

**THE J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT PRIZE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING  
AWARD CEREMONY**

HONORING

**WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON**  
42ND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D.C.

APRIL 12, 2006

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*Deputy Managing Director  
International Monetary Fund*

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*sculpture by Sergio Dolfi*

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*Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
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## TRANSCRIPT

**Announcer:** Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, the International Monetary Fund Deputy Managing Director, Mr. Takatoshi Kato.

**Mr. Takatoshi Kato:** On behalf of the IMF, let me say a few words. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is my very great pleasure to welcome you this morning to this impressive gathering of Fulbright Fellows and special guests to the International Monetary Fund. It is only fitting that this occasion would take place inside this international institution, as the Fulbright Association shines a spotlight on the importance of better understanding around the globe, and acknowledges President Clinton's many contributions.

To quote President Clinton, when as President of the host member country, he honored us by addressing the 1999 annual meetings of the World Bank and IMF, and I quote, "We can build a global economy and global society that leaves no one behind." This is the agenda that the Bretton Woods institutions have been pursuing by way of our respective areas of competence.

It is a privilege for us that the Fulbright Association has chosen the IMF Headquarters—as a matter of fact, this is a brand-new building only completed last September—as a place to honor President Clinton with this important award today. To all of you who are associated with it within the Fulbright program, I offer you each a very warm welcome to the IMF. Thank you very much.

**Announcer:** Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, the President of the Fulbright Association, Dr. R. Fenton May.

**Dr. R. Fenton-May:** Your excellencies, distinguished Members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Fulbright alumni and friends, good morning. On behalf of the Fulbright Association, it is my pleasure to introduce those who will join us in presenting the Fulbright Prize.

The 64<sup>th</sup> Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honorable Madeleine K. Albright.

Former Governor and U.S. Senator from the State of Arkansas, the Honorable David Pryor. Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Coca-Cola Company, Neville Isdell.

And it is now my very great honor to present the Fulbright Laureate, the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States of America, William Jefferson Clinton.

On behalf of the Fulbright Association, I would like to thank Deputy Managing Director Kato and the International Monetary Fund for graciously hosting this ceremony. The Fulbright Association and its 9,000 members, and some quarter of a million Fulbright alumni around the world, are committed to the importance of the Fulbright program of international education and cultural exchanges. The Fulbright Association is a private, not-for-profit organization, supported not only by individual Fulbright alumni and friends, but by more than 150 colleges, universities, and international organizations, many of whom are represented here today.

The Fulbright Association particularly appreciates The Coca-Cola Foundation, both for its support of the Fulbright Prize and for the many educational scholarship opportunities that it makes possible in the United States and around the world.

An important part of the Fulbright Association's work is a clear articulation of the critical role that the United States Congress plays in providing the funding necessary to ensure that the vision of successive administrations for international exchanges remains as vital today as when the late Senator Fulbright conceived the program in 1946.

As more graduate students, teachers, and scholars from throughout the world participate in Fulbright exchanges each year, they provide significant opportunities to enhance global understanding. The Fulbright Association also supports the engagement of Fulbright alumni groups

around the world to continue helping foster international goodwill now and in the future. We share the belief that strengthening relationships among individuals and institutions across borders promotes a more stable and peaceful world.

And as we move toward presentation of the Fulbright Prize, we have three tributes to the Laureate. And it is my pleasure to present a video tribute to President Clinton from the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who regrets that he could not be here today with us.

**Secretary-General Kofi Annan:** Dear Bill, I'm sorry I could not be there in person to celebrate with you today. But Bill, I know you will understand. After all, you have won the Fulbright Prize for International Understanding.

You have done so much to deserve this award. It's hard to know where to start. From your efforts for peace in the Middle East, to your work in the struggle against AIDS, you have been a valuable ally of the United Nations. For the Clinton Global Initiative, you have been a true visionary, focusing on poverty, climate, religious reconciliation, and governance. You have helped people understand that development, security, and human rights and the rule of law, are vital, interlinked pillars if we are to make this world better.

And as the U.N.'s Special Envoy for the Tsunami Recovery, you have made it your mission to "build back better" than what was there before. In this way, you have given practical meaning to your passion for development and helped improve millions of lives.

