

# OUR COMMON FUTURE

WILLIAM J. CLINTON, 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States

March 13, 2002



The 2002 Issam M. Fares Lecture

William J. Clinton  
42nd President of  
the United States

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TUFTS



## **WILLIAM J. CLINTON**

William Jefferson Clinton was elected President of the United States in 1992 and again in 1996 – the first Democratic President to be awarded a second term in six decades. Under his leadership, the United States has enjoyed the strongest economy in generation and the longest economic expansion in US history. President Clinton's core values of building community, creating opportunity, and demanding responsibility have resulted in unprecedented progress for America, including moving the nation from record deficits to record surpluses; the creation of over 22 million jobs – more than any other Administration; low levels of unemployment, poverty, and crime, and the highest homeownership rate in history.

His accomplishments as President include increasing critical investments in education, providing tax relief for working families, helping millions of Americans move from welfare to work, expanding access to technology, encouraging investment in underserved communities, and promoting peace and strengthening democracy around the world. President Clinton previously served as the Governor of Arkansas, Chairman of the National Governors' Association and Attorney General of Arkansas. As former chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, he is one of the original architects and leading advocates for the Third Way movement.



## Issam Fares

I wish first to salute my colleagues on the Board of Trustees of Tufts University and the Chairman of the Board, Nathan Gantcher, for their wise selection of Lawrence S. Bacow as President of Tufts. To Dr. Bacow I express my warm congratulations and wish him the best.

May I also express my thanks and gratitude to Leila Fawaz for the great job she is doing as Chair of the Issam M. Fares Lecture Series.

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to welcome President Bill Clinton to the Issam M. Fares Lecture Series at Tufts University.

As you address «Our Shared Future,» Mr. President, we must think of it in our region in terms of peace. In the context of the globalization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century a conflict in the Middle East will have direct impact on the rest of the globe. Accordingly, I will focus on the need to resolve the Middle East conflict, a conflict to which President Clinton gave utmost attention. Close to the end of his Administration, and over a period of three weeks, he came pretty close to a breakthrough. Our distinguished speaker has the gift of focusing on an issue and of pursuing it with vigor until he resolves it. I know that first hand, as I had the privilege of meeting with him in the White House early on in his second term of office. I was impressed by the intensity in which he handles issues and by his serious interest in my country Lebanon, and in our Middle Eastern region.

Mr. President, my country together with all Arab states, have taken a strategic decision to seek peace in the region. For too long our region has been allowed to drift into violence that has tended to develop into wars threatening the fabric of world peace. While the Middle East may be regarded in the West as a strategic theater and as the rich deposit of oil; to us, it is the source of classical civilizations, the home of the three universal religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and a major contributor to the making of Western Civilization.

The time has come to rise to the great challenge facing the region. We must definitely stop the violence between Palestinians and Israelis. Only this way will we reverse the tide of fundamentalism and the excesses of extremist ideologies.

Violence breeds violence, and hatred begets hatred. In conflicts such as the one now raging in the Middle East, there is no alternative to dialogue, dialogue in the context of law and international legitimacy. For five decades, the United Nations organization has been passing resolutions on all aspects of the Middle East conflict. The peace we seek must be based on these



resolutions. UN resolutions, Mr. President, are meant to be implemented, not to be negotiated indefinitely, and ultimately robbed of their content. There is now talk about «total withdrawal in return for total normalization.» This is fine, but it simplifies the picture. Withdrawal is only one issue, and the position of the parties on it is quite different. The refugee issue is also pressing. There are some 400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon alone, not to mention those dispersed in other countries, other regions. The solution to their problem should be in accordance with UN Resolution 194. This is not only a humane matter, but also a political matter of great impact on future stability in the region.

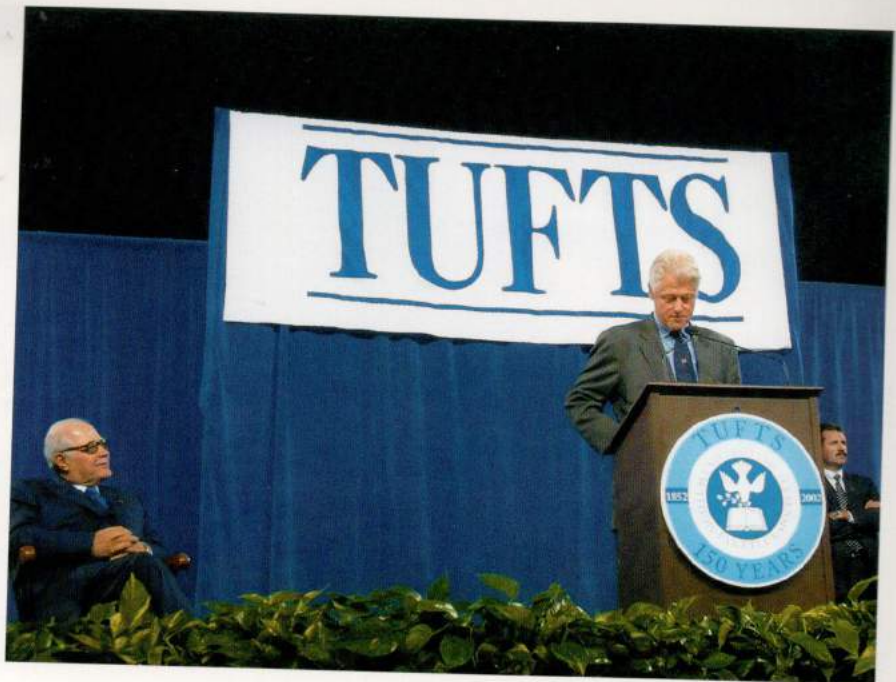
Peace in the Middle East, as I see it, implies the following:

