

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	
001. memo	For the President from Michael Waldman. Subject: Hugh Sidney Interview on the Presidency. (8 pages)	03/28/1999	P5 6186
002. note	Handwritten. Gene Edits USA Accts 4/14/99. (1 page)	04/13/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19945

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FOLDER TITLE:

Hugh Sidney Interview 3/31/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1303

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

COPY

March 28, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN *MW*

SUBJECT: HUGH SIDEY INTERVIEW ON THE PRESIDENCY –
SOME SUGGESTED THEMES

The interview with Hugh Sidey will be an opportunity for you to reflect on your term in office – on how you have changed the presidency, and how the presidency has changed you. This should be seen not only as a chance to discuss the administration's accomplishments, but to flesh out some of the larger themes of your approach to the office after six years.

Remember that this interview will air, edited into an hour long documentary, in one year – immediately after the primary elections are over.

We have attached several perceptive articles on this subject. We have also discussed this with several of your advisers, including Sidney Blumenthal, Don Baer, Doug Sosnick, Ann Lewis, Loretta Ucelli, Jeff Shesol, Joe Lockhart and Jennifer Palmieri. Here are some thoughts.

Overall point. Though the particular episode of the show will focus on the balance of powers, you should always remember that the central mission of your presidency has remained the same regardless of which party controls Congress: to strengthen the nation and prepare America for the 21st Century. The Presidency was designed, as Alexander Hamilton wrote in the Federalist, as the source of “energy” in the government. And as Thomas Jefferson said, the President is the only federal officer “who commands a view of the whole ground.” You have sought to invest the office with energy and commitment – and always to keep the office attuned to the changes going on in America.

The first post-Cold War presidency. You took office after a half century of economic depression, global conflict, and Cold War – a period in which the “imperial Presidency” built a massive welfare state, led a global alliance to defeat the Axis, and then squared off against Moscow. It was a ‘heroic’ presidency for frightening times.

In 1993, you were faced with new challenges that were far more subtle than the bipolar global competition of the Cold War. The great, defining competition between superpowers was over. But new challenges abounded. Above all else, it was a time when the economy was

undergoing a potentially wrenching transition from an industrial economy to an information based economy -- and from an economy and society principally national to one that is increasingly global. As you have observed, the most relevant analogy is the turn of the last century.

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In the face of these changes, the office of the Presidency had to change, as well. It required a new focus on domestic issues; for example, because of the changes in the nature of the economy, you have focused more than your recent predecessors on modernizing education. It has required a greater blending of international and domestic economic policies; that is why you created the National Economic Council and have devoted substantial political capital to advocating open trade (NAFTA, creating the WTO). And where once a President could focus on a few big things -- the rivalry with the Soviet Union, a few massive new domestic initiatives -- the series of smaller challenges at home and abroad have demanded a more incremental approach. (Tom Friedman, in the *New York Times Magazine*, quotes Michael Mandelbaum as saying that if the Cold War were a sport, it would be Sumo wrestling; if globalization were a sport, it would be the 100 yard dash, run again and again.)

In short, from the beginning of your term, you have been in the difficult position of having to chart a new course -- forced to find new definitions of the national interest abroad, forced to confront the turmoil of nationalist forces loosed by the collapse of Communism, required to seek new approaches that meld the need for action with the public's retreat from support for big government.

Using the presidency to forge a new vision of government. You have used the Presidency to help forge a new national consensus about the role of government. Especially for a Democratic President, before the public will readily support new government initiatives, it must first find new trust in government. As you have said, if FDR's mission was to save capitalism from its own excesses, your mission has been to save government from its own excesses, so it can again be a progressive force.

Balancing the budget after 30 years of deficits was the critical element in this strategy. Vital, also, were welfare reform and the crime bill. Public trust in government has risen, gradually but significantly.

