

Notes: This transcription is smooth format, meaning that we do not transcribe filler words like um, er, ah, uh huh, like, kind of, or restarts. Nothing is rewritten or reworded. Transcriber notes such as [*multiple voices/cross talk*] or [*applause*] etc. are italicized and contained within brackets. A word that the transcriber could not understand is indicated with a six-space line and a time code like this _____ [0:22:16]. A word that the transcriber was not sure of is **bolded**. Punctuation is to the best of our ability, given that this transcript results from a conversation.

Key:

BB Barbara Ballard, Associate Director of the Dole Institute
CO Christian Ostmeyer
BL Bill Lacy, Director of the Dole Institute
BC President Bill Clinton

BB: Good afternoon. Good afternoon and welcome. This is really an exciting day. Welcome and it is an honor and my privilege to welcome you to the Dole Institute of Politics, Dole Leadership Prize Presentation, honoring President Bill Clinton. This program is part of the 2015 KU Civic Engagement Leadership Events that we do annually on our campus. Civic engagement and promotion of public service is part of our mission statement. And I don't know as many of you have seen our mission statement, but it's an important mission because it's also what Senator Dole agrees with. The mission of the Dole Institute of Politics is to promote political and civic participation as well as civil discourse in a bi-partisan balanced manner, by providing a forum for discussion of political and economic issues, fostering for public service leadership and encouraging participation in the political process. We emphasize that politics is an honorable profession and that only through political and civic participation can citizens redirect the course of our nation.

In May of 2009, the Dole Institute of Politics established the Robert Hemmingway Public Service Award in honor of the 16th Chancellor of the University of Kansas upon his retirement. The recipient of this award for 2015 and 2016 is Caleb Bobo and special recognition recipients are Christina Ostmeyer and Monica Saha. All three of these students, with the help of other campus student organizations helped to plan over 30 events and activities for our KU students and the community. The Dole Institute and the campus have been celebrating the 2015 KU Civic Engagement and Leadership Events on campus since Sunday, November the 8th and we started with a tribute to our veteran-saluting gala at the Dole Institute which was co-sponsored by ROTC. We sponsored a Dole Institute first ever KU student focus group entitled, "I Lead, I Serve," with Harvard Institute of Politics polling Director, John Della Volpe, one of the world's leading

authorities on understanding global sentiment, opinion, and influence, especially among young Americans.

KU students shared their views on challenges and opportunities to increasing civic engagement, politics, and the 2016 presidential election. An important part of these two weeks has been dedicated to voter registration on campus. Our KU team registered over 400 new student voters and today is our last day of KU Civic Engagement and Leadership. We were so excited about President Bill Clinton speaking on our KU campus. He was here in May 2004, but we were still excited that we chose our dates so that President Clinton would end our civic engagement events and activities in eloquent splendor.

Also, in keeping with our civic engagement and public service mission, the Dole Institute provided the Senator Robert J. Dole Public Service Scholarship Program for 2005, 2014 and it was funded by NASA. We are looking for funding to continue this scholarship program that helped over 1,000 students attend college in the university and various universities all within the region institutions and that would've been, for those of you who do not know, K-State Emporia, Wichita State, Fort Hayes State, Pittsburgh State, Washburn University, and KU.

We also offer programs in the summer and I would just like to highlight that because civic engagement is a very important part of our mission. We sponsor a YCLI program Youth Civic Leadership Institute at no charge to students from around the state. They're incoming seniors and they're here for three days and two nights and they stay in one of the resident halls on our campus, plus they visit the KU campus and visit with some of the legislators. And this past year was our 10th anniversary and our keynote speaker was Steve Holly, our Kansas astronaut. Our youth program has been endowed by a very generous donor. We also sponsor Kansas government, history, and social studies teachers to promote civic engagement and public service in the classroom. This is also a three day, two night conference and teachers receive a stipend, lodging, and their meals and we hope they go back to their classrooms and we have been informed that they are more innovative and have enjoyed the camaraderie that they have with the Dole Institute, not only in the summer but throughout the year if they choose to do so.

