

CLINTON GLOBAL INITIATIVE

WORKSHOP SUMMATION AND ACTION PLAN PLENARY

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FORMER PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON: Thank you very much. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the end of this first session of the Clinton Global Initiative. I want to thank all of you for participating and get right into the final reports. We're going to have reports from each of our four areas and then I will read the last batch of commitments we have, and then I'll have some very brief closing remarks which summarize what has happened that you don't yet know, and where we're going to go in the coming year.

So let's begin. I'd like to invite David Sandalow up to give us a report on all the climate work. David?

(Applause)

DAVID SANDALOW: Thank you very much, Mr. President. Thank you for the opportunity. I think it is fairly clear that you have created something extraordinary here.

(Applause)

Several people in the hall have commented that this is a new form of global NGO, bringing together different sectors. There's a sense of being present at the creation of, at a minimum, an interesting new development in global governance. So thank you for the opportunity to be part of it.

I also want to recognize and thank Aimée Christensen, who has the exalted title of deputy topic coordinator for climate change at this conference. I just can't say enough about the extraordinary work she has done helping prepare for this meeting.

And I also want to thank the incredible team of volunteers who came forward on climate change. There are many, many too many to mention, but they've been keeping my phone and Aimée's phone ringing for the last month. This wouldn't have happened without them.

The climate sessions at this meeting were a combination of terrific dialogue and terrific recommendations for action. I think the dominant theme overall was opportunity.

Technological opportunity first. There was a lot of discussion about ethanol -- not just corn-based ethanol but also sugar cane-based ethanol, cellulosic ethanol, and how these products can help contribute to a solution to the greenhouse gas problem. There were discussions of wind and solar power, and a big focus on energy efficiency, and a belief that that is the quickest way to get greenhouse gas reductions since there's lots of money to be made by pursuing energy efficiency opportunities.

There were lots of discussions of market opportunities. Companies big and small talked about how to make money in this area. We heard from GE, DuPont, Lafarge and others, and from small companies. We heard from a small company, Ameresco, which is selling

energy efficiency and renewable energy services. It's quadrupled in size in the past several years.

And we heard from financiers. We heard from leading venture capitalists, and we heard from a new breed of financier, those playing in the carbon markets. All of them are making money right now, helping to solve this problem.

After opportunity, I think the second biggest theme we discussed was the role of government. An overwhelming theme was that the U.S. government must lead in the solution to this problem. There was much discussion of the necessity for a federal cap and trade program. One of our CEO's said he cannot imagine not supporting this in the next five years. There were discussions of the role of state and local government and their importance in solving this problem, in the absence of federal leadership, to be sure, but even when the federal government is playing a role.

We heard reports from the United Kingdom and Japan about their very successful programs in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. We had discussions about the opportunities and the challenges for developing countries. There was by no means complete agreement in our discussion about the role of government. There were different views about how heavy the hand of government should be in solving this problem. I think there was a consensus that government, at a minimum, should help to "get prices right." That was a phrase that ran through lots of our sessions.

The third theme that was dominant in our discussion was the importance of education. There was a feeling that people don't understand the gravity of the climate problem, or the opportunities in solving it. One person in the room today wrote, "I'm astonished to find myself so poorly informed of these issues." And I thought as I read that comment coming across the screen – if somebody who chose to come to this room is making that statement, what do people outside this room not know? How are they thinking about these issues? The level of education is much lower than it needs to be.

A slightly different point was the view that new ways of thinking are needed. And somebody said that to solve this problem we need to think outside the barrel.

(Laughter)

We had a long list of recommendations for action. Many of them were very technical and I thought I would pick out three that were particularly interesting. We had recommendations that corporate leaders -- and we heard from some visionary ones -- that corporate leaders should push awareness within their companies and down the supply chain -- that CEO's should set energy efficiency metrics for their business units, and that they should move issues involving energy efficiency, global warming and renewable energy out of the environment, health and safety box and into the CFO's box and the CEO's box.

There were several recommendations concerning new ways of talking about this issue to make it more compelling to the average person -- focusing on solutions, talking in human terms, drawing the link we heard about at lunch between global warming and severe weather events, and discussing this issue in terms of its impacts on national security.

And a final recommendation that many found compelling is that we rebuild New Orleans as a model of energy efficiency.

(Applause)

There was a strong view that from this terrible tragedy we must look for and find the opportunities. And there was a sense in the room, Mr. President, a hope that you could help make that happen. So thank you again for your vision and your leadership and this extraordinary opportunity.

(Applause)

MR. CLINTON: Thank you. I'm going to read three more commitments. I hesitate to say -- we're getting a running total, but we will be able to give them all before we leave. But I would like to ask my friend Rolando Gonzalez Bunster to join me up on the stage. Thirty -- oh, I hate to say this -- 37 years ago we graduated from Georgetown University together.