Bill, you have achieved quite a lot since leaving office and what you have achieved is an inspiration to us all—especially those of us who are also leaving office ourselves. The warmest congratulations on this award, from Nane and from me. And above all, keep up the fight.

**Dr. R. Fenton-May:** I think that was a great introduction. Nine years ago at this Prize award, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright joined us in honoring the 1997 Fulbright Laureate, Vaclav Havel. We are indeed privileged to welcome back the 64<sup>th</sup> Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honorable Madeleine K. Albright, to offer a personal tribute to President Clinton. Secretary Albright.

**Secretary Madeleine K. Albright:** Thank you very much. Mr. President, Dr. Fenton-May, Senator Pryor, Mr. Isdell, distinguished guests, good morning, I think. I am very honored to have been asked to participate in this ceremony and very privileged to have served President Clinton and to have had the honor of representing the United States.

My assigned task today is a little bit daunting, because it seems that just about everything that could be said about President Clinton has been said. But no one could be more famous. And yet, it is not among the famous that the most compelling testimony to his accomplishments may be found. For that, we should turn to the children of Sarajevo who have grown up in safety because this man put a halt to ethnic cleansing; or to the factory workers in Tanzania and Malawi whose families have food on the table because President Clinton fought for the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act; or to the people of Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant alike, who are more secure because this President helped to heal centuries of bitterness with the medicine of tolerance and a formula for peace; or to the young men and women of Kosovo who owe their lives to the leadership of the President and to NATO; or to the AIDS victims in Africa who have access to anti-viral medicine because former President Clinton, far from retiring after eight years in office, followed by a heart operation, remains as dynamic and caring as ever.

To take the measure of this man, we should listen as well to the storm victims in Asia who are rebuilding their lives with the help of President Clinton and his distinguished partner, the senior President Bush.

Perhaps it's because he grew up in a segregated Southern town, but this champion of improved race relations in America became, while in office, a champion of tolerance and a foe of

suffering across the globe. Perhaps it's because of his contact with Senator Fulbright, also an idealistic realist or a realistic idealist. Historians will render their own judgment on the record of the two Clinton terms. And when they do, I hope they will incorporate the full measure of the man.

To those of us who saw him up close, every day, under sometimes unbelievable strain, he was not just a leader of endless creativity, with an encyclopedic mind. He was and still is more than that, tirelessly taking on new struggles with the Global Initiative. He is the embodiment of many of the qualities that reflect America at its best: resilience, optimism, a willingness to work with others, a passion for doing what is right, and a conviction that so long as we are true to our values no obstacle can block us nor any enemy defeat us.

It is usually a mistake to try to sum up a nation's foreign policy with the kind of slogan that fits on a bumper sticker. But as President, Bill Clinton believed in one principle that made sense both at home and overseas. And that principle was putting people first. A principle that matches perfectly with the demands of our time, the needs of the world, the values of America, the spirit of the Fulbright Prize, and the courage, conscience, and commitment of William Jefferson Clinton. Thank you all very much.

**Dr. R. Fenton-May:** Thank you for those inspiring words, Madame Secretary. We now welcome to the podium David Pryor, former U.S. Senator, who also served as a State Representative, as a Member of Congress, and preceded Mr. Clinton as the Governor of Arkansas. The Honorable David Pryor.

**Senator David Pryor:** Mr. President, Madame Secretary, Mrs. Fulbright, Harriet, and our very, very wonderful and generous friends from Coca-Cola. I am very honored today to be a part of this very special moment.

For just a few seconds, if I could, I would like to go back in time to the year 1966. Vietnam was just beginning to become the cauldron of fire and division that it became. President Johnson was groping for answers and struggling with a hesitant and unsure Congress in implementing the recent milestones in the civil rights battles.

The cities were growing restless in America. Leaders became cautious. And a sense of paralysis had set in. Divisions grew, loyalties were questioned, and patriotisms were challenged. Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh, Saigon, these were all new words in our vocabulary.

And a few blocks from here, just a very few blocks, there was a young student at Georgetown. He was 20. He was from Arkansas. The crunch of financial crisis had closed in.

And a young Bill Clinton sat down one night in desperation, and he sat down and wrote a letter. He spilled out his heart to a famous man he had only read about and briefly met.