You have been very clear that smaller government need not be weaker government. You framed this memorably in two important public speeches. In the 1996 State of the Union, you said: "The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to the time when our citizens were left to fend for themselves. ... Self-reliance and teamwork are not opposing virtues; we must have them both." And in your Second Inaugural, you responded to Reagan's assertion that "government is the problem," saying: Once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem, and government is not the solution. We -- the American people -- we are the solution."

Throughout your time as President, you have come to rely increasingly on the legislative tools of the Presidency. As you have said, in the rush of initial legislation in 1993 and 1994, you risked being seen as a Prime Minister, tethered to the legislative party and judged principally by your success with Congress. Passing legislation is still central to your Presidency and your legacy: the 1993 economic plan, and the balanced budget agreement of 1997; the Crime Bill and gun control legislation; welfare reform; whatever decision is made about the surplus.

But you have also drawn on the other ways a President can lead the nation:

- the Bully Pulpit – as when you led the nation in mourning after the Oklahoma City bombing ... when you have challenged the nation to a dialogue on race ... when you have endorsed local efforts, such as curfews and school uniforms, that have helped bring public order to communities.
- executive action – such as the series of welfare waivers that affected rules covering 80% of recipients even before comprehensive legislation was enacted; the steps in 1998 to extend the protections of the Patients' Bill of Rights to Medicare, Medicaid, veterans and government health plans; regulatory actions, such as the FDA's efforts to protect children from tobacco.
- the array of foreign policy initiatives, ranging from military action to trips (such as your trip in 1998 to Africa) designed to change public perceptions of a region.
- strong appointments to the agencies and the bench.

Finally, you have seen it as a central responsibility to make certain that the nation does not turn to isolationism, but instead shoulders its responsibility of global leadership. This is one of the now-traditional roles for a President at least in this century, and one that is no less urgent today.

QUESTIONS FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON
The Presidents: In Their Own Words
PBS

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Here are the questions that Hugh Sidey will be asking, along with some suggested approaches you might take in answering.

1. What was the most valuable experience in your life that helped prepare you for the presidency?

2. Was there one special moment when the enormity of being President hit you?

You may want to refer to the first time you ordered the use of military force – the retaliation against Iraq for the attempted assassination of President Bush.

3. Let's look back at your evolution toward the presidency. Did your second grade teacher really tell your mother you would be President some day? What was it in your early years that shaped your interest in politics?

You may want to talk about the impact of the civil rights movement on your early political awareness.

4. What lessons about life and politics did you learn from your mother?

5. You were Governor at age thirty-two. What was it like to be so successful in politics at such a young age?

6. Then you lost your re-election bid. How did that 1980 defeat affect you?

7. You once said, "The God I believe in is a God of second chances." Can you explain that?

8. When you ran in 1992, you said, "You may only be fit to be President when you are not obsessed with it." What did you mean by that?

This seems to be an opportunity to talk about the need for perspective – and the need to focus on the issues, rather than attaining and holding power.

9. How did it feel the moment you realized that you had won the election in November, 1992?

10. How did you feel when you first walked into the White House as President? Can you recall walking into the Oval Office or up to the living quarters for the first time as President?

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11. You appear in an episode on the balance of power – a balance created by James Madison. How hard is it to exercise presidential power in an era of divided government and intense partisanship?

- You have been struck by John Marshall's notion of strengthening the nation and widening the circle of freedom, and strengthening the Constitution. So the balance of power, like all elements of the Constitution, has changed to reflect new demands and new notions of liberty and human rights.
- You have had to seek progress at a time of divided government, and you have succeeded in doing so. At least at first, it offers a greater opportunity for 'grand bargains' such as welfare reform, balancing the budget that unite both parties.
- You have always taken the view that as President, you should not give in to the intense partisanship of this era.

12. How has the Office of the Special Prosecutor impacted the power of the presidency?

NOTE: You can answer this question in a cursory manner, and it will diminish the chance that they will use this section. You could say: The historians will have to judge that.

X 13. 1998 was a difficult year for you personally and professionally. During the impeachment process the issue of character was raised. From your own experience, how important is that issue of character for a President?