Finally, I would say to you, that we are very proud of the many diverse speakers, programs, and opportunities that we provide at the Dole Institute of Politics for our KU students, our faculty, our staff, and the community. We are pleased, in fact very pleased, that you're here today to help us recognize the outstanding leadership of President Bill Clinton. Thank you all so very much. *[applause]*

CO: Thank you Associate Director Barbara Ballard. Hello and welcome to the presentation of the Dole Leadership Prize. My name is Christina Ostmeier and I'm the Student Advisory

Board Coordinator at the Dole Institute of Politics. The Dole Student Advisory Board is committed to the bi-partisan mission of the Institute and members receive many great opportunities to give back to the community, network with incredible guests, and more. I've met Presidents, activists, and global leaders, gained incredible mentors, learned the importance of pragmatism, and even had an internship this summer with a foundation that works for women's political equality, through a relationship I would not have had without the Dole Institute. The Dole Institute has become the place on campus that I feel most at home and I'm incredibly thankful for that. So if you're a student and you have not gotten involved, please do so because it is one of the best places that you will ever enter on this campus. And without further adieu, I'm pleased to introduce Dole Institute Director, Bill Lacy. *[applause]*

BL: Thank you very much Christina. Thanks to all of you for joining us today on this incredible day. We're delighted to see that you're all here and that every seat in this place is filled. That's pretty exciting. Now, we allocated tickets specifically for students. There are over about 600 students here today. Are you guys excited to be here students? *[applause/cheering]* You guys could do better than that at the Phog. Let's try it again. Are you excited to be here today? *[applause/cheering]* That's better. Thank you. When Senator Dole created the Dole Institute, he wanted to have a strong student component. He wants students to have a place where they can learn about the importance of civic engagement that Barbara was talking about. We have a special group of students. You met Christina who serves as Coordinator of our Student Advisory Board, but I want to ask all the other SAB members to stand up and be recognized. Guys, stand up. *[applause]*

Now we have several hundred donors here today and we want to thank you for your support and I also want to thank the university and Chancellor Gray-Little for the tremendous support we get from the university because it allows us to do programs like this that are free, completely free, and open to the public. So thank you all for your support, we greatly appreciate that. *[applause]* And I would be remiss if I didn't note that if you'd like to join our Friends program and support the Dole Institute while receiving great benefits like tickets to this event, which several hundred of you did, please see our contact info on today's program. The Dole Leadership Prize is awarded annually to an individual or a group that have served our country in an exemplary manner. Previous recipients include President George H. W. Bush, the Women's Air Force Service Pilots of World War II, former Polish President and Nobel Peace Prize winner Lech Walesa, among others.

Today's recipient is receiving the award for his Presidency and specifically for his ability to work on a bi-partisan basis to achieve many of his administration successes. There is a \$25,000 cash award that goes with the Dole Leadership Prize. I am very pleased to announce that our recipient today has chosen to donate that award back to the Dole

Institute to seed our new women [*interrupted by applause*]. That money will seed our new Women and Leadership lecture which we plan to introduce in the next couple years. Our recipient's commitment to bi-partisanship can be fully seen in one of the thousands of amazing historical artifacts from the Dole Institute Archive. It's a handwritten note on a White House card from 1997 that reads, "Dear Bob, I enjoyed our visit and Socks loved his from President from Leader. If a dog can reach out to a cat, who knows what wonders of cooperation the next year might hold. Sincerely, Bill." [*applause*] It's my great honor to welcome to the University of Kansas and the Dole Institute, the recipient of the 2015 Dole Leadership Prize and the 42nd President of the United States, President Bill Clinton. [*applause/cheering*]

BC: Thank you. Thank you very much, Bill. I thank you and Barbara for your work at the Dole Institute. Thank you Christina and all of the Student Advisory Board members. We just had a picture backstage and they were all organized with a gap in the middle and I ran and filled the gap and I told them, "When these pictures come out, it's going to look like you went to a wax museum." [*laughter*] We found this old, little pasty model and gathered around him.

I want to thank a number of people who are here with whom I served to work in some capacity or another, including your former Governor John Carlin who was also the archivist of the United States when I was here as President. [*applause*] Governor Kathleen Sebelius who was Secretary of Health and Human Services [*applause/cheering*] and a man for whom I will, to the end of my life, have a special debt, former Congressman Jim Slattery, thank you for being here. [*applause*] The last thing Jim said to me as he walked away from the line a minute or so ago is, "I'm still number 218," referring to the fact that I passed my economic plan in 1993 designed to reverse the one Bob Dole believed in, by one vote. And it was an expensive vote for a lot of members of Congress, though I believe it led to the longest economic expansion in American history in peace time and eventually four budget surpluses in a row for the first time since the 1920s.