- Israeli compliance with United Nations Resolutions on all issues of the Middle East conflict. The compliance includes implementation of Resolutions 242, 338 and 425, which call for Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967.
- The rise of an independent and viable Palestinian state.
- Agreement on the elimination of the weapons of mass destruction in all nations of the region.
- Agreement by all states in the Middle East on an economic order that will favor development, progress, and the rise of democratic institutions.
- Agreement on a new vision for the region in which each state feels secure into the long-term future.

In recent months, Mr. President, the bigger issues of peace have been set aside. Instead, the diplomatic effort has been totally directed towards stopping the violence between Israelis and Palestinians. Violence, however, is the symptom of disagreement on the big issues, such as the points I mentioned above. It will stop only when a just settlement is reached. Let's again refocus attention on the big issue of peace. Peace in the Middle East will be a historic achievement.

An achievement of such dimension deserves the maximum effort that the world community can bring to bear on it. The US must take the lead in this effort. Europe and Russia should be brought in, as they have extensive experience in the Middle East and leverage in settling its affairs. At the end of this month, Beirut will host the Arab Summit. The main item on the agenda is the search for a just, stable, and comprehensive peace in our region. The Summit reaches its decisions by consensus, and I hope that these decisions will be taken into serious consideration by all those concerned.

President Clinton, we are honored to have you as our Speaker this evening, and we look forward to hearing your views on our shared future, which we hope we will all share in peace and prosperity.



## William J. Clinton

### Thanks to Tufts and Issam Fares

Mr. President, I want to thank you and your wife for welcoming me into your home. It is kind of nice to be in a President's house again for a change. I hope you are not term-limited. I want to thank you, Professor Fawaz, for making me feel welcome, and Board Chair Gantzer, thank you. I would like to say a special word of appreciation to Dean Bosworth who served so ably as my ambassador to Korea.

Your Excellency, Mr. Fares, thank you for your many gifts to Tufts University, and thank you for your remarks earlier. They persuaded me that I should somewhat alter mine, and so I will in a moment. I would like to thank, too, all the people here who have been a part of the life of America, and a part of the life of this Administration.

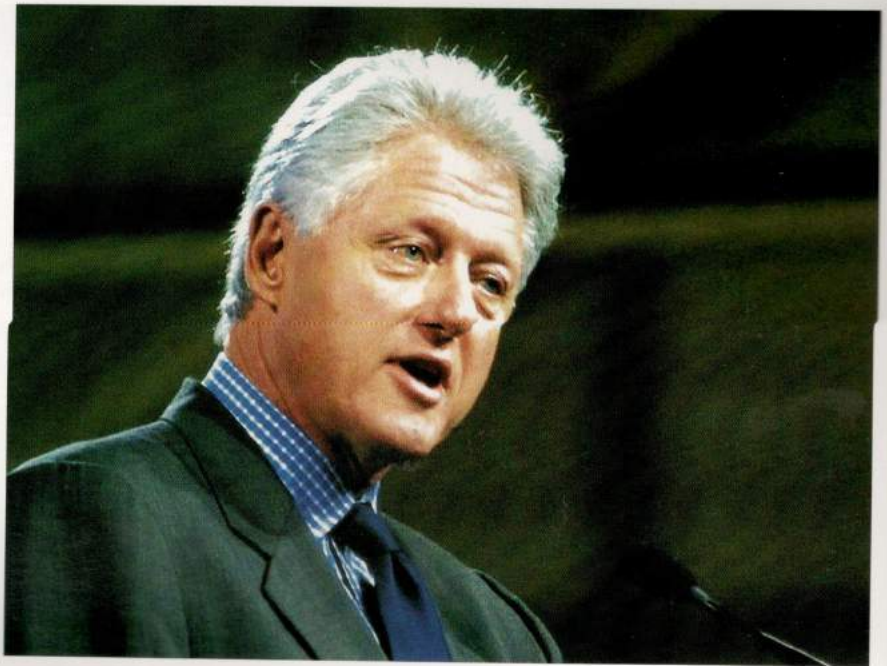
Forty percent of the undergraduates at Tufts spend their junior year abroad; your most popular major is international relations. You are among the top suppliers of Peace Corps volunteers. This University is contributing mightily to the welfare and security of our nation in the inter-dependent world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and I thank you for that.

You know, I gave a speech at Harvard not very long ago and I had a really good time. They treated me wonderfully. But I am sure I will never be invited back if I tell this story, and I am going to do it anyway.