Character is, of course, very important. I believe the best measure of character for a President is whether he fights for what he believes in; whether he perseveres, and goes to work every day on behalf of the people; whether he is willing to make difficult decisions and take tough stands because he believes they are right.

14. The American people spoke out loud and clear throughout 1998. What did you learn about the power of the people and the role the public plays in exercising political power?

As I have said repeatedly, I believe that the American people always get things more or less right.

I believe that the views of the people were ultimately far less important than the strength of the Constitution and the system it established.

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15. How do you think the media has altered presidential power?

The profusion of new media – the 24 hour cable channels, the Internet – has had a significant impact on the Presidency. Some of it good, some of it bad.

First, the good. On the one hand, it has offered you a chance to get your message – direct and unfiltered – to the broadest possible public. Now, any citizen can download a speech or the budget within minutes of it being delivered. Even routine Rose Garden remarks are now broadcast live nationwide.

On the other hand, the hyperactive media environment forces the White House, and, in fact, all public institutions, to respond much more quickly to events and the political to-and-fro. Where once all of America got its news by tuning in to Walter Cronkite or Huntley and Brinkley, now different audiences hear different things. By fragmenting the means through which the public gets its news, it makes it harder for the nation to engage in a real debate and form a common view on common challenges.

16. What do you want historians to say about your presidency?

This question would be an opportunity to talk about some of the central themes: preparing the nation for the challenges of the information age and global economy; modernizing the Presidency in the post-Cold War world; forging a new vision of government.

17. Given the increased restraints on the office, do you think our Madisonian system of checks and balances is working? Where do you think the presidency is headed?

Yes, I do think that the system is working.

Don't know how to answer that.

The Presidency is above all a highly flexible office, one that changes to meet the personality and strengths of the occupant and the felt needs of the time. I remember that after the 1960s and 1970s, many people worried that the Presidency as an office was in some way broken -- that no person could succeed in it. (You will recall that Lloyd Cutler wrote some articles to this effect.) Then Ronald Reagan came in, with confidence and a committed philosophy, and made it clear that the office was still there to be used.

So while the Presidency is not likely to be the same as in the era of the Cold War, it will no doubt be central to the progress of the country.

18. Is it significant that you are the first member of the "sixties generation" to have attained the presidency? How has this helped you, and what problems has it caused?

Yes, it is. I believe above all that the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s had a huge impact on me and my views.

COPY

Similarly, the women's movement

NOTE: I think it does not make sense to embrace what I assume are Sidey's assumptions about the 'anti-authoritarian' 1960s. The Civil Rights movement, and secondarily the Women's Movement, in fact continue to have the most profound and positive impact on the nation.

19. How important has Hillary Clinton been to your presidency? How would you describe her role in the White House?

20. Has the presidency changed you?

You could make several points:

- You have increasingly learned, through your years in office, of the difference between the presidential role and the prime ministerial, legislative role.

-Over time, you saw the importance of focusing on a few items. When you came into office in 1993, after 12 years of Republican government, there was a huge amount of pent-up demand for action on a wide array of issues. You tackled big issues (such as the budget deficit) but there was so much activity, the legislature was overloaded and the public was confused about what was happening.

- You have struggled against the tendency to become isolated in office. You saw other Presidents succumb to the tendency to lose touch with ordinary citizens, or to become cocooned by protective staff. This has magnified their mistakes.

21. What is your mark on the office?

You still have one quarter of your term left, so in some ways this question is premature.

But you could talk about focusing, for the first time, on the array of issues that will undoubtedly define the first years of the 21st Century – education, the role of technology, globalization, new threats such as bioterrorism, weapons of mass destruction, rogue states and ethnic wars. You have sought to manage the transition from a principally industrial economy to an information-based economy, and in contrast to other eras when such shifts were accompanied by social upheaval, we have achieved it relatively smoothly.

You also restored fiscal discipline to the nation's government after three decades of out-of-control deficits. It is likely that the path of fiscal discipline will guide the nation for

years to come. In so doing, you have sought to restore faith in government, and in our common ability to set goals and meet them. If this perception shift occurs, that will have significant and positive consequences for your successors.