There are a lot of other people here, too many to mention, but Bob Dole called me a couple days ago and he said that he was especially grateful, given the fact that I'm here to talk about bi-partisanship, for two people in this audience who have been both strong supporters of the Dole Institute and of me and our family, Sue Ellen and Harvey Fried. If you find people that like us both, that's the beginning of bi-partisanship. So I thank them. [*applause*] I want to thank my personal assistant without whom I could not function, a graduate of the University of Kansas, Hannah Rickert, who's been with me every day since I left the White House. I want to thank her. She's here today. [*applause*] Every March she always picks Kansas in the basketball pool in our office and half of us just go along with her. One of my Secret Service agents here whose father was one of my details heads when I was President, who played football here, Rashad Spriggs is here, I thank

him. *[applause]* I now have a scheduler from Kansas and her parents are here, Jean Miller, thank you for the Millers coming and Roshann Parris is here who advances for me. She lives in Kansas City so I could tell her one more time that Kansas City had the most complete baseball team I have seen in the last 30 or 40 years. *[applause/cheering]* I want to thank also, finally, your Chancellor, Bernadette Gray-Little for welcoming me here.

Eleven years ago I came here to launch your lecture series and I was honored to do it then because I always like Bob Dole and I always admired him and because even when we knew we were going to be running against each other for President, we found a way to work together. I think we need to be serious about this topic today. We can all say, "Well here we are at a university, we have comfortable lives, we'll pat each other on the back, say isn't it nice that we're nice to each other." This is a much more serious subject. For the polarization of American politics is present not just in Washington but in American life. You just look at how many of our collective bigotries we have overcome in America in the last hundred years. We are less racist than we used to be, we are less sexist than we used to be, we are less religiously bigoted than we used to be, we are less homophobic than we used to be. We have one remaining bigotry--we don't want to be around anybody that disagrees with us. Now, we're laughing but you know it's true. We don't even want to watch television news we disagree with.

My late mother-in-law, whom I adored, Hillary's mom, lived with Hillary in Washington when she was a Senator and Secretary of State until she passed away at almost 92. And she was the most liberal member of our family, but she forced herself to watch an hour of Fox News every day. *[laughter]* Now, we're laughing and I sat down with her once at the table, we were drinking a cup of coffee, watching Fox News, and I said, "Dorothy, why do you do this?" And she said, "First, I want to know what they're saying and I want to make sure I can answer it. And secondly, nobody's wrong all the time and nobody's right all the time." She was a remarkable woman, but I never will forget my little lecture from my mother-in-law, who was then 90 years old.

I have a couple of introductory things I want to say about this and then I'll try to give you some examples. We live in the most inter-dependent age in human history, not the most trade-dependent age, actually the wealthiest countries in the world were slightly more trade-dependent as a percentage of GDP before World War I than they are today. And I might caution you in considering this issue seriously that a lot of elite opinions in all the countries of the world then, thought war was unthinkable between the great economic powers because they were so economically inter-dependent. It turned out to be wrong and that is because none of us are completely economic animals. And in the end, the question of how we relate to each other in America is part of the larger identity challenge that is a function of the age of inter-dependence which goes beyond trade to travel and basically total immersion of instantaneous access to information of all kinds, the power of

technology, the rise of the social media, the staggering capacity of a simple cell phone to do good and evil. That's what we live in.

The headlines are, by definition, mostly negative. The trend lines, however, are not. For example, in 2000 the United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals, calling for big reductions in international poverty, empowerment of women, putting girls in school on an equal basis with boys, dealing with the challenges of climate change in an economically sensible way. We didn't meet all those goals, but we made a lot of progress. More than a billion people moved out of extreme poverty. We're moving toward parity in many places in educational opportunities for girls and boys. There's been more economic empowerment of women and a lot of it was done by the cell phone. We all know a cell phone can be used to detonate a bomb, but when the first President Bush and I worked in South Asia, after the tsunami more than a decade ago, and then I was asked to stay behind for two years to work for the UN, we put every family that had lost a fishing boat back in the water. And if the fisherman had been killed then who else wanted to go, got the boat, and they went. But this time, we gave every single one of them a cell phone and for the first time in their life in Indonesia and southeast India, in Sri Lanka, they could find out what the price of fish was up and down the coast and average incomes increased by 30%.