(Applause)

And he has committed to build two wind energy power plants totaling 109 megawatts in the Dominican Republic, for a total investment of in excess of \$130 million. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

This will provide electricity to people who need it very much, while addressing global warming and promoting development in a place where I spend a lot of time and where my AIDS project is very active. So thank you, Rolando. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Now I'd like to invite up here Rick Fedrizzi of the US Green Building Council, Thomas Leppert of the Turner Corporation, and Tom Tritton of Haverford College. And while they're coming up I will explain what they're going to do. This is a Green Building initiative to transform the way buildings are designed and operated to reduce energy consumption, environmental impact, and greenhouse gases in the sector that uses one-third of all energy consumed in the United States, and is responsible for a third of all greenhouse gas emissions. A series of conferences focused on green building and educational construction, renovation will dramatically accelerate the deployment of green buildings in the US. The United States Green Building Council will sponsor these

conferences to promote sustainable design and construction within the next academic year. The Turner Corporation will host “Greening the Schools,” to be held on October 24th in Washington. Haverford College will host a Green Building Council/ Turner event for educational institutions, and it’s committed to green existing buildings at the college and challenge further other campuses to do the same.

Let me say, we went through this exercise at the White House and I was utterly astonished at the amount of greenhouse gas savings we made and the equivalent of the thousands and thousands and thousands of cars we took off the road every year just with the buildings there in the White House complex. And as I have said repeatedly, thanks to my architects, we cut our energy emissions by 34 percent at my library. So I know this is there and I know it will save money, create jobs and help to address climate change. So thank you very much, all of you. Thank you.

(Applause)

Finally, in this section I would like to invite to the stage Michelle Wyman, the Executive Director for the United States office for the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. They, along with the Chicago Climate Exchange, the city of Seattle, Generation Earth, and more than 200 cities and counties across America are involved in Cities for Climate Protection. Their commitment is to achieve significant reductions in domestic sources of greenhouse gas emissions while building political support for climate protection at the local level across America.

Within two years the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives will work with US local governments to achieve an additional 20 million tons of CO2 reductions through its Cities for Climate Protection campaign, its new partnership with the Chicago Climate Exchange, and its role as the implementer of the 2005 Mayors Climate Change Protection Agreement, and the Urban Environmental Award. They will provide training, tools, and technical assistance to cities and counties to accelerate the implementations of policies and programs to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and together they will make a major contribution to the reduction in greenhouse gas emissions in our entire country. Thank you very, very much.

(Applause)

This is Dr. Richard Sandor of the Chicago Climate Exchange, which I hope you will all help to finance. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Now I would like to turn the program over to Lael Brainard, who will give us a summary of what happened in the governance section.

LAEL BRAINARD: Thank you, Mr. President. First I wanted to express my thanks to Evan Ryan, who is my co-conspirator on this track and also my good friend.

We were up against a pretty dreary name, but we came back with a set of dazzling discussions. Mary Robinson started us off by observing that the UN summit is so 20th century. The Clinton Global Initiative, as she put it, is the summit for the 21st century.

(Applause)

We heard from President Yushchenko of Ukraine and from President Obasanjo of Nigeria on the need for genuine democratic revolution to make sure that states deliver for their own people, and on their uphill battles to uproot the tangled web of decades of corruption. We heard how corruption strangles trust, trust that is the foundation for investment and enterprise no less than for good government. Business and civil society can find a common agenda in this area. And indeed we heard from George Soros and from Nick Butler of BP and Simon Taylor of Global Witness on one such partnership that uses the power of transparency to lift the resource curse of dysfunctional government and predatory elites that too often afflicts countries rich in natural resources.

Again and again our conversations came back to leadership – political leaders, business leaders, community leaders-- making the difference between vibrant societies and those caught in a downward spiral. Bob Rubin and Mohammed Gergawi highlighted the critical role of visionary leaders, especially in undertaking those tough reforms that pay dividends into the future but that require a stiff down payment right up front.

Hank Paulson and Hernando de Soto highlighted the growing gap between rich and poor as one of the major challenges of our time. There was a lot of excitement about new tools for people to lift themselves out of poverty, such as land titling and microfinance, one of the great success stories in the fight against poverty.

And we talked about private investment, the lifeblood of economies. Tidjane Thiam spoke of the difficulty of turning around perceptions, especially when they come from living in a bad neighborhood next to a country mired in conflict. In Fareed Zakaria's words, capital is a coward.

Finance Minister Ngozi told us of the tough steps her country has been taking to turn the tide. When poor countries take ownership of their problems, the IMF and the World Bank need to walk the walk, not just talk the talk, on supporting those homegrown solutions.

The same theme came up on slashing subsidies in agriculture. Kumi Naidoo had this message for President Bush: Sir, this is one area where we would welcome a little more American unilateralism.

