America, Dr. Rodriguez-Trias has been working for better patient care, for better treatment and prevention of AIDS, and for women's health rights. For fighting the good fight, and saving countless lives, I present this medal to Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias.

Edward Roybal

When Edward Roybal joined the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, he didn't know he was embarking on a lifetime of service to his country, but he was.

Robert Rubin

Eight years ago, in troubled times for the American economy, I picked Robert Rubin to lead my economic team. Not just because Bob knows an awful lot about economics, but because he understands the very real impact that our decisions here in Washington have on the lives, and livelihoods, of working Americans.

As my National Economic Adviser and later as Secretary of the Treasury, Bob knew that fiscal prudence and social progress could go hand in hand, and made sure that they did. He helped to balance our nation's books and invest more in our people.

In World War II, he served in the Army; in the 1950s, on the Los Angeles City Council; and in 1962 he became the first Hispanic elected to Congress from California in almost a century – paving the way for a whole generation of Latino lawmakers. During his 30 years in Congress, Roybal championed veterans, the elderly, the mentally ill, education, health care, and minority rights. For a life's work that has improved the lives of millions, we honor Edward Roybal. He was unable to join us today, but his daughter, Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard, will accept the medal on his behalf.

The result has been the longest economic expansion in history, a rising tide that has truly lifted all boats.

Bob, you once called Washington your "road not taken." I speak for so many Americans when I say we're glad you ultimately did take that road; and we are proud to have walked it with you.

Warren Rudman

As a combat platoon leader in the Korean War, Warren Rudman never worried about the race or background of the men he fought with.

As a U.S. Senator, Rudman never let his party affiliation keep him from speaking his mind or building alliances to fight great legislative battles – to strengthen national defense and put our fiscal house in order. As a private citizen, he has continued to champion those causes with bipartisan zeal, as a co-founder of the Concord Coalition, and vice chairman of my Foreign Intelligence Advisory Commission. For his wise counsel and service to his country, I am deeply grateful.

Chuck Ruff

Soon after graduating from law school, Charles Ruff volunteered to go to Liberia to teach law. There, he contracted an illness that left him in a wheelchair.

But no obstacle – not this, not any other – could ever keep Chuck from doing good.

He went on to serve in the Justice Department, as U.S. Attorney, and the chief lawyer for the District of Columbia – this town he loved so much. I chose him as my White House Counsel because of his unmatched ability as a legal advocate, and his even deeper devotion to the Constitution and the rule of law. Not long ago, he agreed to lead the Fair Labor Association, to help end sweatshops and improve the lives of the world's poorest.

Chuck left us far too soon, but his determined spirit will keep inspiring and calling us on – to do more, to do right, to do good. His secretary of 21 years, Ora Theard (Thay-erd) will accept this medal in his memory.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier

As a young man, Arthur Schneier (SHNI-er) fled his homeland and survived the Holocaust as a refugee. He knows firsthand the effects of intolerance and hatred – and he has devoted his life to fighting them.

As founder and President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, he has encouraged interfaith dialogue, intercultural understanding, and promoted the cause of religious freedom around the world.

He has served as an international envoy for four Administrations, including my own; as Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad; and as the longtime rabbi of Park East Synagogue in New York City. Rabbi Schneier, thank you for your courage and spiritual leadership.

Eli Segal

Before he was 40 years old, Eli Segal had already built a string of successful businesses. In 1992, I asked my old friend Eli to join my administration, where he has built – from scratch – two of our most successful programs. He began AmeriCorps, which has given more than 150,000 young people a chance to earn money for college by serving our communities. And he built our Welfare-to-Work Partnership, which has enlisted over 20,000 businesses in hiring more than one million people from the welfare rolls.

These efforts have widened the circle of opportunity in America, and strengthened the tradition of service to our country. For this, we owe Eli Segal a debt of gratitude.

John Seiberling (SI-ber-ling)

John Seiberling has worn many hats and won many accolades: as a soldier in World War II, as a lawyer for the New York Legal Aid Society, as a community planner in his beloved city of Akron, and as a Congressman from Ohio fighting for civil rights and arms control. In all these arenas, he has contributed to his community and his country.

But his greatest achievement was crafting and winning passage of the Alaska Lands Act in 1980, which doubled the size of America's inventory of national parks and wildlife refuges, and tripled the area of federally designated wilderness.

With that legislation, John Seiberling single-handedly saved more of our wilderness than any previous American, a legacy that will last generations.

Unfortunately, this environmental hero is unable to join us today, but his son John will accept the medal on his behalf.

John Sengstacke (Seng-stack)

Few newspaper publishers in American history have been more effective crusaders for justice than the late John Sengstacke. As owner and editor of the legendary *Chicago Defender* for almost 60 years, he provided a national forum for African-American issues – and for voices that would otherwise go unheard.

Sengstacke nurtured the talents of countless black journalists, and as a confidant of presidents, played a key role in integrating the armed forces, the U.S. Postal Service, major league baseball, and the White House press corps. On behalf of a grateful nation, I offer this posthumous medal to his son Bobby.

Fred Shuttlesworth

When bigots blew up his house with dynamite, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth stood in front of the smoking rubble and renewed his call for an integrated Birmingham. When the city fathers had him arrested for civil disobedience, he filled the jails with so many sympathetic protesters there was no room to hold them all. And when angry authorities blasted him with a fire hose, he told them they could knock him down, but they could never extinguish the torch of justice.

Fred Shuttlesworth risked his life so that every American – no matter what the color of his or her skin – might live in a nation of dignity, opportunity and equal protection under law. Thank you, Reverend Shuttlesworth for your courageous life of leadership.

Elizabeth Taylor

She was born in England, but is thoroughly American royalty – our own Elizabeth. For more than a generation, she has reigned over the silver screen stirring hearts and capturing our imagination. With her unique blend of glamour and grace, she has earned two Oscars and countless other honors.

But perhaps Elizabeth Taylor's greatest role has been off the screen, as a relentless and early crusader for AIDS research and care. She has not only raised millions of dollars in the fight, she has also raised awareness about the human impact of this dreaded disease.

Elizabeth Taylor has brought life to unforgettable characters on film and hope to millions around the world. We thank her for sharing the most beautiful gift of all – her heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, Elizabeth Taylor.

Marion Wiesel

When the Nazis marched on Vienna, a six-year-old girl fled with her mother across Europe – only to wind up in an internment camp rife with starvation, disease, and death. Out of that searing experience, Marion Wiesel summoned the courage to commit her life to teaching others – especially children – about the human cost of hatred, intolerance and racism.

She has written a documentary about the 1.3 million children murdered in the Holocaust, and has translated the books of her husband, Elie Wiesel, so that countless more people can read and learn their lessons.

With the money from his Nobel Prize, she and Elie established the Wiesel Foundation – to educate children against indifference to the suffering of others. Marion Wiesel, for your mission of hope against hate, of life against death, of good over evil, I award you this Citizen's Medal.

Patrisha Wright

Patrisha Wright was training to be an orthopedic surgeon when a degenerative muscle disease left her with double vision. Instead of fixing broken bones, she set about to fix what was broken in our system – and dedicated her life to ending discrimination against people with disabilities.

As a founder of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, she joined forces with the wider civil rights community. Her strategic brilliance and no-nonsense approach during passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act earned her the title of "The General." Now she is working to empower people and families with disabilities throughout the world.

Ever since a visual impairment changed the path of her career, her dedication to civil rights has helped many more to see. Today we salute "The General" – Patrisha Wright.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for joining us here to honor these remarkable people. They remind us, once again, that the greatest title any one of us can ever hold is that of “citizen.” May their accomplishments inspire us all, and generations to come.

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**WHITE HOUSE
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PRECEDENCE

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MESSAGE #: _____

FROM: Lisel Loy PH: 456-2702 ROOM: GFL/WW
SUBJECT: Remarks by the POTUS to the Foundry Church PAGES: 5

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

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SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 7, 2001

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE FOUNDRY UNITED METHODIST CHURCH CONGREGATION

Foundry United Methodist Church
Washington, D.C.

11:40 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Reverend Wogaman, staff, choir, congregation of this wonderful church. I would like to thank many people in this audience, but if I might, a few by name.

My good friend, Bishop May and Mrs. May, thank you for being here. My counsel-man, Mr. Evans and Mrs. Evans, thank you so much for your friendship and for being here. (Laughter.) Senator Max Cleland, my friend of many years, before either one of us were in our present positions -- surprising all but our mothers by our success. (Laughter.) I am so proud of you, sir, and I thank you for all you have done.

I think of this church when reading the words of Paul that Hillary cited earlier, speaking of his gratitude to the Thessalonians, or constantly remembering their work of faith, their labor of love, their steadfastness of hope. I thank Foundry for all that and for being a church home to my family these last eight years.

I thank especially those of you who were so kind to Chelsea over the years, who provided her opportunities to participate in the life of the church, especially in the Appalachia Service Project, from which she learned so much. I thank those of you who have taken special care to befriend Hillary and to support her. And I thank you especially for the wonderful welcome you gave her last week, when she came back here for the first time as a senator-to-be.

I thank you all for your prayers and your welcome to all of us in the storm and sunshine of these last eight years. I will always have wonderful memories of every occasion where we passed

-MORE-

the peace; for all the people, young and old, who came up to me and said a kind word of welcome; to remind me that no matter what was going on in Washington, D.C., at the moment, there was a real world out there, with real people and real hearts and minds, reaffirming the timeless wisdom of de Tocqueville's observation so long ago, that America is great because America is good. You cannot imagine the peace, the comfort, the strength I have drawn from my Sundays here.

I want to thank you for a few other things. For the social mission of this church, especially for your outreach to the homeless, which I have been honored to support. And for your constant support of my efforts to bring peace in the Middle East and Kosovo and Northern Ireland and the other trouble spots of the world, where there are people suffering who have no money or power, too often overlooked by great nations with great interests.

I want to thank you for making Foundry a true community church, welcoming Christians from all races and all nations, with all kinds of abilities and disabilities, some seen and some not. I thank you especially for the kindness and courage of Foundry's welcome to gay and lesbian Christians, people who should not feel outside the family of God.

I thank you for your support for the city of Washington, for its economic and social revitalization, which I have done my best to speed. And for giving its citizens the political equality and statehood I have always believed they deserve, as my license plate shows. (Laughter.) And will for at least a couple more weeks. (Laughter.)

Especially, I would like to thank Reverend Wogaman, for being my pastor and friend, my counselor and teacher. Most of you know that for more than two years now, he and two other minister friends of mine have shared the burden of meeting with me on a weekly basis. It has been an immense blessing to me and to my service as President.

Two weeks from yesterday, at high noon, I will relinquish my office -- doing so with a heart filled with gratitude; gratitude to the American people for the chance to serve and to leave our country with more opportunity, stronger bonds of community and a more positive impact in the larger world, at the dawn of a new century and a whole new aspect of human affairs.

Our nation has come a long way together these last eight years, and I am profoundly grateful to have had the opportunity to play a part in it. In the years ahead, America may have Presidents who do this job better than I have. But I really

doubt we'll ever have another one who enjoyed it more than I have. (Laughter.)

Well, those are my reflections. I didn't know what the title of my sermon was until I picked up the program, as I walked into church. (Laughter.)

What do I anticipate? I anticipate that my Christian bearing will be tested by a return to commercial air travel -- (laughter and applause) -- where I will reap the rewards of not having succeeded in one of the things I tried very hard to do, which was to end all those backlogs.

I anticipate that for some several months I will be disoriented when I walk into large rooms, because no one will be playing a song anymore. (Laughter.) I look forward to finding out whether John Quincy Adams was right when he said, there is nothing so pathetic in life as an ex-President. (Laughter.) Or whether, instead of his words, the life of John Quincy Adams and the life of Jimmy Carter prove exactly the reverse.

In the next chapter of my life I will do my best to use the incredible opportunities my country has given me to be a good citizen here at home and around the world, to advance the causes I believe in and to lift the fortunes and hopes of those who deserve a better hand than they have been dealt -- whether in Africa, Asia, Latin America or Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, the inner cities or the Native American reservations. I will try every day to remember, as apparently for the first time in my life I will be able to earn a sizeable income -- (laughter) -- that Christ admonished us that our lives will be judged by how we do unto the least of our neighbors.

I will also do my best to keep working for peace and reconciliation among people, across their differences, to find ways to get people to move beyond tolerance to celebration of those differences. I know it's sort of out of fashion, but I've kind of grown impatient with the word "tolerance," because tolerance implies that someone who's better than someone else is decent enough to put up with them. And I think we need to move beyond that.