In the year Tufts was founded, in 1852, Ralph Waldo Emerson had an argument with Henry David Thoreau. Emerson said: «They teach all the branches of learning at Harvard,» to which Thoreau replied: «Yes, all the branches, but none of the roots.» And I am wondering if that was the spark that lit the light on the Hill, but I have decided to say that because today, if you want the roots of learning, they have to be grounded in the fact of our global inter-dependence. I think it is a remarkable testament to the vision of the founders that the Fletcher School was established in 1933.

Now, let me just remind you that in 1933, we were living in the aftermath of the draconian peace of Versailles that ended World War I. America then returned to economic and political isolation. We were in the midst of a depression, protectionism was rampant, trade was plunging, economies were sinking.

Congress actually banned loans to countries in default on their World War I debt in the Depression, when nobody could repay their debt. By 1933, hope was destroyed by poverty in Germany, brought on by the raging inflation in the aftermath of World War I. And then the Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s had built the public resentment that brought Adolf Hitler to power and the world to the brink of ruin.



**Americans still reeling from the  
impact of September 11**

At this time, when the whole world was turning inward, unfortunately, with America leading the way, Tufts was looking outward and founded the Fletcher School. So, I want to say a special word of appreciation to you for that, for inviting me here today and to you, Your Excellency, for your very outward-looking speech.

I have got a lot of gifts from this school. My former UN ambassador and Energy Secretary, Bill Richardson; my Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services, Kevin Thurm; my Deputy Secretary of Labor, Tom Glynn; the chief economist at the Department of Labor, Lisa Lynch, who is here today; Mike Feldman, a senior advisor to Vice President Gore; Debbie Johnston, a special friend of mine who helped me get the Aerators program through Congress up and going. I thank my friends Jonathan Tisch, Allen Solomon and Ellen Walker, who are here; all of whom are the products of this great school. And Mr. Fares, let me thank you again for your generosity in supporting scholarships and programs both in Lebanon and here.

Tonight I want to be brief about what American public figures usually talk about, which is the fight against terrorism and what we are supposed to do about it. I think I would like to put this into a larger context that relates to the search for peace in the Middle East. The phenomenon of the Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah's recent statement about peace in the Middle East followed by what the Syrian President said, followed by President Bush's decision to send General Zinni back to the region on the mission of peace and the same time, Vice President Cheney is there looking for support for renewed action against Saddam Hussein: What does all this mean anyway? And how are you supposed to think about it and what is our country supposed to do about it? That is what I would like to talk to you about. First of all, I think all of our friends from other countries will understand that most Americans are still reeling, six months after the fact, from the impact of September 11, 2001. It was a deep, human and psychic wound to America. It manifested, in a way that nothing else ever could, that this era of global inter-dependence has a dark, as well as a bright side. That you cannot tear down all the walls and collapse all the distances and spread knowledge and technology as we have, and say I want all the benefits of that but do not give me any of the vulnerabilities. And so we felt that. And the American people are kind of undergoing a sober sense of assessment now, about where we are at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century world. I do not believe they want to withdraw again. But they are trying to sort through, for themselves, how we should go

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forward. And what I would like to do is to try to put this issue of terrorism and the Middle East peace process in the larger context of the inter-dependent world in which we live, and try to suggest some things that I think the United States should be doing.

I think it is important, if we are to build a positive world of peace, prosperity and opportunity for our children, that we win more fights against terror than we have won lately. But I think it is also important that we build a world that has more partners and fewer terrorists. And to go to one of the points that you mentioned, Professor, I think, that even beyond that, it is important that we develop a global consciousness that enables us to deal with differences in a way that not just accepts religious and political and racial and ethnic and cultural differences, but celebrates them in the context of a larger human community. It is easy to say, but difficult to do for reasons I will say later. Well, let us just take each of these in turn.


First, terror has a long history. No civilization or country has entirely clean hands. In the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, Pope Urban II urged the Christian soldiers to march on Jerusalem to seize the Holy City. By then, the dominant Jewish presence had been gone for centuries, although there was still one synagogue on what we call the Temple Mount. And the first thing the Christians did when they seized Jerusalem was to burn the synagogue with 300 Jews in it. They then proceeded to kill every Muslim woman and child on the Temple Mount, and the story is still being told in the region today. So the deliberate killing of civilians for political, religious, or economic reasons has a long and dark history. The good news is that standing on its own, it has never prevailed against a nation or her people. No terrorist attack standing on its own has ever prevailed even though many military campaigns have included terrorism, normally with mixed, unbalanced, negative results.

Terrorists can win victories in two ways. They, after all, are not primarily interested in military victories. They are trying to provoke a change in behavior by exacting a high price and terrifying people. Mr. Bin Laden, for example, has a very specific political objective that starts with getting us out of Saudi Arabia and overturning the House of Saud, and goes on to Israel, and beyond that, I think, to purging the imperfect Arab regimes of the Middle East who do not think like he does. But there are two ways that they could win, and that is why I want you to bear with me while I make all my points tonight.

The first is, they could win. That is, we could put up a lousy defense, and be unsuccessful at punishing them, or just give in.

