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001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Commencemnet Address Penn State University (44 pages)	05/10/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Olympic Dinner (8 pages)	05/01/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: White House Correspondents Association (14 pages)	05/04/1996	P5

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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5-10-96

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

PENN STATE UNIVERSITY

May 10, 1996

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[acknowledgements]

[Thank you for the University Scholars Medal. It is a special privilege to be the first non- Penn State alumnus to receive this award. My wife's family is from Scranton. My father-in-law and brother-in-law both attended Penn State -- and both played for the Nittany Lions. So I have a great feeling for Pennsylvania and Penn State. (Vaught?)

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Penn State was made a land-grant school -- in 1863, in the darkest hour of the Civil War -- because Abraham Lincoln and his contemporaries knew that our nation's future depended on the widest possible dispersion of knowledge. Though faced with the possibility of the Union breaking up, our leaders still were thinking about the future. A great nation must always be thinking about tomorrow. Therefore, even as you relish this day, I ask you to also join me in thinking about tomorrow. You will live most of your lives in the 21st Century, the most remarkable Age of Possibility in American history.

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I have been told that, today, every student is given an e-mail account, and more than one million e-mail messages are sent every day. That is just a taste of the world to come.

~~When you leave this campus today~~, a ~~dazzling~~ dazzling new global economy ~~arises before our eyes.~~ ~~You will have~~ the chance to work with your minds throughout a career, many of you in jobs ~~and industries that~~ you haven't even invented yet. You will have incredible choices -- ~~of~~ in where you live, how you work, ~~how you raise your children~~. You will be able to raise your own children in greater peace and freedom, in the most diverse and vibrant democracy history has ever known.

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~~Will it turn out that way? It depends on your vision and what you do with~~ it.

At least that's what I want

~~What do you want~~ America to look like, ~~as we~~ move toward the Year 2000, ~~as you go into the work~~ world, as you raise a ~~family, as you take your place as the next~~ generation ~~of leaders of this great nation?~~ ~~Your children will be raised in the 21st Century, what kind of America~~ do you want them to ~~inherit~~?

In the fall of 1991, at my alma mater, Georgetown University, in a series of three speeches, I set forth my vision of America ~~in the 21st Century~~, and a strategy for realizing it.

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My vision was then and remains now: First, and America in which all Americans willing to work hard have a chance to live out their dreams; Second, an America that remains the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity; Third, an America that is not being driven apart by our differences but instead is coming together around shared values and respect for our diversity. Like my wife, I believe "it takes a village" ~~to~~ all our people working together to make the most of our lives.

To build that kind of America, my strategy was then and this remains to meet our challenges and protect our values by creating opportunity for all Americans; increasing personal responsibility among all Americans; and building strong communities in which all Americans work together to enhance the common good.

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These are the values that have made America strong. These are the values that have guided my actions as President. And I believe, more strongly than ever before, that these are values that must guide our nation as we cross the bridge into a new century.

~~Today, and at other commencement addresses in the weeks to come, I want to discuss how we can protect our enduring values and meet our challenges in the remaining years of this century; how we can build by creating new opportunity, building new responsibility and building a strong, caring community in America~~

~~- opportunity . . . to build a better future for ourselves and our children.~~

~~- responsibility . . . to make the most of our own lives.~~

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~~... community . . . people bound together in~~ a ~~network of mutual responsibility that enhances all our lives. Like my wife, I believe "it takes a village" of people working together to make the most of our lives.~~

want to talk about my vision for America's tomorrow, about what we have done since 1993 to

As I did in 1991, I ~~will discuss how we can~~ expand opportunity here at home, and to keep our nation the strongest in the world, ~~what we have done since 1993~~ and what we must do. Compared to four years ago, and how we can build a stronger American community both here and around the world. there is clearly more opportunity: the deficit is less than half of what it was; access to education is increasing; we have renewed our commitment to a clean environment and safer streets; and we have 8.5 million more jobs, low inflation, record numbers of new businesses and exports.

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But there is much more to do to give all our people the chance to succeed.

Compared to four years ago, the world is safer and more peaceful; the nuclear threat has diminished; peace and freedom is taking hold, from Haiti to South Africa to Northern Ireland to Bosnia to the Middle East. But there is much more to do to fight terrorism, organized crime and drug running, weapons proliferation, and global environmental threats. I will discuss ~~them~~ these challenges at greater length in future speeches.

Today, I will start with what is perhaps our most basic challenge: rebuilding the American community by inspiring a new commitment to personal responsibility ~~for ourselves, our communities and our nation.~~

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What you have done to get here today is itself an act of responsibility. ~~You have honored yourselves and your family by working hard and getting your degree.~~ And your personal achievement also serves America well: ~~because the future of our economy depends on all our people acquiring~~ we need more people with much higher levels of education and the ability to keep learning for a lifetime. ~~That is the only way we will create an economy in which everyone has a chance to win.~~ ~~But as admirable as your achievements are, we must do more if we are to master~~ this moment of change ~~through which we are living~~: we need this kind of peer pressure from all our citizens ~~more of our citizens must follow your example~~ in ~~acting responsibly, and all of our citizens, meaning all ages~~, must apply the lesson of your success to our common work as a nation.

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We are living through the most profound period of change in how we work, live, and relate to each other and the rest of the world in 100 years, since we moved from the agricultural age into the industrial age. At the turn of the century, people who for generations had lived their lives by the rising and the setting of the sun moved from the country to the city, where they woke to the din of the streetcar and went home at the sound of the factory whistle. The new century offered them vast new opportunities. It also presented great challenges: many people's lives were uprooted, but not improved. And for many, not only their ~~lives~~ livelihoods, but the values they lived by were threatened by change.

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In response to the challenges of that time, a gifted generation of reformers, led by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, worked to harness the power of the national government so that it could extend the benefits of the industrial era to all Americans, to curb its excesses, and to enable our ~~forbears to move forward economically, and~~ proper their family community to preserve ~~our~~ values. They launched what we know as the Progressive Era.

The antitrust laws, the child labor laws, the early (3) environmental protection laws -- all were designed to protect our values ~~while~~ (1) to we harnessed (2) the positive forces of the new industrial age, to give everyone a fair chance, ~~to enable us to move forward as a nation~~.

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The Progressives built the foundation of what became the American Century, a century in which America won two world wars and the Cold War. . overcame the Great Depression . . . ~~and established conditions that led to~~ achieved decades of economic growth, scientific breakthroughs, more opportunities for women and minorities, a cleaner environment, remarkable security and good health for our seniors and the largest and most prosperous middle class in history.

Today, we are living through another time of profound change. ~~At the end of the Cold War, at the dawn of the information age and the global economy, the future has fewer moorings, fewer fixed stars, than the world of your parents.~~

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~~These changes affect the way we work, the way we govern ourselves, the way we face the world~~. Like the dawn of the Industrial Age, the Information Age offers vast new opportunities. But it also presents great challenges -- people whose lives are uprooted, but not improved; ~~and perhaps most important, our families~~, ~~our neighborhoods~~, ~~the~~ values ~~we live by~~ strained by the pace and scope of change.

When I was growing up, Americans could walk the streets without fear of violent crime. Having children out of wedlock was rare and a source of shame.

Welfare was a temporary way station for widows and orphans.

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It was not a perfect time; women and minorities did not have the opportunities they have today. But in neighborhoods across America, people noticed when you were born, cared about you while you lived, and missed you when you died.

For too many young people growing up today, that world exists only in black-and-white reruns on television. In our toughest neighborhoods on our meanest streets, we have seen a stunning and simultaneous breakdown of community, family and work -- the heart and soul of civilized society. ~~We have all grown too numb to reading about horrible crimes.~~ And a child growing up today sees so much of it almost becomes numb to it required.

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But when a six year old in California is arrested for trying to murder a baby in its cradle -- and the witnesses are eight year olds who had broken into the house to steal a tricycle -- then we must recognize that something has gone terribly, terribly wrong.

I refuse to accept the breakdown of the family, the collapse of community, as irreversible failures we can only mourn. We can mend our social fabric -- because we have done it before. Our mission now must be to do what the Progressives did in their day: use our enduring values to find new solutions for changing times.

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THE PRESIDENT HA..

Of course, government has a role to play -- but not the same role it played for most of the 20th Century.

The world has moved away from big bureaucracies with top-down solutions. ~~Today,~~ government ~~is chief worth~~ is to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives. ~~But if we need a smaller government~~, we ~~also need a larger national spirit~~. ~~Government alone cannot meet our challenges~~. But ~~we as Americans can~~ ~~and we as a nation must.~~

~~In this great endeavor~~, our most powerful force is the force of personal responsibility ~~beginning with the responsibility each American must take for his or her own life~~.

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~~So many of our problems are caused by our failure as individuals to meet our~~ responsibilities. ~~This~~ is especially ~~true~~ when it comes to ~~any~~ society's most fundamental requirements: strong families and safe streets. So many of our problems are caused by the lack of personal responsibility.

The teen mother who leaves school for a life on welfare. The father who walks away from or abuses his family. The criminals who prey upon us and the neighbors who turn their backs. We must join forces and say: We will not tolerate any of these things anymore.

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We as a society must be willing to give people a chance to escape lives that are destructive for themselves and costly for the rest of us. That is our responsibility. But we must also insist that people help themselves and assume responsibility for making their own lives, and the life of our nation, better.

WELFARE AND FAMILY BREAKDOWN

I took office determined to
~~We knew when I took office that when it came to welfare that we had~~ to end a welfare system that trapped people in a lifetime of dependency. That Instead of demanding responsibility, it let fathers bring children into the world, turn their backs, and walk away.

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Instead of strengthening families, ~~it~~ gave teenage girls a check to move out on their own if they had a baby.

That is why, for fifteen years, as a Governor and as President, I have been working to ~~reform~~ welfare, from a system that encourages dependency to one that insists on independence, work and responsible parenting. ~~Four years ago, I called for an end to welfare as we know it. Our strategy was straightforward:~~ Impose time limits on how long people could stay on welfare. Require work as a condition for receiving benefits. Crack down on parents who skip out on the child support ~~they owe~~. Support parents who want to do the right thing with education, job placement, and child support.

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In the past three years, by executive action, we have set in motion what *The New York Times* called a "quiet revolution" on welfare. We have cut through red tape to give 37 states the freedom to reform welfare, imposing time limits and requiring work. I signed an executive order to make federal employees pay their child support, and strengthened the national government's role in child support enforcement across state lines.

Now welfare reform has reached 75% of the people on welfare; for them, the rules have changed, and with positive results.

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Welfare rolls have dropped by 1 million. Food stamp rolls are down by a million and a half. Child support collections are up 40 percent, to a record $11 billion. And teen pregnancy has levelled off, even gone down a bit.

Still, nearly one third of the babies born in America are born out of wedlock, and a great many of them end up on welfare. A few days ago, my administration took an action so that should force teen mothers on welfare to be more responsible. Every state will have to require teen mothers to stay in school, sign "personal responsibility contracts," and turn their lives around, or lose their benefits.

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There is more to do. I am working with members of Congress to enact bipartisan legislation that would overhaul the entire welfare system, insisting on more responsibility from parents, supporting the goals we want for all Americans: independence, work, responsible parenting.

Even though this is an election year, we are within striking distance of bipartisan agreement on sweeping reform that will impose time limits, work requirements, and the toughest child support enforcement ever. All that remains is for Congress to decide that politics can wait; let's finish the job -- this year -- to make responsibility a way of life, not an option.

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But no matter what government does, we will never reverse decades of growing dependency and family breakdown ~~by government alone~~ without more city lemon. As we improve our laws, we must inspire our communities to take more responsibility, to break the cycle of children having children. Too many of these young people don't have the kind of discipline, love and guidance it takes to grow up into responsible adults.

Church groups, neighbors, and parents all need to send young people a clear message: We care about you, but you must take care of yourself. Don't get pregnant or father a child until you are ready to take responsibility to raise that child -- because having a baby outside marriage is bad for the child, bad for the mother, and just plain wrong. And you can't walk away from your child support duty -- and we're going to crack down, tell them they're going to have to work for it,

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But you cannot be a good father if all you do is send a check. As the parents in this audience know, being a father or mother means being around -- helping with homework, teaching right from wrong, serving as an example of how to live your life. Every child deserves two parents.