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You have also found a way to use the bully pulpit in a new era. And by focusing on kitchen-table issues such as health care and education, you have reoriented the Presidency toward those things that matter most

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AND TYPE

SUBJECT/TITLE

DATE

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001. memo

For the President from Gene Sperling. Subject: White House
Conference on the New Economy. (7 pages)

03/26/2000

P5 6187

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24501

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FOLDER TITLE:

WH Conf. on New Economy - Greenspan

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2006-0467-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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COPY

March 26, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA

FROM: GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON THE NEW ECONOMY

This memo provides you with suggestions from your economic team on topics and speakers for the New Economy conference on April 5. It also provides you with alternative options for some of the panels and breakout sessions. Your guidance about which ones you prefer would be very useful.

BACKGROUND

As part of our overall economic strategy, you are hosting the White House Conference on the New Economy on April 5. The goals of this conference include: (1) reiterating that you and your economic team are continuing to monitor the most compelling issues in the economy; (2) demonstrating that the have and will continue to be on top of the most cutting edge New Economy issues; and (3) presenting a serious, non-political – yet newsworthy – conference by focusing on most of the cutting edge New Economy issues in a more unscripted manner than in the past.

The conference will host about 150 people. The audience will represent a cross-section of economic viewpoints and represent a variety of categories, including prominent academic and Wall Street economists, opinion leaders, corporate leaders, venture capitalists, finance, labor leaders, non-profit leaders, civil rights organizations, and women's groups. The goal is to have only brief presentations by the speakers and to stimulate a larger discussion and debate with meaningful participation from the audience.

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR THE CONFERENCE

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The conference will consist of three panels held in the East Room, an address by Greenspan, and five breakout sessions, including four in the Residence Parlor Rooms and a fifth in the Roosevelt Room. You would moderate most of the panels.

9:00-10:30 am Introductory Remarks by the President

Panel Discussion I: Is the New Economy Rewriting the Rules on Productivity and the Business Cycle?

Paul Volcker
Paul Romer (Stanford University)
James Galbraith (University of Texas)
Carly Fiorina (Hewlett Packard)
Meg Whitman (eBay)

10:45-12:15 pm 5 Breakout Sessions: See options listed below

12:15-1:15 pm Buffet Lunch – Mix and Mingle

1:15-1:45 pm Opening Remarks by the President / Address by Alan Greenspan

2:00-3:00 pm Panel Discussion II: Closing the Global Divide, What Comes First: Health, Wealth, or Technology?

Bill Gates (Microsoft)
Fernando Espuelas (StarMedia)
Kofi Anann (United Nations)
Nick Stern or Michael Kremer (World Bank Chief Economist nominee / Harvard University)
Amartya Sen (Cambridge University)
Carol Bellamy (UNICEF)

3:15-4:10 pm **Panel Discussion III: See options listed below**

4:10-4:15 pm The President makes brief closing remarks

OPTIONS FOR THE THIRD PANEL DISCUSSION

(Option 1) Stock Market Volatility and the U.S. Economy

Warren Buffet (Berkshire Hathaway)
Abby Cohen (Goldman Sachs)
Robert Shiller (Yale University)
John Doerr or Mary Meeker (Kleiner Perkins / Morgan Stanley)

Most of your advisors believe this would be an exciting panel that would maintain interest to the end of the conference. We have good reason to believe that Warren Buffet will want to participate.

Our advice would be that, in order to avoid commenting on markets, you would not moderate this panel. Even with this precaution, Secretary Summers strongly objects to us doing this panel. He feels it is inconsistent with our traditional focus on policies impacting the real economy and the financial markets, and that it is inappropriate for us to be sponsoring something focusing on whether or not the stock market is overvalued.

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Advantages:

- Would address the most controversial, front-page economic issue.
- Would be almost guaranteed to be a lively debate.