We are moving into the most incredible era of human affairs the world has ever known, in terms of our interdependence, our capacity to relate to people across national and cultural and religious lines, and our ability to use these breathtaking advances in technology with advances in bio-medical sciences to lengthen and improve lives in ways that previously are literally unimaginable.

And, yet, the biggest threat we face is the oldest problem of humankind, the fear of the other, which can so easily lead to hatred and de-humanization and violence, but even if it doesn't go that far, limits the lives all of us might otherwise live.

And I have spent a lot of time, as you might have noticed, in a reasonably combative arena. I am not without my competitive instincts. A lot of days I thought just showing up was an act of competition. (Laughter.) But I do believe, in the end, when all is said and done, what matters most is what we did that was common to our humanity. And, somehow, I will do everything I can to advance that simple but powerful idea at home and around the world.

I will also do my best to support my Senator and our daughter. And I will try to keep learning and growing, working to follow the example of the mythic Parsifal, a good man slowly wise.

Thanks to the good people of New York, as Phil said, this is not really a goodbye, but the beginning of a new chapter in our lives with Foundry. But it is a new chapter. So let me thank you again, for letting all of us, Hillary, Chelsea and me, make this part of our life's journey with you; for your constant reminder, in ways large and small, that though we have all fallen short of the glory, we are all redeemed by faith in a loving God.

God bless you.

END

11:53 A.M. EST

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/8/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ImmediateSubject: Remarks on Presentation of the Presidential
Citizen's Medal

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
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RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
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REMARKS: Comments to Pollack

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL CITIZEN'S MEDAL
THE WHITE HOUSE
January 8, 2000**

01 JAN 9 4:31

Good afternoon. Senator Cleland; Senator Harkin; Representatives Gilman, Holmes-Norton, and Sununu; honored guests, family and friends – welcome to the White House. One of the great privileges I've had as President has been the chance to recognize – on behalf of the American people – the rich and diverse accomplishments of some of our greatest fellow citizens. This ceremony marks the last time I will honor such a remarkable group at the White House, and I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity.

More than two centuries ago, the founders of our nation staked their fortunes and their lives on a revolutionary proposition: that people of competing ideas, yet common ideals, could form a more perfect union – a democracy built solely on the strength of its citizens.

They felt it essential that America honor both the individual *and* the idea that a free people can accomplish their greatest deeds only by working together, for a common good. Today we honor citizens whose individual contributions to the common good embody this ideal in its purest essence, and we present them with the Presidential Citizens Medal.

This medal is among our nation's highest civilian honors, a symbol of our gratitude – as a people – to those who have performed exemplary deeds of service. Now, let me say a few words about each of the people we honor.

Hank Aaron

Every baseball fan knows that Hank Aaron holds more records than any other single ballplayer. But just as baseball symbolizes something greater than itself, so too does Hank Aaron, whose courage and dignity have left a lasting mark on far more than his sport.

We honor him today not only for the power of his swing, but for the power of his spirit; for breaking down barriers not just on the field or in the front office, but within America's heart. In the spotlight and under pressure, he always answered bigotry and brutality with poise and purpose. And in chasing his dream, Hank Aaron gave others the inspiration to chase their own. Hank Aaron, you are an American hero, and we salute you for your leadership.

Muhammad Ali

In the boxing world, he is known simply as “the greatest.” And in the ring, he proved it time and again. And we loved him for it. Ever able to “float like a butterfly and sting like a bee,” Muhammad Ali became the first boxer in history to capture the heavyweight title three

separate times. But more than that, he captured the world's imagination – and its heart. Outside the ring, Muhammad Ali has dedicated his life to working for children, feeding the hungry, supporting his faith and standing up for racial equality. He has always fought for a just and more humane world, breaking down barriers here in America and around the world. Today we honor Muhammad Ali, once and always “the greatest.”

Juan Andrade (Ahn-DRAH-day)

As a civics teacher fresh out of college, Juan Andrade showed up for the first day of class eager to teach his students the fundamentals of American democracy. Two days later, he was under arrest. His crime? Teaching in his students' native tongue, Spanish – which was, at that time, a violation of Texas law.

That early injustice helped spark Juan's lifelong crusade for Hispanic-American civil rights – including the founding of the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute, and nearly a thousand registration drives that have enfranchised over one million new voters. Today we honor Juan Andrade for his courage, his commitment to both diversity and democracy, and for giving so many Americans a voice in their own destiny.

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When Constance Baker Motley joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, she set out to do nothing less than re-make American law. Along the way, she made history. A key strategist in the civil right movement, she argued nine winning cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

She went on to become the first African-American woman elected to the New York State Senate; the first woman and the first African-American to be Borough President of Manhattan; and the first African-American woman to be named a Federal Court judge.

She once said she sought to prove “in everything I do that blacks and women are as capable as anyone.” As an advocate, lawyer, public servant and judge, she has been not only capable, but superb. Constance Baker Motley, we are all in your debt.

Ruby Bridges

Ruby Bridges was born in 1954, the year the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education*. But six years later, when she entered the first grade, the schools in her hometown of New Orleans were still separate and unequal. Ruby was chosen to integrate William Frantz Public School – single-handedly. When mobs gathered and shouted, Ruby knelt and prayed. She had two U.S. marshals ahead of her and two behind; but “prayer,” she said later, “was my protection.”

Today, in lectures and books, Ruby is telling younger generations her story of strength and faith. And through the Ruby Bridges Foundation, she is helping schools to establish diversity

programs – to achieve, without the struggle and pain, what she did four decades ago. Today, we pay tribute to that lifelong commitment.

Ron Brown

One of Ron Brown's favorite Bible passages came from the Book of Isaiah: "They who wait upon the Lord shall have their strength renewed. They shall mount up with wings as eagles. They will run and not grow weary. They will walk and faint not."

Ron Brown walked, ran, and soared through life, and he never grew weary. As party chairman, he inspired people to believe in our democratic system, and to get involved. As Secretary of Commerce, he opened up new markets at home and abroad, so that all people might make a better life for their families.

Ron's legacy burns brightly, not only in the hearts of those who knew him, but also in the living testimony of all the young people who – even now – walk through the doors he opened and cross the bridges he built. We honor his memory today; Alma, I'm glad you could be with us here to share this moment.

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For almost two decades, Don Cameron has served as Executive Director of the National Education Association. But his career began long before, as a Michigan junior high school teacher in the early '60s.

His starting salary was \$5100 a year – hardly enough to support a family. So he worked odd jobs – pumping gas, selling hardware, driving a truck, even digging graves – all for the love of teaching. (Let no one say this man was not deadly serious about his job.)

Don Cameron's enthusiasm has never wavered. During his tenure, the NEA grew by more than a million members – nearly doubling in size. He has fought for quality schools, smaller classes, and making sure that we treat teachers as the professionals that they are. Our schools are stronger and our children's future brighter because of his leadership. Thank-you, Don Cameron.

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When Pope John the 23rd urged Catholics to engage in the world and address the needs of the poor, Sister Carol Coston, an Adrian Dominican nun, answered the call. She left the security of her convent to live and work in a public housing project. Then she helped create NETWORK, a national Catholic lobby that has mobilized thousands of nuns and lay people to fight for social progress in South Africa, for women's rights, and for economic justice.

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Archibald Cox

As a young government lawyer during World War II, Archibald Cox helped get labor unions and corporations to stop fighting each other, and to start working together for an allied victory. That same steely resolve and sense of high purpose have marked his entire career. Fighting for labor rights in the 50s, civil rights in the 60s, and – during Watergate – rising that fateful Saturday night to defend our Constitution, Archibald Cox has come to embody the highest ideals of integrity and courage in public life. For a career of service to your country, we offer you our profound thanks.

Charles DeLisi

Just as Lewis and Clark set forth to explore a continent shrouded in mysterious possibility, Charles DeLisi pioneered the exploration of a modern-day frontier – the human genome. As an administrator and researcher in the Department of Energy in the mid-1980s, he worked with Congressional leaders like Senator Pete Domenici to secure vital support for this groundbreaking research. Charles DeLisi's imagination and determination helped ignite the revolution in sequencing that would, ultimately, unravel the code of human life itself. Thanks to Charles DeLisi's vision and leadership, researchers are now closer than ever to finding therapies and cures for ailments once thought untreatable.

At once a scientist, entrepreneur and teacher, Charles DeLisi is also – in the truest sense – a humanitarian, a man whose life's work has been life itself. We honor you today.

Jack Greenberg

The spread of civil and human rights, throughout America and across the globe, has been one of the triumphant dramas of the last half-century. Jack Greenberg has been at the center of the action. As a young lawyer, he helped Thurgood Marshall argue *Brown vs. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. As head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund for 23 years, he himself argued dozens of key racial discrimination cases before the Supreme Court. Through his early involvement with organizations such as Asia Watch, he has aided the expansion of human rights around the world. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that to truly live, one must “share the action and passion of one's time.” By that standard, Jack Greenberg has truly lived.

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living with AIDS. Thank you, Dr. Ho, for giving us new hope that AIDS can be treated – and one day cured.

I. King Jordan

In 1988, the students at Gallaudet University rose up to demand a university President who was, like them, deaf or hard of hearing. Gallaudet, the only university in the world designed entirely for students who are deaf or hard of hearing, had never had a deaf president. Not until I. King Jordan. His appointment was not only a triumph for the students of Gallaudet, but an historic breakthrough for all people with disabilities.

It was also a powerful reminder for the rest of our nation – that deaf people like I. King Jordan can excel, and lead, just as well as any American. Moved by his example and the efforts of the entire disability community, Congress soon passed the Americans with Disabilities Act – the most important civil rights legislation in the past quarter century.

I. King Jordan has been a great teacher, a great university president, and a great inspiration to millions of people around the world. Thank you, President Jordan, for your leadership.

Irene Morgan Kirkaldy (ker-CALL-dee)

It was 1944 – wartime – and African-American soldiers were fighting and dying to protect freedom around the world. Unfortunately, African-Americans were also battling an insidious enemy right here at home – Jim Crow. A young mother named Irene Morgan took up that fight, and did it with dignity and determination. On her way to a doctor's appointment, she refused to give up her seat on a segregated Greyhound Bus, and appealed her subsequent arrest all the way to the Supreme Court. The Court's 1946 ruling – banning segregation on interstate transportation – was an early victory in the struggle for civil rights and signaled the beginning of the end of Jim Crow.

Irene Morgan Kirkaldy has never asked for accolades. But today we honor her, and acknowledge our eternal debt to her quiet – yet brave – fight for freedom.

Anthony Lewis

Franklin Roosevelt once said: "We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all our citizens, whatever their background." In the decades since, America has known few guardians of liberty more scrupulous – or staunch – than Anthony Lewis.

As a reporter, columnist, professor and author, Tony Lewis has been a clear, courageous voice for the values at the core of our Constitution. In books like "Gideon's Trumpet," he has deepened our understanding of our freedom of speech and our continuing battle for civil rights. Twice, his reporting has won the Pulitzer Prize. More important, his life's work has shown that a civil tone and careful, thoughtful, legal reasoning are far more powerful than the forces of injustice. Thank-you, Tony Lewis.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias

In the 1960s, Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias grew outraged at the poor quality of pediatric health care in her native Puerto Rico. So she created the island's first center for newborn babies at the University of Puerto Rico Medical Center, and cut the hospital's infant death rate in half. Ever since, in New York, California, and across America, Dr. Rodriguez-Trias has been working for better patient care, for better treatment and prevention of AIDS, and for women's health rights. For fighting the good fight, and saving countless lives, I present this medal to Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias.

Edward Roybal

When Edward Roybal joined the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, he didn't know he was embarking on a lifetime of service to his country, but he was. In World War II, he served in the Army; in the 1950s, on the Los Angeles City Council; and in 1962 he became the first Hispanic elected to Congress from California in almost a century – paving the way for a whole generation of Latino lawmakers. During his 30 years in Congress, Roybal championed veterans, the elderly, the mentally ill, education, health care, and minority rights. For a life's work that has improved the lives of millions, we honor Edward Roybal. He was unable to join us today, but his daughter, Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard, will accept the medal on his behalf.

Robert Rubin

Eight years ago, in troubled times for the American economy, I picked Robert Rubin to lead my economic team. Not just because Bob knows an awful lot about economics, but because he understands the very real impact that our decisions here in Washington have on the lives, and livelihoods, of working Americans.

As my National Economic Adviser and later as Secretary of the Treasury, Bob knew that fiscal prudence and social progress could go hand in hand, and made sure that they did. He helped to balance our nation's books and invest more in our people. The result has been the longest economic expansion in history, a rising tide that has truly lifted all boats.

Bob, you once called Washington your "road not taken." I speak for so many Americans when I say we're glad you ultimately did take that road; and we are proud to have walked it with you.