Holding men responsible for their actions also means taking seriously the crime of domestic violence. Last year, more than 1 million Americans were the victims of domestic violence, many of them women on welfare. So we passed the Violence Against Women Act, which puts more prosecutors and more resources in the fight against domestic abuse. We launched a national hotline, which helped nearly 10,000 women in its first week alone.

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~~Here again, all of society must start treating domestic abuse like a violent crime, not a dirty secret.~~

Harassment across state lines for dealing w/ Pain. For example. Many insurance companies today refuse to cover medical costs for women who have been abused. They call being battered a "preexisting condition." To those insurance companies, I say: don't discriminate against these people who need our help, not a cold shoulder.

CRIME

Just as we will only solve our welfare problems if we take responsibility for our own families and the troubled families in our midst, we will only solve our crime problem if we take responsibility for our communities. & troubled families in our midst.

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I took office determined to bring a new approach to fighting crime. Determined to punish criminals -- not make excuses for their behavior. Determined to prevent crime by giving our young people something to say "yes" to. ~~And above all~~, determined to restore the role of the police at the center of every neighborhood in America. ~~It is a remarkable fact that during the thirty years when violent crime in America went up by 200%, the number of police officers on our streets increased by only 10%~~. In too many communities, law abiding citizens went into hiding behind triple-locked doors, as drug dealers and gangs took over their streets.

Determined to own its back to law-abiding citizens
in communities since inception that the rule-

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the past three years, we have put in place a comprehensive strategy to fight crime and prevent it before it happens. Since 1994, the Brady Bill has already stopped 60,000 felons and fugitives from buying handguns. We took 19 deadly assault weapons off the street. We said to violent criminals who prey on us again and again and again: three strikes, and you are out. You are going to jail for the rest of your life. We said to those who murder law enforcement officers: you will get the death penalty. But we also understand what every police officer in America knows: the best way to fight crime is to reach our young people before they ever turn to crime in the first place.

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That means you can't leave making our streets safe to the police alone. Citizens, too, have a responsibility. We helped communities keep schools open late, so teens have somewhere to go beside the street corner. We have launched drug courts to give nonviolent offenders the chance to get off drugs before they end up in jail.

I believe the most important thing our crime bill is doing is to fulfill a commitment I made during the 1992 campaign -- to put 100,000 new police officers on the street in community policing.

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Community policing puts officers on the street, in the neighborhood, ~~learning the territory~~, working with neighbors to spot criminals, shut down crack houses, ~~and~~ stop crime before it happens. getting to know folks on the beat and encouraging them to stay away from crime. ~~Nothing is more reassuring than the silhouette of a police officer~~, ~~standing under a streetlight on what would otherwise be a dark and lonely street.~~

But
~~Again~~, community policing only works when there is a <u>community</u> to work ~~working~~ <u>with</u> the police. ~~In every community where citizens have worked with police, block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood,~~ Wherever this happens crime is down. That is why violent crimes have dropped; In Cover
~~why we have one of the biggest drops in the murder rate in 30 years~~ Baltimore now —.

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In Lancaster County, a two hour drive from here, our community police program put 12 new officers into the downtown area. They patrolled on foot, bicycle, and horseback. They worked with the community. And crime dropped by a remarkable 67%.

We are moving in the right direction, ~~But we cannot stop now. In the years to come, it is especially important that we use what we have learned as we face down the~~ one area of crime ~~that~~ is still rising: youth violence. ~~We will do much more about youth crime. We have a~~ drug strategy ~~targeted on the young . . . we are taking on gangs the way we took on the mob.~~ 100,000 new police officers will ~~make a difference~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we cannot rely on the police alone to teach our young people right from wrong, to give our young people a good future to look forward to and the character and values to walk into that future. Parents and neighbors must do that. And they must be involved as never before.

Now, as we move toward the Year 2000, I want to challenge Americans in every community to join the fight, especially against youth crime. It's going up because there are too many kids out there who are raising themselves, alone on the streets, vulnerable to drugs, gangs, and violence,unable to imagine a path that winds up with a degree at Penn State.

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Today, there are 20,000 neighborhood watch groups in America. If 50 new people joined each of these groups, we would have a citizen force of one million new community volunteers to stand with the 100,000 new police, not just to catch criminals, but to keep kids away from crime. ~~Our goal for the Year 2000 must be an unprecedented mobilization of~~ the largest mobilization law abiding citizens in the fight against crime. We must show our young people that their neighbors care, ~~and that their futures are in the hands of all of us. As we take on this sacred challenge, we will be restoring the bonds that unite us as a people~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~We can't leave these kids alone to fend for~~ themselves. It's not just their lives; it's ours. Every tax dollar you spend on putting them in jail is a dollar not invested in education, the environment, or economic growth. < Saving children is how we invest in our future for all of us

COMMUNITY / SERVICE

Mobilizing the community to fight crime is ~~no~~ only one of many things we need new citizen service to do ~~small task~~. ~~We know that~~ in far too many places, in far too many ways, the bonds of community have grown weak. People are working harder, moving more often, spending less time with each other and more time in front of the TV. Even in prosperous, happy neighborhoods, people often don't know their neighbors living right next door.

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So we must restore a sense of the duty we owe to one another as Americans. There are many, many ways to exercise your responsibility to your community.

You have advanced college degrees, a precious commodity; most of your fellow Americans do not. So go out into your community. Give back some of what your country gave to you. No matter what you do or how busy you are, find a way to serve your larger community. The story of your generation, the story of your country, should be the story of how we restore broken lives and shattered promise through citizen service.

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For as we balance the budget over the next six years, we must rely even more heavily on the sense of duty of the American people. We must shrink the government, but we cannot shrink from our challenges.

There is an emerging consensus that we should do much more to help charities, religious institutions, families and individuals to step in where government should not. Leaders in both parties, from Senators Joe Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, to Dan Coats, Republican of Indiana, have proposed reforms to encourage private citizens to assume responsibilities that are not and cannot be fulfilled by government agencies alone.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

For example, making sure every child has a loving home is a national priority. But government isn't going to raise those children -- good parents will. That is why earlier this week, I urged Congress to enact one of the most important of these proposals: a $5000 tax credit to help middle class families adopt a baby.

If you think you are too young to assume that responsibility, there are lots of other things you can do to make your country and your future stronger.

We created Americorps in 1993, a national service program that would give young people a chance to earn their way through college by giving something back to their community and their country.

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Since that time, Americorps has given more than 40,000 young people the chance to serve, working with troubled teenagers, immunizing children, cleaning up the environment.

I am proud that former Senator Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania has taken his gift for inspiring young people to Americorps. And I am pleased that he has rebuilt the bipartisan spirit that created Americorps in the first place.

Today I want to talk about three further steps we can take to give young Americans a chance to give something back.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

First, I have asked Congress to increase funding for work study, so that one million students can earn their way through school by the Year 2000.

Today, I challenge colleges to use this money to help promote service -- to put thousands of college students to work performing public service in our communities. If it makes sense for students to earn money shelving books in the library or working in the Dean's office, then it makes sense for students to earn money helping teen mothers handle their responsibilities, or helping older people get around.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Second, I challenge every high school to make service a part of its basic ethic. Every high school student who can do so should do some community service. Commitment to community should be an ethic we learn as soon as we're old enough to help someone in need.

And third, I challenge every community to help those high school students answer that call. Today, I am prepared to make an offer and a challenge to any school district or civic organization in the country. If you raise $500 to reward a high school student who has done significant work for the community, the federal government will match it.

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This fall I will announce the winners of a nationwide competition to identify those schools that have best encouraged service. Students at those schools will become National Service Scholars. A year from now, I want this to be even bigger. I would like to see every principal in America be able to stand before the graduating class and announce the name of a National Service Scholar. We can make community a part of the life of every high school in America -- and this is a good way to help make it happen.

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CONCLUSION

Responsibility for ourselves, our families, our communities. You here today remind us of the power of responsibility. And this summer, in Atlanta, at the centennial of the modern Olympics, we will see that power again. It will be about more than medals, wins and losses. The real meaning of these Olympics is what can happen when an individual takes on personal responsibility to be the best. We can't all be Olympic champions, but we can all do better. As each of us watches these athletes strive, we should be inspired to continue our education, get new job skills, make the most of <u>our</u> own lives -- and to make the most of the life we share as Americans.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It would not be surprising to our Founding Fathers, who created our country out of their vision right here in Pennsylvania, that this new era, with all its possibilities, would also have a fair share of tough problems. What would surprise them is if we were to give in to pessimism about our ability to improve our situation, or if we prove unwilling to do what plainly must be done. They knew that freedom requires responsibility, for personal prosperity and the common good.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As graduates of this great university, you have been blessed with the richest educational experience the world can offer. As Americans, you have been blessed to inherit the greatest country on earth. Each of you, in your own way, must honor that debt. The 21st Century lies before you. I will do all I can to give you the oportunity to make the most of it -- but you must assume responsibility for yourselves, your families and your communities. If you do, your life will be much happier and you will surely live in America's greatest days.

God bless you, and God bless America.

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96 MAY 1 P6:40

President William J. Clinton

Prepared Remarks

Olympic Dinner

Washington Hilton Hotel

May 1, 1996

cc: Gabrielle Bushman

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5/1/96

[Acknowledgments: USOC President Leroy Walker; USOC Exec. Dir. Dick Schultz; Jim Hardymon, chmn of Textron, a host of the dinner; Steven Green, dinner chair; Anita DeFrantz, senior member of the IOC; Vice-President Gore and Mack McLarty.] → Olympics - H+C Williamsburg | → Olympics, Gore → Olympic Torch Lit →

I am greatly honored to be here with so many American champions, both on the field and off. ~~The American Olympic tradition has been a proud one over the last century~~. America is fortunate to have the Olympics entrusted to us again. ~~As I am sure you know, this is the season for predictions here in Washington about things that will happen later this year~~. ...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

... ~~And I am willing to make one prediction~~: when Opening Day comes this Summer in Atlanta, the world will see America achieving a new national best.

That is the spirit that has driven the USOC for a century. Dr. William Milligan Sloane was the American who helped to rekindle the modern Olympic Games. He was so dedicated to getting his team to Athens for the 1896 Olympics, he gave up his own ticket and his wife's, so the last 2 of the 13 American team members could go. He didn't even get to see the spectacle he had made possible. ~~I hope none of you has to make that kind of sacrifice this year.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I know that you are fulfilling this legacy of dedication. When our athletes line up at the starting blocks, or face off in the wrestler's circle, or the boxing ring, or the basketball or tennis court, we will see the best in the world. And for that, we must thank not only our athletes, who have worked so hard to achieve, but also the United States Olympic Committee.

In nearly every other country, the government pays for their Olympic athletes. Here in America, we do it our way: everyone pitching in, everyone doing their part -- businesses, communities, universities, neighbors, friends and families, standing behind our athletes and making sure that they have the support they need.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

No one can win alone, not in athletics, and not in life.

The athletes who will take the field are Team USA.

But all of us, in our own way, are part of Team USA.

And on your behalf, I want to thank the American people.

A special word of thanks should go out to the members of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, many of whom are here tonight. Under the guidance of Billy Payne, organizers have worked for nearly a decade to make this day happen.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And the city of Atlanta invented a new kind of public-private partnership that is a model all our communities should look at: Citizens, corporations, union leaders, craftsmen, and volunteers joined with a national effort that we have helped with to make Atlanta shine.

Earlier today, the Vice President and I met some of your extraordinary champions, Olympians and Paralympians, who are using their accomplishments to set an example for young people.

And I want to end by telling you what I said to them, and to the young people at Eastern High School here in the District today:

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This summer, the world will see one America. A place where individual dreams must be realized through our common efforts, a place where all Americans who are willing to work hard can succeed, a place where we have different points of view and different heritages, but a place where, like our Olympians here, and all of you, we come together as a team, respecting our honest differences and working together to help each of us clear life's highest hurdles together.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

One America -- good for all, where we all work for the common good. This is the America we want our young people to grow up in, and this is the America we see in Team USA.