Ultimately our focus was on empowering individuals in poor countries to take back government, to demand performance from political leaders, to create jobs and wealth through enterprise, and to fuel economies as consumers. CK Prahalad called on all of us to unleash the potential of the 5 billion poor consumers living around the world. As consumers, he reminded us, they have both choice and dignity, something we forget

when we look at the poor only through the lens of charity. Indeed, these are some of the most value-conscious consumers in the world.

And we heard the phenomenal story of Celtel from Mohammed Ibrahim. When Mo first proposed investing in Uganda to his UK partners, they told him, no way, no how would we invest in a country run by a crazy guy named Idi Amin. That's when he knew just what he was up against; Idi Amin had been gone for 15 years. But Mo had the last laugh. Celtel has made impressive returns even as it has created enormous social value by providing mobile telephony to poor consumers across Africa.

And we brainstormed about out-of-the-box approaches to supporting those small and medium-sized opportunity entrepreneurs whose success creates jobs and wealth and swells the ranks of the middle class. We heard from Alan Patricof about his innovative ideas on developing venture capital in Africa. And Jo Schwenke, from Business Partners in South Africa, testified that entrepreneurs can thrive in Africa, when given the necessary tools. The difference, he told us, between world class and second class is attitude, not geography.

Over the past two days, we witnessed a dazzling array of speakers, intense engagement among participants at the tables, and a steady stream of creative commitments. We leave with renewed passion in our hearts, an inspiring vision of the future in our eyes, and meaningful work to engage our hands. Not bad for two days on governance. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Applause)

MR. CLINTON: You can probably see why I always enjoyed the briefings that she gave me in the White House. I was always afraid I was going to be subject to a test as soon as they were over.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to announce two more commitments in the area of governance. First I'd like to ask Hakam Kanafani and any other representatives of the Young Arab Leaders who are here who want to come up. This is – first I want to promote these people a little bit. This is an astonishing group of young people that first met late last year, I think, in Dubai, under the sponsorship of Mohammed Gergawi.

There are quite a number of them now. They are going to have a meeting of about 500 in December, their first anniversary in Dubai. They aspire to have 5,000 soon. The reason I'm taking a little time on this is, I think that one of the problems that all of us have with the Arab world is that we know they produce a lot of oil and they've got a lot of problems, and some of them have something to do with religion, we think. And that's about all people know. We don't know enough about the good people and the good stories and the good things and the stunning potential. And I think all of us have an obligation, who came here, to acquaint ourselves with the good things that are happening and to realize that we all should do more to make good things happen there. I predict to

you that you will hear more from the young Arab leaders in the years ahead and you will like just about everything you hear.

So the present commitment they have made for this conference is to continue to reduce poverty by accelerating economic development and stimulating and expanding investment by helping to create something they call the Arab Business Plan Award, through which young Arabs will be invited to present a business plan to a jury of established entrepreneurs. Upon selection, the newly created Arab business network will match winners with established business leaders from around the world so they can implement their plan.

What this little piece of paper I'm given doesn't say is what they propose to do to lay the ground work for this is to train a large number of young Arabs in what a business plan is, how to put one together, what it means, and how to participate in the entrepreneurial economy. This is a great first step for a great group, and I thank you for your commitment. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Now I'd like to invite to the stage Kathy Bushkin, executive vice president of the UN Foundation, who is involved in a project with Energy Future Cooperation, the Brookings Institution, the Center for American Progress, to develop global development bonds that will be used to reduce poverty in developing countries through accelerated economic development. A meeting will be held in October, just next month, to facilitate the launch of these global development bonds to catalyze development in developing countries. We need more financial instruments, and I am excited about what's going to happen with the development bonds, and I may even want to invest in them.

Thank you, Kathy Bushkin, and thank your partners as well.

(Applause)

Now we'll go on to the poverty section, and I'd like to ask Gayle Smith to take the microphone.

GAYLE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. President. And let me also begin by thanking my assistant and partner in crime in this, John Lyman, who enabled me with him to claim to be the tallest team in this entire conference. I'd also like to thank a bunch of people – Eric, Ed, Roseann, Sharon, Janell, Mary. There are a whole lot of people who worked heart and soul on this and we're going out for a drink at 6:00 o'clock. We are indebted to all of you for everything you did to support us.

(Applause)

We had a better title than Lael and Evan, but I think even our title was wrong. Our discussions were less about the escape from poverty and more about the road to wealth

creation. There was a recognition that we need to do more of what we're doing and do it better, that there needs to be more aid targeted to sectors like education and health, where they can effectively enable us to scale up quickly, that we need to do more on trade and especially to increase equitable market access, and obviously we need to do more to ensure that investments move beyond adding a charitable component to ensuring that development objectives are included in a business model.

But more than that, in each session there was a clear recognition that we can reduce poverty by doing these things, but we cannot create wealth on a sustainable basis unless we make some fundamental structural changes in the way we operate. And everyone is ready to do that.