"I need a job, Senator Fulbright!" he wrote to his Arkansas senator.

And a few days later, the administrative assistant, Lee Williams, who is with us in this audience today and I don't know where Lee is, but I'd—there he is, Lee. Lee Williams called the student, the young student Bill Clinton, and said, "Bill, you just don't get it. You don't understand. We only have two job openings in this whole operation. And they're only part-time positions."

Bill Clinton responded, "Good, Lee, I'll take both of them."

That's Bill Clinton.

And that is exactly how he got to Capitol Hill. He opened and read the mail, he answered the phones, he attended hearings on Vietnam, and the issues that consumed the Foreign Relations Committee and the country at that moment became his passion. He listened and he watched, he studied, he absorbed. Bill Fulbright became Bill Clinton's giant.

Just because the world is going mad, we don't have to go mad with it.—That was the message that was imparted. And that was the message he heard.

Fate and circumstances and even necessity played such enormous roles in bringing these two unique lives together. One was born just before World War I. One was born just after World War

II. Some might say worlds apart. One was 60. One was 20. And this unique relationship, almost father and son ultimately, came at a most formative time in the young Bill Clinton's life. Hypercurious, the inquisitive mind of a potential Rhodes Scholar, and the passions of a young idealist determined to forge a better world were bonded together and set in stone, and a life of public service was launched like a rocket.

From Senator Fulbright, Bill Clinton had learned political decency. And he learned that true statesmanship demands courage. And that the great value of mutual respect, regardless of differences, was paramount. When Senator Fulbright warned all of us in our country and in our world so wisely of the arrogance of power, someday a President Clinton would ultimately demonstrate to us all the proper use of that power.

Thirty-two years ago last Saturday night, Mr. President, Barbara Pryor and I sat in Russellville, Arkansas. We watched you, as a young law professor, make your way up to the podium to make your first political speech, as you announced for Congress in 1974, in Russellville, Arkansas, the Arkansas Tech dining hall, a Democratic supper. In his allocated two minutes, Bill Clinton made five quick points I will never forget—Enlarge the circle of opportunity; fight injustice; remove the shackles that imprison the mind; listen, and listen well to one another; and stand in the shoes of others.

For over three decades now, William Jefferson Clinton, our nation's 42<sup>nd</sup> President, still gives that same message. And in the far corners and reaches of this world his voice and his passion and his cry for reason become even stronger each day. It's an honor to come from a small state so far from here, in short, that has produced two of the world's great citizens. Senator Fulbright must be looking down at this moment with a big, big smile on his face. Thank you.

**Dr. R. Fenton-May:** Senator Pryor, thank you for those moving and personal remarks.

The Fulbright Prize was created to recognize those who have made outstanding contributions towards furthering mutual understanding among peoples and who have helped break barriers that divide humankind. The achievements of Fulbright Prize laureates exemplify the ideals of the Fulbright program. Since its founding in 1993, the Fulbright Prize has been awarded to a highly distinguished group of world leaders. Early laureates included South African President Nelson Mandela and President Jimmy Carter. More recently, the Fulbright Prize honored U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, whose moving tribute we just heard.

This year the Fulbright Prize Selection Committee Chairwoman, Dr. Ruth Simmons, president of Brown University and herself a Fulbrighter, was joined in her work by an international committee of notable Fulbright alumni from Brazil, from Papua New Guinea, and from the United States. They selected as our Fulbright laureate a leader whose life's work continues to further constructive relationships among peoples and nations and to promote solutions to some of the world's most intractable health, economic, security, and developmental challenges. And, of course, he is a Rhodes Scholar, so he understands firsthand the power of international education.

As President of the United States, our Fulbright Prize laureate fostered constructive relationships between our country and Latin American nations, focused attention and resources on the challenges facing the countries of Africa, and promoted peace in the Middle East and in Ireland. After leaving office he established The William J. Clinton Foundation to strengthen the capacity of people throughout the world to meet the challenges of global interdependence. His Foundation works to improve health security, with an emphasis on HIV-AIDS prevention and treatment; to encourage economic empowerment; to develop leadership and citizen service; and to promote racial, ethnic, and religious reconciliation. His leadership and service continue to make a difference throughout the world.