Warren Rudman

As a combat platoon leader in the Korean War, Warren Rudman never worried about the race or background of the men he fought with. As a U.S. Senator, Rudman never let his party affiliation keep him from speaking his mind or building alliances to fight great legislative battles – to strengthen national defense and put our fiscal house in order. As a private citizen, he has continued to champion those causes with bipartisan zeal, as a co-founder of the Concord Coalition, and vice chairman of my Foreign Intelligence Advisory Commission. For his wise counsel and service to his country, I am deeply grateful.

Chuck Ruff

Soon after graduating from law school, Charles Ruff volunteered to go to Liberia to teach law. There, he contracted an illness that left him in a wheelchair. But no obstacle – not this, not any other – could ever keep Chuck from doing good.

He went on to serve in the Justice Department, as U.S. Attorney, and the chief lawyer for the District of Columbia – this town he loved so much. I chose him as my White House Counsel because of his unmatched ability as a legal advocate, and his even deeper devotion to the Constitution and the rule of law. Not long ago, he agreed to lead the Fair Labor Association, to help end sweatshops and improve the lives of the world's poorest.

Chuck left us far too soon, but his determined spirit will keep inspiring and calling us on – to do more, to do right, to do good. His secretary of 21 years, Ora Theard (Thay-ARD) will accept this medal in his memory.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier

As a young man, Arthur Schneier (SCHNAI-er) fled his homeland and survived the Holocaust as a refugee. He knows firsthand the effects of intolerance and hatred – and he has devoted his life to fighting them.

As founder and President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, he has encouraged interfaith dialogue, intercultural understanding, and promoted the cause of religious freedom around the world. He has served as an international envoy for four Administrations, including my own; as Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad; and as the longtime rabbi of Park East Synagogue in New York City. Rabbi Schneier, thank you for your courage and spiritual leadership.

Pete Seeger

Chances are, almost everyone here can hum a few bars of “Goodnight, Irene”... “If I Had a Hammer”... or one of the many other folksongs that Pete Seeger made famous. That's no accident; he has said that his goal as a musician is “to put songs on people's lips, not just in their ear.” And for half a century, he has done just that.

But Pete Seeger didn't just want to get America humming – he also wanted to get America thinking. About civil rights and worker rights; about social justice; about preserving our natural treasures. All his life, he has challenged us to do more. Pete Seeger, thank you for singing your song all over this land.

Eli Segal

Before he was 40 years old, Eli Segal had already built a string of successful businesses. In 1992, I asked my old friend Eli to join my administration, where he has built – from scratch –

two of our most successful programs. He began AmeriCorps, which has given more than 150,000 young people a chance to earn money for college by serving our communities. And he built our Welfare-to-Work Partnership, which has enlisted over 20,000 businesses in hiring more than one million people from the welfare rolls. These efforts have widened the circle of opportunity in America, and strengthened the tradition of service to our country. For this, we owe Eli Segal a debt of gratitude.

John Seiberling

John Seiberling has worn many hats and won many accolades: as a soldier in World War II, as a lawyer for the New York Legal Aid Society, as a community planner in his beloved city of Akron, and as a Congressman from Ohio fighting for civil rights and arms control. In all these arenas, he has contributed to his community and his country.

But his greatest achievement was crafting and winning passage of the Alaska Lands Act in 1980, which doubled the size of America's inventory of national parks and wildlife refuges, and tripled the area of federally designated wilderness. With that legislation, John Seiberling single-handedly saved more of our wilderness than any previous American, a legacy that will last generations. Unfortunately, this environmental hero is unable to join us today, but his son John will accept the medal on his behalf.

John Stengstacke

Few newspaper publishers in American history have been more effective crusaders for justice than the late John Stengstacke. As owner and editor of the legendary *Chicago Defender* for almost 60 years, he provided a national forum for African-American issues – and for voices that would otherwise go unheard.

Stengstacke nurtured the talents of countless black journalists, and as a confidant of presidents, played a key role in integrating the armed forces, the U.S. Postal Service, major league baseball, and the White House press corps. On behalf of a grateful nation, I offer this posthumous medal to his son Bobby.

Fred Shuttlesworth

When bigots blew up his house with dynamite, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth stood in front of the smoking rubble and renewed his call for an integrated Birmingham. When the city fathers had him arrested for civil disobedience, he filled the jails with so many sympathetic protesters there was no room to hold them all. And when angry authorities blasted him with a fire hose, he told them they could knock him down, but they could never extinguish the torch of justice.

Fred Shuttlesworth risked his life so that every American – no matter what the color of his or her skin – might live in a nation of dignity, opportunity and equal protection under law. Thank you, Reverend Shuttlesworth for your courageous life of leadership.

Elizabeth Taylor

She was born in England, but is thoroughly American royalty – our own Elizabeth. For more than a generation, she has reigned over the silver screen stirring hearts and capturing our imagination. With her unique blend of glamour and grace, she has earned two Oscars and countless other honors.

But perhaps Elizabeth Taylor's greatest role has been off the screen, as a relentless and early crusader for AIDS research and care. She has not only raised millions of dollars in the fight, she has also raised awareness about the human impact of this dreaded disease. Elizabeth Taylor has brought life to unforgettable characters on film and hope to millions around the world. We thank her for sharing the most beautiful gift of all – her heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, Elizabeth Taylor.

Marion Wiesel

When the Nazis marched on Vienna, a six-year-old girl fled with her mother across Europe – only to wind up in an internment camp rife with starvation, disease, and death. Out of that searing experience, Marion Wiesel summoned the courage to commit her life to teaching others – especially children – about the human cost of hatred, intolerance and racism. She has written a documentary about the 1.3 million children murdered in the Holocaust, and has translated the books of her husband, Elie Wiesel, so that countless more people can read and learn their lessons. With the money from his Nobel Prize, she and Elie established the Wiesel Foundation – to educate children against indifference to the suffering of others. Marion Wiesel, for your mission of hope against hate, of life against death, of good over evil, I award you this Citizen's Medal.

Patrishia Wright

Patrishia Wright was training to be an orthopedic surgeon when a degenerative muscle disease left her with double vision. Instead of fixing broken bones, she set about to fix what was broken in our system – and dedicated her life to ending discrimination against people with disabilities. As a founder of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, she joined forces with the wider civil rights community. Her strategic brilliance and no-nonsense approach during passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act earned her the title of "The General." Now she is working to empower people and families with disabilities throughout the world.

Ever since a visual impairment changed the path of her career, her dedication to civil rights has helped many more to see. Today we salute "The General" – Patrishia Wright.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for joining us here to honor these remarkable people. They remind us, once again, that the greatest title any one of us can ever hold is that of "citizen." May their accomplishments inspire us all, and generations to come.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/8/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ImmediateSubject: Remarks on Presentation of the Presidential Citizen's Medal

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☒	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
EDMONDS	☐	☐		☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐		☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☒	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐		☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Pollack

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL CITIZEN'S MEDAL
THE WHITE HOUSE
January 8, 2000**

Good afternoon. Senator Cleland; Senator Harkin; Representatives Gilman, Holmes-Norton, and Sununu; honored guests, family and friends – welcome to the White House. One of the great privileges I've had as President has been the chance to recognize – on behalf of the American people – the rich and diverse accomplishments of some of our greatest fellow citizens. This ceremony marks the last time I will honor such a remarkable group at the White House, and I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity.

More than two centuries ago, the founders of our nation staked their fortunes and their lives on a revolutionary proposition: that people of competing ideas, yet common ideals, could form a more perfect union – a democracy built solely on the strength of its citizens.

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In 1988, the students at Gallaudet University rose up to demand a university President who was, like them, deaf or hard of hearing. Gallaudet, the only university in the world designed entirely for students who are deaf or hard of hearing, had never had a deaf president. Not until I. King Jordan. His appointment was not only a triumph for the students of Gallaudet, but an historic breakthrough for all people with disabilities.

It was also a powerful reminder for the rest of our nation – that deaf people like I. King Jordan can excel, and lead, just as well as any American. Moved by his example and the efforts of the entire disability community, Congress soon passed the Americans with Disabilities Act – the most important civil rights legislation in the past quarter century.

I. King Jordan has been a great teacher, a great university president, and a great inspiration to millions of people around the world. Thank you, President Jordan, for your leadership.

Irene Morgan Kirkaldy (ker-CALL-dee)

It was 1944 – wartime – and African-American soldiers were fighting and dying to protect freedom around the world. Unfortunately, African-Americans were also battling an insidious enemy right here at home – Jim Crow. A young mother named Irene Morgan took up that fight, and did it with dignity and determination. On her way to a doctor's appointment, she refused to give up her seat on a segregated Greyhound Bus, and appealed her subsequent arrest all the way to the Supreme Court. The Court's 1946 ruling – banning segregation on interstate transportation – was an early victory in the struggle for civil rights and signaled the beginning of the end of Jim Crow.

Irene Morgan Kirkaldy has never asked for accolades. But today we honor her, and acknowledge our eternal debt to her quiet – yet brave – fight for freedom.

Anthony Lewis

Franklin Roosevelt once said: "We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all our citizens, whatever their background." In the decades since, America has known few guardians of liberty more scrupulous – or staunch – than Anthony Lewis.

As a reporter, columnist, professor and author, Tony Lewis has been a clear, courageous voice for the values at the core of our Constitution. In books like "Gideon's Trumpet," he has deepened our understanding of our freedom of speech and our continuing battle for civil rights. Twice, his reporting has won the Pulitzer Prize. More important, his life's work has shown that a civil tone and careful, thoughtful, legal reasoning are far more powerful than the forces of injustice. Thank-you, Tony Lewis.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias

In the 1960s, Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias grew outraged at the poor quality of pediatric health care in her native Puerto Rico. So she created the island's first center for newborn babies at the University of Puerto Rico Medical Center, and cut the hospital's infant death rate in half. Ever since, in New York, California, and across America, Dr. Rodriguez-Trias has been working for better patient care, for better treatment and prevention of AIDS, and for women's health rights. For fighting the good fight, and saving countless lives, I present this medal to Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias.

Edward Roybal

When Edward Roybal joined the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, he didn't know he was embarking on a lifetime of service to his country, but he was. In World War II, he served in the Army; in the 1950s, on the Los Angeles City Council; and in 1962 he became the first Hispanic elected to Congress from California in almost a century – paving the way for a whole generation of Latino lawmakers. During his 30 years in Congress, Roybal championed veterans, the elderly, the mentally ill, education, health care, and minority rights. For a life's work that has improved the lives of millions, we honor Edward Roybal. He was unable to join us today, but his daughter, Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard, will accept the medal on his behalf.

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Bob, you once called Washington your "road not taken." I speak for so many Americans when I say we're glad you ultimately did take that road; and we are proud to have walked it with you.

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As a combat platoon leader in the Korean War, Warren Rudman never worried about the race or background of the men he fought with. As a U.S. Senator, Rudman never let his party affiliation keep him from speaking his mind or building alliances to fight great legislative battles – to strengthen national defense and put our fiscal house in order. As a private citizen, he has continued to champion those causes with bipartisan zeal, as a co-founder of the Concord Coalition, and vice chairman of my Foreign Intelligence Advisory Commission. For his wise counsel and service to his country, I am deeply grateful.

Chuck Ruff

Soon after graduating from law school, Charles Ruff volunteered to go to Liberia to teach law. There, he contracted an illness that left him in a wheelchair. But no obstacle – not this, not any other – could ever keep Chuck from doing good.

He went on to serve in the Justice Department, as U.S. Attorney, and the chief lawyer for the District of Columbia – this town he loved so much. I chose him as my White House Counsel because of his unmatched ability as a legal advocate, and his even deeper devotion to the Constitution and the rule of law. Not long ago, he agreed to lead the Fair Labor Association, to help end sweatshops and improve the lives of the world's poorest.

Chuck left us far too soon, but his determined spirit will keep inspiring and calling us on – to do more, to do right, to do good. His secretary of 21 years, Ora Theard (Thay-ARD) will accept this medal in his memory.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier

As a young man, Arthur Schneier (SCHNAI-er) fled his homeland and survived the Holocaust as a refugee. He knows firsthand the effects of intolerance and hatred – and he has devoted his life to fighting them.

As founder and President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, he has encouraged interfaith dialogue, intercultural understanding, and promoted the cause of religious freedom around the world. He has served as an international envoy for four Administrations, including my own; as Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad; and as the longtime rabbi of Park East Synagogue in New York City. Rabbi Schneier, thank you for your courage and spiritual leadership.

Pete Seeger

Chances are, almost everyone here can hum a few bars of “Goodnight, Irene”... “If I Had a Hammer”... or one of the many other folksongs that Pete Seeger made famous. That's no accident; he has said that his goal as a musician is “to put songs on people's lips, not just in their ear.” And for half a century, he has done just that.