The distinction underscored in almost every session was between helping people who are too poor to stay alive to stay alive for another six months, versus working with the poor to unleash the human, social and financial capital that can together enable them to generate wealth. It was a distinction, if you will, between a world in which the developed countries drive the global economy and the developing world is dragged along, and one in which a majority of capable, prosperous states and societies participate in a much bigger global market.

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, and Javier Solana talked about this new partnership. And while they said that we're all being a lot nicer to each other in the developed and developing worlds, the big question is whether we're really there yet, and said that if we really want a new partnership we've got to be ready to make some hard decisions, taking first and foremost something like agricultural subsidies. President Mbeki said, enough talk about this. Everybody says they're ready to move on agricultural subsidies, but the United States says to Europe, oh, you go first. And Europe says back to the United States, no, no, no, you go first. As he said, it is time to stop talking about why we can't do things and time to go ahead and do it.

In the kind of partnership we discussed, people were eager to see something where we could move from the kind of example we had from the chairman of TNT, Peter Bakker, who explained how they had moved from sports marketing – I don't know if there are any sports people in the room – to development investment, where that would be the majority of investments in the developing world and not just emblematic of an impressive but growing minority.

Aid would be streamlined. Donors would start to pool their resources, harmonize their policies, so that we're not putting a burden on the developing world, so that a country like Tanzania doesn't have to write 2,500 reports to donors every year in order to get the aid we provide.

We had extraordinary discussions about how to bring capital to bear, whether through the micro-credit model popularized by Mohammad Yunus, the social venture model pursued by the Acumen Fund, or private investment designed to empower local producers and consumers, such as was described by Pierre Omidyar.

One very interesting thing, I think, and a marked departure from the past. Patty Stonesifer pointed out that we've come a long way from the days when NGO's look at business as the enemy of development, and business looked at NGO's as a group of irritants. What we've got is cooperation there and a real desire to see more. Now throughout this we got a lot of recommendations. Most of those recommendations were for you and for the Clinton Global Initiative. People want a comprehensive published database and directory of things that work. They want a place to put the best examples of best practices so people can see those and replicate those. They want more opportunities to network between NGO's and business. They want a way to provide a seal of approval, or if you will, a certified organic label to say that an NGO project, a government initiative or a private sector investment is really doing the right thing by development.

Across the board people focus on the rate of return. The conclusion was that if we do what we need to do now and bring to bear the resources that we need, the will to change how we operate, and a commitment to level the playing field, we can forge the partnership we talked about and the returns on investment will pay dividends for generations to come.

Finally, Mr. President, I'm happy to report that by a resounding majority everyone accepted your commitment to hold this conference on a regular and sustained basis. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

MR. CLINTON: One of the great ironies of my presidency was that Gayle Smith was, in my second term, my principal aide for Africa, and whenever we went to Africa, we were known as the only people on the continent whose hair was whiter than our skin.

(Laughter) But when she was a young woman, she trekked several hundred miles across Africa with a warring army, as a young reporter and a very brave and devoted friend of the continent. So I thank you all.

I want to read a couple of the deliverables now. Beginning with one involving the Acumen Fund, and I'd like to ask I think Tae Yoo of Cisco Systems and Chris Anderson, the Sapling Foundation to come up. If anyone else is here that I'm supposed to recognize, you come too. I'm doing the best I can here.

The Acumen Fund is a global non-profit venture fund that serves people living on less than \$4 a day. It strives to create a blueprint for building financially sustainable and scalable organizations to deliver affordable, critical goods and services to elevate the lives of the poor. These folks have committed up to \$1 million to deliver clean water, health, and housing to the poor. Cisco and the Sapling Foundation will match dollar-for-dollar contributions to the Acumen Fund during the Clinton Global Initiative up to \$1 million to support the Global Initiative on moving from talking to action.

So if anybody else wants to help them with clean water, they'll match your money.
Thank you very, very much.

(Applause)

I'd like to ask Karen Tramontano with the Global Fairness Initiative to come up.

This is a commitment by the Global Fairness Initiative, something called the Synapse Market Access Fund, to address the problem of global poverty by funding training networks to bridge the gap between poor producers and markets. Synapse makes investment-grade grants and cultivates long-term financial relationships with scalable initiatives, helping to build the strength and capacity of grassroots producers in rural communities.

Now let me just say two things. First of all, one of the most important things I learned listening to Jeffrey Sachs at this conference, and I want to start by saying that I too support the reduction of American agricultural subsidies, and I think we ought to do it. One of the most important things I learned listening to Jeffrey Sachs in his argument for adopting villages at \$50 a villager for health, education and economic development is that there is a dramatic amount of untapped agricultural income in Africa and other poor countries right now to be earned, regardless of the subsidies of Europe and America, by increasing productivity and sales within countries and across national lines within the continents where the developing countries are. So I want to thank Karen for that.