Thank you. God bless you and God bless America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-4-96

final

REVISED

96 MAY 4 P4:50

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO THE

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS

ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON HILTON

Pool - limited

MAY 4, 1996

Ida Garner & Staff
Julie White - WH

Gillian Anderson
Meals AF1
Pool car - Pool limo

- Carl Leubsdorf
- ~~AP~~ UPI (Mug)
- ~~Sylvia~~
- ~~Gov B~~ → Hotel
- ~~Press~~
- ~~Entertainers~~

4+1

NOTE: "Pool report" is in notebook (attached).

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. I apologize for being late. As you may know, I was at a charity event at Chelsea's school auctioning off a game of golf. That brought in a few dollars. Fortunately, I was also able to generate some serious cash. I auctioned off the loafers I wore the day I shook hands with President Kennedy.

By the way, if anyone here is willing to pay $500,000 for a presidential humidor, I'm happy to go out and buy one.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Despite my delayed arrival, my staff has kept me apprised of the evening so far. This may come as a surprise to you, but you're not the only ones who do "pool reports." Since not every person at the White House can be at every event, we distribute our own "pool reports" on what the press has been up to. Mike McCurry handed me these notes as I arrived. Let's see:

READ POOL MATERIAL FROM NOTEBOOK

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So it seems like you've had a lovely evening so far and Hillary and I are delighted we could join you for the rest of it.

I took a look at the ticket prices and I thought they were awfully high. So tonight, by executive order, I am hereby authorizing the release of one thousand additional tickets.

I'm especially glad to see Howard Fineman here tonight. [Where I can keep an eye on him.] And I mean that. Sincerely.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I'm glad to be here with our other guest speaker. I ~~usually~~ make it a policy not to mention inflammatory ~~talk show hosts~~ Public figures by name. But ~~tonight, I will make an exception to say: I am~~ very pleased to share the dais with the author of ~~:~~ What's His Name RUSH - LIMBAUGH - IS - A - BIG - FAT - IDIOT.

I feel a certain kinship with Al Franken. We both had a rough 1994. I had the mid-term elections and he had "Stuart Saves His Family." But we've both rebounded pretty well.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As much as I enjoyed Al's book, shortly after buying it I came to regret my purchase. That week, his book replaced Hillary's as the number one best-seller.

We have another noted author here with us this evening. Speaker Gingrich. Oh, there he is. Seated over there -- next to the baby raccoon and the iguana.

Mr. Speaker, as long as you are here, let's do a little work on the budget negotiations. You give me my Medicare plan . . .and you can have my mocha puff in chocolate sauce.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's a ~~shame~~ too bad Senator Dole couldn't be here to join us. But ~~at least~~ thankgoodness one of us is free to watch the kids tonight.

I have to admit, that was an interesting question he put forth. But I honestly think most kids would rather stay with me than Senator Dole.

.....They get to play Nintendo in the Situation Room.

.....And Leon has agreed to let us know whenever Barney is about to come on.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But this "babysitter" debate raises only one of many pertinent questions voters must ask themselves before they choose the next president of the United States.

Let's say you were going on vacation for a couple of weeks. Who do you trust to water your plants, Bob Dole or Bill Clinton?

Or suppose you are ordering in a pizza. Who do you trust to select the toppings, Bob Dole or Bill Clinton?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

How about this scenario: Bob Dole is on a train headed toward Spring Valley at 65 miles an hour. Bill Clinton is traveling by car from the opposite direction at 35 miles an hour. Given that the train has twice as far to travel, who do you trust to arrive in Spring Valley first, Bob Dole or Bill Clinton?

These questions may not seem relevant to us, but who are we to question the wisdom of Bob Dole's focus groups?

I believe Senator Dole will regret not keeping Mary Matalin on his team. And Mary, I want you to know, you are welcome on my team. I don't care who you are married to.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As you know, this is the first time in our nation's history a sitting president is facing a sitting majority leader in the fall campaign. It is a difficult situation. Imagine trying to do the job you were elected to do with an adversary breathing down your neck, questioning your every move and waiting for your next misstep. Trent Lott ought to just cut it out.

Many of you have been writing about my "stealth" campaign for re-election. Unfortunately, we hit our first major setback this week when the RNC broke the code on our press releases.

But I'm sticking firm to my strategy.
And it's working.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In fact, according to the New York Times, my vice president is closer to formally announcing his candidacy than I am.

.....By the way, I really want to congratulate the Times on that "Al Gore wants to be president" scoop. The Pulitzer is in the bag.

I know of all you have been asking, for at least six months now, "when's my announcement speech?" In keeping with that "stealth" campaign strategy, McCurry had the idea that instead of a traditional announcement speech, tonight I just give an off-the-record announcement on what he calls "pysch-background."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This way I can give you some insight into my private thoughts on the subject of the 1996 elections.

So if we can all agree on the ground rules, I'd like to give you a sense of the musings of my "inner-candidate." ~~To preserve anonymity~~, you can attribute these remarks to "a source inside the President's suit."

I had occasion to give this topic considerable thought this past weekend as I was going through the Sunday classifieds. ~~God~~ Gosh, there must have been 8.5 million listings . . . all of them at good wages. But honestly, I could not find one job that I'd prefer to this one.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And throughout the primaries, I didn't hear one candidate who was addressing the core economic message that I ran on four years ago. Well, there was Pat Buchanan.

So in lieu of a formal announcement speech, all of you can report on pysch-background that:

- Bill Clinton is under the strong impression that America is a great country and Americans are currently living in the age of possibility.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- Bill Clinton suspects that America is moving in the right direction and we must work together as one America to find ... common ground.

- Bill Clinton is inclined to think that he can help us meet America's challenges with another term of office.

And now I'd like to go back on the record to say thank you and good night: You may report that Bill Clinton said "thank you and good night."

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	RE: Handwritten note (1 page)	05/20/1990	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Anti-Gangs Strategy Session and Announcement of Juvenile Violence Act (2 pages)	05/13/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on Crime Webster Groves High School (18 pages)	05/17/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Latino Voter Registration Project (9 pages)	05/16/1996	P5
005. draft	Sppech Draft: Blue-Ribbon Schools (16 pages)	05/29/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14444

FOLDER TITLE:
May "96 [President Clinton Speeches] [2]

2006-0469-F
db3357

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]

Mission – use your Bus: Meet-call, protect-vol, Mon formed together

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-20-80

Vision – 3 → Am Dr, Am Com, Am Lbry

Thought Bubble – ~~my~~ unity

Nutrition

Nurture – in green
fun
– on own
in – Make Work

Hiring
Health
Espionage
Intelligence
Crime
Family
Jobs/Edu
Economy
Arm D/Security

Econ
ad – conserv/com
crim – corp
env
com – sec
food – welfare

Security/Def
Guerrilla

Shelter – farm/Jar/Ed/Env/Ag/Rego

in reinforced – humility

96 MAY -8 P6:25

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Federal Aviation Administration had been conducting a review of ValueJet since February. And last night the FAA announced it will broaden the review to assure that ValueJet's flights are safe and fully comply with the FAA's requirements. I have directed Secretary Pena to report to me this week on additional measures that the Department of Transportation and the FAA can take to ensure that all our airlines continue to meet the highest level of safety. I'm determined to do all I can to make sure American aviation is the safest in the world.

~~I want to reassure the millions of people who fly every day, American aviation is the safest in the world. And we are determined to keep it that way.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now

I want to thank Attorney General Reno and the United States Attorneys for the work being done to curb youth gangs and juvenile crime. Now To the U.S. Attorneys and police chiefs here today, I ~~offer you the thanks of the American people for the work you have done~~ to ~~track down these criminals and put them away~~. ~~I want to assure you: You are not fighting alone~~. We are determined to do all we can to help you and help America's young people.

-12A-

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REVISED

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.17.96

96 MAY 17 A9:38

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON CRIME

WEBSTER GROVES HIGH SCHOOL

WEBSTER GROVES, MISSOURI

May 17, 1996

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[Acknowledgments: Representative Gephardt, MWC Catherine Jayne, a proud alum of Webster Groves, who works for Secretary of Labor Reich, and who is with us today. When I heard that you just won the state basketball championship, I had to come here to say: MR JOHNSON + congratulations. Thank you to "Jazz Ensemble One" -- that sounds like the airplane I flew in on! -- for the music. I want to thank Jocelyn Grant for that introduction, and for being a model of what personal responsibility can mean to school and community. And Patricia I want to congratulate Principal Voss, the teachers and students of Webster Groves High.]

Mayor Groves Outclaim Supt Gussnier - MAYOR TERRY WILLIAMS
- SUPT. WILLIAM GUSSNIER
- POLICE CHIEF GENE YOUNG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I have come here to Webster Groves because one of the greatest challenges we face as a country is one you face every day: how to stem the rising tide of violence that threatens to engulf our young people. The people of this community are good people; crime is lower than in many, many other places across this country. Yet even here, in recent years, three students have been the victims of gun violence. No community is immune from crime and violence. I've worked on this issue for 3 years, and this week I've tried to focus national attention on the problem of youth violence. Today, I am here because you have shown that a community coming together can make a difference for safe schools and safe streets.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I want to speak especially to those of you who are in high school. You will live most of your lives in the next century, in a time I have called the age of great possibility. You will have a chance to work with your minds, to use your creative powers, as no generation has before. You will live in greater tolerance and diversity than any generation before. But we know this era is a time of great challenge. What kind of America do you want to live in? And how can we achieve that kind of America?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I took office 3 years ago with clear goals in mind. I want an America in which all people, without regard to their race or their gender or their station in life, who are willing to work hard, have a chance to live out their dreams. I want an America that remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want an America no longer being driven apart by our differences, but instead coming together around our shared values and respect for our diversity.

To create that America for the 21st century, we must meet stiff challenges:

1. Strong family : family w, & ITC, teen mentoring
2. Work & Class '90 : Hi Stds, Hi Expect, Students
   Responsibility - Community Service, Work Study
3. Peace : Defense access to EO, Econ, Diplomacy
4. Values
5. Work & Pledge
6. Good world
7. 1st, test of God's - Christmas

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have to do all these things, to give you the opportunity you deserve. But you will never grow up and have the chance to make the most of your own lives if you are forced to live surrounded by the threat of violence, the lure of drugs, of gangs and guns. As a society, we have become too used to a torn social fabric. Crime and violence have been brewing for so long, years before you were born, that they must seem numbingly inevitable.

But crime & riot, drug & gang are not inevitable

I ask you to join with me in saying: I refuse to accept this as a normal, and irreversible, and unavoidable condition. We can repair the tears in our social fabric. We can do it if we work together. We cannot eliminate crime altogether.

We can do better. Can't get rid of crime

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we can work toward the day when it is the exception, not the rule. We can work toward the day when we turn on the evening news, and are surprised if we see a murder. We can do it if we work together -- parents, teachers, students, police, neighbors, business and ~~government~~ -- each taking responsibility, each doing our part.

When I ran for President, I promised a new, tough and smart approach to crime. In my first two years, I worked with Rep. Gephardt and the Democratic Congress to add 100,000 police to our streets. We are now nearly halfway there.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Community police do not work behind a desk ~~or the wheel of a patrol car~~; they are walking the beat, working with communities, reaching out to children, catching criminals, learning the neighborhood, busting crack houses, stopping crime before it happens. ~~We all know the relief we feel, walking down a deserted city street, when the person who steps forward wears a police uniform, not gang colors. Community policing helps build communities as it fights crime~~.

Pro-guns → Brady Bans

~~We took on the Washington gun lobby, and took~~ → Assault weapons ~~handguns out of the hands of over 60,000 criminals~~ → Gun thieves ~~with the Brady Law, and with the Youth Handgun Ban,~~ we took out of the hands of youngsters.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are taking 19 assault weapons off the streets -- and not a single hunter in Missouri or in my state of Arkansas missed a duck or a deer because of it. We toughened sentences, put police on the street, and put in place crime prevention programs to give our young people something to say "yes" to.