But Pete Seeger didn't just want to get America humming – he also wanted to get America thinking. About civil rights and worker rights; about social justice; about preserving our natural treasures. All his life, he has challenged us to do more. Pete Seeger, thank you for singing your song all over this land.

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But his greatest achievement was crafting and winning passage of the Alaska Lands Act in 1980, which doubled the size of America's inventory of national parks and wildlife refuges, and tripled the area of federally designated wilderness. With that legislation, John Seiberling single-handedly saved more of our wilderness than any previous American, a legacy that will last generations. Unfortunately, this environmental hero is unable to join us today, but his son John will accept the medal on his behalf.

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Fred Shuttlesworth risked his life so that every American – no matter what the color of his or her skin – might live in a nation of dignity, opportunity and equal protection under law. Thank you, Reverend Shuttlesworth for your courageous life of leadership.

Elizabeth Taylor

She was born in England, but is thoroughly American royalty – our own Elizabeth. For more than a generation, she has reigned over the silver screen stirring hearts and capturing our imagination. With her unique blend of glamour and grace, she has earned two Oscars and countless other honors.

But perhaps Elizabeth Taylor's greatest role has been off the screen, as a relentless and early crusader for AIDS research and care. She has not only raised millions of dollars in the fight, she has also raised awareness about the human impact of this dreaded disease. Elizabeth Taylor has brought life to unforgettable characters on film and hope to millions around the world. We thank her for sharing the most beautiful gift of all – her heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, Elizabeth Taylor.

Marion Wiesel

When the Nazis marched on Vienna, a six-year-old girl fled with her mother across Europe – only to wind up in an internment camp rife with starvation, disease, and death. Out of that searing experience, Marion Wiesel summoned the courage to commit her life to teaching others – especially children – about the human cost of hatred, intolerance and racism. She has written a documentary about the 1.3 million children murdered in the Holocaust, and has translated the books of her husband, Elie Wiesel, so that countless more people can read and learn their lessons. With the money from his Nobel Prize, she and Elie established the Wiesel Foundation – to educate children against indifference to the suffering of others. Marion Wiesel, for your mission of hope against hate, of life against death, of good over evil, I award you this Citizen's Medal.

Patrisha Wright

Patrisha Wright was training to be an orthopedic surgeon when a degenerative muscle disease left her with double vision. Instead of fixing broken bones, she set about to fix what was broken in our system – and dedicated her life to ending discrimination against people with disabilities. As a founder of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, she joined forces with the wider civil rights community. Her strategic brilliance and no-nonsense approach during passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act earned her the title of "The General." Now she is working to empower people and families with disabilities throughout the world.

Ever since a visual impairment changed the path of her career, her dedication to civil rights has helped many more to see. Today we salute "The General" – Patrisha Wright.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for joining us here to honor these remarkable people. They remind us, once again, that the greatest title any one of us can ever hold is that of "citizen." May their accomplishments inspire us all, and generations to come.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/8/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ImmediateSubject: Remarks on Presentation of the Presidential Citizen's Medal

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☒	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
EDMONDS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Pollack

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL CITIZEN'S MEDAL
THE WHITE HOUSE
January 8, 2000**

Good afternoon. Senator Cleland; Senator Harkin; Representatives Gilman, Holmes-Norton, and Sununu; honored guests, family and friends – welcome to the White House. One of the great privileges I've had as President has been the chance to recognize – on behalf of the American people – the rich and diverse accomplishments of some of our greatest fellow citizens. This ceremony marks the last time I will honor such a remarkable group at the White House, and I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity.

More than two centuries ago, the founders of our nation staked their fortunes and their lives on a revolutionary proposition: that people of competing ideas, yet common ideals, could form a more perfect union – a democracy built solely on the strength of its citizens.

They felt it essential that America honor both the individual *and* the idea that a free people can accomplish their greatest deeds only by working together, for a common good. Today we honor citizens whose individual contributions to the common good embody this ideal in its purest essence, and we present them with the Presidential Citizens Medal.

This medal is among our nation's highest civilian honors, a symbol of our gratitude – as a people – to those who have performed exemplary deeds of service. Now, let me say a few words about each of the people we honor.

Hank Aaron

Every baseball fan knows that Hank Aaron holds more records than any other single ballplayer. But just as baseball symbolizes something greater than itself, so too does Hank Aaron, whose courage and dignity have left a lasting mark on far more than his sport.

We honor him today not only for the power of his swing, but for the power of his spirit; for breaking down barriers not just on the field or in the front office, but within America's heart. In the spotlight and under pressure, he always answered bigotry and brutality with poise and purpose. And in chasing his dream, Hank Aaron gave others the inspiration to chase their own. Hank Aaron, you are an American hero, and we salute you for your leadership.

Muhammad Ali

In the boxing world, he is known simply as "the greatest." And in the ring, he proved it time and again. And we loved him for it. Ever able to "float like a butterfly and sting like a bee," Muhammad Ali became the first boxer in history to capture the heavyweight title three

separate times. But more than that, he captured the world's imagination – and its heart. Outside the ring, Muhammad Ali has dedicated his life to working for children, feeding the hungry, supporting his faith and standing up for racial equality. He has always fought for a just and more humane world, breaking down barriers here in America and around the world. Today we honor Muhammad Ali, once and always “the greatest.”

Juan Andrade (Ahn-DRAH-day)

As a civics teacher fresh out of college, Juan Andrade showed up for the first day of class eager to teach his students the fundamentals of American democracy. Two days later, he was under arrest. His crime? Teaching in his students' native tongue, Spanish – which was, at that time, a violation of Texas law.

That early injustice helped spark Juan's lifelong crusade for Hispanic-American civil rights – including the founding of the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute, and nearly a thousand registration drives that have enfranchised over one million new voters. Today we honor Juan Andrade for his courage, his commitment to both diversity and democracy, and for giving so many Americans a voice in their own destiny.

Constance Baker Motley

When Constance Baker Motley joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, she set out to do nothing less than re-make American law. Along the way, she made history. A key strategist in the civil right movement, she argued nine winning cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

She went on to become the first African-American woman elected to the New York State Senate; the first woman and the first African-American to be Borough President of Manhattan; and the first African-American woman to be named a Federal Court judge.

She once said she sought to prove “in everything I do that blacks and women are as capable as anyone.” As an advocate, lawyer, public servant and judge, she has been not only capable, but superb. Constance Baker Motley, we are all in your debt.

Ruby Bridges

Ruby Bridges was born in 1954, the year the Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education*. But six years later, when she entered the first grade, the schools in her hometown of New Orleans were still separate and unequal. Ruby was chosen to integrate William Frantz Public School – single-handedly. When mobs gathered and shouted, Ruby knelt and prayed. She had two U.S. marshals ahead of her and two behind; but “prayer,” she said later, “was my protection.”

Today, in lectures and books, Ruby is telling younger generations her story of strength and faith. And through the Ruby Bridges Foundation, she is helping schools to establish diversity

programs – to achieve, without the struggle and pain, what she did four decades ago. Today, we pay tribute to that lifelong commitment.

Ron Brown

One of Ron Brown's favorite Bible passages came from the Book of Isaiah: "They who wait upon the Lord shall have their strength renewed. They shall mount up with wings as eagles. They will run and not grow weary. They will walk and faint not."

Ron Brown walked, ran, and soared through life, and he never grew weary. As party chairman, he inspired people to believe in our democratic system, and to get involved. As Secretary of Commerce, he opened up new markets at home and abroad, so that all people might make a better life for their families.

Ron's legacy burns brightly, not only in the hearts of those who knew him, but also in the living testimony of all the young people who – even now – walk through the doors he opened and cross the bridges he built. We honor his memory today; Alma, I'm glad you could be with us here to share this moment.

Don Cameron

For almost two decades, Don Cameron has served as Executive Director of the National Education Association. But his career began long before, as a Michigan junior high school teacher in the early '60s.

His starting salary was \$5100 a year – hardly enough to support a family. So he worked odd jobs – pumping gas, selling hardware, driving a truck, even digging graves – all for the love of teaching. (Let no one say this man was not deadly serious about his job.)

Don Cameron's enthusiasm has never wavered. During his tenure, the NEA grew by more than a million members – nearly doubling in size. He has fought for quality schools, smaller classes, and making sure that we treat teachers as the professionals that they are. Our schools are stronger and our children's future brighter because of his leadership. Thank-you, Don Cameron.

Sister Carol Coston

When Pope John the 23rd urged Catholics to engage in the world and address the needs of the poor, Sister Carol Coston, an Adrian Dominican nun, answered the call. She left the security of her convent to live and work in a public housing project. Then she helped create NETWORK, a national Catholic lobby that has mobilized thousands of nuns and lay people to fight for social progress in South Africa, for women's rights, and for economic justice.

She helped win passage of the Community Reinvestment Act, which has led to billions in investment in America's inner cities. And she has founded Partners for the Common Good, a fund that invests in housing and entrepreneurship in low-income neighborhoods. For your work as an agent of change, rooted the values of your faith, Sister Carol, I award you this medal.

Archibald Cox

As a young government lawyer during World War II, Archibald Cox helped get labor unions and corporations to stop fighting each other, and to start working together for an allied victory. That same steely resolve and sense of high purpose have marked his entire career. Fighting for labor rights in the 50s, civil rights in the 60s, and – during Watergate – rising that fateful Saturday night to defend our Constitution, Archibald Cox has come to embody the highest ideals of integrity and courage in public life. For a career of service to your country, we offer you our profound thanks.

Charles DeLisi

Just as Lewis and Clark set forth to explore a continent shrouded in mysterious possibility, Charles DeLisi pioneered the exploration of a modern-day frontier – the human genome. As an administrator and researcher in the Department of Energy in the mid-1980s, he worked with Congressional leaders like Senator Pete Domenici to secure vital support for this groundbreaking research. Charles DeLisi's imagination and determination helped ignite the revolution in sequencing that would, ultimately, unravel the code of human life itself. Thanks to Charles DeLisi's vision and leadership, researchers are now closer than ever to finding therapies and cures for ailments once thought untreatable.

At once a scientist, entrepreneur and teacher, Charles DeLisi is also – in the truest sense – a humanitarian, a man whose life's work has been life itself. We honor you today.

Jack Greenberg

The spread of civil and human rights, throughout America and across the globe, has been one of the triumphant dramas of the last half-century. Jack Greenberg has been at the center of the action. As a young lawyer, he helped Thurgood Marshall argue *Brown vs. Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. As head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund for 23 years, he himself argued dozens of key racial discrimination cases before the Supreme Court. Through his early involvement with organizations such as Asia Watch, he has aided the expansion of human rights around the world. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that to truly live, one must "share the action and passion of one's time." By that standard, Jack Greenberg has truly lived.

Dr. David Ho

When David Ho was a boy, he used puppets to act out stories about heroes who used supernatural powers to defend the weak. Everyone knew that young David was uncommonly bright, but few could have imagined that he would one day harness the unimagined powers of science to defend patients whose immune systems were fatally weakened by AIDS.

By demonstrating the ways HIV attacks the human body, he fundamentally changed the way we understand and treat that devastating disease. His groundbreaking work using protease inhibitors in combination with standard therapies has offered a longer life to countless people

living with AIDS. Thank you, Dr. Ho, for giving us new hope that AIDS can be treated – and one day cured.

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Elizabeth Taylor

She was born in England, but is thoroughly American royalty – our own Elizabeth. For more than a generation, she has reigned over the silver screen stirring hearts and capturing our imagination. With her unique blend of glamour and grace, she has earned two Oscars and countless other honors.

But perhaps Elizabeth Taylor's greatest role has been off the screen, as a relentless and early crusader for AIDS research and care. She has not only raised millions of dollars in the fight, she has also raised awareness about the human impact of this dreaded disease. Elizabeth Taylor has brought life to unforgettable characters on film and hope to millions around the world. We thank her for sharing the most beautiful gift of all – her heart. Ladies and Gentlemen, Elizabeth Taylor.

Marion Wiesel

When the Nazis marched on Vienna, a six-year-old girl fled with her mother across Europe – only to wind up in an internment camp rife with starvation, disease, and death. Out of that searing experience, Marion Wiesel summoned the courage to commit her life to teaching others – especially children – about the human cost of hatred, intolerance and racism. She has written a documentary about the 1.3 million children murdered in the Holocaust, and has translated the books of her husband, Elie Wiesel, so that countless more people can read and learn their lessons. With the money from his Nobel Prize, she and Elie established the Wiesel Foundation – to educate children against indifference to the suffering of others. Marion Wiesel, for your mission of hope against hate, of life against death, of good over evil, I award you this Citizen's Medal.