The second thing I want to say is, I am very indebted to the Global Fairness Initiative and to Karen in particular because they have supported an important initiative we took in Cambodia in 1999, to try to raise the labor standards in the factories, the textile factories of Cambodia, which she has helped to monitor. We have labor rights there, the right to join unions in a country with a terrible record on human rights. And I hope next year we'll have better representation from Southeast Asia here because when the multi-fiber agreement expired and all these other countries are losing textile jobs, Cambodia didn't because their American purchasers and partners kept the jobs in Cambodia so they could say to the customers in America, we are supporting jobs in a developing country where the workers are treated decently in the workplace and adults are in the workplace, children are in school, and a stable society is developing.

So I really honor the work you are doing, and I thank you for this \$1.5 million project.
Thank you.

(Applause)

Now we go to the next – oh, I have one more to read. I won't bring anybody up. I just got this one in my own hot little hand here. I think he's gone, but the prime minister of Mauritius committed his country to host and sponsor an international meeting on poverty elimination in 2006. Is he here? Come on up, Navinchandra Ramgoolam of Mauritius.
Thank you very much.

(Applause)

We have been blessed by having many world leaders come to this conference, sir, but no one has stayed so long and been so devoted as you. We look forward to participating and helping you put your conference together, and having you bring people from your part of the world. Thank you so much. Give him a big hand. Thank you.

(Applause)

Now I'd like to invite Rob Malley to come up and give the report of the religion group.

ROB MALLEY: Shame on us if we allow the religious extremists to get to our children before we do. Shame on us. That was said at our last panel session by a young activist, but even though it was said at the end, it hovered through our panel from the very beginning, from the very first panel discussion we had. How do we get to our children before others get to them? Because others will get to them and we will pay the price.

In many ways the conversation we've had over the last few days on the religious reconciliation/conflict track was precedent-setting and I heard this from many of the leaders in the field, who told me they'd never before been at a gathering with business leaders, NGO activists, religious leaders, statesmen, and people from all sides of civil society, come to discuss what so often is unspoken – the role of religion in conflict, the role of religion in social issues, the role of religion in politics.

The industry of religious peace-building is only in its infancy and we're only taking the first steps. And it's in a race with the industry of hate-mongering, and we have to play catch-up. But what a good start we had over the last few days. Of course I want to thank President Clinton for that. I want to thank my colleague, Mickey Bergman, who did so much to make this possible, and everyone else that everyone else has thanked and who deserve a real good hand of applause.

(Applause)

Because it was the first conversation, it was at times an awkward and difficult one, and differences were expressed and we shouldn't shy away from that, about what Islamism is and the role of Islam in Muslim societies, in Muslim politics. About the root causes of some of the religious anger, to the extent to which political conflicts – whether it's the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the war in Iraq, or others – feed the anger, particularly in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

But nonetheless, despite the differences, day by day the degree of consensus, convergence was remarkable, surprising, and unanticipated. And the first consensus was with what I started off with – the priority target being the youth, the youth in the Arab world, the youth in the Muslim world, the youth right here at home. Everyone agrees, from Her Majesty Queen Rania, who made one of the most moving interventions in our

panel this morning, talking about how we can't let our children fall prey to those who would use religion to evil ends, to Assistant Secretary Liz Cheney, to Prime Minister Erdogan of Turkey. Everyone agreed children are the target population and they're at greater risk today than they've been before. And the first priority is to give them economic opportunity, and we did discuss that from the very first plenary session in terms of what can be done in Gaza.

The second area of convergence was that we can't keep religion out, or if we do so, we do so at our peril. Rabbi Melchior, who was on one of our panels, said it best when he said, if we don't bring religion in, others will, and it will blow up in our faces. And who could doubt it? If you go to Palestine, who's providing the services today? It's Hamas. If you go to Lebanon, who's providing the services? It's Hezbollah. If you talk of the international conflicts, whether it's Israel and the Palestinians, Kashmir, Sudan, Nigeria, all these places, religion plays a role. And if we don't bring it in, if the peace builders don't bring it in, then others will diverge for their own purposes.

Rabbi Melchior said it, and it wasn't too surprising, but we also heard it from Secretary Albright, who made a confession. She said in her years of office she never thought that religion should play a role in diplomacy. In fact, and I was honored to be part of her team during the years you were president, we sometimes made a conscious effort to keep religion out, thinking that once religion is in, positions get polarized, positions get hardened, and it's that much harder to reach compromise.

But we shouldn't kid ourselves. These conflicts have a religious dimension, and if we don't bring the religious leaders in, others will raise the religious flag and they won't do it for the purposes that we want, and we won't be able to appeal to the moderates or the undecided, who may be listening to their religious leaders who we've excluded from the diplomatic peace-building process.