All across America, this approach to fighting crime is beginning to work. Crime is down for three years in a row. Murders, robberies, assaults, rapes ... all down. Here in Webster Groves, you're on your way to making this year so far the lowest in overall crime in almost two decades.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But there is one area in which crime is not down. Crime among young people is going up. Drug use among young people is up. People are involved in crime at a younger and younger age. And for you, that means something stark and simple: even if you are not in a gang, even if you never touch drugs, crime that affects you is up.

So as we move to the 21st Century, I am determined that America rededicate itself to giving young people childhoods free from violence. In the years to come, we must focus on youth crime and violence with the same strategy and the same determination that brought the crime rate down. ~~With determination and tenacity, we are acting.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We began by strengthening and expanding the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act. Working with your local police, our program has helped station a plainclothes police officer here at school at all times. I am pleased that earlier this week, Missouri lawmakers agreed to a final version of a new school safety law. Governor Carnehan and the legislature have done right by you and hundreds of thousands of other students, and we thank them.

And we are acting to bring simple order and respect for teachers back to schools. I have said that school districts should consider requiring grade school students to wear uniforms, because they promote discipline and respect. ...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

... And we should make it easier for teachers to remove disruptive students from the classroom. Every one of you can think of a student who made it hard for others to learn.

Earlier this month, at a high school in Miami, we announced a five part drug strategy. For the first time, it is focused on young people: to prevent, treat non-violent activities

And over the past week, we have stepped up our efforts against youth violence.

Last Monday, I met with our federal prosecutors and police officers from across our nation. We plotted out a fresh assault on gangs and gang violence.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[You in this community are lucky: the gangs have not laid claim to your streets. But in a lot of other communities just as quiet, kids are joining gangs.]

~~These~~ gangs terrorize schools and neighborhoods; they peddle drugs, they kill and they maim and they ruin too many childhoods. I am determined to change that, and we will, by mounting the same kind coordinated, unrelenting assault on gangs as we did to break the back of the mob decades ago.

We will help parents protect their children whenever we can. This morning, before I left the White House, I signed "Megan's law." From now on, every state in the country will be required to tell a community when a dangerous sexual predator is in their midst.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Anyone who dares to prey on America's children, should know that the law will follow them wherever they go.

And this past Wednesday, we gave 2500 local communities more law enforcement resources than any day in history to put 9000 new community police on the street.

But we know that all the extra police in the world cannot teach young people right from wrong . And we know that police cannot watch over every young person who makes a life on the street. That's where communities should step in.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So I have called on the American people to join with the police. And I called for a citizen force of 1 million new citizen volunteers to stand shoulder to shoulder with law enforcement officers and work with adolescents to focus on youth crime. → Tells what you do when you take your kids to keeping weapons, drug, violence out of school — For ~~All of this~~ we must do as a nation. ~~But~~ in the end, it all comes down to you. You stand to gain the most as we move into the future -- and you have the heaviest burden to make sure you get there to enjoy it. Nothing we do, nothing your parents say -- nothing on earth will keep you away from drugs or guns ~~if you go looking for them~~ when you decide to stay away.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

You have to do it. You have to look within yourself. You have to think about your future. And you have to realize that drugs and crime and violence will take your future away from you, so fast you won't know what hit you. Don't kid yourself. Drugs, guns, knives -- they don't discriminate, and they will ruin your life if you let them.

Stay away from them. Stay away from kids who tell you these kinds of things are cool. It won't always be easy, but you can do it. And if you do, your future can be anything you want it to be.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

All of America should know that here at Webster Groves, some brave young people have already shown what it means to take responsibility. The national government has put in place a policy of "zero tolerance." That means if you bring a gun to school, you don't come back. That sounds good; it sounds tough. But it means nothing if you do not take responsibility. Last year, as you know, a troubled student brought a gun to school. And two other students set aside fear and the temptation not to get involved. They told authorities. And the school followed its "zero tolerance" policy. ~~That is what I mean by taking~~ responsibility. ~~That~~ took real courage.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

That was good for the school, good for the community, and I will tell you that was good for the country. [*Note: the school asks that you not explicitly say the student with a gun was expelled. Also, the "responsible" students are anonymous, at their request, so do not ask for applause, etc.*]

You have shown what we can do when we all take responsibility. And if all America embraces that spirit of courage and commitment, then the future you will inherit will be our greatest age. Thank you and God bless.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

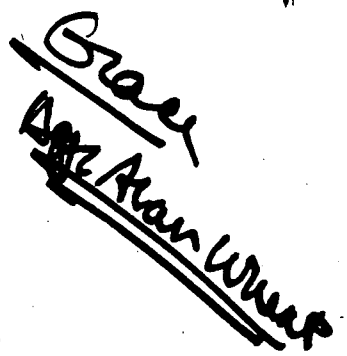
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-16-96

President William J. Clinton

Prepared Remarks

Latino Voter Registration Project

May 16, 1996



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[Acknowledgments: Secretary Cisneros; Antonio Gonzalez, President of Southwest Voter; Hugh Westbrook, Chair of Vote Now '96, and Ann Bartley, the Vice Chair, and Gary Barron, executive director. Dennis Rivera, head of the Hispanic Education Fund; Juan Andrade (ahn-DRAH-deh), director of Midwest/Northeast Voter Registration Education Project (who introduces you).]

I want to thank Juan for that introduction, and for the contributions he personally has made to extend democracy to all Americans. Juan lost his first job, as a civics teacher in Crystal City, Texas, just three days after he started, because he used Spanish to try to help students understand the lessons of democracy. And he was doing a fine job of it, until he was busted.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

At the time, in 1970, teaching in Spanish was illegal in Texas schools. Thanks to Juan and the community that fought with him, it's not illegal anymore, and that's the way we should keep it.

We are here tonight for this historic effort, because of many years of work done by many people, many of whom were unsung for a long time. But that's changing. I am proud that in the last two years, we have honored the memories of Cesar Chavez and Willie Velasquez with Medals of Freedom.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And now, there is a documentary, called "Chicano" that I hope you have all seen or will see. It's narrated by Henry, who does a magnificent job. He and I had the pleasure of watching it recently with Secretary Pena and some of the pioneering leaders for human, civil and voting rights of Hispanics.

A documentary like "Chicano" reminds us all that farm workers in our country have had to fight for basic, humane living conditions and a living wage, and that not so long ago the people of a Texas town were denied the right to elect the city council that would represent them.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It also helps to keep alive the simple and important lesson Willie Velasquez taught us: "*Su voto es su voz*" [soo VOH-toh ehs soo VOHS].

That lesson produced a generation of leaders. It helped to give us more than 5,000 elected Latino officials across the United States.

And now, for the first time, a Hispanic -- Victor Morales -- is a candidate for the United States Senate. It has led to this day when we have an Administration that has appointed a record number of Hispanics to the federal bench [~~16 appointed; more nominated than Reagan and Bush combined]. And we've appointed~~ lo que le sigue more Latinos appointed to high office than ever before in history.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

These Hispanics shaping, protecting and enforcing policy every day. [~~Two of my appointees are here tonight~~: Maria Echaveste, who worked in the farm fields as a child, is now protecting the wages of farm workers and all workers who struggle for a living wage, as head of the Wage and Hour Administration.

~~And Janet Murguia, our liaison to the Congress, works~~ every day on legislation that affects all our people.] The Hispanics in public service are helping us to expand opportunity as never before, not only in government but in employment, education and business. And it all starts with a vote.

Dep Asst

Suzanne Valley Sp Asst Pres-public liaison
Carlos Cuin Sp writer
Grace Garcia, Leg Aide - Sen -
Ray Martinez - Pol Affs Liz Montoya - Press Pers

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The goal of Latino Vote USA to register 1 million new voters and get out 5 million voters to the polls will enrich our nation, strengthen our democracy and help to renew America. ~~It will give America new stakeholders in the future that we face together. That's why we must work together to make this goal a success.~~

Nationwide - 1M - 3x Latinos

That's twice as many as last year [and one-half of them will be in California]. And we are helping in new ways, through new technology and citizenship centers that guide applicants in California, Chicago, Miami and New York City. We are working hard at this because naturalization is the first step for new Americans earn their citizenship.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's especially important now that Hispanic Americans use their vote and voice. This is a pivotal time. Many of the laws being debated on Capitol Hill right now are about issues that concern Hispanics. The decisions made on these issues -- from English-only, immigration and affirmative action, to ~~larger~~ family issues like the minimum wage will reverberate throughout the Hispanic community.

In particular, there are language issues that the Congress has taken up, that go to the heart of the work that you are doing. The bill to make English-only the law of the land [redacted] coupled with another bill to remove minority-language provisions of the Voting Rights Act, they could discourage many citizens from voting, and could hurt the rights of many citizens to cast informed ballots.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This is not a partisan issue; the minority language provisions of the Voting Rights Act has had bipartisan support since the Ford Administration. A generation ago, we fought and got rid of the poll tax, because it was a travesty in a democracy. That's why we will fight any effort now to hurt the rights of every citizen to vote, freely and informed.

If we work together, we can protect the rights of citizenship and extend them to all Americans. We can build on a generation of work by heroes of the Hispanic American community. We can let lawmakers hear every voice. Every American has a chance.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.29.96

DRAFT 5/28/96 11:30pm

96 MAY 28 P11 : 31

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO BLUE-RIBBON SCHOOLS

THE WHITE HOUSE

MAY 29, 1996

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Acknowledgments: V.P.; Sec. Riley; Jill Mahler [introduces you]. Jill attends Mainland H.S. in Daytona Beach, FL. It's a model technology school, where students can download images from the space shuttle or from weather satellites. I wish Jill had downloaded better weather for us today.

All of you comprise a great, living textbook of the best lessons American education has to offer. I look around this tent, and I am filled with hope. There is not a classroom problem that someone, somewhere here hasn't solved. [In the 21st century, I want America to have the best educated population in the world. If we keep doing what you are doing, I know we will.]

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One of the reasons this ceremony is so important is that it honors communities -- not just a single student or a single teacher, but entire schools and the communities that sustain them. The Blue Ribbon Awards are rooted in the belief that schools will work only if everyone does his or her part: If principals set high standards...if teachers teach well...if students work ~~hard to~~ and learn...if parents stay involved.

Reading through the list of schools honored today, I was truly amazed by what you have done **together**. In some schools, teachers have developed revolutionary math and science curriculums.

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In others, parents volunteer in the classroom while the students help out in day-care centers. And there are schools in which the whole community has joined together to kick out gangs and drugs, wipe away the graffiti, and restore safety to classrooms. You are making learning jump off dusty shelves and into the imaginations of tomorrow's leaders. On behalf of all Americans: Thank you.

Every classroom that works -- no matter where it is, no matter who the students are -- shares one basic characteristic: It is a place of high standards. That's where your success lies. And that is what we must challenge every school in this nation to do.

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As I told the country's governors at our education summit in March: We must have high expectations for students; we must make them believe they can learn; we must tell them they will have to learn difficult things; we must hold them accountable; we must reward them when they do well.

This is more important than ever before. We are living through a time of dramatic change, the most dramatic in 100 years. We are moving into the information age -- an age of great possibility. The high school freshmen who will take their seats next fall will be the Class of 2000. They will live the bulk of their lives in the 21st century...

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working with their minds, not their hands...in industries that they haven't even invented yet.

How can we best prepare our young people to meet the challenges of their time? ~~By doing for them what our parents did for us -- teaching them to master the basics of American education: reading, writing, arithmetic.~~

I am proud to say that, with your help, America is ~~going~~ back to the basics. Half of all four-year-olds now go to preschool. When these children get to elementary school, those who need it will find a Title I program that is back on course...

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with a more focused, more rigorous curriculum that challenges all our children to meet high standards. Our high schools are also doing better. The number of young people taking the tough core courses has jumped from 13% in 1982 to 52% in 1994. Math and science scores have risen by one full grade.