Disadvantages:

- Inconsistent with Administration policies for reasons listed above by Secretary Summers.
- Little to gain from this panel because it would not highlight any specific policy achievement or remaining challenges for the Administration.

(Option 2) Time in the New Economy: What's Better and Worse for Families and Firms

This is a new suggestion from OMB that has not been fully developed yet. Participants would include Robert Putnam (Harvard University) and perhaps a prominent female CEO and labor market experts.

Advantages:

- Would address how the New Economy is actually affecting people and families in a human way.

Disadvantages:

- Less of a core economic issue than the other topics.

(Option 3) How Technology is Changing the Economy

Meg Whitman (eBay)
Michael Dell (Dell)
Richard Freeman (Harvard University)
Rajat Gupta (McKinsey)
Jack Welch (General Electric)
Chris Galvin (Motorola)

Advantages:

- Directly about an issue at the heart of the new economy.
- Chairman Greenspan's speech is likely to be on this topic; this panel would provide an opportunity to extend the discussion.

Disadvantages:

- The overlap with the first panel and Greenspan could make it duplicative.
- It may lack the edge we are trying to create.

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(Option 4) Is a Debt-Free U.S. Government Good For America's Economic Future?

Henry Kaufman (Henry Kaufman & Co)
Robert Kuttner (American Prospect)
Peter Peterson (Concord Coalition)
Arminio Fraga (Brazilian Central Bank)

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Advantages:

- Addresses one of the major questions we face: should we do more spending, more tax reduction, or more debt reduction?
- Would have a financial market interest in discussing what public debt reduction and elimination would mean for the financial system.

Disadvantages:

- May be difficult to control the discussion to ensure that our message of balanced and responsible priorities gets out.
- The debate may be too predictable.

(Option 5) All for One? Widening the Circle of Opportunity in the New Economy

Larry Katz (Harvard University)
William Julius Wilson (Harvard University)
Ray Moncrief (Kentucky Highlands)
A woman that would represent in the economy like Candice Carpenter (iVillage)

Advantages:

- Would address a major domestic challenge.
- Would directly touch on groups and issues not addressed in the other plenaries.

Disadvantages:

- It would be harder to turn this panel into a lively and engaging discussion with major contrasts.

DECISION ON PANELS

You could choose one of the following for the third plenary panel:

- ___ Stock Market Volatility and U.S. Economy
- ___ Time in the New Economy: What's Better and Worse for Families and Firms
- ___ How Technology is Changing the Economy
- ___ Is a Debt-Free U.S. Government Good For America's Economic Future?
- ___ All for One? Widening the Circle of Opportunity in the New Economy
- ___ Discuss Further

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OPTIONS FOR BREAKOUT SESSIONS

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We will have five breakout sessions. In order to keep these interesting, most of them will have two short presentations of opposing views to stimulate a lively discussion. In addition to two speakers, each room will have about 2 cabinet members and 30 people in the audience. The people mentioned below are just preliminary suggestions for the breakout sessions.

You could choose five of these eight potential breakouts. Note that some of these breakouts duplicate the plenary panel options; if you choose a panel option, we probably should not have the corresponding breakout session also. You should also let us know where you have better suggestions or presenters.

___ **Reforming the IMF and the World Bank**
Stanely Fischer (IMF)
Martin Feldstein (Harvard University)

___ **Globalization and Jobs**
Tom Friedman (New York Times)
Jay Mazur (UNITE)

___ **Have We Had Too Much Debt Reduction?**
Robert Kuttner (American Prospect)
Robert Rubin (Citigroup)

___ **Is the New Economy Good for Public Service, Philanthropy, and Civic Involvement?**
Colin Powell (America's Promise)
Patty Stonesifer (Gates Foundation)
Kathleen Kennedy Townsend (Lt. Governor, Maryland)

___ **The Next Stages of the Internet and Its Impact on the Economy**
Hal Varian or Louis Gerstner (Berkeley / IBM)
Esther Dyson or Reed Hundt (Edventure Holdings / McKinsey)

