

do when you go home tonight is to know in the marrow of your bones that what you always believed was right is right, and that you have had a chance to demonstrate that you don't have to debate anymore; you don't have to worry; you don't have to argue.

And tomorrow and every tomorrow from now on, you will be able to stand up with greater confidence in what you believe because it works. And when you get discouraged and when you worry whether if they outspend us by \$3 million or \$4 million, we can prevail, just think about those two little girls. And you will know, you will know, that it's worth fighting for that kind of America for all the children of this country in the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:03 p.m. in the State Room at the Mayflower Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to John J. Sweeney, president, AFL-CIO; former Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado, general chair, Democratic National Committee; former Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes; former White House assistant Janice Enright; Gerald W. McEntee, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Laura Poisel and her adoptive daughter, Jimiya, who was born with AIDS; and Alfonso Fanjul, who hosted a Democratic National Committee dinner in Coral Gables, FL, on July 13.

Remarks on the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and an Exchange With Reporters

July 20, 1999

The President. Good morning. I have just had the privilege of meeting with the three Apollo 11 astronauts who, 30 years ago, carried out the first landing on the Moon: Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Michael Collins. They and everyone at NASA over the years have made an extraordinary contribution to our Nation and to humanity. I am very grateful to them.

President Kennedy, who set a goal of putting a man on the Moon by the late 1960's, was committed to using technology to unlock the mysteries of the heavens. But President Kennedy was also concerned that technology, if misused, literally could destroy life on Earth. So another goal he vigorously pursued was one first proposed by President Eisenhower, a treaty to ban for all time the testing of the most destructive weapons ever devised, nuclear weapons.

As a first step, President Kennedy negotiated a limited test ban treaty to ban nuclear tests except those conducted underground. But for far too long nations failed to heed the call to ban all nuclear tests. More countries sought to acquire nuclear weapons and to develop ever more destructive weapons. This threatened America's security and that of our friends and allies. It made the world a more dangerous place.

Since I have been President, I have made ending nuclear tests one of my top goals. And in 1996 we concluded a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; 152 countries have now signed it, and 41, including many of our allies, have now ratified it. Today, on Capitol Hill, a bipartisan group of Senators is speaking out on the importance of the treaty. They include Senators Jeffords, Specter, Daschle, Biden, Bingaman, Dorgan, Bob Kerrey, Levin, and Murray. I am grateful for their leadership and their support of this critical agreement.

And today I want to express, again, my strong determination to obtain ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. America already has stopped nuclear testing. We have, today, a robust nuclear force and nuclear experts affirm that we can maintain a safe and reliable deterrent without nuclear tests.

The question now is whether we will adopt or whether we will lose a verifiable treaty that will bar other nations from testing nuclear weapons. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will strengthen our national security by constraining the development of more advanced and more destructive nuclear weapons and by limiting the possibilities for more countries to acquire nuclear weapons. It will also enhance our ability to detect suspicious activities by other nations.

With or without a test ban treaty, we must monitor such activities. The treaty gives us new means to pursue this important mission, a global network of sensors and the right to request short notice, on-site inspections in other countries. Four former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—David Jones, William Crowe, Colin Powell, and John Shalikashvili—plus the current Chairman, Hugh Shelton, all agree the treaty is in our national interests. Other national leaders, such as former Senators John Glenn and Nancy Kassebaum Baker, agree.

Unfortunately, the Test Ban Treaty is now imperiled by the refusal of some Senators even to consider it. If our Senate fails to act, the treaty cannot enter into force for any country. Think of that. We're not testing now. A hundred and fifty-two countries have signed, 41 have ratified, but if our Senate fails to act, this treaty and all the protections and increased safety it offers the American people cannot enter into force for any country. That would make it harder to prevent further nuclear arms competition, and as we have seen, for example, in the nuclear tests in India and Pakistan.

Do we want these countries and other regional rivals to join a test ban treaty, or do we want them to stop nuclear testing? Do we want to scrap a treaty that could constrain them? The major nuclear powers, Britain and France, Russia and China, have signed the treaty. Do we want to walk away from a treaty under which those countries and scores of others have agreed not to conduct nuclear tests? I believe it is strongly in our interest to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The American people consistently have supported it for more than 40 years now. At a minimum, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should hold hearings this fall. Hearings would allow each side to make its case for and against the treaty, and allow the Senate to decide this matter on the merits. We have a chance right now to end nuclear testing forever. It would be a tragedy for our security and for our children's future to let this opportunity slip away.

I thank those Senators in both parties who today are announcing their clear intention not to do that.

I thank you.