Patrisha Wright

Patrisha Wright was training to be an orthopedic surgeon when a degenerative muscle disease left her with double vision. Instead of fixing broken bones, she set about to fix what was broken in our system – and dedicated her life to ending discrimination against people with disabilities. As a founder of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, she joined forces with the wider civil rights community. Her strategic brilliance and no-nonsense approach during passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act earned her the title of "The General." Now she is working to empower people and families with disabilities throughout the world.

Ever since a visual impairment changed the path of her career, her dedication to civil rights has helped many more to see. Today we salute "The General" – Patrisha Wright.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for joining us here to honor these remarkable people. They remind us, once again, that the greatest title any one of us can ever hold is that of "citizen." May their accomplishments inspire us all, and generations to come.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/8/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: IMMEDIATESubject: AFL-CIO REMARKS

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LANE	☐	☐			

1/8/01

Send to RM?

Yes

No

Cwd

REMARKS:

Comments to GOTTHEIMER

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR AFL-CIO BUILDING DEDICATION
WASHINGTON, DC
January 8, 2001

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Eight years later, with your help and your hard work, we've done exactly that. We started by replacing a government that for years worked labor over, with a government that works with labor. For the first time in a long time, labor – and not just management – had a seat at the table. Today, the AFL-CIO, and the labor movement, are the stronger for it, and so is our nation.

Today, we've turned record deficits into record surpluses, with more than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in history, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment on record, and the highest homeownership ever. Since 1993, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300 and hourly wages are up by more than 9 percent, contributing to the longest economic expansion in our nation's history. The rising tide of our economy really is lifting all boats.

We've shown that we could balance the budget while honoring our values. Since 1993, we have nearly doubled investment in education and training, put more police on the street, and invested more in technology, medical research, and cleaning up the environment. We've nearly doubled the Earned Income Tax Credit to cut taxes for millions of hard-pressed working parents. We've provided tax cuts for tuition which 10 million families have used to open the doors to college. We passed the Family Medical Leave Act that has allowed more than 20 million Americans take time off to care for a newborn child or a sick loved one. We passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum law that has helped millions of Americans keep their health care as they move from job to job. And we extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund to 2025, making it possible for a voluntary Medicare prescription drug benefit that is long overdue.

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REMARKS:

Comments to GOTTHEIMER

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR AFL-CIO BUILDING DEDICATION
WASHINGTON, DC
January 8, 2001**

Ack. John Sweeney. Gerry Shea. Susan Hagan [electrical worker from Cleveland, Ohio]. Karen Tramontano. I want to thank the 13 million rank-and-file members of the AFL-CIO for all the support you've given Vice President Gore and me the last eight years. You embody the best of America – and without your work, none of the good things that have happened under our administration would ever have been possible.

In 1955, when this building was first dedicated, AFL President George Meany said, "The foundations for this building are not steel and stone and concrete, but the far more enduring philosophy of free trade unionism." Forty-five years later, as we rededicate this building, the basic mission of the AFL-CIO endures – to improve the lives of all working Americans, and bring economic and social justice to the workplace. From the strawberry fields of California ... to the steel mills of Pittsburgh, your devoted leadership and rejuvenated organizing efforts have ensured that America works for working Americans.

This building is a symbol of the American labor movement – forever growing stronger, and always adapting to meet the new challenges of the time. Its new conference center and high-tech wiring will connect carpenters in California with workers here in Washington. Its 21st Century design and grand atrium will remind labor leaders from all over the world that the AFL-CIO is on the cutting edge, poised to meet the demands of the new economy.

The labor movement will succeed in the 21st Century the same way it did in the 20th -- by embracing change and empowering workers. We've been talking about these goals for some time now. Back in October 1992, I spoke with you as a candidate for President. I said then that I wanted to work for an America, "where labor and management, business and government, and education work together again to create a high-wage, high-growth society."

Eight years later, with your help and your hard work, we've done exactly that. We started by replacing a government that for years worked labor over, with a government that works with labor. For the first time in a long time, labor – and not just management – had a seat at the table. Today, the AFL-CIO, and the labor movement, are the stronger for it, and so is our nation.

Today, we've turned record deficits into record surpluses, with more than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in history, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment on record, and the highest homeownership ever. Since 1993, the yearly income of the typical family is up \$6,300 and hourly wages are up by more than 9 percent, contributing to the longest economic expansion in our nation's history. The rising tide of our economy really is lifting all boats.

We've shown that we could balance the budget while honoring our values. Since 1993, we have nearly doubled investment in education and training, put more police on the street, and invested more in technology, medical research, and cleaning up the environment. We've nearly doubled the Earned Income Tax Credit to cut taxes for millions of hard-pressed working parents. We've provided tax cuts for tuition which 10 million families have used to open the doors to college. We passed the Family Medical Leave Act that has allowed more than 20 million Americans take time off to care for a newborn child or a sick loved one. We passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum law that has helped millions of Americans keep their health care as they move from job to job. And we extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund to 2025, making it possible for a voluntary Medicare prescription drug benefit that is long overdue.

We've accomplished all this while standing strong for the rights of America's workers. In the last eight years, we have defeated attempts to repeal prevailing wage laws, to bring back company unions, and to weaken occupational safety laws. We cracked down on sweatshops. We fought to protect pension funds. We passed tough new worker safety rules which will help prevent repetitive stress injuries. And in 1996, I signed legislation to raise the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour. That raise hasn't stood in the way of new jobs, as its critics charged. Since then, in fact, we've created nearly 12 million new jobs, and the unemployment rate has dropped from 5.2 to 4 percent.

Still, even as our economy is breaking records, too many Americans are still having trouble breaking even. The fact is, you can barely live on \$5.15 an hour, and too many families are being forced to try.

Today I'm releasing a new report from my National Economic Council highlighting the challenges facing the hardest-pressed workers. This report shows that more than 2.6 million Americans still earn at or near the minimum wage. Another 6.9 million workers earn less than \$6.15 an hour. These are people who work hard every day, stocking store shelves, washing dishes at restaurants, caring for our children. They are in every town and city in America, and of every racial and ethnic group. They are not, as caricature would have it, mostly middle class teenagers working for gas money. Nearly seventy percent are adults. More than sixty percent are women. Almost half work full time. And many are sole breadwinners struggling to raise their children on \$10,300 a year.

These hard-working Americans need and deserve a raise. They've waited for it far too long. In the last Congress, a bipartisan majority in both houses agreed that we ought to get it done. There's no reason we can't finish this piece of business this year. To make up for lost time and lost wages, we should raise the minimum wage by more than a dollar, and we should make sure American workers aren't made to pay the penalty of a loss of overtime protections. These are the men and women who drive our economy, who fuel our prosperity. And we must make sure they enjoy a share of it.

As we celebrate this new building, we must always remember that new windows and wiring alone aren't going to prepare America's workers for the new century. In the new economy, the most precious resources are the skills and security of working Americans. The

experience of the past eight years shows that we can give them the basic income they've earned, the protections they deserve, and the tools they need -- and still have a thriving economy.

Thank you and God bless you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-22-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: Immediate
 Subject: Remarks on Ramadan

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
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REMARKS:

Comments to Ross hint

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

President William J. Clinton
Ramadan Video Message
taping: Wednesday, November 22, 2000

It is a privilege to deliver again this year -- on behalf of the American people -- a message of friendship and respect to Muslims around the world as they begin the sacred month of Ramadan. As America's six-million-member Muslim community grows in numbers and prominence, Americans of every religious tradition are learning more about the origins and meaning of Islam.....

That on "the Night of Power," the Angel Gabriel appeared to the Prophet Muhammad and revealed to him the first verses of the Koran. That the Koran declares that Ramadan was the month Allah's words were sent down, and so should be spent in fasting.

The rigors undertaken by devout Muslims inspire respect for Islam among people of all faiths. And this can bring hope of greater understanding -- for good will can overflow old boundaries when wholehearted devotion to one's own faith is matched with a devout respect for the faith of others. That is why we welcome Islam in America -- it enriches our country with Islam's teachings of self-discipline, compassion and commitment to family; it deepens America's respect for Muslims here at home and around the world -- from Indonesia to Pakistan, the Middle East and Africa.

We all had hoped that when this month's crescent moon first appeared, and the month of Ramadan was announced, fasting would begin in a time of peace. Yet tragically, violence continues and lives are being lost in the land that is holy to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. For all Americans, these deaths are a source of great sorrow.

The Muslim chaplain at Georgetown University, where I attended college, has told me of a verse in the Koran, in which Allah tells us that He created nations and tribes so we may know one another, not so we might despise one another. As the fasting of Ramadan begins, I pray people of all faiths may come to appreciate this precious wisdom of the Koran, and when next month's moon appears, and the Muslim world celebrates Eid al-Fitr, we may also celebrate the revival of our hopes for peace throughout the world. *Ramadan Kareem*. [RA-ma-dahn ka-REEM].

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-22-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: Immediate
 Subject: Remarks on Ramadan

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
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REMARKS:

Comments to Ross hint

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Rosshirt Tue 4:30 pm

President William J. Clinton
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taping: Wednesday, November 22, 2000

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The rigors undertaken by devout Muslims inspire respect for Islam among people of all faiths. And this can bring hope of greater understanding -- for good will can overflow old boundaries when wholehearted devotion to one's own faith is matched with a devout respect for the faith of others. That is why we welcome Islam in America -- it enriches our country with Islam's teachings of self-discipline, compassion and commitment to family; it deepens America's respect for Muslims here at home and around the world -- from Indonesia to Pakistan, the Middle East and Africa.

We all had hoped that when this month's crescent moon first appeared, and the month of Ramadan was announced, fasting would begin in a time of peace. Yet tragically, violence continues and lives are being lost in the land that is holy to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. For all Americans, these deaths are a source of great sorrow.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
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Comments to Rosshint

RESPONSE:

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-21-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAPSubject: Turkey Pardon Remarks

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
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LANE	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Josh Gottheimer

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Draft 11/21/00 8pm
Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR NATIONAL TURKEY PARDONING
THE WHITE HOUSE
November 21, 2000

Acknowledge: Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Washington; National Turkey Federation; Chairman Jerry Jerome and President Stuart Proctor.

Welcome to the White House. I want to thank all of you for joining us today for the annual turkey pardoning. I also want to thank the National Turkey Federation for donating this year's tom turkey, the eighth I've had the privilege to meet – and set free – in the Rose Garden. I hope I don't offend the others, but he's the best I've seen so far. I'm told Jerry "the turkey" traveled all the way here from the farms of Wisconsin – proving that the "cheese state" knows how to make more than good cheese.

Tomorrow we will celebrate the first Thanksgiving of the new millennium, and the last one of my presidency. As Hillary, Chelsea and I sit down to our dinner, we will give special thanks for the privilege it has been to live in this house and serve the American people these past eight years.

It's still a bit of a mystery when exactly the first Thanksgiving dinner was held. Some say it was in 1513, when Ponce de Leon landed in Florida. Others say it occurred in 1541, when Francisco Vazquez de Coronado arrived on the Texas Panhandle. Some conspiracy theorists say neither of those are true -- and maybe there really is no Thanksgiving.

The most popular story -- the one we all learned as kids -- is that Native Americans and Pilgrims shared a feast of thanks to celebrate their first harvest in 1621, soon after the Pilgrims arrived in Plymouth. It was a famous meal of maize, squash, and venison, that lasted three whole days. Now that's a lot of turkey.

No matter what its roots, Thanksgiving is a tradition that's been celebrated in our country since its beginning. George Washington was the first president to declare a national day of thanks in 1789; and Abraham Lincoln made the tradition a permanent one in 1863, recognizing, as he put it, "the blessings of fruitful years and healthful skies."

The times have changed, but the message hasn't – to give thanks for all of God's blessings: for our strong families, our spirited communities, and the good fortune of living in our country's most prosperous and peaceful time. With more than 20 million new jobs, poverty and unemployment at record lows, and the highest homeownership in history, Americans have more to be thankful for than at any other time. We should also be grateful for the strength of our democracy, and the freedom America continues to enjoy, thanks to the courage and patriotism of our men and women in uniform.

But as we gather around our dinner tables with family and friends, and celebrate our great bounty, we must not forget those who are going hungry this holiday season. That's why it's so important that all Americans, like the young people here today, not only give thanks but give back to their communities.

Almost 50 years ago, President Truman began the tradition of keeping at least one turkey off the Thanksgiving dinner table, and I am pleased to follow in his footsteps. I hereby pardon this turkey, and order that he be sent to the petting zoo in Fairfax County, Virginia, to live a long life on a diet of grain and dimpled chads.