___ **The Future of Energy**
Bill Ford (Ford)
Daniel Yergin (Cambridge Energy Research Associates)
Amory Lovins (author)

___ **All for One? Widening the Circle of Opportunity in the New Economy**
William Julius Wilson (Harvard University)
John Chambers (Cisco)

___ **Time in the New Economy: What's Better and Worse for Families and Firms**
Robert Putnam (Harvard University)
Female CEO

___ **Discuss Further**

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POTENTIAL PANELS / BREAKOUTS FOR NEW ECONOMY CONFERENCE

(Those Pending Are In Italics)

I – PANELS

1. Is the New Economy Rewriting the Rules on Productivity and the Business Cycle?

James Galbraith (University of Texas)

Hal Varian **Yes or No?**

Robert Gordon / *George Perry* / Bill Nordhaus **Which one?**

INTERNET CEO (By Preference) *Kim Polese*, *Carly Fiorina*, Bill Hambrecht, Nick Grouf

Abby Joseph Cohen

Warren Buffett

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2. Closing the Global Divide, What Comes First: Health, Education, or Technology?

Amartya Sen (Cambridge University)

Bill Gates

James Wolfensohn (World Bank)

Mirai Chatterje (SEWA-India)

Nancy Birdsall (form. InterAmerican Dev. Bank) or *Michael Kremer* (Harvard) **Which one?**

(Do we want Larry Summers on this panel?)

3. Can New Economy Tools Empower Government and Civil Society?

Robert Putnam (Harvard University) (Attending)

Kaleil Tuzman (govWorks.com) (Attending)

Esther Dyson (Edventure) (Attending)

William Julius Wilson (Attending)

Candice Carpenter (iVillage), Fallback: Idit Harel (CEO MaMaMedia – high-tech for kids)

II – BREAKOUT SESSIONS

1. Is a Debt-Free U.S. Government Good For America's Economic Future?

Robert Kuttner (American Prospect)

Henry Kaufman (Henry Kaufman & Co) or Roger Altman

Moderator: Gene Sperling

2. Avoiding Risks to our Economic Expansion

Robert Shiller (Yale)

Diane Swonk or Alice Rivlin or Abby Cohen (Goldman Sachs)

Moderator: Martin Bailey

3. Business, Energy, and the New Economy

Mack McLarty

Ken Lay (Enron)

Moderator: Secretary Richardson

(Low Interest Likely in This Panel)

OR

All for One: Who's Being Left Behind in the New Economy

Bob Greenstein

Isabel Sawhill

Moderator: Gene Sperling

4. Globalization and Jobs

Fred Bergsten

David Smith (AFL-CIO – Director of Policy)

Susan Collins

Moderator: Sec. Summers/Sec. Herman

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5. The Next Stages of the Internet and Its Impact on the Economy

Hal Varian (If not on 1st panel) David Ellington (NetNoir)

Mary Meeker

Bill Hambrecht

Moderator: Sec. Daley/fallback -- Beier/Kalil

(All 4 To Talk)

KEY DECISIONS -- NEW ECONOMY CONFERENCE

1. **ROLE OF CABINET:**

Proposed: No Cabinet On Panels
Sec. Summers, Martin Bailey give 3 minute statements after POTUS opening
OR Do we have Summers on Panel II and have Martin speak from Audience.
Rest of Cabinet Called on During Discussion
Some Cabinet moderate Breakouts

COPY
POTUS opening

2. **PRESS COVERAGE: (PRESS OFFICE RECOMMENDATION)**

Proposed: Panels Open
Limited Number Of Print Correspondents Allowed In Room (Depends On Size)
10 Elite Media (editors/columnists) in audience – **YES OR NO?**

3. **PANELS:**

Proposed: (SEE ATTACHED)