China and Taiwan

Q. Mr. President, did Jiang Zemin tell you that he would use force to counter Taiwan's independence? And would you use force in Taiwan's defense?

The President. First let me tell you I'm going to have a press conference tomorrow, and I will answer a lot of questions. The answer to that question is, we had a conversation in which I restated our strong support of the "one China" policy and our strong support for the cross-strait dialog, and I made it clear, our policy had not changed, including our view under the Taiwan Relations Act that it would be—we would take very seriously any abridgement of the peaceful dialog. China knows very well what our policy is, and we know quite well what their policy is. I believe that the action of the United States in affirming our support of the "one China" policy and encouraging Taiwan to support that and the framework within which dialog has occurred will be helpful in easing some of the tensions. And that was the context in which our conversation occurred.

So I thought it was a very positive conversation, far more positive than negative. And that is the light in which I meant it to unfold, and I think that is the shape it is taking. So—

Q. The Chinese seemed to make it clear that he would use force—

Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and Kyoto Treaty

Q. On the treaty, Senator Helms says that he would be happy to hold hearings if you would send up the ABM Treaty and the Kyoto treaty. Will you?

The President. Look, the ABM Treaty—we have to conclude START II first; that's in our national interest. The Kyoto treaty—all the people who say they're not for the Kyoto treaty insist that we involve the developing nations in it; I agree with them. Even the people who are against the Kyoto treaty under any circumstances say, well, if you're going to have it you've got to have the developing nations in there. So it's inconsistent for me to send it up when we're out there working ourselves to death to try to get the developing nations to participate.

Now, this is a relatively new issue, the Kyoto treaty. And the other issue is not ripe yet, clearly, not ripe yet. So to take a matter that has been a matter of national debate for 40 years

now, and it is finally a reality—a treaty that has been ratified by 40 other countries, the prospect of dramatically increasing the safety of the American people in the future—and hold it hostage to two matters that are literally not ripe for presentation to the Senate yet would

be a grave error, I think. And I hope that we can find a way around that.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:43 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Jiang Zemin of China.

Remarks to Representatives of the Legal Community

July 20, 1999

Thank you. Let me say to all of you, I can't do any better than that. *[Laughter]* It was terrific. I wish every newspaper in American would reprint those remarks. Thank you, sir. Thank you very much.

I want to thank you all for coming. What a wonderful group we have here. First, I thank Attorney General Reno and Deputy Attorney General Holder for the wonderful job they do in so many ways. Associate Attorney General Fisher is here with them and Bill Lann Lee of the Civil Rights Division. One big civil rights issue is getting him confirmed, I might add.

I thank Secretary Slater and Secretary Daley for joining us, and Ben Johnson, who runs our one America initiative; and Chris Edley, who used to be part of our administration—still is—I just don't have to pay him anymore. *[Laughter]*

Thank you, Senator Leahy and Congressman Becerra, for coming. I think there are at least two people in this room, Jerry Shestack and Bill Taylor, who were here in 1963 with President Kennedy. I thank them for coming. Thank you, Mayor Archer, for coming—former Secretary of State Warren Christopher, former Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti.

There are so many people here—I just have to mention one person because it's my most intimate, personal acquaintance with affirmative action, the president of the American Bar Association, Phil Anderson, gave me a job in 1981, when I was the youngest former Governor in American history—*[laughter]*—with dim future prospects. So I thank him for being here, as well.

And I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to the man who directs our national service program, Senator Harris Wofford, who was very

intimately involved with President Kennedy's civil rights initiatives. Thank you for being here, sir, today.

As has been pointed out, President Kennedy called more than 200 of America's leading lawyers to this room 36 years ago, the summer of 1963, when America was awakening to the fact that in our laws and in our hearts, we were still far short of our ideals.

It is difficult today to imagine an America without civil rights. But when I came here 36 years ago in the summer of 1963, as a delegate to American Legion Boys Nation, there were only four African-American boys there, and the hottest issue was what we were going to do about civil rights.

It didn't seem so inevitable back then. Across my native South, there were sheriffs, mayors, Governors defying the courts; police dogs attacking peaceful demonstrators; firehoses toppling children; protesters led away in handcuffs; and too little refuge in the hallowed sanctuary of the law.

It was in this atmosphere that the President turned to America's lawyers and enlisted them in the fight for equal justice. With Vice President Johnson and Attorney General Robert Kennedy at his side, the President asked the lawyers there to remember their duty to uphold justice, especially in places where the principles of justice had been defied.

The lawyers answered that call, creating a new Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and a new tradition of pro bono service in the legal profession. I asked you here today because we need your help as much as ever in our most enduring challenge as a nation, the challenge of creating one America. We have worked hard on that here. In the audience today I see