Secretary Albright, I'll make a plug for your next book, which will be interestingly entitled "The Mighty and the Almighty: United States foreign policy and God."

The next priority, which everyone saw there was so much consensus around, and I've heard actually from most of the topic coordinators, was education. There are so many misconceptions here about Islam, so many misconceptions there. We all know about the role that some of the madrassahs are playing, some of it good, some of it not so good. So there needs to be a real emphasis on education reform here, education reform in the Arab world, in Europe, throughout the world. And here we have some very interesting ideas. Her Majesty Queen Rania proposed that we establish a scholarship fund, exchange programs for disadvantaged students in the United States and in the Muslim world. Others had more modest proposals, but I think it showed the level of commitment that we had throughout the panel. They committed to read a book or two about Islam in the next year, and they suggest that Oprah Winfrey put several books on Islam on her next reading group list.

And as I was walking in here, I was reminded that in 1543 Martin Luther sponsored the printing of the first version of the Koran, and he said he was doing it because he wanted to spread knowledge of the Koran in Europe. Maybe it's time we get back to that.

The next area of convergence, which was remarkably described this morning, was the interfaith youth service. Let's get young people from different faiths working together on areas where they would agree – fighting poverty, fighting AIDS, building houses. Rebuilding New Orleans was a suggestion that was made. Let's have in every neighborhood, in every city, at the national level, at the international level, interfaith youth services in which young children would – young kids would come together and work on issues on which they have convergence, which would be a way to get them motivated to do good, which would make them understand the perspective of the other, and would offer an alternative to the activities of those who have not had such proper ends.

(Applause)

I want to conclude on a note – Eboo Patel will be up there meeting you, Mr. President, in a meeting and when you'll be giving him his certificate, a remarkable young man who I think really moved everyone who was there this morning. He's a head of the Interfaith Youth Core, and he made the following observation. He said, every time I come out of a meeting with a businessman and he hands me a check, I thank him for the \$20,000 and I thank God. But in the back of my mind I know that Osama bin Laden is having a meeting where he just got \$20 million and he's thanking his God.

We need to invest more in religious peace-building. We need to invest more in religious conflict resolution and religious understanding because the stakes are so high. We took a remarkable step here, and the number of commitments we've gotten, just on the basis of the panel discussions, was an eye-opener to me, and I really thank everyone here who made those commitments.

President Clinton is here, and I think we all owe it to him to make even more commitments over the years to come because, as I said, so much is at stake and it's a race that we can't afford to lose. Thank you.

(Applause)

MR. CLINTON: Thank you very much. I must say, when Mr. Malley was working with me on Middle East peace, all of our team will tell you he lived the words he just spoke. He was a devout Jew, and the Palestinians and their cause of a homeland and a just life and peace for the Israelis never had a better friend. So thank you for your example.

(Applause)

I would like to now invite Eboo Patel, who's just been mentioned, of the Interfaith Youth Core, and James Jensen of the Genesis Foundation up here.

(Applause)

The Interfaith Youth Core seeks to build a world in which religiously diverse young people interact peacefully and cooperate to serve the common good, strengthening civil society, stabilizing global politics. This is a \$100,000 commitment from the Genesis Foundation to strengthen the Interfaith Youth Core's capacity to build that kind of movement. The gift will underwrite the development of an evaluation paradigm and a plan for the movement, information systems, the addition of key staff, and a substantial expansion of the number of young people who may be able to teach us all more about how to live together. Thank you very much, and bless you.

(Applause)

I would like to now ask John Marks of Search for Common Ground, and Klaus Peter Wachsmuth and Iquo Ukoh of Nestlé to come up. This is a project to create production of two television series, the Station and the Academy to promote reconciliation. It's a commitment by Search for Common Ground, partnered by Nestlé, at a cost of \$1.5 million to support two seasons of a dramatic and reality TV series in Nigeria to promote reconciliation and tolerance between religious and ethnic groups, for broadcast by the Nigerian Television Authority.

This is a wonderful thing, and as someone who went to Nigeria and spoke to the Nigerian parliament to plead for the life of a condemned woman under sharia law, I thank you for doing this. God bless you. Thank you so much.

(Applause)

Now I would like to ask Cheryl and Haim Saban to come up. And Mr. Peres, why don't you come up too. Shimon, come on up here.

(Applause)

Haim and Cheryl Saban are giving \$1 million to the Peres Center to promote peace and understanding between Israeli and Palestinian children through the arts and education, with an emphasis on the Palestinian children living in Gaza. Thank you very, very much.

(Applause)

Now I'd like to ask my last surviving chief of staff in the White House, John Podesta of the Center for American Progress, to come up.

(Applause)

I wheedled one more thing out of him. The Center for American Progress has committed to coordinate with anyone else who's here who's interested, as well as other think tanks

and experts who are not here, the development over the next couple of months of a concrete proposal for terrorism insurance in Gaza to increase investment there. Thank you very, very much.