4. **BREAKOUTS**

Proposed: 1 or 2 Administration Moderators
Panelists speak for 5 minutes

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	
001. memo	For the President and Michael Waldman from Eric Liu. Subject: State of the Union. [partial]. (3 pages)	12/19/1997	P6/b(6)
002. note	Handwritten. [Note for Farewell Address] (1 page)	01/2001	P5
003a. memo	To Josh Gottheimer from Paul Begala. [with Jeff Shesol marginalia] (1 page)	01/05/2001	P5
003b. memo	For the President from Paul Begala. Subject: Farewell Address. (4 pages)	01/02/2001	P5 6188

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24760

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FOLDER TITLE:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [3]

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2006-0467-F
vz1335

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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January 2, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL BEGALA
RE: FAREWELL ADDRESS

A few thoughts on how you should say goodbye to the Nation:

1. One Message: We, The People.

Your presidency has been a creation of the American people. Not the elite, ersatz aristocracy that has always hated and feared you, but the people. When the elites in the Democratic Party were swooning over Paul Tsongas, the people picked you. When the elites in Washington said you'd have a failed presidency in your first hundred days, the people stuck with you. When the elites in the media said you had to go, the American people stepped in and saved your presidency. Perhaps more than any man who has held that office since Andrew Jackson, you have been a President of the people and for the people.

Your farewell address should reflect that. Rather than laundry-listing accomplishments (which the library, the memoirs and the historians will do), your speech should focus on one facet of American life and the American character. Washington warned against foreign entanglements. Ike cautioned against the military industrial complex. And Reagan warned us to never lose our American optimism. To reduce your Presidency to programmatic achievements is to ignore its soul. And in light of an election in which the loser is taking office, I think we need to lay down a marker that at least someone still believes in democracy.

2. Break With Tradition.

In the Television Age, farewell addresses have been delivered from the Oval Office. While that worked for someone like Ronald Reagan, who was at his best when he was alone with a camera and a TelePrompTer, you're at your best with people. As we've discussed, I'd fill the State Dining Room with a hundred Brianne Schwantes-type people. Folks the media's never heard of but whom you've helped and inspired, and who in turn have inspired you. They cannot be raucous and must be cautioned that this cannot appear to be a pep rally, but the live audience will elicit your best performance.

3. Keep it Short.

The networks are only going to give you ten to fifteen minutes for this. The draft I have attached is about 1,300 words, which you should be able to deliver in eight to ten minutes. The only thing I did not take a crack at is a nod to Senator-Elect Clinton. That has to come from your pen.

Let me know if I can help more after you've read the attached draft.

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton**COPY****Remarks Prepared for Delivery****The State Dining Room**

My fellow Americans, I am speaking to you tonight from the State Dining Room in the White House. I am joined in this historic room by scores of ordinary Americans I've met over the last eight years, citizens whose names are not familiar to the power elite of this beautiful capital, but whose everyday heroism has been the real story of our time.

I've asked them to come here in a slight breach of tradition because, rather than talk to you alone from the Oval Office, I want to say goodbye the way I governed: with the American people by my side.

First, I want to thank you for the extraordinary honor you have given me. To live in this house, to serve this Nation, to carry a few steps forward the torch first lit by George Washington and passed on in unbroken succession. And in a few days I will pass that torch on to the son of the man who passed it to me.

*Thanks
at end
Grace note
to GWB*

He is a good man from a family that has given three generations in service to the land we love. No one knows the challenges we will face in the years to come, but everyone must know that all Americans will stand united in support of our new President.

For two hundred and twelve years that has been the story of America. Our strength lies in our unity; brilliantly diverse people brought together not by a common race or a common religion or language or culture. But by a common dream. And that dream has been the blessed tie that has bound us, one to the other, as one people, one Nation, one common destiny.

But just a few short years ago those ties were frayed. It seems amazing to think about it now, but less than a decade ago serious scholars were writing of the inevitability of American decline. Politicians told us we were all in this alone; that We, The People, could accomplish nothing by common action; that somehow our government had become the enemy of our freedom.

But the American people knew better. They knew that our government was neither the problem nor the sole solution, but rather an instrument of our common will, built on the rock-solid foundation of our Nation's sacred text, the Constitution. And that Constitution calls us – each generation of Americans – “to form a more perfect Union.”