But reading scores for American children have stayed flat. That's just not good enough. I believe that every American child should be able to read independently by the 3rd grade. Every American middle- or high-schooler should be able to spend an afternoon with Twain or Cather or Hawthorne.

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REVISED

Every American looking ~~to find~~ for a job should be able to read and fill out an application. We know the kinds of things we need to do: This summer, Secretary Riley's Read/Write/Now Challenge will encourage 1 million young people to keep reading straight through vacation. Let's close the book on low reading scores for good.

We are committed to ~~restoring~~ Ed. Excellence in the basics and in core academics -- like physics, American history, biology, and geography. But we know that this is not enough in this day and time. The challenges we face ~~call for~~ require us to adding **new** basics to our curriculum + citizenship; ~~parenting;~~ and computer literacy -- new basics that build up and strengthen the traditional basics → give young people tools they need to make more of their own lives + ~~contribute~~ make their contribution to

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The first new basic is citizenship literacy. It is in our schools that generations of Americans have learned to be Americans. We all know that we live in a time of tremendous change. We need to do everything in our power to help our children stay true in a world that is trying too often to spin them off course.

We are doing our part: I have hosted two conferences on character education here at the White House. We have funded grass-roots character education programs in our schools. We have made clear that there is nothing in the Constitution that says that schools must be "religion free zones"...

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which is why we have provided our schools with guidelines that tell them how they can protect the religious rights of their students.

In these changing times, schools must work doubly hard to see to it that our children learn the basic tenets of good citizenship: responsibility for themselves; concern for others; a sense of purpose about our country. Schools can help parents teach children right from wrong through rules. They can teach the value of hard-work through homework. They can teach the importance of resolving conflicts peacefully by having zero-tolerance for all forms of violence. They can teach students to respect themselves and others.

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They can teach students to become voters, and good neighbors, and advocates for their communities.

~~And let me say, too, that one of the most important ways to be a good citizen is to be a good parent. It is hard being a parent -- harder than ever before. We learn how to be parents from the example and love of our own parents.~~ But schools can support what families are doing. ~~Family life was a regular part of the curriculum in the 1950s. It is complicated to care for a child, and ignorance leads to abuse and neglect.~~

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~~We can teach young people how to live up to their~~ duties as parents: what to eat during pregnancy, how to give their children healthy habits, how to foster sound psychological development. Above all, we must teach our young people that there is no greater responsibility than bringing a child into the world. For many young people, high schools is the last time they will sit still to learn. We must take that opportunity to drive home that ~~they must not have children until they are ready.~~

~~**And finally, today**~~ **I want to talk to you about one other kind of literacy: computer and technological literacy**.

If citizenship holds our values together in challenging

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times, technological literacy will give our children the tools they need to make the most of their lives in this new economy.

That is why I issued a Technology Literacy Challenge to bring the information and technology revolution into every American classroom by the year 2000. As the Vice-President said, the business community began to answer that challenge in California on Net-Day.

Today I am pleased to announce that the educational community is stepping up to our challenge. Working with our administration, leading educational

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organizations -- from the National PTA and the National Educational Association, to the American Federation of Teachers and the National School Boards Association -- have joined together to make sure America's teachers are as comfortable with computers as they are with chalkboards.

They call themselves "21st Century Teachers," and to launch their effort they will do what they do best: Teach. This fall, they will mobilize 100,000 teachers to teach 500,000 other teachers how to teach using computers, software, and networks.

When they are done, America will have half a million

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more computer-literate teachers -- and an infinite number of new learning opportunities. Teachers will have new and exciting ways to teach the traditional basics. They will be able to exchange lesson plans with other teachers, communicate more frequently with parents, help students who are unfamiliar with computers, and keep up with those students who already are.

Through this enormous effort, America's teachers will do what they have always done. They will dedicate themselves to our future.

They will join together to say that computer literacy

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is truly a new basic for our time -- just as they continue to teach our fundamental basics. They are helping to create opportunity. They are demanding responsibility. They are working together as a community. And I thank them.

Because of the work you are doing, we can make real this age of possibility. If we harness the best energy and ingenuity and spirit here today, we can make <u>every</u> classroom in America a Blue Ribbon Classroom.

Thank you and God bless you.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Institute Dinner (page 8) (1 page)	05/16/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Church of God in Christ - Women's Convention (pages 1-17) (18 pages)	05/30/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the Legislature State House (pages 1-4) (4 pages)	05/30/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft Cards; RE: Statement on Product Liability Veto (2 pages)	05/02/1996	P5
005. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Radio Address (8 pages)	05/18/1996	P5

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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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

We've still got a long way to go, but without question, we are better off today than we were in 1992 when we seemed to be drifting. The economy has created more than 8.5 million new jobs. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation and mortgage rates in 27 year. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. We have approved nearly 8,500 SBA loans.

We have also maintained our strong commitment to education. We increased Head Start funding by almost $800 million. We signed a Telecommunications bill which will help connect every child in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000.

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5-30-96

Acknowledgments: Bishop Owens; Mother Crouch; Mayor Morial; Congressman Bill Jefferson; Congressman Cleo Fields; and the Arkansas delegation: Bishops L.T Walker, D.L. Lindsey and ~~T.T. Scott.~~

WOULD W

A.L. NOT THERE
MAH-THEE-NEE

It is a pleasure to join you here in the great city of New Orleans. I was last here in March of this year to help dedicate the Nashville Wharf which I understand is brimming with business. Some of you may remember that I also lost a hubcap on Tchoupitoulas [CHOP-IT-TOO-LAS] Street on my last visit. With all the cost-cutting going on in Washington, I thought I'd better come back to look for it.

Boris Yeltsin
Bill Clinton
Brian Hayes
Brian Atwater

GEPATTERSON - TN
BLAKE - CA
QUICK - NYC
SHERMAN - NC
WINNBUSH - LA - DC
BROOKS - MI

Nate Cert Cleaning

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I have had a long and warm relationship with the Church of God in Christ. I want to thank you for the support you have given me personally and to my Administration. One of my best days as President was my 1993 appearance at your 86th annual convocation in Memphis, where we talked about the need for all of us to honor the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King by working together to tackle the crushing problems facing our young people.

Since then, I am more certain than ever, that there is not a problem in America that cannot be solved by people taking responsibility working together to make things better. ~~our communities, with people like you determined through faith and hard work to make things~~ better.

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As I have said many times; when Americans work together, we never fail. When we are divided, we defeat ourselves.

That day in Memphis, I talked about how we had to save our children from lives ~~that would sap the hope from their minds and bodies~~. ~~And~~ Today I want to talk to you about what we can do, working together, to ~~make sure that they have this hope, so we can help them~~ build good, strong lives.

~~As~~ We stand on the threshold of the 21st Century, ~~I believe that your children and all of our children can live in~~ an age of possibility.

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~~But we know that we are buffetted and battered by~~ I have would have to make sure that all our ~~the pressures of a modern world~~. ~~And we must ask~~: children have the opportunities they deserve to live up ~~How do we build~~ a nation of opportunity ~~and~~ to their God-given abilities; to stand against the forces ~~responsibility~~? ~~How do we~~ help every one of our of division and destruction; to ~~make America's future safer~~ ~~children have a better future~~? ~~How do we~~ reward work, ~~and responsible~~. reward civic honor family, protect our environment, celebrate our diversity, and build a strong, secure and vital democracy that can continue to inspire the world? ~~Put these all things but cannot be solved. We MUST do together~~ Good. Not enough → Follow. Do it together. ~~This is not an easy thing~~. All around us, we see a society in need of renewed commitment ~~and~~ moral Yes more jobs. by Man shall Not live by bread alone. leadership. Every day, our children are bombarded by influences that would turn them from the right path.

→ Longcall to 4 year progress → ① Econ ½; 8½; Afr. Am & <1070 VN; welf; fast; pov ↓ ② Civic Division ③ Stood?: Bruce McLIMA; Ed; Econ Pollution Bill PROP ACT → Welf; Econ Bill Bill → Social Prog Division → Welf ~~Cabinet Agencies~~ Cabinet Agencies ~~Training~~ → Not to ~~Cabinet prosecute~~ ~~Work of Justice Department~~ ④ Work Place → Bonus, HC War, Health → Econ. Texas Elec

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You are here this week to talk in real terms, about how we can build better homes, better communities, better schools. You are here to reach out, ~~and to teach~~, to light a candle, put it on a candlestick, and give light to all in America's homes ~~about the progress you are making~~. You ~~are taking~~ to ~~heart the teaching of Jesus who tells us in Matthew~~, ~~"Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven~~."

And you all.

~~And in your lives,~~ you are working, every hour of every day, to keep our children free from harm, free to grow up, free to make the most of their own lives.

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You are laying the spiritual foundation that is helping thousands of young boys develop into men of courage and character with programs like the "Rites of Passage" and "God's Male Choice." You are teaching young boys and girls how to say no to sex and yes to the rest of their lives through Purity Classes run in your churches. You are strengthening families and futures through your efforts to increase the involvement of parents in their children's schools and education.

I thank you for this effort, more than any OF you can imagine. Because I believe that what you are doing, simply, is what all Americans must do if we are to keep the American dream alive.

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You are giving your children opportunity. You are taking responsibility, and demanding that they take responsibility. You are coming together as a community.

I want all Americans to reject the voices of hatred and division that would weaken our nation . . . to reject cynicism . . . . to search for solutions. There is no more powerful force than the force of conscience and commitment -- and I feel that force in this room today.

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All of us, working together, must step up to the challenges we face, especially the challenge of protecting our children. And as your President, I have worked hard to give you the help you need to raise your children, improve their schools, protect them from gangs and guns and drugs, and give them a growing economy filled with opportunity.

~~We are moving forward together. Our deficit is now less than half of what it was four years ago -- and we will balance the budget without devastating Medicare, Medicaid, education or the environment. Our economy has created 8.5 million new jobs.~~

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Yes - I am glad - Ben

African-American unemployment is in single digits for the first time since the Vietnam War. During the past four years, more than 100,000 African American businesses have been created. And homeownership is at a 15-year high.

But all the new homes don't mean a thing if our children cannot play on the street in front of them for fear of crime. All the schools in the world won't mean a thing if our children are afraid to walk home when the bell has rung. All the opportunity and hope that comes from a good job doesn't mean a thing if our children are raised in fear, seduced by the false allure of drugs or crime, sent into a world of distorted values and diminished hope.

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- *INSERT* 9A -

We cannot go into the 21st Century with children having children, children killing children, children being raised by other children -- or raising themselves on the street. That is not the America I grew up in; it is not the America you grew up in. And that is not the America we want to pass on to our children.

We must return to the days when children learned right from wrong, and learned it from their parents and their neighbors. ~~I refuse to accept as inevitable, the tears in our social fabric~~. We must refuse to accept that crime, and drugs, and teen pregnancy, are things we can do nothing about. We <u>can</u> do something about them. You <u>are</u> doing something about them. And we as a nation <u>must</u> do ~~something~~ more about them.

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~~We know~~ too many we live in a world where parents feel they have lost control over their ability to raise their children right -- in safety and with strong values.

~~Everything we are doing is designed to wrest control~~ We must stand up against ~~from~~ those forces that threaten to overwhelm the lessons taught by parents -- and to help you with your most basic duty: raising your children.

That is why we passed the Crime bill, putting 100,000 police on the streets of cities and towns across America. These community police are working with neighbors, setting up block watches, catching criminals, stopping crime before it happens. Community policing works, and it especially works when it comes to helping our children.

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And I am very pleased that, after a long year of struggle, the budget I signed last month preserves our commitment to putting 100,000 new police on our streets.

That is why

We took on the Washington gun lobby, and are taking guns out of the hands of criminals and keep them away from children. We are taking 19 assault weapons off our streets. And we passed the Brady Bill, to require a waiting period to buy a handgun. 60,000 criminals have been prevented from buying handguns. Zero tolerance for guns in schools.

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We have ~~put in place~~ prevention programs that give our young people something to say "yes" to. We are keeping ~~our~~ schools open after hours, so that our children have a place of safety and learning to go to -- somewhere other than the streets.