Thank you and have a wonderful Thanksgiving.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-21-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAPSubject: Turkey Pardon Remarks

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
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REMARKS:

Comments to Josh Gottheimer

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Draft 11/21/00 8pm
Josh Gottheimer

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 *** TX REPORT ***

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-21-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAPSubject: Turkey Pardon Remarks

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-03-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAPSubject: Talking Points for New York

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
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REMARKS:

Comments to Staff Sec'y

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR NEW YORK
BRONX, NY
November 4, 2000**

Ack. Rep. Jose Serrano. Rep. Eliot Engel. Comptroller Carl McCall. Attorney General Elliot Spitzer. Assemblyman Roberto Ramirez. Fernando Ferrer.

- **I'm glad to be back in New York.** This state has been very good to me, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve.
- **Look how far New York and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in New York was 8.3 percent. Today it's 4.5 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 855,000 new jobs in New York – 22 million across America. Wages and income continue to rise. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years [down 33 percent in New York since '93], and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
- **Today the American community, and the American family, is stronger than it has ever been. All Americans are sharing in our growing prosperity.** Eight years ago, the Hispanic unemployment rate was 11.8 percent. Just Friday, we learned that it dropped to 5 percent – the lowest level on record. We also have the lowest African-American unemployment rate on the books. Eight years ago, it was 14.3 percent. Today, it's been cut nearly in half to 7.3 percent. We also have the lowest female unemployment in 40 years; the lowest Hispanic poverty rate in a generation; and a million new Hispanic homeowners since 1994.
- **The Congressional Republicans have proven that they're unable to finish their work before leaving town to face the voters.** They're leaving behind a legacy of unfinished business on health care, education, economic progress and social justice.
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- **We need good people like Hillary, Jose Serrano, and Eliot Engel in Congress** who are willing to follow the proven path of progress, not partisanship.

Economy – Crime – Welfare – Families

1) Budget

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 - ✓ Medicare Drugs
 - ✓ 3,000 long-term care

4) Differences

- a) Build – Economy
- b) Aging
- c) Education
- d) Health care
- e) Environment

f) Critical choice

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR NEW YORK
HARLEM, NY
November 4, 2000**

Ack. Sen. Schumer. Rep. Rangel. Rep. Nadler. Rep. Serrano. Comptroller Carl McCall. Assemblyman Herman "Vinny" Farrell, and all the other elected officials present. Dennis Rivera. Lee Saunders. Luther Vandross (entertainment).

- **I'm glad to be back in New York.** This state has been very good to me, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve.
- **Look how far New York and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in New York was 8.3 percent. Today it's 4.5 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 855,000 new jobs in New York – 22 million across America. Wages and income continue to rise. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years [down 33 percent in New York since '93], and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
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4) Differences

- a) Build – Economy
- b) Aging

- c) Education
- d) Health care
- e) Environment
- f) Critical choice

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR NEW YORK
BROOKLYN, NY
November 4, 2000**

Ack. Senator Schumer. Rep. Owens. Rep. Towns. Rep. Velasquez. Comptroller McCall. Attorney General Spitzer. Clarence Norman (Kings County Dem Leader).

- **I'm glad to be back in New York.** This state has been very good to me, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve.
- **Look how far New York and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in New York was 8.3 percent. Today it's 4.5 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 855,000 new jobs in New York – 22 million across America. Wages and income continue to rise. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years [down 33 percent in New York since '93], and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
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- **We need good people like Hillary, Major Owens. Ed Towns. Nydia Velasquez in Congress** who are willing to follow the proven path of progress, not partisanship.

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4) Differences

- a) Build – Economy
- b) Aging

- c) Education
- d) Health care
- e) Environment
- f) Critical choice

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11-3-00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAP
 Subject: Talking Points for Arkansas

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
EDMONDS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Staff Sec'y

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Final 11/2/00 3pm
Josh Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR ARKANSAS
LITTLE ROCK, AR
November 5, 2000**

00 NOV 3 PM 3:31

Ack. TK

- **I'm glad to be back in Arkansas.** This state has been very good to me, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve.
- **Look how far Arkansas and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in Arkansas was 6.7 percent. Today it's 4.1 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 194,000 new jobs in Arkansas – 22 million across America. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years, and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
- **The Congressional Republicans have proven that they're unable to finish their work before leaving town to face the voters.** They're leaving behind a legacy of unfinished business on health care, education, economic progress and social justice.
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- **But more often than not, the Republican leadership has put self-interest and special interests ahead of the public interest. That's why we need Democratic leadership and a Democratic agenda in the House** – to fight for: Education (after-school, teacher quality, accountability, school construction), Minimum Wage, Patients Bill of Rights, Hate Crimes Legislation, Campaign Finance Reform.

- **We need good people TK** in Congress who are willing to follow the proven path of progress, not partisanship.

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4) Differences

- a) Build – Economy
- b) Aging
- c) Education
- d) Health care
- e) Environment
- f) Critical choice

Final 11/3/00 3pm
Josh Gottheimer

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR ARKANSAS
PINE BLUFF, AR
November 5, 2000**

Ack. Sec. Slater. FEMA Admin. James Lee Witt. State Sen. Mike Ross. Attorney Gen. Mark Pryor. Vaughn McQuary (Chair, Arkansas Dem Party).

- **I'm glad to be back in Arkansas.** This state has been very good to me, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve.
- **Look how far Arkansas and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in Arkansas was 6.7 percent. Today it's 4.1 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 194,000 new jobs in Arkansas – 22 million across America. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years, and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
- **Look how far Arkansas and America have come over the eight years.** In 1993, unemployment in Arkansas was 6.7 percent. Today it's 4.1 percent, and nationwide, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years. We've created more than 168,000 new jobs in Arkansas – 22 million across America. Wages and income continue to rise. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest crime rate in 25 years, and the highest homeownership in history. We mustn't abandon the path that got us here.
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- **We need good people Mike Ross** in Congress who are willing to follow the proven path of progress, not partisanship.

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4) Differences

- a) Build – Economy
- b) Aging
- c) Education
- d) Health care

- e) Environment
- f) Critical choice

CLOSE HOLD

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/6/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: IMMEDIATE
 Subject: ISRAEL POLICY FORUM REMARKS

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☐	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☐	
CAHILL	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	
EDMONDS	☐	☐		☐	
FRAMPTON	☐	☐		☐	
IBARRA	☐	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☐	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐		☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO ROSSHIAT

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Staffing Memo 11/2/00

Ext. 62702

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

01 JAN 6 PM 3:01

Sat 2 pm

President William Jefferson Clinton
Israel Policy Forum
Sunday, January 7, 2001

Thank you for your warm and touching welcome, and the chance to be back among so many old friends. Michael, as you end your term as Israel Policy Forum chair, you leave with our gratitude for your endless efforts for peace. On behalf of all who will benefit from the peace you seek, I thank you, sir. Jack, my close personal friend who has never asked me for anything in eight years except to work harder for peace, thank you for your inspiration.

I was moved by the words of Prime Minister Barak. I have so valued my opportunity to work with him. He is a man of immense courage and conviction, whose intimate knowledge of war feeds his passionate quest for peace. I want to join him and the Israel Policy Forum in acknowledging the extraordinary contributions of Lou Perlmutter, Susan Stern, Alan Solomont, and Dwayne Andreas. These honorees are highly successful, accomplished people who make a pragmatic and persuasive case for peace. We are in their debt.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to everyone who plays a role in the work of this organization which has done so much to inspire and assist the work for peace in the Middle East. Your efforts have never been more in need than now.

For I am speaking at a time that is difficult for the Middle East and for all who believe in peace. For over three months, a tragic cycle of violence has cost hundreds of lives, shattered confidence in the peace process, and raised basic questions about the prospect of Israelis and Palestinians

ever coexisting side-by-side. During this painful period, the United States has been seeking to help the parties restore calm, end the bloodshed and move toward an agreement that will address the underlying causes of their conflict. But whether it is given to this Administration or to the next to carry these goals through, I believe this is the appropriate time for me to reflect on some enduring lessons we have learned and how I believe we can move forward toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

But before looking forward, we need to take a step back. From the first day I assumed office in January 1993, we have worked to promote interests in the Middle East that have been defined and pursued by the United States for generations, under Republican and Democratic leaderships alike. The path to a comprehensive peace has had its ups, and it certainly has had its downs, but none should underestimate the remarkable progress that has been made. Since 1993, we have seen agreements between Israelis and Palestinians in which both sides took historic steps toward mutual recognition and acceptance. We have seen a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan that has changed the landscape of the region. And, last summer, Israel withdrew from Lebanon, fulfilling its part in implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 425.

Along the way, we also have learned important lessons about what works and what does not. Several of these lessons stand out, accumulated and tested over eight years. These are, I believe, enduring truths that will have to guide any effort, whether now or in the future, to reach a comprehensive peace in the region:

First, that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not simply a morality play, a conflict between good and evil. It is a historical conflict whose resolution requires fairness and balance, an understanding of both sides' needs, and genuine respect for their national identity and religious beliefs.

Second, that there is no place for violence and no military solution to this conflict. Negotiations offer the only path to a just and durable resolution of their differences.

Third, that there can be no peace or regional stability without a strong, secure Israel. Keeping Israel unmistakably strong demonstrates to its adversaries the futility of war. And keeping the Israeli people secure gives them the self-confidence to make peace. That is why the United States' commitment to preserving Israel's qualitative edge must remain iron-clad.

Fourth, that discussions between the parties must be accompanied by signs of trust and partnership, for goodwill at the negotiating table cannot long survive ill intent on the ground. The promotion of intolerance and incitement of hatred in the classrooms or the media; humiliating treatment on the streets or at checkpoints -- these are far more than mere day-to-day irritants; they are real obstacles to building a genuine peace.

And fifth, that whenever Arabs and Israelis seek to resolve their remaining differences -- today or several years hence; before or after more heartbreak and bloodshed -- the fundamental issues will be the same. The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same demography, the same passions and hatreds and, I am convinced, the same painful but necessary

compromises that are required for a comprehensive peace. Whoever believes that the other side's resolve or courage or strength will diminish is mistaken, and tragically so.

The cycle of violence that has broken out between Israelis and Palestinians has led many to question these core principles and indeed to doubt not only the value of the peace process but the possibility of peace itself. What Palestinians see as a struggle for their land, Israelis experience as gun-fire and terror. What Israelis see as a firm response to violent provocations, Palestinians view as disproportionate force. And so, many ask whether negotiations can in fact achieve peace . . . whether unilateral steps are not a more realistic route than mutually agreed ones . . . whether Israelis and Palestinians can ever again be partners.

To people on both sides, let me say this: What we have seen over the past three months is not the future for which Yitzakh Rabin gave his life. And it is not the future I had in mind when I spoke to the Palestinian people in Gaza two years ago. But do not draw the wrong lessons from this tragic chapter. The violence does not demonstrate that the quest for peace has gone too far or too fast -- but that it has not gone far or fast enough. It points not to the failure of negotiations -- but to the futility of violence and force. It shows that unilateral steps do not abate mutual hostility -- but exacerbate it. And, finally, it confirms the need to prepare the public for the requirements of peace -- not to condition them for the so-called glory of war.

For both Israelis and Palestinians, the first priority must be to end the dangerous cycle of violence, for in its wake lies only more destruction and anguish. But they need to go further if they are to resolve their underlying problems. On the Palestinian side, what is required is an end

to the culture of violence and incitement that, since Oslo, has continued unchecked. Young children are educated to believe in confrontation with Israel; and multiple militia-like groups carry and use weapons with impunity. Voices of reason and courageous leadership are being drowned out by voices of revenge and desperation that produce only bloodshed and death. Let me be clear: this is inconsistent with the notion that the Palestinian people want to achieve peace and have made it their strategic choice. In what they do and say, day in and day out, they are sending a message to the Israeli people. The question is: will it be a message of hatred or of hope?

For their part, the Israeli people must understand that expanding the settlement enterprise, building bypass roads, or demolishing homes is inconsistent with the notion that both sides must negotiate their differences, not resolve them by creating facts on the ground. And they also must understand that restoring confidence requires the Palestinians being able to lead a normal existence, rather than being subjected to daily reminders that they lack control over their lives.

At the end of the day, the fundamental question remains this: can two people who have gone through this kind of violence still conclude a genuine and lasting peace? My answer – and I believe this with all my heart – not only is that they can, but that they must. The alternative to a peaceful settlement never has been clearer; it is being played out before our very eyes. The only difference is that, the longer Israelis and Palestinians wait, the greater the cost in blood and tears.