#### **To win the fight against terror**

*«The good news is that standing on its own, it has never prevailed against a nation or her people. No terrorist attack standing on its own has ever prevailed even though many military campaigns have included terrorism, normally with mixed, unbalanced, negative results.»*



**George Marshall's vision**

Well, that is not going to happen. It never happened before. We are not about to do it. But there is another way that they could make an advance, which is that they could provoke in us the wrong response. We could respond to the events of September 11 in a way that fundamentally changes the character of our country and our historic mission and compromises the future of our children. And we must not do that either. And so I say to you, I think we should focus this on the following points. One, we should support the President and our allies in the current campaign in Afghanistan, and we should continue until we have captured or destroyed the leadership of Al Qaeda. They are the most serious terrorist network in the world by a good long way. I believe we will succeed in that. I also think we must continue to strengthen our global alliances in a broader way to be effective against terrorism, including doing more to protect the whole world in controlling access to the stocks of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, and the constituent elements from which these can be made. I think we have to be very sensitive when we think about Saddam Hussein, and I think a lot of you know that I took a lot of military actions against Saddam Hussein when he would not comply with the United Nations resolutions. You talked about the UN resolutions, Mr. Fares. I've found that people tend to cite them selectively. We talk about the UN Security Council resolutions we like, and we ignore the ones we do not like. We are all rather guilty of this I think, but when it comes to the Middle East, very often the people who wave 242 and 338 at me, forget all about the UN resolutions that Saddam Hussein flagrantly violates every day so that he can pursue the rebuilding of his weapons of mass destruction, which we know, at least in the case of the chemical weapon mustard gas he used on his own Kurdish population several years ago.

So I am fully supportive of putting the squeeze on him, but I think it is important that we do it in the context of global alliances, doing things together, going forward together.

However, that will not be enough to build the world we want for our children. We have a strategy of «prevent and punish» on terrorism. I am all for that, but it is not enough. If all you have is prevent and punish, you are doing nothing to make a world with fewer problems.

At the end of World War II we took a very different road than we did at the end of World War I, thanks in no small measure to the vision of General George Marshall, who basically said - I can just see him looking in the mirror one day and saying - «Okay, I am a five-star general, I spent all my life






fighting people and killing people and leading armies, and now we have got this Cold War, and we have got all these nuclear weapons, and I am thinking what fools we were at the end of World War I to run away from the world. Why don't we spend just a little bit of money to rebuild our allies and our former enemies so that we do not have a Third World War, and eventually we can prevail in the Cold War.»

A lot of those of you who are younger, this may seem either self-evident or mundane to you, but every person in this audience today that is 40 years of age or older knows that we grew up in a very different world because George Marshall and Harry Truman had the vision and, I might add, the bipartisan support in our country to do the decent, right, humane thing and take a little bit of money to build a world with more friends and fewer enemies, and avoid the Third World War and ensure freedom's triumph. Therefore, what would we do? Well, before I get to what would we do, we would obviously spend more money on foreign assistance. There are huge obstacles to that. Today we see in America, lamentably, not much more support for foreign aid than there ever has been, and this is something that I think Tufts ought to take on, because, generally, you tend to look outward in your international concerns. I think we should also look inward. That is, we need the American people to be in a place that will permit us to make good policy. Every single survey shows of American attitudes towards our assistance to the developing world, two things that are wrong. Number one: the American people believe we spend far more than we do on foreign assistance. And number two: they believe most of it is wasted. Both beliefs are factually wrong.

Now this is a university. One of the things you are supposed to do is make sure people at least have the truth. If you take a poll, any poll, they will say people believe that foreign assistance amounts to somewhere between 10 and 15% of the budget. A couple of years ago, the University of Maryland did one that surprised me. I didn't think people would think it was as high as 15%. The fact is, it is about 1% of the budget for foreign assistance, and the Office of Development Assistance, the money specifically spent on providing food, medicine, disaster relief, debt relief, is even less than 1%. In other words, of the 22 most developed countries in the world, America ranks 22<sup>nd</sup>, dead last, in the percentage of our budget and our national income we spend on helping build a world with more partners and fewer terrorists. Everybody else, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal - they all try harder than we do. Denmark gives 10 times the amount of assistance we do as a percentage of budget. Since September 11<sup>th</sup>, there has been a world-wide call for a dramatic increase

#### America and foreign assistance



*«So far, we have opposed Prime Minister Blair and the British and the EU in trying to get a commitment from the wealthy nations to double their assistance, even though it would be easier for us to do it than anybody.»*

in development assistance from wealthy countries. I support this. There is going to be a conference soon in Monterrey, Mexico about the relationship between the rich and the developing countries. What will the United States do? So far, we have opposed Prime Minister Blair and the British and the EU in trying to get a commitment from the wealthy nations to double their assistance, even though it would be easier for us to do it than anybody. For less than 20% of the proposed increases in defense and homeland defense, just the proposed increases, we could actually double our level of foreign assistance. We could do a lot of good for less than that.

Why wouldn't we do this? Let me say I think there are a couple of reasons. I actually had a person say to me the other night when I was making this argument, he said: «Well, I guess we could do that, I guess we could sort of bribe people not to terrorize us.» I mean, he looked at me and said: «That is what you want, isn't it? You want to buy our way to a safer world. You want to bribe people not to terrorize us, and therefore, you are, in effect, blaming us for what happened.» That is nonsense. That is the biggest load of hooey I ever heard in my life. But there are people who say that. The other major argument is that this money does no good. Let me just give you some examples of why that is wrong. Let us take the economy. One of the best things that happened in my last year as President, that is the year 2000, was that we passed with overwhelming bipartisan support the millennial debt relief initiative that was approved in 1999 at the G8 meeting in Cologne, Germany, by the United States and our allies.