And so we did. Rather than surrender to the hollow voices that proclaimed defeat, we sought to renew the bonds between the government and the governed. And with dedication and determination, We, The People have truly worked wonders. We offered

opportunity to all, demanded responsibility from all, and worked to build a community of all Americans. And from the power of those simple principles, all else flowed

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We turned the worst recession since the Great Depression into the strongest, fairest, richest economy in the history of humanity. We turned the most colossal federal deficits of all time into the largest surplus ever recorded. We took on old and intractable problems of crime and dependency, ignorance and apathy, and made more progress in less time than even the most optimistic analysts thought possible. We stood strong for equality, for the strength of our diversity and for the simple proposition that we are all Americans, all children of God, and all entitled to opportunity and dignity. We summoned a new generation of young Americans to a season of service – and they answered the call. We took the values of ordinary Americans and made them the cornerstone of American leadership in the world. We took risks for peace, tried to bridge ancient hatreds, increased trade with our neighbors, and struck with awesome force to defend the innocent and punish tyrants.

acc. Burp.

~~And so the true legacy of our time lies not in programs or policies, but rather in the principle that in every generation this great Nation can and must renew itself. And that renewal must always come from the American people, flowing up to the person who lives in this great house, not the other way around. For when we trust the people, when we are truly the United States of America, we are unstoppable.~~

* *real legacy: renewal*

John Adams was the first President to live here, and 200 years ago, after his first night here, he wrote to his wife Abigail these words: "I pray Heaven to bestow the best of blessing on this house, and on all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof." Franklin Roosevelt so loved that prayer he had it etched into the marble over the fireplace in this room. It is a beautiful prayer, one that every occupant of this house should take to heart. But with all respect to Mr. Adams and Mr. Roosevelt, the key to the success of the American Experiment has never really been the men who have ruled under this roof. Rather, it has been the countless millions who live outside it. Their honesty, their wisdom, their decency and common sense has been the eternal key to our enduring greatness.

really nice (but long) nod to people

That has never been more true of any of my predecessors than it has been of me. And for that I want to personally and profoundly thank the American people. When I was the fatherless child of a widowed mother in a hidden corner of a small state, you gave me opportunity. When I was crazy enough to dream of serving in this office, you gave me a chance. When I was tired you gave me your strength. When I was uncertain, you gave me your wisdom. When I stumbled, when I sinned, you gave me your forgiveness. And when I was on the right path, fighting for you, you gave me your support.

The men – and one day women – who rule under this roof will never fully live up to Adams' ideal etched in marble. This house for the next 200 years will know more bright days of triumph and dark nights of tragedy. Presidents for centuries will walk – or wheel – these halls, gaze at the portraits of the good and the great who came before them,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and seek inspiration. But if they are truly wise, they will find their greatest inspiration not from the people who have lived in this Mansion, but from the people who built it, sustain it, and make it the magical place it is.

COPY

My one, final plea to every future inhabitant of this wonderful house is this: You must always, always, trust the wisdom of the American people. The broader our faith in them, the better our Nation has been. From the early days when only white, male landowners could vote, African-Americans were three-fifths of a person and women couldn't own property, we have truly become a more perfect Union. A brutal and bloody Civil War gave us emancipation, and our Union was made more perfect. Courageous women marched for suffrage, and our Union was made more perfect. Black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic linked arms and marched to overcome racism, and our Union was made more perfect. Our gay sons and lesbian daughters are finally recognized for what they are -- our sons and our daughters -- and our Union is made more perfect. Trust the people, and you won't go wrong.

Let me depart as I arrived: Eight years ago I began the journey to this place on a hot summer's night with a pledge to dedicate myself and my Presidency to "those who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids" -- the hard-working people who have always been the soul of our democracy. And now, on this cold winter's night, I prepare to leave this house, and assume what truly is the highest office in the land: Citizen.

God bless you, and God bless America.