We know that Boko Haram continues to terrorize northern Nigeria and the surrounding areas, but our Clinton Health Access Initiative is part of a global effort to try to save a million children under 5 from waterborne diseases--diarrhea, dysentery, cholera. 80% of all the people who die are under 5. For 50 cents a person, a simple oral rehydration therapy and zinc packets will save their lives. It's never in the press, but we're making our goals in Nigeria and we are disproportionately working in those same areas.

So the first thing I want you to know is that in this great age of inter-dependence, good things and bad things are going on; most of the bad is rooted in a self-concept of negative identity. That is, in order for me to think well of myself, I have to think less of you to the extent that you are different from me or my religion or my ideology as I define it. To the extent that we are making progress, it is almost always the product of networks of cooperation rooted in positive identity, that is, "Hey, I kind of like who I am. I'm proud of my race, my faith, my gender, my whatever it is, but I think what we have in common matters more. So why don't we figure out how we can work together?"

Now, what's that got to do with bi-partisanship at home? Everything. First of all, I could fill this vast auditorium with the surveys, the social science surveys proving that creative cooperation among diverse groups works better than closely-held decision making by like-thinking elite. If we can miraculously here identify the person in this audience with the highest IQ and take you to the nearest really cushy room and give you whatever you wanted for the next two days and the rest of us poor souls are locked in this auditorium

with stale coffee and then the same set of questions were fed in to this auditorium and to that room for two days, we would make better decisions than the lone genius. There's a book which illustrates this written by a journalist named James Surowiecki called "The Wisdom of Crowds." If you define success as the empowerment of individuals to improve their wellbeing and that of their families and their communities, groups make better decisions if they are diverse and they reach across lines of experience and understanding and knowledge.

Second, you live in a country with a Constitution that has made us the longest continuously existing democracy in history because it mandates compromise. The founders almost bent over backwards to slow down the train of undebated thought because they were very concerned about the prospect of unlimited government power to do arbitrary things. So they gave us an Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branch. And they gave us state and local authority with explicit responsibilities not enumerated in the Constitution. Then they required two-thirds vote to pass a treaty or to override a veto or to escape, excuse me, a veto. And they did a lot of other things, basically to essentially say, "You guys got to work together here." Why? Because they were the founders, creatures of the enlightened. They believed there were few final victories in politics, in economics, in social policy. They believed the most important thing was to set in motion the progress of debate and resolution, debate and resolution, debate and resolution, moving forward, so that they would be thrilled to see the things going on around the world today that involve multiple stakeholders trying to reach consensus and mortified that the capitol is often ground to a halt over ideological divides.

A couple days ago, I was in Jacksonville, Florida and Jacksonville is a fairly large city but also the city county government is united. It's a vast land mass. And it's the site of one my foundation's Health Matters initiatives efforts to get people in the community to work together, get all the stakeholders together to increase health outcomes. So Jacksonville has an interesting problem: it's got the largest amount of urban green space in America, more than New York City, almost 80,000 acres and yet it has the third highest pedestrian fatality rate in America because of the way those spaces are not connected and not necessarily related to traffic patterns which include people walking around. They were all gathered there to talk about how they were going to get rid of this problem and how they wanted to deal with the other lifestyle related health challenges they faced, including reasonably high rates of diabetes and other problems.

The point is, everybody was there. The Republicans and the Democrats showed up, the people in healthcare and the people in business, the people in education. There was a widely diverse representative group of the ethnic and religious makeup of the county and they'll do that. They will succeed in doing what they're trying to do and I urged them to use it to take on some of the bigger challenges we all face.

Now, I think about this a lot. In Little Rock, where I'm going to spend the night, I have a Presidential library and a school of public service and we offer only graduate programs, one and two year programs, but half of the time of the students is spent in the field, figuring out how to turn their good intentions into positive changes. They find without exception to succeed over the long run they need partners, so that their identity I hope will be more positive. The second President Bush, President George W. Bush and I have joined together in a Presidential leadership scholars program which includes, with the support of his father's library and the LBJ library, and we just had our first graduation and it's for younger people in their 30s mostly who are starting out in a wide variety of careers with great promise. And it is nothing, if not politically diverse. But after they spend time going through this program together and then they stood up and told us about their experiences, they felt more strongly than ever that with the right attitude we could solve the problems of America and do the right thing in the world.