We had everybody from the Pope, to Bono, to Pat Robertson, and Jesse Helms for this. Usually, you know, if everybody is for something, there is something wrong with it. But in this case, there wasn't anything wrong with it. It was really good. So we relieved the debt of the 24 poorest countries of the world if, but only if, they would agree to spend all the money on education, health, or economic development. In the first year, Honduras went from six to nine years of mandatory schooling with their savings, a 50% increase. Uganda doubled primary school enrollment and reduced class size in one year, with one round of debt savings. Now, I do not know about you, but I think that is money well spent. And we ought to do more of it. I will give you another example. In my last year, the Congress, again on a bipartisan basis, voted to open American markets to Vietnam, Jordan, Africa and the Caribbean. In one year, our imports from some poor African countries went up 1,000%, and went up by two and a half times from Jordan.

America continued to have a low unemployment rate and a successful

economy but we, by throwing out a lifeline and giving a little hope to countries in East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa, we went a long way to make more friends and fewer terrorists. We gave two million micro-enterprise loans a year, micro-credit loans. I wish we gave 20 million. I have seen whole African villages transformed by them. We supported, on a modest basis, the great Peruvian economist, Hernando De Soto, who has gone around the world trying to legalize business and residential properties in developing countries, and allow those poor people who are working there to have the use of their property as collateral for credit. What he did in Peru led to over 10% growth for three years in a row. And I am proud we helped him, but it is a slow process; we should have given him more money. The main point I want to make is, anybody who tells you that we do not know how to spend foreign assistance, or do not know how to do it in a way that helps the economy of a foreign country, is not telling the truth. We now know how to do this right, and the same thing applies to education and health care and the environment. We know what works. Brazil has 97% of its kids in school. But there are 100 million children in poor countries who are not in school. Why are they going to school in Brazil, and they are not going to school, let us say, in Pakistan, where so many of these children went to madrassas where they were indoctrinated instead of educated? Because in Pakistan, they stopped supporting the public schools in the early 1980s when they went out of money.

And America gave them airplanes instead of money for their schools. In Brazil, they pay the mothers in the families - the poorest 30% of the families 15 bucks a month for every one of their kids that goes to school 85% of the time or more. So in Brazil, 97% of the people go to school.

We provided \$300 million in my last year as President, again on a bipartisan basis with Senator Dole and Senator McGovern, to offer a meal in schools to kids who would come to school to get it. That is enough to feed 6 million kids for a year, every day in school, in the developing world. And I know the GAO thinks it is not a perfect program, we put it together in a hurry, but I will tell you this: Look at the enrollment changes in the countries that got the meals, they went way up. So, we know how to do this.

Kofi Annan wants us to give him a couple billion dollars for his \$10 billion program to fight AIDS and infectious diseases. Should we do it? We know how to do this. Look what happened in Uganda, in Senegal, in Brazil, in all these places where they have effective prevention programs, particularly, if they could put the medicine with it.

*«It would cost about \$1.5 billion for us to pay America's per capita share, based on GDP, of an effort to put all 100 million children in the world who are not in school; about six weeks of the Afghan War.»*

*«This is a great university. You should fix that. You should dedicate yourself not only to serving the interests of globalism and inter-dependence around the world but to making sure your fellow Americans know the truth. A democracy cannot make good policy when the people who vote do not know what the facts are.»*

So, do not let anybody tell you that we do not know how to do this. Is it worth the money? Well, it is not inexpensive, but it would cost us about \$3 billion dollars a year to pay our part of a massive anti-poverty economic development issue, the equivalent of three months of the Afghan War. It would cost us \$2 billion a year to pay our part of Secretary General Annan's \$10 billion health fund to fight AIDS and infectious diseases; the equivalent of two months of the Afghan War. It would cost about \$1.5 billion for us to pay America's per capita share, based on GDP, of an effort to put all 100 million children in the world who are not in school; about six weeks of the Afghan War. And if you added all that up, that is still not even doubling foreign assistance. The point I am trying to make is, it works, and it is a lot cheaper than going to war. Last year, a poll conducted by the International Herald Tribune and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press revealed that 9 in 10 Americans said the number one reason people around the world dislike America is because of our power. By contrast, among non-Americans, the majority said the reason that they disliked America is because we do too little to help poorer nations and poorer people.

That fact is surprising to many Americans because they:

- Believe we give more than we do.
- Do not believe the programs work.

They are wrong on both counts. This is a great university. You should fix that. You should dedicate yourself not only to serving the interests of globalism and inter-dependence around the world but to making sure your fellow Americans know the truth. A democracy cannot make good policy when the people who vote do not know what the facts are. And I can tell you, it is hard because I gave a lot of these speeches when I was President. But as the press will tell you, even for the President, just because you are talking does not mean anyone is listening. I mean, today, something else is news. But this is the future.