But we have learned something else over the past several months. What happened at Camp David was a transformative event in which the two sides faced the core issues of their dispute

and the key tradeoffs required to end it. So far, they have not been able to reach a final settlement, and that of course is regrettable. But I am convinced that just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past six months will force them to come to terms with each other's needs and with the contours of the peace that, ultimately, they will have to reach. It may take some time, and it will require genuine leadership. In his bold strides for peace, Prime Minister Barak has led the way, with vision, courage and true statesmanship.

Which brings me to where we stand today, and to where we go from here. Given the exhaustion of the interim phase that began with Oslo, the impasse reached by Israelis and Palestinians, and the tragic deterioration on the ground, both sides asked me to present my ideas. Two weeks ago, I took that step, putting forward parameters that, in my view, should guide further work toward a comprehensive agreement. I did this not out of a belief that we possess a magical solution to this conflict, but with the benefit of eight years of listening carefully to both sides and hearing them describe, with increasing clarity, their respective grievances and needs. Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have now accepted these parameters as a basis for further efforts, though both have expressed some reservations. At their request, I will use my remaining time in office to narrow the differences between the parties to the greatest degree possible.

I believe that what I put forward constitutes the basis for a just and lasting settlement — a settlement that responds to each side's essential needs, if not to their utmost desires. I am convinced that both Israelis and Palestinians deserve sovereign homelands and that both

deserve to live in peace and with dignity and security. The parameters I suggested follow logically from that conviction. Let me describe them to you in general terms now that they have been widely described – and sometimes misdescribed – by others. They do not seek to answer every question; rather, they seek to narrow the questions that must be answered.

First, I believe there can be no genuine resolution to this conflict without a sovereign and viable Palestinian state. At the same time, any solution will have to accommodate demographic realities and Israel's security requirements. And so, my parameters suggest Palestinian sovereignty over all of Gaza and the vast majority of the West Bank with the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocs. The goal should be to maximize the number of settlers in Israel while minimizing the land annexed, for Palestine should be a viable, geographically contiguous state. This annexed land should include as few Palestinians as possible, for how can Israel explain the incorporation of large numbers of Palestinians when the very logic of peace is two separate homelands? And there should be territorial swaps and other arrangements for Palestine, for that is the only way to make an agreement durable.

Second, a solution will have to be found for the Palestinian refugees, who have suffered a great deal and feel victims of a grave injustice. A genuine solution must allow them to return to their homeland and give them the tools to lead normal, productive and healthy lives. At the same time, it makes no sense to create a State of Palestine only to have the Palestinian refugees go to Israel and become Israeli citizens, thereby threatening the foundations of that state and undermining the very logic of the peace. And so, my parameters focus on the establishment of a Palestinian state that will provide all Palestinians with a place they can safely and proudly call

home. This has been the core of the Palestinian struggle since its beginning, and it would be a signal achievement. All those Palestinian refugees who wish to live in this homeland should have that right. All others deserve help in finding new homes -- whether in their current locations or in third countries, including Israel, and consistent with those countries' sovereign decisions. And all refugees deserve compensation from the international community for their losses and assistance in building their new lives.

Third, there will be no peace so long as the Israeli people do not enjoy lasting security and any agreement will have to include arrangements that address these legitimate concerns. At the same time, these need not and should not come at the expense of Palestinian sovereignty or interfere with Palestine's territorial integrity. And so, my parameters rely on an international presence in Palestine to provide border security along the Jordan Valley as well as to monitor implementation of the final agreement by both sides. They rely, too, on a non-militarized Palestine, a phased Israeli withdrawal, and other essential security arrangements that will ensure Israel's ability to defend itself.

Fourth, I come to the issue of Jerusalem, perhaps the most emotional and sensitive of all. It is a historic, cultural and political center for both Israelis and Palestinians, a unique city sacred to all three monotheistic religions. And so, my parameters flow from four fair and logical propositions. First, Jerusalem must be an open and undivided city, with assured freedom of access and worship for all. It would encompass the internationally recognized capitals of two states -- Israel and Palestine. Second, what is Arab should be Palestinian, for why should Israel want to govern in perpetuity the lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians? Third, what is

Jewish should be Israeli, giving rise to a Jewish Jerusalem that is larger and more vibrant than any seen in history. And fourth, that what is holy to both requires special care to meet the needs of all, for no peace agreement will last if not premised on mutual respect for the religious beliefs and holy shrines of Jews, Moslems and Christians. I have offered formulations on the Haram el-Sharif and this holy area – for two thousand years the focus of Jewish yearning -- that, in my view, address the concerns of both sides.

Fifth and finally, any agreement will have to mark the decision to end the conflict for neither side can afford to make painful compromises only to be subjected to further demands. This really will have to be the end of the struggle that has pitted Palestinians and Israelis against each other for far too long. And this end of conflict must manifest itself with concrete acts that demonstrate a new attitude, a new approach.

At the same time, the parties' experience with the interim accords has not always been a happy one. Too many deadlines have been missed, too many commitments unfulfilled -- on both sides. So for this to signify a real end of the conflict, there will need to be effective mechanisms that provide guarantees on implementation.

This, I believe, is the outline of a fair agreement. It will entail real pain and sacrifices for the two sides; but it will bring to both so much more: For the people of Israel, an end to the conflict, secure and defensible borders, the incorporation of most of the settlers into Israel, and the Jewish capital of Yerushalayim [yeh-ROO-sha-LIE-yam], recognized by all as its capital. For the Palestinian people, the ability to determine their future on their own land, a sovereign state

recognized by the international community, with al-Quds as its capital, recognized by all, and new lives for the refugees.

Of course, each side will try to do better; but a peace that will be viewed as imposed by one party upon the other, a peace that puts one side up and the other one down rather than both ahead, contains the seeds of its own destruction. And let me say this: those who believe that my ideas can be altered to one party's exclusive benefit are mistaken. To press for more surely would produce less. To seek a peace without compromise is not to seek peace at all. Sooner or later, I am sure, this fundamental truth will be recognized.

Israelis and Palestinians are unlikely to agree with everything I have said. But I say it out of a profound attachment to Israel, to the Palestinian people, and to the peace process in which they have been engaged. My ties to Israel, like America's, run deep. They are rooted in history, founded on common interests, sustained by shared values. During my tenure, I sought to expand our already unique military relationship with Israel and my determination to protect and strengthen Israel's safety is unyielding. As for the Palestinian people, I am proud to have been the first President to visit Gaza and I will never forget what it taught me about their suffering, but also their resilience and courage. I said at the time that the Palestinian people should be able to determine their own future on their own land and I believe that as strongly now as I did then.

Before closing, I would like to address one more thought to the Palestinian people. Courage is not only, or even mainly, measured in struggle. It is measured in the ability to recognize and to

seize historic opportunities. Today, it is that other form of courage that is being tested. Never have you been as close to achieving your goals -- regaining your land, establishing a state, building a prosperous future for your children. There will always be those sitting comfortably on the outside urging you to hold out for the impossible more. But they are not the ones whose refugees will continue to languish in crowded camps. You are. They are not the ones whose children will grow up in poverty. You are. They are not the ones who will pay the price of missing a historic opportunity. You are. Now is the time to seize this opportunity. At Oslo, your leaders -- and principally Chairman Arafat -- demonstrated the courage needed to take the first historic step. They need to summon that same courage to take the final one. For you. For your children. For the wellbeing and pride of Palestine.

What I presented is not an expression of a new U.S. policy, nor will it oblige the next Administration. These parameters originated with me, and will go with me when I leave office. But, urged by the parties, I have done and will continue to do my best to offer a way toward a brighter future. I do not know whether an agreement is possible within the next two weeks. But I do know that we have the responsibility to move the parties away from violence and closer to peace. I believe that the parameters I outlined will serve as the basis for the solution that will come, whenever it comes. And that Israelis and Palestinians finally will achieve the peace they so richly deserve.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 1/6/01 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: IMMEDIATE
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LANE	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO ROSSHART

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Sat 2 pm

**President William Jefferson Clinton
Israel Policy Forum
Sunday, January 7, 2001**

Thank you for your warm and touching welcome, and the chance to be back among so many old friends. Michael, as you end your term as Israel Policy Forum chair, you leave with our gratitude for your endless efforts for peace. On behalf of all who will benefit from the peace you seek, I thank you, sir. Jack, my close personal friend who has never asked me for anything in eight years except to work harder for peace, thank you for your inspiration.

I was moved by the words of Prime Minister Barak. I have so valued my opportunity to work with him. He is a man of immense courage and conviction, whose intimate knowledge of war feeds his passionate quest for peace. I want to join him and the Israel Policy Forum in acknowledging the extraordinary contributions of Lou Perlmutter, Susan Stern, Alan Solomont, and Dwayne Andreas. These honorees are highly successful, accomplished people who make a pragmatic and persuasive case for peace. We are in their debt.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to everyone who plays a role in the work of this organization which has done so much to inspire and assist the work for peace in the Middle East. Your efforts have never been more in need than now.

For I am speaking at a time that is difficult for the Middle East and for all who believe in peace. For over three months, a tragic cycle of violence has cost hundreds of lives, shattered confidence in the peace process, and raised basic questions about the prospect of Israelis and Palestinians

ever coexisting side-by-side. During this painful period, the United States has been seeking to help the parties restore calm, end the bloodshed and move toward an agreement that will address the underlying causes of their conflict. But whether it is given to this Administration or to the next to carry these goals through, I believe this is the appropriate time for me to reflect on some enduring lessons we have learned and how I believe we can move forward toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

But before looking forward, we need to take a step back. From the first day I assumed office in January 1993, we have worked to promote interests in the Middle East that have been defined and pursued by the United States for generations, under Republican and Democratic leaderships alike. The path to a comprehensive peace has had its ups, and it certainly has had its downs, but none should underestimate the remarkable progress that has been made. Since 1993, we have seen agreements between Israelis and Palestinians in which both sides took historic steps toward mutual recognition and acceptance. We have seen a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan that has changed the landscape of the region. And, last summer, Israel withdrew from Lebanon, fulfilling its part in implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 425.

Along the way, we also have learned important lessons about what works and what does not. Several of these lessons stand out, accumulated and tested over eight years. These are, I believe, enduring truths that will have to guide any effort, whether now or in the future, to reach a comprehensive peace in the region:

First, that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not simply a morality play, a conflict between good and evil. It is a historical conflict whose resolution requires fairness and balance, an understanding of both sides' needs, and genuine respect for their national identity and religious beliefs.

Second, that there is no place for violence and no military solution to this conflict. Negotiations offer the only path to a just and durable resolution of their differences.

Third, that there can be no peace or regional stability without a strong, secure Israel. Keeping Israel unmistakably strong demonstrates to its adversaries the futility of war. And keeping the Israeli people secure gives them the self-confidence to make peace. That is why the United States' commitment to preserving Israel's qualitative edge must remain iron-clad.

Fourth, that discussions between the parties must be accompanied by signs of trust and partnership, for goodwill at the negotiating table cannot long survive ill intent on the ground. The promotion of intolerance and incitement of hatred in the classrooms or the media; humiliating treatment on the streets or at checkpoints -- these are far more than mere day-to-day irritants; they are real obstacles to building a genuine peace.

And fifth, that whenever Arabs and Israelis seek to resolve their remaining differences -- today or several years hence; before or after more heartbreak and bloodshed -- the fundamental issues will be the same. The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same demography, the same passions and hatreds and, I am convinced, the same painful but necessary

compromises that are required for a comprehensive peace. Whoever believes that the other side's resolve or courage or strength will diminish is mistaken, and tragically so.

The cycle of violence that has broken out between Israelis and Palestinians has led many to question these core principles and indeed to doubt not only the value of the peace process but the possibility of peace itself. What Palestinians see as a struggle for their land, Israelis experience as gun-fire and terror. What Israelis see as a firm response to violent provocations, Palestinians view as disproportionate force. And so, many ask whether negotiations can in fact achieve peace . . . whether unilateral steps are not a more realistic route than mutually agreed ones . . . whether Israelis and Palestinians can ever again be partners.

To people on both sides, let me say this: What we have seen over the past three months is not the future for which Yitzakh Rabin gave his life. And it is not the future I had in mind when I spoke to the Palestinian people in Gaza two years ago. But do not draw the wrong lessons from this tragic chapter. The violence does not demonstrate that the quest for peace has gone too far or too fast -- but that it has not gone far or fast enough. It points not to the failure of negotiations -- but to the futility of violence and force. It shows that unilateral steps do not abate mutual hostility -- but exacerbate it. And, finally, it confirms the need to prepare the public for the requirements of peace -- not to condition them for the so-called glory of war.