(Applause)

Let me say just a few brief things before we close. First, the window for receiving commitments will be open for another several days, maybe a week or two, because a lot of you came here really interested in what was going on and not knowing what your options were. The commitments that we had on the first day were from people who had been working in these fields a long time and knew exactly what they wished to do. So I urge any of you who haven't made commitments, but who wish to, to do so and we will over the next year maintain a constant presence here where we keep up with people, see if they need some help in keeping their commitments. We'll make regular progress reports and then have a report at the beginning of the Clinton Global Initiative when we start next year.

But just as of right now, just so you'll know what's happened in these remarkable days, right before I came up here we had right at 190 commitments, totaling over \$1.25 billion.

(Applause)

There are a lot of us who – and I count myself in that number – who like goals that are measurable, measurable not just in economic terms but in human terms. There was this dialogue that was held while we were here between the World Bank President Mr. Wolfowitz and Kemal Dervis, the new UNDP administrator, the African Development Bank President Donald Kaberuka, about this. One of the reasons I like Jeffrey Sachs' proposal to adopt a village is you know for \$50 a villager you get health, education, agricultural productivity, and for \$250,000 or \$300,000 a year for five years you can actually lift 5,000 people out of extreme poverty. I like that.

But I think it's also important for us not to minimize the impact of the commitments which may not cost as much but which may have a huge impact over the long run, whether they improve the governance in certain emerging countries, or develop the institutions of civil society, like the Young Arab Leaders, or promote religious reconciliation for positive purposes. I don't think you can minimize that.

One of the things I wanted to mention that I think is very important is the ability to develop systems. It might not cost much money to teach people to do that, but I consider the most important thing my own foundation has done since I left office by a good long stretch, providing anti-retroviral medicine to 175,000 people just since 2003. That's 25 percent of all people in the developing world that have gotten that medicine, and we've done it for probably 10 or 15 percent of what anybody else doing the work has done because Ira Magaziner and his colleagues developed the system that helped to improve the productivity of the drug producers, got them to take a high volume-low margin

strategy, work with other governments. That didn't cost a lot of money, but it had a huge impact. So I thank you for that.

We're also going to develop programs, which I can't put a dollar value on now because they're only now being mentioned, but I'll tell you about them as we go along. The nicest thing that happened right before I came up was my good friend Carlos Slim from Mexico who has organized any number of amazing initiatives for Latin America, and among other things holds a conference in which he pays for over 10,000 young people a year to come to Mexico City to spend three days discussing problems that have nothing to do with Mexico because he thinks if the children of his country and his region learn to look at the outer world and understand it better, they will clearly be able to solve the problems of their own country.

So he comes up to me today with Shimon Peres and says that if they want him, he will take responsibility for developing a whole communications cell phone network in Gaza and tie it into the Jordanians and all the others that are in the region. So I thank you, Carlos Slim, for that because that's the kind of thing we need to do.

(Applause)

I just want to say a couple of things about the other proposals, the other areas. First of all, a lot of things were said about climate change today. Vice President Gore was emotional, powerful and persuasive, but he was largely preaching to the saved too. And those of us who weren't saved didn't say much. But our friend Mr. Coomber from Swiss Re, he put \$300 million into it. It means he knows something that other people don't. There's money there. There really is profit to be made in cleaning up the environment. Jeffrey Immelt came here to tell us that General Electric, one of the most important companies in the world, believes that cleaning the environment and having a carbon-free future, at least with less carbon, has to be at the core of sustaining the environment.

I can't add anything to that except to say that to all my friends from the Middle East who are here, and I've been really gratified that we've had a wonderful representation here, if I were living in a country that had \$65 oil, I would put my country into the energy business, not just the oil business, and I would finance energy conservation, solar energy, wind energy. I would turn myself into a conglomerate country with a diversified economy and create jobs for the next generation of my people, and I hope that that will happen in the Middle East.

(Applause)

On the question of faith. I thank the religious leaders who came from outside the Middle East. From Bosnia, for example. And I want to make another acknowledgement. I saw Gerry Adams here somewhere. I think he's still here. But one of the greatest things I thought in the agreement of the IRA to destroy its weapons and to hold it up to international inspection was that they were not only going to have this group that we set up in '98 to validate what the IRA did. They said, "We want the destruction of these

weapons to be witnessed and verified by representatives of the Catholic Church and the Church of England and Northern Ireland." Because they know that if the religious leaders say it, it will matter.

So I saw David Trimble, who was my partner when we did the Irish peace process, coming here. I don't even know if David is still here or not. So I pulled him off to the side. I said, "David, if this is real, will it matter to the people that are just walking around on the street?" And he said, absolutely it will make a difference. So religion does not have to be a divisive force.