The next point I would like to make relates specifically to the Muslim world and, particularly, the Middle East. I think we have done a lousy job of getting our story out. You know, there are very few people in the Middle East who actually support what Usama Bin Laden did. Very few people who believe in killing innocent children. But there are millions of people who sympathize with the idea that America is basically responsible for the misery of the region. They think we are hostile to their values and their interests. They think we could have imposed a peace on Israel, if only we would have been

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They do not know very much about America in the Arab street. A lot of people have no idea there are 6 million Muslims in America who pursue their faith and succeed in America. They have no idea that the people we did battle with in the Middle East and in the Balkans, Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic, killed more Muslims than any two people in the world in the last 10 years. They do not know, for example, that the reason we were in Somalia in 1993, and lost 18 Americans in that battle. Mr. Bin Laden loves to brag about. He says: «I trained Mohammad Adid's soldiers when we killed those Americans. How great it was.» He never tells you the whole truth. You know what those Americans were doing there? They were not nation building. They were there trying to feed starving Somalis, but those people would not let them get food. And Mr. Mohammad Adid murdered 22 of our fellow peacekeepers so the UN asked us if we would go arrest him.

You know who those peacekeepers were? They were 22 Pakistani Muslims. A lot of people do not know, in the Middle East, that the last time we used our military power was to protect the lives of poor Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo. They do not know this. So, we have got to do a better job of getting our story out. One of the best things President Bush did after September 11 was go to a mosque and meet with Muslim leaders and say: «Our enemy is terror, not Islam.» And then he broke the fast of Ramadan by having a dinner in the White House with Muslim leaders. This was good.

USA Today, last month, said that the key finding is that the United States does not care about them. Last month, only 12% said the West respects Arabs or Islamic values. Seven percent saw Western nations as fair in their perception of Muslim countries. Eighteen percent of those polled in six Muslim countries believe the Arabs carried out the attack. And 61% said they were not responsible. We are living in a different world, and again, I ask you to think about this, because I believe policies are important, and the Middle East is real important. If Americans do not know the truth, we are in deep trouble. If people in Middle Eastern countries and Muslim countries in the streets, if they do not know the truth, we are in big trouble. Again, a great, global university should not have any trouble figuring out what you ought to be doing when people at home and abroad are both totally wrong about the objective facts that should be shaping our relationship, our world and our future.

I just got back from the Middle East a few weeks ago and I was really thrilled by the number of young Arab leaders from Egypt, to Dubai, to Saudi Arabia.

*«It is time to make peace. It is time for the Palestinians to have their state, and it is time for us to quit blaming other people for things that we ought to be doing for ourselves.»*

*«We, in America, must make sure our people know the facts and step up to our responsibilities in the region.»*

*«There is no military solution to this conflict. Israel is not going away and the Palestinians are not either.»*

who got up and said: «You know, it is time to end this obsession with Israel and the United States. It is time to make peace. It is time for the Palestinians to have their state, and it is time for us to quit blaming other people for things that we ought to be doing for ourselves.» There is another view out there, but we have got a lot of work to do here. What I would like to say is that, with all the bad news in the Middle East, it is easy to be pessimistic. I want you to look at the hopeful signs because I am coming to my last point here about what we should be doing. In the last several months since September 11, Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia has said repeatedly that Muslim leaders should watch the incitement and stand against terrorism, and use this opportunity to re-assess whether they too have made mistakes and whether we can have a different future.

The Imam of the Holy Mosque of Mecca denounced the suicide killing of civilians as against Islamic law. Even before September 11, Pakistan's President Musharraf said that intolerant interpretations of Islam were the cause of most of his nation's problems. An Arab journalist recently said on Al Jazeera television station: «The rhetoric of hatred and all the sermons in the books; we need to change this curriculum calling for extremism.»

So, this is all good and important, but if we expect people in the Middle East to: learn the facts and let go of the hatred and the incitement, then we, in America, must make sure our people know the facts and step up to our responsibilities in the region. There are several truths about that, and I want to talk about that. I think the number one thing we could do, besides defeating the Al Qaeda network and having the right policies for America, is to build more partners and fewer terrorists. The number one thing we could do to make a better world is to resolve this problem in the Middle East. That is why I spent eight years working on it.

Let us remember the fundamental facts: all this violence can make peace harder and make people more miserable, but it cannot change the fundamental truth. Number one: there is no military solution to this conflict. Israel is not going away and the Palestinians are not either. The second fundamental fact is that violence makes it worse from whichever side. The Israelis surely have learned that their military cannot stop suicide bombers or, ultimately, protect all their people. And the Palestinians should have learned that the suicide bombers do not gain an inch of territory and, in fact, the enormous sentiment of the world which was with the Palestinians at the start of the Intifada because of how it was provoked, largely shifted with the slaughter of innocent Israeli



*«People actually want a political solution on both sides but the violence is confusing them. A majority supports political solutions, but also now supports the use of violence against their opponent.»*

children at the pizzeria, the discotheque, and the bar mitzvah ceremony. There is hardly anybody in the world that thinks it is a good idea to blow up a bunch of kids at a pizzeria, or a bar mitzvah, or a disco. So neither side is gaining much from this.