Therefore, for his bold, enlightened initiatives to counteract poverty, ignorance, and the racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices that are barriers to peace and justice everywhere and for his steadfast vision of empathy, cooperation, and dialogue in the service of humanity, we are honored to

present the J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding to the 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States of America, William Jefferson Clinton.

Please join us in congratulating President Clinton on his achievements and welcoming him to the podium. And now President Clinton will deliver his address.

**President Clinton:** Thank you very much, Dr. Fenton-May, Mr. Kato. I thank Neville Isdell and Coca-Cola for supporting this. Harriet, thank you for being here today. I'd like to thank all my old friends from the Fulbright days, Hoyt Purvis and others, who worked for the Senator and with me.

Thank you, Lee Williams, for giving me a job, without which I never would have become president. This probably qualifies you for the second-most unpopular person among Republicans in the entire United States today. I really hate him, you know I had his 75th birthday party in the White House, which means he's over eighty, and look at him. He looks younger than I do. But a long time ago, you took a chance on somebody with no money and no political influence who could do nothing for Senator Fulbright except read the newspapers, cut clips, and run errands. It worked out alright, and I thank you.

I would like to thank the members of my administration and the members of my circle of friends for coming today, including people from around the world, and I want to thank especially Madeleine Albright and David Pryor for what they said.

Secretary Albright did a great job for us, and not only at the State Department but also at the United Nations. She was the first woman secretary of state in American history. Apparently, we're about to make it a habit, which is not a bad thing. Because she was a native of the former Czechoslovakia, she understood that rapidly changing and deeply strained part of the world at a time when it was the responsibility of the United States to try to stop hundreds of thousands of innocents from being killed there and millions of people from being turned into refugees. Whatever good we did, we couldn't have done without you. So I thank you, Madeleine, I thank you for being here.

David Pryor only told you part of the story. You know he was running for Congress forty years ago when I was a student and pleading for a job with Senator Fulbright. I met him when he was out running, and I thought then, and I think now, that he's a better politician than either Bill Fulbright or I was, as you can tell from his speech. David and his wife, Barbara, who's here in the front row, and their children, one of whom is now the United States senator from our home state, have been my friends for 40 years. After he left the Senate, which was a sad day for me, he went up to the Kennedy School and wound up running that program up there. Then he came down and became the first dean of the Clinton School of Public Service, which is associated with my library at the University of Arkansas. Now, he's just, I think, officially out of office for how long, two weeks, about three? So he worked again for me. But I didn't have a better friend in the United States Senate. I didn't have a more helpful friend when I left office, and I never knew a kinder person in this rough business we were in.

When I first met David Pryor on the street campaigning for Congress 40 years ago, I thought he was an uncommonly nice man. Once I ran into him and Barbara a couple of years later in D.C. on Wisconsin Avenue while they were having dinner. They were the hot young couple of Arkansas politics, and I was still a penniless student of uncertain prospects, not particularly well-dressed, even. They invited me to sit down and have dinner with them. That was 38 years ago, and I remember it like it was yesterday. So, you just remember that—it's not too much trouble to be nice to a young person. You never can tell when it'll work out alright. Because they do remember it, just like your kids, they do remember.

I want to say just a couple of words about Senator Fulbright. I wrote about him at length in my memoirs, and he did have a profound influence on my life, even long before I met him. You know, when we were growing up at home in the late 50s and early 60s, the whole image of my state was frozen in time by that awful encounter at Little Rock Central High School and the crisis it precipitated when the governor called out the National Guard to try and stop the court-ordered

integration and then President Eisenhower had to nationalize the guard to ensure that it occurred. Everything seemed to be defined in terms of that. So having against that background someone as sophisticated, as broadminded, as progressive as Fulbright representing us was quite something for a schoolchild in Arkansas who hoped to have a different sort of life and believed that public service could be a noble endeavor.

Long before I ever got to the substance of what it was he believed and whether his theory of how the world worked and how American foreign policy should proceed, I was just impressed that you could actually have a good education and not “redneck people to death” and divide them and still win an election every now and then. I mean—and it turned out to be a rare quality even later on, even in the last few years. But you can’t imagine what it was like. Keep in mind, we’d just been through the McCarthyite scare of the nineteen-fifties. We were having all these horrible racial conflicts and, you know, here was this guy who spoke in complete sentences and coherent paragraphs, who talked about history and believed that the people he represented were just as smart as anybody anywhere else and they just needed better opportunities and better education. It was an amazing thing.