~~Our approach is working~~. In every region of this country, the crime rate is down. The welfare and poverty rolls are down. Teen pregnancy is down. But it is a tragic irony that while crime is down among adults, it is rising among teenagers. Too many mothers in New Orleans and across this country hold their breaths in fear when their children leave the house.

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They wonder, will they get shot by a gang or pressured to buy drugs or robbed of their money or clothes. DELETE ? [~~With all due respect to Terry McMillan, too many women, too many mothers spend their days "waiting to exhale" for nothing less than the safe return of their children in the evening.~~] This is no way to live.

We know we must do more. I have challenged Congress to pass legislation banning "cop-killer bullets" -- because I don't think that the gangs should be better armed than the police. I have fought, and will continue to fight, to fund the "safe and drug free school" program so that schools can be places of learning and not violence. Welfare → ch. care → supervision

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And above all, there is more to do to inspire our communities and to strengthen our families, to protect our children. I have challenged one million citizens in communities across America to join in anti-crime patrols in their communities. Our children deserve to see someone on the street to look up to -- other than a gang member.

We are taking steps to help give parents control over the influences that bombard their children. We passed legislation that gives parents the V-Chip, so that you can screen out TV programs that are full of violence or coarse language or vulgar behavior. But we need rating system to help.

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We are taking steps to protect young people from the dangers of cigarettes -- a deadly habit that ensnares 3,000 young people every day. → use growing up alarmingly
Ads → use in movies/TV –

We are taking steps to help parents and communities impose order and discipline and respect. We are supporting school districts that want to require students to wear school uniforms. School uniforms are one step that may be able to help break the cycle of violence, truancy and disorder. Earlier this year, I visited Long Beach, California, where school violence has dropped when students put on uniforms. Nobody should have to risk their life for a jacket or a pair of sneakers.

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Today, as summer approaches and our children get out of school, there is another approach I want to discuss to help parents exert control: community based curfews, to keep young people off the streets and out of harms way.

Curfews are nothing more than the old-fashioned rules our parents set for us. ~~We all grew up~~ Most of us grew up in homes in which there ~~were rules,~~ was a time by which we had better be home, or else. Community curfews help parents be ~~good~~ better parents. They help ~~you~~ keep your children out of harm's way. They give ~~you~~ parents a tool to ~~teach your sons and daughters~~ teach discipline, respect, rules and order at an awkward and difficult time in their children's lives.

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Different cities have different ~~rules~~. ~~In some cities~~, ~~parents can be fined if their children are on the street~~. ~~In other cities~~, ~~parents~~ register their children with police.

We have evidence that shows: curfews are working. My Department of Justice has just completed a preliminary study of seven curfew programs that are up and running: in Dallas; Phoenix; Chicago; Denver; Jacksonville; and North Little Rock, Arkansas. And one that works the best is right here in New Orleans.

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REVISED 5.30.96

Acknowledgements: Governor Foster, Speaker Downer, Senate President Ewing, statewide elected officials, members of Congress, members of the State Supreme Court, members of the State House and Senate and honored guests:

Honor to be here in my nat'g St → faced SO many of same challs since I entered public life 2 decades ago — Most of Cent 20 → 50 yrs spent trying to catch up to rest of

It is a great pleasure to be able to talk to you about Amer → Opport: 21st C; wkg together → beg ; to pres. report: Comm/Post education. Here in this chamber and throughout this

Now we're all Amer on Same Mission, mission that Drive me state, you are focusing on the greatest challenge our Gr gov of Sm St to Seek Pres → Tech → Ty/Tech Agy; Cit to Global Econ — people face: how to assure that the American dream of Age of Poss/Chall → how to assure opport for all to make most opportunity and responsibility lives on into the 21st of our lives — century. I have been in hundreds of classrooms, as governor and as President. I have spoken to teachers, to students, to businesspeople across this country.

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And I firmly believe that our mission must be this: the only way to keep the American Dream alive is to make our people the best educated in the world in the 21st Century.

1st & Most Impt Answer: Education.
South's answer to how to give its people Amer Opp as rest of Amer — is Now Amer's answer to how to keep Amer Dr alive in Global Village of 21st Century: Ed —

This mission will call on the ingenuity, the energy, the talent and the resources of parents, teachers, students, business and government at all levels.

Tonight, I want to talk to you about how we, working together, have put our economy on the path to growth . . . about how we are working together to give states like Louisiana the flexibility and help to meet its challenges . . . and above all, about our role, and your role, in the great endeavor of educating our children.

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Let me begin by saluting Governor Foster and all of you for the spirit of bipartisanship with which you are meeting this great challenge. Renewing our schools is not a task for any one party. You are giving life to the great lesson of our democracy: When we are divided, we defeat ourselves. When we are united, we never lose.

The stakes could not be higher. We are approaching the edge of a new century, an age of great possibility. It is a time of dazzling new technologies, extraordinary global opportunities, but unsettling change.

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~~More than ever, we must make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of the new economy -- that every American has the chance to become a winner of economic change.~~

① Ed in opportunity → Growing Econ Safe Sch Clean Envir Lower Mortgage Cost

~~With Democrats and Republicans working together~~, ~~our nation has begun to meet that challenge. Three and a half years ago, America -- and Louisiana -- were~~ 3½ yrs ago - mired in recession, with high unemployment, ~~sluggish~~ V. slow job creation, and an out-of-control deficit.

Reduced Def | Jobs | Econ | Sugg Wages

We put in place a new economic strategy. We cut the deficit in half, and for all the disagreement over how to do it, one thing is clear: we <u>will</u> finish the job of balancing the budget over the next six years.

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And in a provision added in conference,
This legislation would bar the courthouse door to some consumers altogether, if they are unlucky enough to be hurt by a product that is 15 years old. And in the worst provision added in conference, It would bail out ~~those~~ a (gun dealer) who knowingly sells a felon a gun, or (a bar owner who knowingly) sells a drunk another beer before he hits the road. ~~And if a jury should ever want to fully punish tobacco companies for lying to their customers, this bill would cut off that~~ option before it ever ~~happened~~.

And it overrides the laws of all 50 states. These days, over 40 in last decade have acted to reform tort laws, incl. Mod. we hear a lot of talk about states rights. ~~With this bill~~, Mich. Supr. Ct. Congress ~~has shown itself~~ is more than willing to override state law -- but only when state law helps consumers.

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This legislation is arcane, complex, stuffed with legalisms and loopholes. But it would have a real and devastating impact on thousands of American families. Several of them are with me today.

Janie Fair lost a daughter when her schoolbus burst into flames because the manufacturer wouldn't install an inexpensive safety feature. Because the bus was hit by a drunk driver, she relied on joint + several liability.

Carla Miler was left with her children after her husband was killed when his tractor rolled over. Jeanne Yanta lost the ability to have children after she used a contraceptive that the manufacturer knew was dangerous. ~~[Lola Reinhart and Ruth Kamin-Nizar were on an elevator that plunged four floors because the manufacturer would not install a safety device.]~~

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Radio 5/18/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
S.1796

Good morning. Four years ago, I challenged America to end welfare as we know it to require work, promote responsibility, help system & dependence to independence. A few days after I took office, I met with the nation's 50 governors and urged every one of them to send me a welfare reform plan that would help meet that challenge. In return, I pledged to waive outmoded or counterproductive federal rules that get in the way of reform.

~~Many~~ Most took me up on it. So of them ~~have~~. In the last 3 years, my administration has granted welfare reform waivers ~~to a record~~ 38 states -- ~~more states than all previous administrations combined.~~ ~~We have cleared~~ clearing away federal rules and regulations to permit states to build effective welfare reforms of their own. The state-based reform we have encouraged has brought work and responsibility back to the lives of 75 percent of Americans on welfare.

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We're doing a lot more than signing waivers. We've also pressed ahead on fundamental reforms to make the welfare system reflect the basic values that have stood us so well for so long: That if you bring a child into this world, you must take responsibility for that child ... That government will not subsidize irresponsible or reckless behavior ... That welfare is a second chance, not a way of life.

That is why I signed a Presidential order to require federal employees to pay child support. I toughened sanctions on welfare and food stamp recipients who refuse to work.

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I took action earlier this month to require teenage mothers to stay in school and sign personal responsibility contracts, if they are to receive welfare benefits. And it is also why I sent Congress a sweeping welfare reform plan that would do all this and more.

Our hard work is paying off. America is in the midst of what The New York Times has called a "quiet revolution" in welfare reform under my administration. The number of Americans on welfare has dropped by 1.3 million since I took office in January 1993. Food stamp rolls are down. So are teen pregnancy rates. What numbers are up? Child support collections, which have jumped 40% ...

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and the number of people who are required to work as a condition for receiving welfare.

Today, I am pleased to report that two states -- Wisconsin and Maryland -- are adding momentum to this "quiet revolution." Last week, Wisconsin submitted to us for approval the outlines of a welfare reform plan that is one of the boldest yet attempted in America -- and I am encouraged by what I have seen so far.

~~The Wisconsin plan will replace a welfare system that is based on dependency with one that is based on work~~.

Under the Wisconsin plan, people on welfare who can work must work -- immediately. Strict access to the work is from the private sector jobs subsidized if needed -- or in community service jobs.

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The state says it will see to it that families have health care and child care so parents can ~~devote their energies to getting off welfare and going to a job~~. They will ~~learn that if you don't go to work~~, you won't get paid. ~~And if you do~~, ~~you~~ will have the dignity of earning a paycheck, not a welfare check. The plan will send a clear message to teen parents as well: if you are a minor with a baby, you will receive benefits only if you stay in school, live at home, and turn your life around.

All in all, Wisconsin has the makings of a solid welfare reform plan. We should get it done.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And I pledge that my administration will work with Wisconsin to make an effective transition to a new vision of welfare based on work, that protects children and does right by working people and their families.

~~And Wisconsin is not alone~~. Maryland ~~just came~~ also has come up with its ~~own~~ our innovative reform plan. ~~The Maryland~~ A plan cracks down on welfare fraud, ~~It~~ comes down hard on parents who turn their backs on child support. And ~~it~~ helps working parents with child care so they won't be driven onto the welfare rolls in the first place.

The reforms in Wisconsin, Maryland, and other states are encouraging for two reasons.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

First, because they give us hope that we can break the vicious cycle of welfare dependency. And second, because they make clear that there is a widespread national consensus, shared by both Democrats and Republicans, on what welfare reform should look like.

pro work, pro family pro independence — a 2nd chance not a way of life

So the states can keep sending me strong welfare reform proposals -- and I'll keep signing them. I will keep doing everything in my power as President to reform welfare, state by state, if that's what it takes. But there's a faster way to bring this welfare reform revolution to the entire nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There are bipartisan welfare reform plans sitting in the House and Senate right now that do what Americans agree welfare reform must do: require welfare recipients to work, limit the time people can stay on welfare, toughen child support enforcement, and protect our children.

So I say to Congress: Send me a bill that honors these fundamental principles. I'll sign it. Let's get the job done, and bring welfare reform to all 50 states. And then we'll move on to the other challenges we face as we stand at the dawn of a new century.

Thanks for listening.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Family and Medical Leave Act (8 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "Poison Pill" Statement (2 pages)	05/08/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Speech at Georgetown (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Welfare Reform (4 pages)	05/22/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14444

FOLDER TITLE:
May "96 [President Clinton Speeches] [4]

2006-0469-F
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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]
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Good morning. One of my proudest achievements was to sign the Family and Medical Leave Act. This week, the bipartisan panel Congress created to study it, reported that the law has helped more than one in six American employees take time off because of a serious family health problem without any danger of losing their job. And almost 90 percent of businesses found that complying with Family and Medical Leave cost them little or nothing.

This is making American families stronger. We have to do that with welfare reform too. Our job is to fix a welfare system that too often pulls families apart, and turn it into one that helps families pull together.

cc:
Gabrielle Bushman

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-6-96

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Today~~'s system traps too many people in a cycle of dependency that ends up snaring their children as well. For the last three years, we've been working hard to turn that around. ~~Even while action in Congress has stalled, my Administration has pressed forward.~~

All across America, welfare rolls are down, food stamp rolls are down, and teen pregnancy rates are down. More and more people on welfare today are working as a condition of receiving welfare. A lot of this has happened because our Administration has worked ~~overtime~~ to free states from ~~miles~~ of red tape. We have slashed federal rules so 37 states, covering 75 percent of all the people on welfare in America, can take steps to fix a broken system.