One of the things that I always liked about Bob Dole is that he could fight you like no tomorrow, but he never closed the door to actually doing something that might benefit a real person. There's a big difference. He worked with Senator Moynihan, my wife's predecessor in the Senate in New York on Social Security. He worked with Senator George McGovern to establish the food stamp program. He supported voting rights and its extension, for 20 extension without fail for 25 years. When I was President and after we had opposed each other in the Presidential campaign, he served as Chairman of the International Commission on missing persons in the former Yugoslavia to find out what happened both in Kosovo and Bosnia after the terrible conflicts there.

In 2000, Bob Dole and George McGovern agreed to come in and help Senator Jim McGovern from Massachusetts--no relationship--and me to pass a \$300 million program in the Congress to provide a free nutritious meal to children in poor countries, but only if they came to school to get the meal. And we made available in the poorest countries in the world just as we were trying to give debt relief to them in what was called the Millennium Debt Relief Initiative. That \$300 million increased school enrollment, think of this, by 6 million. In the poorest countries, it only cost \$50 a person a year then to give them a nutritious meal. He was interested in that.

After I left the White House in the aftermath of 9/11, Bob Dole and I joined together to help fund something called The Families of Freedom Fund, in which we proposed to provide higher education assistance to the children and spouses of everyone killed and disabled on 9/11, regardless of their citizenship. There were for example, more than 200 people from the United Kingdom who were killed. There was an enormous amount of racial diversity and no small number of Muslims who were killed on 9/11. And since then, our goal was to raise \$100 million. That fund has already awarded \$118 million in financial aid. That's just something we did together because we thought it was the right thing to do and it's been really, really rewarding. It's also been good for our country.

A lot of you know that Senator Dole was one of the movers behind the American's With Disabilities Act for good reasons, working with primarily Democratic Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa. A couple of years ago, I saw him in a wheelchair on the floor of the Senate asking them to ratify the International Convention on Disabilities and explaining to reluctant members of his own party that this would not do anything bad to America because we have the highest standards for disability rights in the entire world, but it could take people like him, when he was young, deeply injured and give them a chance to have a fuller life. He didn't win that fight, but I think eventually we will win it and as long as I live, I'll remember Bob Dole in his wheelchair talking to the members of the Senate about the imperative of recognizing that not only human dignity but the human potential of everyone, without regard of their physical abilities.

If you go on the Dole Institute's website, there's a letter that he wrote about his recuperation from the wounds he suffered in Italy, about how he's adapting to life with his disabilities. He downplayed the pain and barely mentioned that he'd already gotten himself elected to the State Legislature. He got a degree and a law degree after the war and with that, that's just tacked on. But here's what he said, "Though rehabilitation is an endless task, I feel confident that the most difficult period has passed. I have not made any appreciable economic gain, but I have salvaged happiness and security out of bitter disappointment by rebuilding shattered dreams and reshaping aspirations. I give thanks to God for this opportunity which was denied to many who made the supreme sacrifice."

That experience kept Bob Dole in a place that enabled him to balance his enormous political skills and his great ambition with the understanding that life is fleeting, things can change, and ultimately what makes a democracy work is whether it responds to the challenges of a given moment and that rarely happens when political paralysis takes over.

This year marked the 20th anniversary of a number of events which had a lot to do with my presidency, but listen to them and think if they have any relevance to our current challenges. This was the 20th anniversary of the bombing of the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City. This was the 20th anniversary of the donnybrook we had which led to two government shutdowns, but also in 1996 the passage of the balanced budget bill which gave us three surpluses in a row when I was President and left another one when I left office. It was the 20th anniversary of the ceasefire in Northern Ireland which led to peace there. The 20th anniversary of our decision to give financial assistance to Mexico when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. And I have to say that when I hear all this stuff about immigration and Mexico, how we need a five story wall along the Rio Grande River, I never hear anybody say, "There was no net in migration of undocumented people from Mexico from 2010 to 2014." In fact, the numbers went down and apparently, according to an article I read last week, they're going down again this year. Why? Because we helped them to build a self-sustaining economy. I'll talk a little more about

that later because Bob Dole supported me in that. The 20th anniversary of the slaughter of 8,000 men and boys in Srebrenica and Bosnia that led to NATO's military action and the end of the Bosnian war which claimed a couple hundred thousand lives and made 2.5 million refugees, the worst ethnic cleansing since the end of World War II. Most of the victims were European Muslims and interestingly enough, the late Pope John Paul the Second called me within a few days of the King of Saudi Arabia, both of them pleading with me to do something to save their lives, across the lines that divide.