He also wanted us to be connected to the rest of the world. In lieu of the current day’s headlines, one of the ironies is that in the nineteen-fifties, thanks to Bill Fulbright, the University of Arkansas had the largest number of Iranian students in the university of any state university in the United States of America. It’s very interesting. [To Lee Williams in the audience] You remember that, Lee? And a very large number of students from the Middle East going to school across religious and cultural lines, trying to find a way to work together.

Fulbright essentially thought that a country had to have a military, but that there were limits to what you could achieve militarily. He believed that over the long run, the gains that we achieve through reasonable conversation and coming to a common understanding of our mutual interest through really coming in contact with each other are those that were most lasting.

He wouldn’t be surprised, for example, to know a stunning factoid I will tell you. There is one, and only one, Muslim country where the public opinion of the United States has soared since 2003 and stayed high in the aftermath of Iraq—even though it didn’t start for a year later. Do you know what country it is? Indonesia—the largest Muslim country in the world. And why? Because of the tsunami.

When the President asked his father and me to coordinate a last part of the fund raising effort for tsunami relief, and then we went together to South Asia, we came back to make our report to the White House. When I was on the way in to the meeting with the President, one of the career people from USAID who had worked with us and done a marvelous job handed me a poll completed just the day before. In Indonesia, comparing attitudes on the United States and Osama Bin Laden on that day with a year previous, approval of the United States had gone from 36 to 60 percent and approval of Bin Laden had gone from 58 to 28 percent. Mr. Bin Laden had done nothing to the Indonesians after the tsunami, but nothing for them, either.

And in a stunning moment—when they saw the military dropping food instead of bombs, when they saw the American civilian aid workers working, when they saw all the nongovernmental workers, both from religious and nonreligious groups, show up, when they saw all these American businesspeople spontaneously come over and set up water purification equipment, people that didn’t belong to any group who just sort of showed up and found a place where clean water was needed. In a stunning moment, they saw us as people because we saw them as people. Across all the religious and geographic and political divides, in that terrible moment of tragedy, we were united in our common humanity. A year later, according to a survey released just in the last week or so, those gains have endured.

This would not surprise Bill Fulbright at all. He would say, “Now if you see this, this is a big argument for why we should be spending more money in this age to make a world with more partners and fewer terrorists. And if you see this, it’s a big argument for why doing things in a

cooperative way works better than doing things in a unilateral way, because you can't solve all the problems all the time."

We still have people, I'm sad to say, in my job for the Secretary-General, who are still in tents in Indonesia, even though I said I'd get them out by two weeks ago. But as long as people think you're on their side and that you're walking down the same road together and that you're prepared to share the future together, you can deal with the factual setbacks and the momentary disappointments. It's whether people feel like you're pulling for them, and you have some regard for them, and you wish to share the future with them.

This doesn't mean we don't need a military, this doesn't mean we should never be prepared to act on our own, but it means our preference should be, as Madeleine says, you can have—you can run—two kinds of foreign policy. I will just steal her phrase. You can cooperate whenever you can and act alone when you must or you can act alone whenever you can and cooperate when there's no other alternative. We believe the former is a far better policy. So that was Fulbright's idea, and he was right about that.

He also, I believe, would favor virtually every one of the international compacts that are still pending and hanging fire today, including the International Criminal Court, because it does have protections against the political prosecution of American soldiers who are sent around the world to save the peace, including the Kyoto climate change treaty or the nonproliferation treaty or the anti-ballistic missile treaty—he would think we ought to amend it, not destroy it. And the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, I know he'd support it because he supported it when it was just an idea.

He would say, "Okay, if you join all these things, they will limit our freedom of action and these groups may make mistakes, but the question when you enter any compact is, are you better off in it than out?"

The answer he would give is yes, because—go back to the Indonesia situation—people in the world need to know we're pulling for them. We need to be trying to build the world we'd like to live in, where we are no longer the only economic or political or military superpower.