The second thing I want to say – this is just from my own experience from the time I was a little boy until I became president. Most people I knew who used religion to divide people were not motivated by their allegiance to God but by their desire for power.

(Applause)

And the same thing is true of race, ethnicity or anything else. I remember when we made the peace in Bosnia and we signed it at the Elysee Palace in Paris. Madeleine's heard me say this a lot of times. I actually sat down across the table and had lunch with Slobodan Milosevic. And he had the coldest eyes I've ever seen, but I'll tell you one thing. He didn't really hate the Bosnian Muslims, or the Croatian Catholics. They were tools in his desire to have absolute power over a greater Serbia. And when these kids are sent with their bodies packed in bombs to blow up other kids, they may believe they're doing Allah's will, but the people who put the bombs on them did it because they think they're going to win a political fight.

(Applause)

And you know, every great religion basically is grounded in two things – the commonness of our humanity and its imperfection. You know, that's why – Wana-dizanapata (ph), the Buddha says, you're not fully human unless you feel the arrow piercing another's body as if it were in your own. Or in the Koran Allah – it says, the prophet says in the Koran, Allah put different peoples on the earth not that they might despise one another but they might come to know one another and learn from one another. The Torah says, if you turn aside from a stranger, you might as well turn aside from God. And of course in the Christian New Testament Jesus says, the greatest commandment is to love God with all your heart, but the next is, quote, "like unto it, to love your neighbor as yourself."

What's the philosophical basis of all this? There's a section in the Christian New Testament, which says, and I quote, what faith is. "Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen." There's another place where it says, why is love the greatest virtue? Love is a greater virtue even than faith because in this life we see through a glass darkly and know in part.

Very important for us to remember this as we all leave here. Why are we obligated to help other people? Morally. Yes, it's smart. We can all make a lot of money out of climate change. But it would also be nice if our great-grandchildren had air to breathe and water to swim in. We can make a lot of money out of it, but we really have a moral obligation.

In America we need for Africans and people in Southeast Asia and South Asia and Latin America to get rich because we're 4 percent of the world's population, we've got 20 percent of the wealth, and India and China are going like crazy, and if we don't have more partners to trade with, we'll be poor. So yes, it's in our interest. It's also morally right. It's the right thing to do.

Why should somebody be deprived of the right to have a life? I've just been looking into the faces of kids in China and Africa who were destined to die, but they were going to live because we got them AIDS medicine. My little foundation doubled the number of kids in the developing world outside Brazil and Thailand who got medicine this year. That sounds so great. Before you clap, let me tell you how pitiful it is. It's pitiful. We doubled the number of kids outside Brazil and Thailand getting medicine this year. 500,000 children under the age of 12 died last year of AIDS. 25,000 got medicine to stay alive. 15,000 were in Brazil and Thailand. I got 10,000 lousy doses of medicine at a pitiful price of \$200 a person. Don't clap. We're going to get 50,000 more next year. That's not good. 70,000 kids get medicine, and 500,000 die. It's terrible.

So forget about yes, it will benefit us economically if we do this. But we need a little humility here. If we really have our religious teachings grounded well, we will do this because it's the right thing to do.

The other point I want to make is, one reason that we don't get climate change is we have become arrogant in the present. All of us. Osama bin Laden's arrogant in the present. I mean, he really thinks it matters if he blows us up and kicks a few thousand American soldiers out of Saudi Arabia or whatever. And we really think it matters if we blow him up, more than how we all live and how people will be living 100 years from now.

It was just a few hundred years ago that we had the last little ice age, just 15,000 years that the big ice age moved away and enabled people to move across the earth, and people have been walking around as homo sapiens for 130,000 years. Our forefathers before that, our near-human forefathers were making tools 2 million years ago. So if we had a huge cataclysmic event from global warming, it would just be about 15,000 years from the last one, which is the blink of an eye in the life of the planet or the life of humanity on the planet. We are so arrogant because we are obsessed with the present.

So I ask all of you to think about this. I've reached an age now where it doesn't matter whatever happens to me. I just don't want anybody to die before their time any more. And I asked you here because I think that all of us have an unprecedented amount of power to solve problems, save lives and help people see the future. I'm really gratified by what you've done. I hope you'll come next year. I hope you'll make commitments if

you haven't. I hope you'll keep them if you made them. And when you leave here, I hope you will feel your own faith strengthened. But I also hope you will leave here with a sense of humility about how much better we could do. And I hope you'll help people all over the world wherever you come from to realize that (gap in tape) human history what we're being asked to do is self-evident. Doesn't amount to all that much, but will make all the difference to children yet unborn. Thank you, and God bless you.

(Applause)

I would like to ask all the people who worked on this, all the people who worked on this, give them a big hand. Thank you, Tom Golisano, thank you all of our sponsors. All the volunteers in the back, give them a big hand. They did great. Thank you all.

(End of session)