The third truth is the necessity of compromise. The leaders have to prepare their people for compromise. I have preached this, over there, for years. You know, you cannot tell people everyday in your speeches that you will never compromise, that everything is going to be just the way you want it, and then expect all of a sudden one day to turn on a dime and make a deal.

That was one of our problems, I think, at Taba in December of 2000 and January of 2001. We have to view compromise as a good, not a bad word, as a sign of strength not weakness.

The fourth truth is that people actually want a political solution on both sides but the violence is confusing them. A majority supports political solutions, but also now supports the use of violence against their opponent. On the day, for example, that Prime Minister Sharon was elected by a landslide, a majority of Israeli voters were closer to former Prime Minister Barak's position on the peace process. But they thought there was no point in voting to re-elect Barak since, if Arafat would not take what he offered at Taba, there was never going to be a peace. And I must say, on my bad days, I thought the same thing, because of the offer that was made. Which leads me to the fifth truth. I do not believe that the Israelis and the Palestinians can break out of this mess alone. The United States, and the European Union, and the Russians, and others of goodwill have to help, but especially the United States. That is why I am thrilled that General Zinni is going back. We cannot have a troubleshooter if he comes home every time the trouble starts. We do not have to succeed, but we have to try, and I believe that this is a very good thing.

I also think that it is imperative in order for us to build any sort of global alliance against terror, to have an effective peace process under way in the Middle East as soon as possible. And furthermore, I believe that we can have a peace process that, as you said Sir, is consistent with the United Nations resolutions. In 1995, we came very close to a final agreement. At that time, both sides acknowledged that there ought to be a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, consistent with the UN resolution. With agreed upon modifications, the Israelis were willing to take, at that time, less than 5% of the West Bank for 80% of their settlers, and to close all the rest of the settlements and bring the people home. and furthermore, to give some compensating

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### **Two-state solution**

land to the Palestinians to make the equivalent of 100%, as called for in the UN resolution. They were very close on how Jerusalem should be governed. There was virtually no difference on the practical necessity of dividing the city. Really, they could not find the words to describe what both sides agreed the city ought to work like, but they were close. It is true that we did not invite to resolve the refugees, but this is one place where you and I might be in disagreement.

What is the meaning of Right of Return? How shall it be defined? Does it mean that everybody who is a descendant of anybody who left in 1948 and 1967 has an absolute right to go back to the same piece of land that they left? Is that what it means? I do not think so. Furthermore, I believe that the Palestinians and the Israelis agreed to redefine Right of Return in September of 1993 when Mr. Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin signed the agreement on the White House lawn. Why? Because the essence of the peace agreement is just the opposite of the Northern Ireland agreement. You remember what the Northern Ireland agreement was? Majority rule. Minority rights. Shared decision-making. Shared economic benefits. Special relationships with our sponsor country, the UK, of which we are a part, and the Irish Republic, of which we may be a part someday. Now the Protestants are in the majority, someday the Catholics may be. We are going to go together and hope that integration will make it all right.

What is the Middle East peace agreement? The exact opposite. In the Middle East peace agreement we are going to have two states: a Palestinian state, for the first time in history. I might add, a Palestinian state that is not exclusively, but is overwhelmingly, an Arab-Muslim state; and a state of Israel that is not exclusively, but is overwhelmingly, a Jewish state, and under Israeli law, since it is a democracy, the people have to vote for it.

The people of Israel were prepared to vote for the peace plan we put forward at Taba even though they had reservations. But they will never vote for an unlimited Right of Return to the same piece of land you had in 1967 or 1948 because with higher birth rates, that means in 30 years, we would have two Arab-Muslim states: an Arab Israel and an Arab Palestine. This is not going to happen. That is, that violates the whole spirit of the peace agreement that was signed on the White House lawn. Privately, all the Palestinian negotiators say that. But they are worried about looking like they are a sell-out.

Well, all I can tell you is, they had the option, and they will still have it, to have a state on the West Bank and Gaza, to have their religious and political





*«So, I believe, with all my heart, that the peace camps, on both sides, are far closer to an agreement than all the bloodshed and the rhetoric in the newspapers say.»*

equities, to have Jerusalem protected, to have an enormous fund for the resettlement and compensation of the refugees including having some go back to Israel, particularly, Sir, some of those who are in the Lebanese camps who, for centuries, have lived in what would still be in northeast Israel even if the West Bank and Gaza became a Palestinian state.

The Israelis know that a lot of those people in the Lebanese camps have to come back to what would still be in Israel, but there will never be a peace if there is an insistence on a Right of Return to the same piece of land in such a way that raises the prospect that there will be two majority Arab-Muslim states within 30 years. That is not going to happen, and that is not what the peace agreement was about. That peace agreement is what the Irish decided to do. The Irish said we are going to get together, and manage our relationship so that when the majority shifts, everything will be all right. The Palestinians and the Israelis said: «No, no, we are going to get a divorce, we are going to have a property settlement, then we are going to be friends and go into business together.» That is the difference. That is what it says.

So, I believe, with all my heart, that the peace camps, on both sides, are far closer to an agreement than all the bloodshed and the rhetoric in the newspapers say. I do not believe they can get there unless the United States is willing to give a letter of guarantee to whatever agreement they reach. If they need troops there, as Israel and Egypt needed troops in 1978 when Camp David was reached and we sent them to Sinai, I think we ought to send them and not blink.