If he were still alive today and at this podium, he would be giving you a speech using much more elegant and high-flown language than I do, telling you that that's what we should be doing. I learned that from him. I read all his books, and I had the chance as a young man to watch the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Vietnam, on America's role in the world against Communism and what their objectives were in Asia beyond Vietnam.

I watched the then-Secretary of State Dean Rusk come in in the morning, at 7:00 a.m. sometimes, and drink coffee with Senator Fulbright. I watched what it was like for people to have a civil, genuine, human relationship and a bitter public disagreement, and I saw that you did not have to demonize your opponent in order to disagree with him. I learned a lot of stuff from Bill Fulbright.

The main point I wish to make today is that the enduring part of his legacy is more important now at the end of the Cold War, more important now that he has left us, even than it was when he was alive. He made these arguments partly to keep the United States and the Soviet Union from blowing each other off the map until we could figure out what the ultimate resolution to the Cold War was. Now, in a much more sort of complex, messier world, I think what he had to say to us about the importance of education, about the importance of mutual understanding, about the importance of cooperation, is even more significant.

Madeleine will remember, we used to have meetings in the White House sometimes, when we thought we might have to have military action on occasion. We did. We bombed Kosovo for 77 days in 1998. The United Kingdom and the United States bombed what we thought were Saddam Hussein's storage sites for chemical and biological materials when he kicked our inspectors out. But sometimes we would have these debates where people would say, if I didn't take some military action this very day, people would look down their nose at America and think we were weak. And I

always thought of Senator Fulbright and the terrible quagmire of Vietnam and how many times we sent more soldiers and we found ourselves in a hole and kept digging because we didn't want to look like we were weak. So anytime somebody said in my presence, "Hey, if you don't do this, people will think you're weak," I always asked the same question for eight years, "Can we kill 'em tomorrow? I don't think we can bring 'em back tomorrow, but can we kill 'em tomorrow? If we can kill them tomorrow, then we're not weak, and we might be wise to try to find an alternative way."

I learned that as a 20-year-old kid watching Bill Fulbright. Listening. Seeing all those senators on the Foreign Relations Committee at a time when they thought being a United States senator was an august responsibility and a grave one. That every time they went to a hearing, they had a profound obligation to be prepared and—my God, we had a lot of bright people on the Foreign Relations Committee, including people who didn't agree with Fulbright, who were really smart—and they didn't have to have their staff give them all the questions. They actually knew what they wanted to ask. They knew about the history of Southeast Asia. It was a fascinating time to be working there, to be young. Everybody would watch them on television. It was like high drama.

So, I would say to all of you today, in this interdependent world, we should still have a preference for peace over war, a preference for cooperation over unilateralism, a preference for investing more to build a world with more partners and fewer terrorists, since it's still a tiny fraction of what we spend on our military and on the specific conflicts in which we now find ourselves engaged.

For a man who was in some ways very proper and very distant—not exactly your standard back-slapping politician—Fulbright had an uncanny understanding that the purpose of politics was to create a framework in which people could live their personal lives according to their dreams. That almost all aberrational behavior—whether it's impressing children into tribal wars in Africa or selling drugs or setting off bombs in marketplaces in Israel or Iraq or anywhere else, or in those hotels in Jordan—almost all aberrational behavior like that is basically the product of people who, for whatever reason, have decided to put their power lust ahead of letting children live their dreams. He got that, and I tried never to forget it.

I thank you for this award, even though, in general, I think former presidents and presidents should never get awards. I was delighted when Jimmy Carter won the Nobel Peace Prize because I thought he earned it, and I thought it was great because he got it as much for what he did after office as when he was in office. In general, I think that the fact that we got to be president is quite honor enough. But because I admired and came to love Senator Fulbright, because he helped me when I was young and in need of it, and because I believe the wisdom that you will find throughout his books and speeches applies with particular relevance to the present day, I am honored to receive this. I just ask you not to forget that, for all his intellectualism, he really understood that politics had a limited purpose. It was supposed to stop abuses of power and create opportunities and conditions so that people could have their own lives and live their own dreams.