It's the 20th anniversary of the normalization of our relationships with Vietnam. 58,000 Americans were killed in that war, many, many more Vietnamese. They're still working with us to find the remains of soldiers that were lost there and they are now our strongest ally in Southeast Asia.

Why am I telling you all this? Because the bi-partisanship issue is just one piece of this huge coming together and the identity crises that it creates. We live in a world with a lot of instability, a world with a lot of economic inequality, a world threatened by the growth of population and the depletion of resources, and the looming specter of climate change. And there is not an end of power but a dispersal of power. So in the face of insecurity, the most predictable path going back to the beginning of humanity and people coming out of caves and clans is to stick to your own kind and try to just push everybody else away as much as you can. But in an inter-dependent world where you can't get away, where actions anywhere affect people everywhere, it's probably not the best choice, which doesn't mean we shouldn't worry about legitimate security concerns; it just means we can't escape each other.

The real question of the 21st Century is not whether Americans will live together but on what terms. The real question of the 21st Century is not whether we will live with people all around the world but on what terms. Will our inter-dependence be positive or negative? Human nature being what it is, it's a little bit of both but it is clear that for everyone of the young people here, the students, for the children you hope to have, the grandchildren I hope you live to see, our job is to build up the positive and reduce the negative forces of our inter-dependence to try to keep big bad things from happening and make as many good things happen as possible and make sure people understand what the promise, as well as the peril, is of the age in which we live. Believe it or not, if I could do it, I'd give up being President to be 20 again and take my chances because I think there's a good chance this will be the most peaceful, prosperous time in human history, a time of breathtaking scientific advances in which all the bad things we're worried about will probably not be quite as bad as we feared and the good things we hope for will probably be more bountiful than we dreamed, but only if we understand that the world is full of positive and negative forces that nobody has as much absolute power as some governments once did and that every person, whether in government or not, just in your workplace or in your citizen space, working with or supporting a non-governmental effort

has a responsibility to maximize the possibilities and minimize the perils. And it all begins with the idea that what we have in common is more important than our interesting differences.

In 1998, on a bi-partisan vote, we passed an amazing budget which included doubling the budget for the national institutes of health and had the last big chunk of money of the \$3 billion of your tax money, I spent to sequence the human genome. The best money we ever spent; you got a good return on investment. There have already been in excess of \$800 billion in economic activity generated from that. San Diego, long known as the naval capital of America, is now the human genome research capital of America. There are 700 computer companies alone that have been formed there just to do aspects of this scientific research--in New York, Sloan Kettering; in California, Dana Farver; in Texas, MD Andersen; in Memphis, St. Jude's Children's Hospital; in Los Angeles the path breaking research of a Chinese, South African-American doctor named Patrick Soon-Shiong--they're all made possible because of the advances in the human genome.

I've talked to two or three doctors who work in this field just in the last ten days and I asked them the same question and got a resounding yes to both when I said, "Do you actually believe that we might get to an 85% or higher survival rate for all forms of cancer within ten years?" All three said, "Absolutely," because of what we have learned about how to get the human body to defend itself and how to attack tumors. Now, all the years that I worked with Bob Dole, even when we were fighting, we only had one unresolved disagreement and that was over healthcare and I couldn't blame him because, heck, he wanted to run for President and that was okay. But no matter what else we were doing, in the end, I kept my door open, he kept his open, we never lost our sense of humor, and we found a way to try to do what seemed to be best for the American people.

This Mexican peso crisis was really interesting. I was talking to you about it before but on the day that I had to help Mexico, Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich were for me and they wanted the Congress to vote to do it, but there was an article in the morning paper that said by 81 to 11, the American people were against my helping Mexico. Keep in mind, this was early '95, we hadn't fully recovered from the economic difficulties of the late '80s and early '90s, and everybody had these preconceptions about Mexico. But Bob Dole knew it was the right thing to do and when they paid the money back three years early, with almost \$600 million in interest, even his own members had to say, "Well, you were right and we were wrong."

But I want to bring it back. Something happened to him, laying in all those hospital beds, struggling to recover his movement, learning to have a discipline of gratitude because at least he had lived when so many others had died. That made it possible for him to identify with other people, so that no matter how hard you fought or how much you disagreed, you didn't want to dehumanize people to the point where when it came right

down to it, you couldn't join hands with them and do what had to be done to keep going forward. That is the essence of the test we all face today. Look at the faces of all those young people who committed murders in Paris and you realize that they had been swayed in a very different direction, to believe there at the very beginning of their lives there was somehow more glory in a premature death that claimed the lives of anonymous innocent people than there was in getting up and going to work the next day and trying to learn something useful and use it to change other people's lives.