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State by state we are building a welfare system that demands work, requires responsibility, and protects children.

But more needs to be done—

~~Now we need to go all the way~~. The American people ~~want~~ need a welfare system that honors American values -- work, family, responsibility. In 1994, and again this year, I sent Congress a sweeping welfare reform plan that would impose strict time limits on how long people can stay on welfare, and strict work requirements for people while they are on welfare. My plan would also provide more funding for child care so single parents can go to work, and it would crack down on parents who skip out on their responsibility to pay child support.

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If Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that is tough on work instead of tough on children, I will gladly and proudly sign it. ~~But I am not going to sit around and wait for Congress~~ -- I am going to keep moving ahead to fix the welfare system by promoting work and looking out for kids.

Today, I am acting to help teen mothers break free from the cycle of dependency for good. The only way for teen mothers to escape the welfare trap is to live at home, stay in school, and get the education they need to get a good job. We must make sure the welfare system demands that teen mothers follow the responsible path ... to independence.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ohio has used freedom from federal rules to implement a terrific program they call LEAP: Learning, Educating, and Parenting. LEAP cuts welfare checks when teen mothers don't go to school, and rewards them when they do. And it works. A report released just this week by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation shows that an eight-group of teens LEAP significantly increased the number of teen mothers who finished school, got jobs, and got off welfare. Every state should follow this example.

That's why, today, I am announcing that every state must put in place a plan to keep teen mothers on welfare in school. We are going to audit the progress of every state and make the results public.

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Second, we are going to make teen mothers who drop out of school go back to school, and sign ~~plans~~ contracts that spell out exactly how they're going to take responsibility for their lives. Third, we are giving states immediate authority to provide bonuses to teen mothers who go to school and graduate, and cut back the checks of those who won't.

Finally, I am challenging every state in the country to use its power to keep children-who-have-children at home where they belong. There should be no incentive to leave home for a bigger welfare check. Unfortunately, even though they can, most states don't require teen mothers to live at home. That's wrong. Of course if there's an abusive situation at home, children should be living in another safe, supervised setting.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have to make it clear that having a baby doesn't give you the right -- and won't give you the money -- to leave home and drop out of school. Today, we can really support a way of life, not an option

The common-sense steps I am taking today have bipartisan support. They will help teen parents escape the cycle of dependency and start down the path to a successful future for themselves and their children.

Now Congress needs to ~~take the next step~~, and pass welfare reform. ~~But Congress should understand: You will get nowhere by tying welfare reform to the elimination of health care for poor children and elderly who need nursing homes, or by tying on a tax hike~~ for ~~43~~ Million working Americans. ~~I do not take poison pills; I veto them~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I am glad that a group of bipartisan lawmakers is working on welfare reform. If Congress sends me a clean welfare reform plan that demands work, demands responsibility, protects children, and helps families stay together, I will sign it. Until then, I will continue to do everything in my power to reform welfare, step by step, and state by state.

Thanks for listening.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

5/8/96 11:00 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/8/96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"POISON PILL" STATEMENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 8, 1996

— Both →

— Poison Pill →

— Get cong: hight Min Wage
$20 - of pension

— Super Dems → clean vote on Cont
" Min W
" Tobacco [illegible]

=

Close to election: public tired of Rep
Dem to go to work.

=

NFIB-uncons[illegible] right to Cong Pol: voted
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NK
Recog vol sec

IPR → Appr → to Cong to
Spitzer - many out.
Y by Strip Secession

TV- depressed Dem
cons groups-2
mainly Dem out Area

Prob → many-

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anti → Rep Reform: Bad act by Rep/Co.

=

Conclusion → correct
→ wrong on how to do
→ not by big PAC, Cons

1

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today I want to make a brief statement about the work Congress and I can do together in the next 90 days.

I believe that the next three months can be a time when we sign into law measures that will truly help us ~~protect~~ meet challenges, protect our values, & move forward ~~our values and meet our challenges~~ together.

But right now, Congress is facing a logjam. The Democrats and I believe we must increase the minimum wage, which is on the verge of being at a 40-year low. The Republicans want to ~~reduce~~ a temporary reduction in the gas tax. There is only one fair way to break this logjam. First, Congress should pass the minimum wage increase, clean.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Acknowledgments: Father O'Donovan. To business leaders: I look forward to continuing the discussion we began at breakfast earlier this morning. To Georgetown students [business, law, and undergraduate]: It is a sign of remarkable fortitude that so many of you managed to be here the day after finals.

It is no secret that this is a very special place for me. I try to come back as often as possible. I was last here nearly a year ago to speak about the responsibilities of citizenship: The duty we owe to one another and to this country we are blessed to live in.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we also know that employers have a duty to their employees to make them more valuable -- by job training, education, and other means. This is a new social compact. And we must stand by it.

To hold up its end of this compact, I hope American business will be guided by the five challenges of corporate citizenship I outlined earlier this year. In today's economy, we must challenge companies to provide 1) **Family-friendly workplaces --** people should not be forced to choose between being good workers or good parents. 2) **Health and retirement security** -- today, these benefits can be as important as a paycheck.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.22.96

Senator Dole's welfare reform proposal that he made yesterday in Wisconsin comes very close to my own proposals for ~~accomplishing~~ welfare reform. ~~So close, that~~ I ~~want to~~ urge the Senator to prevail upon his fellow Republicans to pass a program along the lines he proposed in Wisconsin. I will sign such a bill, and it will become the law of the land.

My welfare reform proposal ~~already envisages~~ a work requirement for welfare recipients, a five-year lifetime welfare limit, no welfare benefits to illegal immigrants except for emergencies, drug testing at state option, ~~and~~ an end to teen mothers receiving benefits to set up separate households,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

These are the key elements Senator Dole outlined in yesterday's proposal. In addition, Senator Dole appeared to call for block grants to the states for welfare, a move that I can support as long as entitlements remain for the safety net programs of food stamps, school lunches, nutrition, and services aimed at disabled children.

I assume the Senator will urge adequate day care funding, for which he voted in the Senate.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Rather than volley this issue back and forth for the next six months, let's win point, game, set and match for the American people by passing an approach on this common ground and signing it into law.

If the Senator is serious in no longer linking welfare reform to tax increases on working people through reduction of the Earned Income Tax Credit, and if he is serious about no longer linking welfare reform to repeal of the Medicaid entitlement of health care to the poor, old, and disabled, then he will have removed the key elements which would have drawn my veto.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So, if Senator Dole means what he said in Wisconsin, send me a bill to do these things, and I will sign it.

If the Senator wants a model for such legislation, let him look to the bipartisan welfare reform efforts of Breaux-Chaffee in the Senate, and Castle-Tanner in the House. In addition, if Senator Dole shares my enthusiasm for the Wisconsin work alternative to welfare, let him put in the legislation specific authorization for the states to create such a system at their option. I will sign that, too.

I call on Senator Dole to be a doer, not a talker. Work with me to pass bipartisan welfare reform before you leave office on June 11.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Putting A Human Face on the Global Economy (4 pages)	06/12/1999	P5

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14444

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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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Draft 6/7/99
Michael Waldman

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"PUTTING A HUMAN FACE ON THE GLOBAL ECONOMY"
ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
June 12, 1999

[*more University of Chicago stuff – a description of first seeing the school from a Saul Bellow or Philip Roth novel or memoir?*]

It is an honor to join you at this great university, in the heart of our nation, at the height of our strength and prosperity in the world.

Let me address myself, first, to the graduates here today: You have chosen the life of the mind, a path of academic rigor. I know that there has been much discussion on this campus in recent weeks about the undergraduate program and the core curriculum -- but never lose sight of the common value you all share in abundance: an extraordinary ethic of discipline, intensity and an insistence on the primacy of thought.

You leave here, ready as few others, to reap the rewards of this golden moment for America. You are prepared to take your place as full citizens of this nation. Moreover, you leave here prepared to be "citizens of the world."

I want to talk to you about the extraordinary opportunities that await you – and the profound responsibilities that come with them. For far more than we sometimes realize, this has been a period of rapid, accelerating change. It is a world that demands fresh thought and constant questioning -- an appreciation of our most profound values and hallowed traditions, and a relentless search for new ways to apply them to new times. The most illustrious son of Illinois, President Lincoln, said, "as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

For half a century, our policies, our politics, and our purpose -- were shaped by the struggle for freedom against Communism. I believe that over the next half century, our greatest single challenge will be to honor our values and advance our interests in the global economy now taking shape. Before us lie undreamed of opportunities for human abundance and fulfillment. We have the chance, for the first time in human history, to lift literally billions of our fellow men and women into a global middle class. Yet the idea-driven, dynamic, disruptive global economy poses stiff new challenges. We must put a human face on the global economy. That will be a great challenge in the coming years. And I want to talk to you to today about how we can do it.

It was ten years ago this week that Solidarity came to power in Poland, sparking a chain reaction as powerful in its way as the as the one caused by Enrico Fermi under Stagg Field. [*first*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

nuclear fission was at Univ of Chicago during WWII] The superpower rivalry that shaped half a century had vanished. The end of the Cold War let loose a torrent of economic and technological change that has woven the world together into a new, dynamic and dramatically different global economy. The freedom tide that swept away Soviet Communism has swept away old economic verities as well.

A technological revolution, which is familiar to you all, has transformed our lives. The Internet is the fastest growing social and economic community in history. It has been called the "death of distance," making it possible for people to work together across oceans as if they were working together across the hall. When I became President, there were only 50 sites on the World Wide Web. Five years ago, there were still less than 3 million people with access to the Internet. Today, there are over 100 million people, with the number doubling every year. There is more computer power in the PCs and laptops in the dorm rooms of [*dorm*] than there were in all the computers in America [20] years go. For years, economists wondered why the spread of new technology wasn't spurring productivity. But in the last two years, it has; we just learned that last year, productivity rose 4%.

And the digital revolution has led to the globalization revolution. This is hardly the first international economy. Indeed, there was as much trade across the world on the day this university was founded as on the day you graduate. But new links of instant communications and commerce now link peoples across the world. A million people take to the skies every day on commercial airlines. And culture -- very often, our culture -- is the common culture. You are as likely to see a poster of Michael Jordan on the wall of a dorm room at Beijing University as at the University of Chicago. [check – more so?]

The strengths prized by the new economy – innovation, teamwork, flexibility, drive – are qualities at the core of the American character. By recognizing the realities of this new era, we have helped to shape them. By balancing the budget, nearly doubling investment in education and training, by fighting for free and fair trade, we have created the conditions for growth. Today, as you know, the American economy is the strongest in a generation – perhaps the strongest it has ever been.

But the economic storms that have rattled our windows since 1997 sharply remind us that the new economy poses new challenges. For nearly two years, the world has experienced the first financial crisis of the information age. We saw that the very interconnectedness of nations could turn a crisis in one continent into a calamity in another, virtually overnight. We saw runs not on banks but on entire countries. In Asia, some 30 million people who had worked their way into the middle class suddenly were plunged into poverty. And here in the United States, amidst record prosperity, 250,000 manufacturing workers lost their jobs.

As I said last year, this was the most serious economic challenge since World War II. For a year and a half, the United States mobilized the major nations of the world to stabilize the global financial system and restore growth. Today, we can look back at those efforts with some satisfaction, and continued caution. The world economy has pulled back from the brink. Growth and hope have begun to return to every corner of the globe.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But a near-miss on the freeway shouldn't just make us drive faster. We must see this crisis for what it is: an urgent imperative to understand the new realities of the international economy, and to act on them.

We see more clearly than ever that our task as Americans -- and your mission as future leaders -- must be to shape and steer these currents of change. For all its glamour, the global economy cannot be an end in itself. Abroad as at home, markets must serve people -- and not the other way around.