I do not wish to embarrass one person in this audience, but the new ambassador to the United States from Colombia, Andrés Pastrana, was the president of Colombia when I was in office. He lost a member of his family in the violence there, and he still went alone into the rainforest in an attempt, a last, vain attempt, to make peace with the guerilla groups who have basically become terrorist henchmen for the narco-traffickers. When they repulsed him, I agreed that with the Speaker of the House, Mr. Hastert, to support something called "Plan Colombia" to increase the military and judicial capacity of the Colombians to fight the narco-traffickers and to offer alternative ways of making a living, and we went to work there. America did this on a bipartisan basis, and I'm proud to say that President Bush has continued that policy, and President Pastrana's successor did as well, Mr. Uribe.

When I went with my group in Colombia in 2000 to see Andrés before he left office and before I did, to see what we were doing with Plan Colombia, I met a bunch of kids—the Children of Vallenato—who were singing and dancing for peace on the streets in Cartagena. Chelsea went with

me. They pulled us out, and we danced with them in the streets. I have a great picture of the President of Colombia and me and my daughter dancing with these kids in their native costumes. I was so impressed that I invited them to come to the White House in 2000 to sing at Christmas time. I'd never done that, ever, for a non-American group. They also sang, by the way, at the opening of my library. But in the middle of that, on June 27, 2002, at the invitation of President Pastrana and his successor, I went to Colombia to speak. I asked the business community not to leave, not to think America had given up on them so soon after 9/11. Thirty-five percent of the country was in the hands of the narco-traffickers and their guerilla supporters. You think how we'd feel in America if we had 35 percent of any state [in that situation].

I was met by the culture minister. The power of ideas—these kids were a walking example of what Fulbright thought foreign policy ought to be about. And the culture minister, who was so famous, André's culture minister, she was known only to the Colombians by her first name, Consuelo. She had them there, and the first time we went, she brought them to the White House. But when I went back, she wasn't there anymore, because the narco-traffickers and their thugs hated these kids, and they couldn't kill them, so they murdered Consuelo. When Andrés asked me to come back, they said... First, I spoke to her funeral over television and, as I remember, you had 100,000 people in the soccer stadium in Bogotá. The Colombians are very brave people. They had all their fists in the air. So I said I'll come down there to speak for you, but I want you to bring those kids, so they brought the kids. June 27, 2002. With the new culture minister, the 29-year-old niece of the murdered woman. Her husband was a successful lawyer. He quit and became a government prosecutor. They're very brave people. They prefer peace.

Today, 13,000 guerillas have laid down their arms. Opium production—poppy—is down 70 percent, coca production down 25 percent. The government of the country is one, and the former president is now our ambassador. And those little kids sang at my library dedication. Because they want peace. It's important to remember that. All authority and force in the end can only work if it's somehow brought into alignment with people's dreams. When you run the risk of killing somebody, it's okay if you have to do it to save more lives, to stop abuses, but we should remember, Fulbright was always humble about power. He always understood it had a very limited purpose: to create the conditions and give people the tools and stop the abuses so that there would be a space for people to live their dreams.

It's what education was about, what the Fulbright exchange program was about, it's what all this other stuff—all the international institutions were about. I accept this prize with that in mind, and I ask you to—all of you who revere the memory of Senator Fulbright—to remember that he was a flesh-and-blood politician, an ultimate realist, and a fascinating man who wrote some darn good books. You can go back and read them today and find out that what he recommended in the context of the Cold War, in my judgment, is more, not less, relevant today.

If you don't remember anything else I say today, remember that. I accept this award because what he recommended is more, not less, relevant today. It's got a fancy new name called "soft power," but it basically reflects Sam Rayburn's famous admonition that we should never tell anyone to go to hell unless we could make him go. In this life there are relatively few people we could make go to hell, so we should make as many common causes as we can. You've done me a great honor today. I hope we can do the memory of Senator Fulbright honor by making America not only the strongest country in the world, but the world's best partner in the fight for our common dreams. Thank you.

**Dr. R. Fenton-May:** Thank you, Mr. President, for that wonderful insight into the thought process of the late Senator Fulbright. I won't forget your admonition to us to let our kids dream their dreams. The Fulbright Association and Fulbright alumni around the world are very proud that you're here with us today.