For both Israelis and Palestinians, the first priority must be to end the dangerous cycle of violence, for in its wake lies only more destruction and anguish. But they need to go further if they are to resolve their underlying problems. On the Palestinian side, what is required is an end

to the culture of violence and incitement that, since Oslo, has continued unchecked. Young children are educated to believe in confrontation with Israel; and multiple militia-like groups carry and use weapons with impunity. Voices of reason and courageous leadership are being drowned out by voices of revenge and desperation that produce only bloodshed and death. Let me be clear: this is inconsistent with the notion that the Palestinian people want to achieve peace and have made it their strategic choice. In what they do and say, day in and day out, they are sending a message to the Israeli people. The question is: will it be a message of hatred or of hope?

For their part, the Israeli people must understand that expanding the settlement enterprise, building bypass roads, or demolishing homes is inconsistent with the notion that both sides must negotiate their differences, not resolve them by creating facts on the ground. And they also must understand that restoring confidence requires the Palestinians being able to lead a normal existence, rather than being subjected to daily reminders that they lack control over their lives.

At the end of the day, the fundamental question remains this: can two people who have gone through this kind of violence still conclude a genuine and lasting peace? My answer – and I believe this with all my heart – not only is that they can, but that they must. The alternative to a peaceful settlement never has been clearer; it is being played out before our very eyes. The only difference is that, the longer Israelis and Palestinians wait, the greater the cost in blood and tears.

But we have learned something else over the past several months. What happened at Camp David was a transformative event in which the two sides faced the core issues of their dispute

and the key tradeoffs required to end it. So far, they have not been able to reach a final settlement, and that of course is regrettable. But I am convinced that just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past six months will force them to come to terms with each other's needs and with the contours of the peace that, ultimately, they will have to reach. It may take some time, and it will require genuine leadership. In his bold strides for peace, Prime Minister Barak has led the way, with vision, courage and true statesmanship.

Which brings me to where we stand today, and to where we go from here. Given the exhaustion of the interim phase that began with Oslo, the impasse reached by Israelis and Palestinians, and the tragic deterioration on the ground, both sides asked me to present my ideas. Two weeks ago, I took that step, putting forward parameters that, in my view, should guide further work toward a comprehensive agreement. I did this not out of a belief that we possess a magical solution to this conflict, but with the benefit of eight years of listening carefully to both sides and hearing them describe, with increasing clarity, their respective grievances and needs. Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have now accepted these parameters as a basis for further efforts, though both have expressed some reservations. At their request, I will use my remaining time in office to narrow the differences between the parties to the greatest degree possible.

I believe that what I put forward constitutes the basis for a just and lasting settlement — a settlement that responds to each side's essential needs, if not to their utmost desires. I am convinced that both Israelis and Palestinians deserve sovereign homelands and that both

deserve to live in peace and with dignity and security. The parameters I suggested follow logically from that conviction. Let me describe them to you in general terms now that they have been widely described – and sometimes misdescribed – by others. They do not seek to answer every question; rather, they seek to narrow the questions that must be answered.

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REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO ROSSHART

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

Sat 2 pm

**President William Jefferson Clinton
Israel Policy Forum
Sunday, January 7, 2001**

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ever coexisting side-by-side. During this painful period, the United States has been seeking to help the parties restore calm, end the bloodshed and move toward an agreement that will address the underlying causes of their conflict. But whether it is given to this Administration or to the next to carry these goals through, I believe this is the appropriate time for me to reflect on some enduring lessons we have learned and how I believe we can move forward toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

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And fifth, that whenever Arabs and Israelis seek to resolve their remaining differences -- today or several years hence; before or after more heartbreak and bloodshed -- the fundamental issues will be the same. The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same demography, the same passions and hatreds and, I am convinced, the same painful but necessary

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For both Israelis and Palestinians, the first priority must be to end the dangerous cycle of violence, for in its wake lies only more destruction and anguish. But they need to go further if they are to resolve their underlying problems. On the Palestinian side, what is required is an end

to the culture of violence and incitement that, since Oslo, has continued unchecked. Young children are educated to believe in confrontation with Israel; and multiple militia-like groups carry and use weapons with impunity. Voices of reason and courageous leadership are being drowned out by voices of revenge and desperation that produce only bloodshed and death. Let me be clear: this is inconsistent with the notion that the Palestinian people want to achieve peace and have made it their strategic choice. In what they do and say, day in and day out, they are sending a message to the Israeli people. The question is: will it be a message of hatred or of hope?

For their part, the Israeli people must understand that expanding the settlement enterprise, building bypass roads, or demolishing homes is inconsistent with the notion that both sides must negotiate their differences, not resolve them by creating facts on the ground. And they also must understand that restoring confidence requires the Palestinians being able to lead a normal existence, rather than being subjected to daily reminders that they lack control over their lives.

At the end of the day, the fundamental question remains this: can two people who have gone through this kind of violence still conclude a genuine and lasting peace? My answer – and I believe this with all my heart – not only is that they can, but that they must. The alternative to a peaceful settlement never has been clearer; it is being played out before our very eyes. The only difference is that, the longer Israelis and Palestinians wait, the greater the cost in blood and tears.

But we have learned something else over the past several months. What happened at Camp David was a transformative event in which the two sides faced the core issues of their dispute

and the key tradeoffs required to end it. So far, they have not been able to reach a final settlement, and that of course is regrettable. But I am convinced that just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past six months will force them to come to terms with each other's needs and with the contours of the peace that, ultimately, they will have to reach. It may take some time, and it will require genuine leadership. In his bold strides for peace, Prime Minister Barak has led the way, with vision, courage and true statesmanship.

Which brings me to where we stand today, and to where we go from here. Given the exhaustion of the interim phase that began with Oslo, the impasse reached by Israelis and Palestinians, and the tragic deterioration on the ground, both sides asked me to present my ideas. Two weeks ago, I took that step, putting forward parameters that, in my view, should guide further work toward a comprehensive agreement. I did this not out of a belief that we possess a magical solution to this conflict, but with the benefit of eight years of listening carefully to both sides and hearing them describe, with increasing clarity, their respective grievances and needs. Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have now accepted these parameters as a basis for further efforts, though both have expressed some reservations. At their request, I will use my remaining time in office to narrow the differences between the parties to the greatest degree possible.

I believe that what I put forward constitutes the basis for a just and lasting settlement — a settlement that responds to each side's essential needs, if not to their utmost desires. I am convinced that both Israelis and Palestinians deserve sovereign homelands and that both

deserve to live in peace and with dignity and security. The parameters I suggested follow logically from that conviction. Let me describe them to you in general terms now that they have been widely described – and sometimes misdescribed – by others. They do not seek to answer every question; rather, they seek to narrow the questions that must be answered.

First, I believe there can be no genuine resolution to this conflict without a sovereign and viable Palestinian state. At the same time, any solution will have to accommodate demographic realities and Israel's security requirements. And so, my parameters suggest Palestinian sovereignty over all of Gaza and the vast majority of the West Bank with the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocs. The goal should be to maximize the number of settlers in Israel while minimizing the land annexed, for Palestine should be a viable, geographically contiguous state. This annexed land should include as few Palestinians as possible, for how can Israel explain the incorporation of large numbers of Palestinians when the very logic of peace is two separate homelands? And there should be territorial swaps and other arrangements for Palestine, for that is the only way to make an agreement durable.

Second, a solution will have to be found for the Palestinian refugees, who have suffered a great deal and feel victims of a grave injustice. A genuine solution must allow them to return to their homeland and give them the tools to lead normal, productive and healthy lives. At the same time, it makes no sense to create a State of Palestine only to have the Palestinian refugees go to Israel and become Israeli citizens, thereby threatening the foundations of that state and undermining the very logic of the peace. And so, my parameters focus on the establishment of a Palestinian state that will provide all Palestinians with a place they can safely and proudly call

home. This has been the core of the Palestinian struggle since its beginning, and it would be a signal achievement. All those Palestinian refugees who wish to live in this homeland should have that right. All others deserve help in finding new homes -- whether in their current locations or in third countries, including Israel, and consistent with those countries' sovereign decisions. And all refugees deserve compensation from the international community for their losses and assistance in building their new lives.

Third, there will be no peace so long as the Israeli people do not enjoy lasting security and any agreement will have to include arrangements that address these legitimate concerns. At the same time, these need not and should not come at the expense of Palestinian sovereignty or interfere with Palestine's territorial integrity. And so, my parameters rely on an international presence in Palestine to provide border security along the Jordan Valley as well as to monitor implementation of the final agreement by both sides. They rely, too, on a non-militarized Palestine, a phased Israeli withdrawal, and other essential security arrangements that will ensure Israel's ability to defend itself.

Fourth, I come to the issue of Jerusalem, perhaps the most emotional and sensitive of all. It is a historic, cultural and political center for both Israelis and Palestinians, a unique city sacred to all three monotheistic religions. And so, my parameters flow from four fair and logical propositions. First, Jerusalem must be an open and undivided city, with assured freedom of access and worship for all. It would encompass the internationally recognized capitals of two states -- Israel and Palestine. Second, what is Arab should be Palestinian, for why should Israel want to govern in perpetuity the lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians? Third, what is

Jewish should be Israeli, giving rise to a Jewish Jerusalem that is larger and more vibrant than any seen in history. And fourth, that what is holy to both requires special care to meet the needs of all, for no peace agreement will last if not premised on mutual respect for the religious beliefs and holy shrines of Jews, Moslems and Christians. I have offered formulations on the Haram el-Sharif and this holy area – for two thousand years the focus of Jewish yearning -- that, in my view, address the concerns of both sides.

Fifth and finally, any agreement will have to mark the decision to end the conflict for neither side can afford to make painful compromises only to be subjected to further demands. This really will have to be the end of the struggle that has pitted Palestinians and Israelis against each other for far too long. And this end of conflict must manifest itself with concrete acts that demonstrate a new attitude, a new approach.

At the same time, the parties' experience with the interim accords has not always been a happy one. Too many deadlines have been missed, too many commitments unfulfilled -- on both sides. So for this to signify a real end of the conflict, there will need to be effective mechanisms that provide guarantees on implementation.

This, I believe, is the outline of a fair agreement. It will entail real pain and sacrifices for the two sides; but it will bring to both so much more: For the people of Israel, an end to the conflict, secure and defensible borders, the incorporation of most of the settlers into Israel, and the Jewish capital of Yerushalayim [yeh-ROO-sha-LIE-yam], recognized by all as its capital. For the Palestinian people, the ability to determine their future on their own land, a sovereign state

recognized by the international community, with al-Quds as its capital, recognized by all, and new lives for the refugees.

Of course, each side will try to do better; but a peace that will be viewed as imposed by one party upon the other, a peace that puts one side up and the other one down rather than both ahead, contains the seeds of its own destruction. And let me say this: those who believe that my ideas can be altered to one party's exclusive benefit are mistaken. To press for more surely would produce less. To seek a peace without compromise is not to seek peace at all. Sooner or later, I am sure, this fundamental truth will be recognized.

Israelis and Palestinians are unlikely to agree with everything I have said. But I say it out of a profound attachment to Israel, to the Palestinian people, and to the peace process in which they have been engaged. My ties to Israel, like America's, run deep. They are rooted in history, founded on common interests, sustained by shared values. During my tenure, I sought to expand our already unique military relationship with Israel and my determination to protect and strengthen Israel's safety is unyielding. As for the Palestinian people, I am proud to have been the first President to visit Gaza and I will never forget what it taught me about their suffering, but also their resilience and courage. I said at the time that the Palestinian people should be able to determine their own future on their own land and I believe that as strongly now as I did then.

Before closing, I would like to address one more thought to the Palestinian people. Courage is not only, or even mainly, measured in struggle. It is measured in the ability to recognize and to

seize historic opportunities. Today, it is that other form of courage that is being tested. Never have you been as close to achieving your goals -- regaining your land, establishing a state, building a prosperous future for your children. There will always be those sitting comfortably on the outside urging you to hold out for the impossible more. But they are not the ones whose refugees will continue to languish in crowded camps. You are. They are not the ones whose children will grow up in poverty. You are. They are not the ones who will pay the price of missing a historic opportunity. You are. Now is the time to seize this opportunity. At Oslo, your leaders -- and principally Chairman Arafat -- demonstrated the courage needed to take the first historic step. They need to summon that same courage to take the final one. For you. For your children. For the wellbeing and pride of Palestine.

What I presented is not an expression of a new U.S. policy, nor will it oblige the next Administration. These parameters originated with me, and will go with me when I leave office. But, urged by the parties, I have done and will continue to do my best to offer a way toward a brighter future. I do not know whether an agreement is possible within the next two weeks. But I do know that we have the responsibility to move the parties away from violence and closer to peace. I believe that the parameters I outlined will serve as the basis for the solution that will come, whenever it comes. And that Israelis and Palestinians finally will achieve the peace they so richly deserve.