So this celebration of bi-partisanship, yeah, we've fed a lot of people on the McGovern-Dole food program around the world. Now, there are all these poor kids; we started 15 years ago, so a lot of them are grown now. Their lives are different now and they don't know who Bob Dole is and they don't know who Bill Clinton is, but they do know that they're alive, they're healthy, they have an education because people who had a certain responsibility decided it would be a good thing to work together.

All those people whose hearts were broken on 9/11, who lost loved ones or had them horribly disabled but who got aid to begin again with their own lives and get a college education because Bob Dole and Bill Clinton, two people that are probably largely irrelevant to the young people's lives, hustled up a bunch of money from other people and said, "Why don't you give us something to send these kids to school? It makes a difference."

So let's come back to the genome. The genome, yes, will raise your chances of surviving any kind of cancer and will, I hope, one day provide a cure for ALS and a lot of other totally debilitating diseases. We're already making real progress with Parkinson's and Alzheimer's. But no matter what you think you care about, as a citizen, the most important finding of the human genome has already been made. It is that every non-age related difference you see in this audience--you think about this when you go out now--every non-age related difference, body size and shape, skin color, eye color, hair or lack thereof, even gender is rooted in one-half of 1% of your genome. Now, if you're a scientist, let's be fair since you got 3.6 billion genomes, a half a percent is a pretty good number.

But still, it means that we are 99.5% the same and yet, this is not just politics, don't we all spend 99.5% of our time thinking about the half a percent of us that's different? Really, don't we? We are in this sports frenzy period where we're coming to the end of an exciting football season and we're beginning basketball season and, I don't know how many times, I'm guilty, I'm not going to point the finger at you, I have walked down the street, bypassed let's say a department store window or something that's got reflection and thinking, "You know, if I had a body like LeBron James, I would've gone in a different line of work." [laughter] Haven't we all done it? "I wish I were a little taller, a little this or a little that."

But it is an act of supreme arrogance to believe that our differences are more important than our common humanity and is a recipe for disaster in an inter-dependent world because it unleashes us to act on impulse in a dehumanizing way to other people. We live in a country with a Constitution that puts limits on everybody. I got in an interesting argument once with another of my political adversaries whom I liked very much personally, not Bob Dole, whom I like also, but this guy was not as accommodating. And the reason I got into this argument is that he said, "You really believe we should all be treated the same, don't you?" I said, "I do." He said, "We don't believe that. We believe there should be one set of rules for us and another set for you. If you believe we should all be treated the same, there are some things you just won't do, aren't there?" I said, "Absolutely." He said, "That puts you at a terrible disadvantage."

Now, here's what I want to say to all of you, I don't care if you're Republican, Democrat, Independent, or whatever, we know the Constitution mandates compromise and we know that groups make better decisions than small homogeneous elites. And we know that everywhere in the world where people are practicing inclusive politics and inclusive economics to get inclusive societies, good things are happening. And everywhere in the world, someone believe that they are in so much possession of the truth, they have the right to kill innocent and anonymous people at random or just spend all their time fighting good things that are not happening. This is not rocket science.

And the findings of the human genome, that we're 99.5% the same, simply confirm the teachings of all great faiths. The New Testament's "Love your neighbor as yourself." The Torah, "He who turns aside a stranger might as well turn aside from the Most High God." The Koran, "Allah put different people on the earth, not that they might despise one another, but that they might come to know one another and learn from one another". The Dhammapada of the Buddha, "You are not fully human until you can feel the arrow piercing another skin as if it were entering your own body." So I ask you to think about that.

The great struggle in America to restore some sort of balance to our politics is a reflection of the awful anxieties that many of our people feel because of the combination of economic disappointment and cultural conflicts and change. We learned, for example, just this week, two Nobel Prize winning economists saying that life expectancy for white non-college educated working people in their middle years is dropping because of increased alcohol consumption, prescription drug consumption, and a variety of other destructive behaviors. But really, they're dying from a broken heart.

You don't ever want to get to the position where you don't have something to look forward to when you get up in the morning. Bob Dole became Bob Dole instead of some tragic victim of World War II because he had the will and discipline to find something to

look forward to when he got up in the morning. And then he saw it in other people's lives. It turned out, there were some things he just wouldn't do, as a result of which, he got a lot done.