It is now my pleasure to introduce the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of The Coca-Cola Company, Neville Isdell, an old friend who helped us honor the inaugural Fulbright Prize laureate, Nelson Mandela, in 1993. Fulbright alumni are very appreciative of The Coca-Cola Foundation's support of the Fulbright Association, and in particular, of the Fulbright Prize.

Please join me in welcoming Neville Isdell to present the statute "Tribute" to President Clinton.

**Mr. Neville Isdell:** Thank you, Fenton.

On behalf of The Coca-Cola Company, it is my pleasure to join all of you in honoring William Jefferson Clinton, the United States' youngest two-term president, and now the *world's* youngest elder statesman.

President Clinton understood early on how the twin challenges of technology and globalization would transform our planet, that they would create a community of nations more dependent on each other than ever. He strengthened the bonds of *this* nation, as he endeavored to create what he called "One America." And he strengthened global ties as a forceful advocate for free trade and international cooperation. As an Irishman, I am eternally grateful for his efforts to bring some resolution to The Troubles. The Good Friday Agreement—which was signed eight years ago Monday (April 10, 1998)—would not have happened without the commitment of Bill Clinton.

All of this is an appropriate legacy for a man whose career began in the office of Arkansas' own William Fulbright.

The Fulbright Prize for International Understanding, sponsored by The Coca-Cola Foundation, has been given to 12 remarkable men and women since 1993. It has been my great good fortune to introduce three of them: Nelson Mandela, whose long walk to freedom continues to inspire the world; Vaclav Havel, the writer and dramatist who became the first President of the Czech Republic; and the former Federal Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Franz Vranitzky.

For all of us at Coca-Cola, the Fulbright Prize celebrates those qualities of leadership—the ability to bring together people, cultures, and nations for understanding and for progress. These qualities are at the core of our business, too. Just last month, The Coca-Cola Company joined the United Nations Global Compact, confirming our commitment to the focus areas of the Global Compact—human rights, labor rights, protection of the environment, and anti-corruption.

Two months ago, I had the privilege of attending the funeral of Coretta Scott King in Atlanta. It was a remarkable day, with stirring tributes and remembrances from her children and Dr. King's colleagues and others. President Clinton captured her humanity as only he could. "I don't want us to forget that there's a woman in there," he said. "Not a symbol—a real woman who lived and breathed and got angry and got hurt and had dreams and disappointments."

And then he said this, "Atlanta, what's your responsibility? What are *you* going to do? What are *we* going to do?"

It was classic President Clinton: funny, moving, inspiring, and challenging. It charged the room, and the city. For me, it was a neat summary of the Clinton presidency, and the Clinton *post*-presidency, captured in a single moment, not just his humanity and empathy, but his approach to problems, acknowledging them plainly, and looking for new opportunities to work with others to address them.

President Clinton—*thank you*.

And now it's my pleasure to present this sculpture, entitled "Tribute."

It was created by Sergio Dolfi, a retired Coca-Cola executive who created the original for our Atlanta headquarters. More importantly, I think Senator Fulbright would have been proud and delighted to see you receive this tribute today.

## **THE J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT PRIZE FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING**

The Fulbright Prize was established to honor the largest and most significant educational exchange program in history as well as the career and spirit of its creator, the late Senator J. William Fulbright. The Prize recognizes and rewards outstanding contributions towards bringing peoples, cultures, or nations to greater understanding of others. Considered for the Prize are individuals, groups or teams of individuals, and organizations in any part of the world whose contributions to breaking through the barriers that divide humankind are of such significance as to be internationally recognized.

In establishing the Prize, the Fulbright Association and its cooperating associates in the United States and abroad seek to recognize individuals who dedicate their energies to improving international understanding and to encourage new generations to undertake life commitments to international understanding.

The J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding has been awarded to former South African President Nelson Mandela (1993), former U.S. President Jimmy Carter (1994), former Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky (1995), former Philippine President Corazon C. Aquino (1996), former President of the Czech Republic Václav Havel (1997), former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin Azócar (1998), former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson (1999), former President of the Republic of Finland Martti Ahtisaari (2000), Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan (2001), former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata (2002), former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (2003), and former United States Secretary of State Colin L. Powell (2004).

For more information on the Fulbright Prize, please visit the Fulbright Association's web site at <http://www.fulbright.org/prize>.

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