We ought to do whatever is necessary to end the most dangerous conflict in the world. It probably cannot have a final settlement now, but I am convinced that they can find a way to agree to a peace process that will show some forward movement and buy another two or three years of peace. That is what we did in 1997 at Wye River. It can be done again. And I am convinced that it can happen.

The last thing I want to say is this: fight terror. A world with more partners and fewer terrorists. Get back to work on the Middle East. If we do not succeed it is still okay. People will not think America does not care if we are trying. When you wrap all this up, it is indeed ironic that we are here, at a university in the most modern age in human history when the world is bedeviled, primarily, by the oldest demon of human history, which is the fear of the other, people who are different. And the biggest threat to our common security is high-tech terrorism, the marriage of modern weapons to ancient hatreds, rooted in race

**Monotheistic religions and truth**

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*«We say, we believe, those of us who come out of one of the three great monotheistic religions of the Holy Land, we say we believe our sacred texts are true, but we do not believe we are wise enough to have the whole truth; that is what limited, fallible humanity is about.»*

and religion and ethnicity and tribes. When all of you go all across the world, you have to deal with some fundamental ideas about the nature of truth, the value of life, and the content of community.

And I will just briefly say this: the most extreme example is the terrorists who believe that they have the whole truth and have the right to kill you if you do not share it, even if, on September 11<sup>th</sup>, you were just a six-year-old kid going to work with your mother in the World Trade Center. That is the most extreme version. And that your life does not have value if you do not share that truth. They also believe that communities of people must be people who think alike and act alike, the direct opposite of all of you. Let us look around this place. This is a more interesting crowd than it would have been if we had had this meeting 30 years ago. We are much more diverse in every way.

So what do we say? We say, we believe, those of us who come out of one of the three great monotheistic religions of the Holy Land, we say we believe our sacred texts are true, but we do not believe we are wise enough to have the whole truth; that is what limited, fallible humanity is about. Life is a journey toward the truth. Other people's lives have value, because we need help on this journey, and we can build a larger community that includes our religious or our racial or our cultural communities. We can build a larger set of communities of people who believe everybody counts, everybody deserves a chance. We all do better when we work together.

Now, I am telling you, that is what this whole deal is about. How do you think about this in your own life? How do you define the importance and meaning and value of your life? How do you define the importance and meaning and value of your clan, your family, your faith, your political alliances? Do you define them in primarily negative terms, or in potential positive terms?

The Koran says that Allah put different people on the earth, not that they might despise one another, but that they might come to know one another, and learn from one another. The Torah says: «He who turns aside a stranger might as well turn aside from the most High God.» The Christian New Testament says that Jesus said: «The greatest commandment was to love God with all your heart. And the second is, like unto it, to love your neighbor as yourself.» It is easy to say, but hard to do, right? When I was the age of the undergraduates here, in my senior year, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were murdered by their fellow Americans trying to reconcile the American people to each other. The greatest man in my lifetime, Gandhi, was murdered by a fellow Hindu because he wanted India for the Muslims and the Sikhs and the Janapas and

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Sadat was killed by his fellow Egyptians because he wanted a secular government in Egypt and he was willing to make peace with Israel. And my friend, on one of the darkest days of my life, my friend Yitzhak Rabin was murdered, not by a PLO terrorist, but by a young Israeli who thought he was a bad Jew and a bad Israeli because he wanted the Palestinian children to have their homeland and their future.

So I say this, to remind all of you that at the moment of greatest promise in human history, clouded by the oldest threat in human history, this is the time when we need our great universities, and our idealistic young people, and the courage of our convictions. But I still believe, if we do the right things in the right way, the best time that humans have ever known on earth lies ahead, but we have to realize we have built the world without walls. We have now to make it a home for all the world's children.

Thank you very much.

## Inauguration of the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies



Former American President Bill Clinton and the Lebanese Deputy Premier Issam Fares sponsored the opening ceremony of «The Issam Fares Center for Lebanese and Eastern Mediterranean Studies» at Tufts University.

On this occasion, the Director of the Center, Dr. Leila Fawaz gave a lecture entitled, «Life in Ottoman Beirut.» Tufts University President, Dr. Laurence Bacow, praised the relentless efforts of Mr. Issam Fares in the cultural, humanitarian and academic fields in Lebanon and abroad. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University, Mr. Nathan Guntcher, and the Vice-President of the University, Mr. Sole Guiltman, also addressed the audience explaining the significance of such unique center in the United States, especially in its provision of the cultural and information dimensions that meet the need of the Americans and others to know better Lebanon and the Middle East.

The new Issam Fares Center aims at finding a wider and deeper understanding of the region's culture and current issues through the courses, lectures and research it intends to offer. The Center will also provide for a generation of distinguished graduates in various fields, particularly in government affairs and decision-making, international organizations and media.

Mr. Issam Fares hoped this initiative would help Tufts University enlarge and foster studies, research and lectures in the United States about the history, civilizations and cultures of Lebanon and the Middle East, especially with regard to the crucial role of the region in peace and stability around the world. Tufts University was chosen for this center because of its academic standing among American universities and because of its preeminence in international affairs.