I like all these debates. I like a good fight as well as the next person. But in the end, the Constitution was set up so that it might've been subtitled, "Let's make a deal." [*laughter*] Go read it if you don't believe me. And we voters, those of us who can't run for anything, we have to remember that we sometimes feed this. We feed it if we only want to be around people we agree with and we feed it if we don't vote in elections just as well as if we do. Nobody gets off scot-free here, but if you want public service that addresses the great challenges of the age, a serious attempt to restore broad based prosperity, and a serious response to the security challenges we face that does not require us to abandon our basic values but does make us a safer country but still an inclusive one, we gotta go back to that.

Two final things, the most important political book I've read in five years was not written by a politician or a political scientist or even a historian, but by double Nobel Prize winning microbiologist named E.O. Wilson, who most of us know because he has warned us for decades that we are destroying species on planet earth at the most rapid rate in 10,000 years because of the way we develop. This book is less than 250 pages long, if I remember correctly. It's the called "The Social Conquest of Earth." And in it, Dr. Wilson attempts--and so far as the evidence will permit--to describe the life, all life on planet earth going back to the emergence of single-cell organisms from the primordial slime and then the differentiation of species. And he says that, "Any reasonable look at all history," including pre-history based on the evidence, "would lead you to the conclusions that of all the species that have ever existed on earth, the four most successful are ants, termites, bees, and people." [*laughter*]

E.O. Wilson is the guy that taught me 20 years ago that the combined weight of all the ants on earth is greater than the combined weight of all the people on earth. That's a lot of ants. [*laughter*] There are species in Africa, for example, that when being chased by predators, a bunch of them will just go up on the tallest sprig of grass and sacrifice themselves so that everybody else can get away. There are termites in South America in hot and wet climates that build underground housing with five holes, one to go in and out of, the other four are simply for air conditioning.

I myself last summer, when my daughter and I were on our foundation trip to Africa, went to this elephant preserve in northern Kenya. It's one of our partners in trying to preserve the African elephants and with my own eyes saw three different anthills that were more than five feet high. One was about six feet high and it was built around a tree, like a hotel with its own shade tree. Bees, you know all the things they do. Wilson's point is this, he said, "So there's ants, termites, and bees and then there are people. The

difference is we have two things ants, termites, and bees don't have and we have far greater potential for good because of our consciousness and our conscience. We haven't just evolved our patterns of communication. We can think and grow quickly and feel." But he said, "Because we have these, we are prone to arrogance and therefore we're always just dancing around the edges of our own destruction and hazardous times, but every time we come right up to the brink, we have instead done what was necessary to go forward." And he's almost 90 now he said, "I'm betting that's what we're going to do again."

So I will say again, the history of bi-partisanship, which the Dole Institute seeks to advance, which Senator Dole's career embodies, both in office and after he left, the stuff we've done together, is an example of the triumph of cooperation over conflict, an example of diverse groups making better decisions than homogenous elites, an example of the kind of compromise that our founding fathers sought to drill in to the fabric of American life.

I want to read you something I wrote in my autobiography about Bob Dole. This is when we were running against each other for President in 1996. "After a rocky start in February, Bob Dole won all the primaries in March, wrapping up his party's nomination with a late-month victory in California. Even though Senator Phil Graham who ran to the right of Dole would've been easier to beat, I was pulling for Dole. No election is a sure thing and if I lost, I believe the country would be in more solid and moderate hands with him." That's what I thought when we were in the middle of a campaign, fighting in debates, trying to beat each other's brains out, and that's a good thing, not a bad thing. So I leave you with that.

Next time you think there's no hope and there's no way for us to work out whatever the heck we're fighting about or whatever you're arguing about here, remember the 99.5%. We need to devote a little more time to thinking about that and a little less time than a half a percent. Remember, all the scientists did was uncover what the great fates had been telling us all along. And remember, you live in the most glorious period in history in terms of its potential and one of the scariest in terms of its potential. We are condemned to share the future. The only thing that's open for question is what the terms of the sharing will be and that is for you to decide. Thank you very much. *[applause]*

BL: Mr. President, it's a great honor to give you the Dole Leadership Prize, we thank you so much for coming to the campus of KU today. Thank you so very much, Sir.
[applause/cheering]

[End of Recording]