This is our task, but it is not new to our time. Throughout our history, America's mission has been to widen the circle of opportunity and deepen the meaning of freedom in each new era. A century ago, the new Industrial Age offered brilliant prospects but also brutal new challenges to our traditional notions of opportunity and individual liberty. In the Progressive Era and then the New Deal, we determined that national prosperity demanded constant national attention; that we must stretch safety nets under working people, through Social Security, unemployment insurance; that the government has a role to police the marketplace, assuring honest and accurate financial markets. The farsighted national leaders of a half century ago built a platform for prosperity on which we stand to this day.

Now, in this new era, I say to you frankly that Americans today have not found all the answers. Indeed, we have not even fully grasped all the questions. We sense that many of the first political choices in new century will be driven by how we handle the challenge of the global economy. But we do not know how. Traditional political alliances are scrambled. This is always how it is in a time of flux. President Kennedy said, "As every past generation has had to disenthrall itself from an inheritance of truisms and stereotypes, so in our own time we must move on from the reassuring repetition of stale phrases to a new, difficult, but essential confrontation with reality."

We must begin by recognizing that continued openness to the world greatly benefits the United States. We cannot bask in our prosperity, yet belittle the trade that has helped create it. The United States has nothing to fear from trade, and everything to gain from leadership in the global marketplace.

In the most cutting edge industries.

We benefit hugely, of course, from the goods and services we export. Export related jobs pay higher wages than other jobs. ~~And many of~~ our most cutting edge industries – from biotech to aerospace, from Hollywood to computer hardware and software – lead the world.

We benefit, as well, from imports. This is less obvious. But imports are a driving force behind our competitive strength. They force our firms to innovate. They keep prices low, and have helped us to grow rapidly with little inflation. And they help improve the standard of living for the vast majority of Americans.

~~As we benefit, our trading~~ partners benefit as well. In the new era, a gain here is not drawn from a loss elsewhere. Even today, after all the economic shocks, citizens of Korea or Thailand are far more affluent than a decade ago. Even today, the free flow of capital is the surest route to prosperity for the greatest number.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

That is why my administration has negotiated some 260 separate trade agreements, tearing down barriers to our goods and services. One such agreement alone – the 1994 pact that created the World Trade Organization – cut [x] billion in tariffs worldwide.

That is why we are pressing forward to write new rules for the international financial system – [a new financial architecture that ... *2 sentences on architecture*]

Above all, we must reject, firmly and decisively, those voices who say that America must fill the moats, pull up the drawbridges, and hide behind thick walls of protectionism. We may feel safer for a while. But it is a sure route to national poverty.

So we cannot retreat; we must compete. We must continue to press for free markets and open exchange.

But at same time must we recognize that the unruly force of the global market can have severe consequences for rich and poor alike. Just as your scholars taught the world about the power and logic of the market, they teach us as well about the enduring importance of strong social norms – the vital institutions and values, rooted in families and communities and religious institutions, that give meaning to our lives. You are teaching us that effective laws and mutual responsibility are not opposed to thriving markets – they are the basis of thriving markets.

For all the benefits of open trade, globalization poses stiff new challenges for families and nations. A global economy that fails to lift the lives of ordinary people the world over will neither win nor deserve their support.

So when I say we must put a human face on the global economy, what do I mean? Not that we should dam up the currents of trade, or try to roll back the tides of change. Not that we should surrender our sovereignty to a new set of international organizations. It is true that increasingly capital knows no loyalty to any land. But strong nations are best equipped to work together to master global economic forces.

Here is what I do mean: We must find a way to balance the dynamism, disruption and churning innovation of the new economy with the need for security and predictability that undergirds civilized life. We must make the same effort we have made here at home – to marry the power of the market with the principles of social equality – in a world where commerce is global and capital is mobile.

This is our task, but it is not new to our time. Throughout our history, America's mission has been to widen the circle of opportunity and deepen the meaning of freedom in each new era.

A century ago, most economic life in America was conducted at the local level. Most regulation of business and social legislation was done in city halls or state capitals, if done at all. But the rise of great national corporations, the shift to industrial mass production, and the birth of a truly national economy rendered that old model obselete. It took many decades – and several depressions and wars – but eventually our nation realized that a national economy demanded

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Remarks at Conclusion of Ford's Theater Gala (1 page)	02/08/1998	P5

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14445

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P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT CONCLUSION OF FORD'S THEATER GALA
February 8, 1998

Acknowledge: Host Whoopi Goldberg; Gospel Group Kirk Franklin and God's Property; comedian Anthony Clark; country singer Martina McBride; magician David Copperfield; singer John Fogerty (formerly of Credence Clearwater Revival); gala co-chairs Peatsy Hollings and Tricia Lott.

Thanks to all of you in the audience for supporting this beautiful and historic theater with your presence tonight. But most of all I want to thank the one woman who has done the most to make this evening possible every year for three decades now, the woman who saved this theater for live performaces like the spectacular one we've seen tonight. In 1968 she said she would only do this for a little while before returning to a normal life. I'd say that thirty years is more than a little while, and she remains an extraordinary, not a normal woman, but her commitment to this unique theater has kept her from going anywhere else. Let's give our warmest applause to the Producing Artistic Director of Ford's Theater, Frankie Hewitt.

I also want to recognize America's First Lady and say how proud I am that she has been awarded the Ford's Theater's Lincoln Medal this year. She follows in a distinguished line of first ladies who have received this award in the past -- Lady Bird Johnson, Nancy Reagan, and Barbara Bush -- and I know just how hard she's worked for the last five years as honorary chair of this gala.

The First Lady and I are particularly pleased to be here tonight, because this gala both celebrates the arts and helps preserve a meaningful remnant of the American past -- two of our favorite subjects as we approach the milestone of the century's passing. Let us continue to encourage artistic talent, so an aspiring young performer watching tonight has the support she needs to become the next Whoopi Goldberg, or the next Martina McBride. And let us continue to preserve historic sites like this one, so future generations can walk through the places that inspired their ancestors to make the history that is the ultimate legacy of America.

Thank you and God bless you.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	RE: A page from a speech draft on the economy (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14445

FOLDER TITLE:
[Business Council Speeches]

2006-0469-F
db3367

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

This year's budget gives us the tools we need to remain the world's indispensable nation and advance our interests and ideals. It reverses a downward spiral that threatened to undermine our security and prosperity. Our request of $19.4 billion -- about one cent out of every federal dollar -- will strengthen our ability to promote peace, fight global problems like drug trafficking, terrorism and nuclear proliferation, and meet our obligations to the international community.

America's global leadership is essential to creating a world where American businesses and workers can thrive. From the dynamic economies of Asia to the new democracies of the former Soviet Union, our diplomacy helps maintain the stability that is essential to economic growth. And in an age where borders are blurring and distances are shrinking, our prosperity at home depends more than ever on our engagement abroad. The more than 200 trade agreements that we have reached during the last four years have boosted exports, helped create more than 1.6 million good jobs, and made our country an even more dynamic hub of the global economy. Just last month, we led the way to an agreement on global telecommunications that will bring clear benefits to American businesses, workers and consumers alike by widening market access and reducing barriers to trade and investment. Our embassies are working around the clock and around the world to help American companies win contracts...protect intellectual property rights...and fight bribery and unfair business practices. But we cannot maintain that effort without adequate resources to do the job. And as I have also told the Congress, I believe we must have fast track authority to conclude new trade agreements that open markets to America's products and that advance our values.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Chris Dorval to Karen Hancox, et al.: RE: Auto Report (1 page)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Daniel Tarullo to the President; RE: U.S. - Japan Auto and Auto Parts Agreement Enforcement Report (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Micheal Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14445

FOLDER TITLE:
U.S. - Japan Auto Report

2006-0469-F
db3310

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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TO: Karen Hancox
Michael Waldman
Don Baer

FR: Chris Dorval
RE: Auto Report

The attached materials outline how we are announcing the Auto Report on Monday. The Tarullo memo is mine and not yet approved, but you get the gist of the report from it. You can see that we are doing a low key announcement because there is no real news here -- it is essentially a reprise of last April's auto event with the President -- and we don't want to have this be used as an opportunity for anyone to try to make an issue out of our overall trade relations with Japan.

We would encourage the President to continue to use the statistics and rhetoric he currently does in relation to Japan and not necessarily draw attention to the release of the report.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Erskine Bowles and Sylvia Mathews to the President; RE: Strategic Process (3 pages)	08/08/1997	P5
002a. note	Staff Secretary to Michael (1 page)	08/28	P5
002b. memo	Michael Waldman and Terry Edmonds to the President; RE: Major Speeches in September (2 pages)	08/21/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Micheal Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14446

FOLDER TITLE:
Strategic Focus

2006-0469-F
db3311

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 8/28

To: Michael

From: The Staff Secretary

Michael -

According to Bruce Lindsey, the Powells' question mark on p. 2 means, "why am I doing this event?"

Thanks

COPY

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Gene Sperling to the President; RE: Speech to the Council on Foreign Relations (1 page)	09/12/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: International Economy Council on Foreign Relations (14 pages)	09/14/1998	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: International Economy Council on Foreign Relations (31 pages)	09/14/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Micheal Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14447

FOLDER TITLE:
[Council on Foreign Relations - 9/14/99]

2006-0469-F
db3312

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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Draft 9/12/98 10:00pm
Waldman

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ADDRESS ON THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

September 14, 1998

Acknowledgments: Pete Peterson, chair of CFR; Les Gelb, Pres; admin alumni incl. Dan Tarullo and Anne Luzzatto;

~~The Council on Foreign Relations was founded in the bitter wake of World War I – an outpost for those who resisted America's retreat from engagement. After World War II, this organization helped provide the institutional and intellectual force as a generation of American leaders contained communism and established a new world economic system. Now, a half a century later, the ideals for which the Council has stood~~ – political and economic freedom – ~~are ascendant across the globe. But today, I want to speak to you about the newest challenge as we seek to build the world of the 21st Century.~~

~~It is my privilege to speak before you at~~ a time of unsurpassed American economic strength -- but a time of undeniable turmoil in the world economy. ~~At a moment of increasing interconnectedness among the nations of the world, the future of~~ our prosperity and the contours

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of the world economy will depend upon how we all work to restore confidence and promote robust growth. The challenge of global growth is the central economic challenge of this moment. We have no choice. Today I want to give you a status report on what we have done, and to tell you what I believe we must continue to do in the days and years to come.

America's economy remains the strongest it has been in a generation. We still have the lowest unemployment in 28 years and the lowest inflation in 32 years. We still have the highest homeownership in history. In two weeks, on October 1, we will have the first balanced budget in a generation -- thanks to the discipline of the American People. The winning combination of fiscal discipline, investment in people, and significant progress towards open markets and expanding trade has worked for our nation -- wages are now rising again, advancing at twice the rate of inflation after decades of stagnation.

The pillars of our prosperity stand strong. But we live in a world of swirling, sometimes breathtaking change. The global economy we have done so much to create -- the global economy that has brought so much benefit to our nation and to the people of the world -- is facing its most significant challenge in years. It began last year with currency fluctuations in Asia. In the past month it has hit the Russian economy. And today it threatens to engulf Latin America.

This crisis threatens to undermine those who have sought to act responsibly, yet still find

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themselves pulled by economic currents stronger than they are.

With
Today, one quarter of the world's population and -- one third of the world's economy -- is in
with Asian
recession, and some of these nations are facing financial collapse. We must recognize

More than ever, this rolling financial crisis has brought home to the American people that what happens around the world can deeply affect what happens here at home. More than ever before, opportunity for American families is affected by the economic fortunes and rising opportunities for millions of unseen people in other lands. It is starkly in the American national interest that we do what we can to stabilize the world's financial system, and to spur global growth.

Why? Why should Americans care if Asia, or Russia, or South America is on solid economic footing? All nations are now linked in a global financial system, in which over $1 Trillion rushes across around the world every day -- in which what happens in Kuala Lumpur matters in Kansas, what happens on the trading floor matters on the shopfloor. Fundamentally, as Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan said, we cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of misery. Our America's prosperity depends upon the continued prosperity of America's trading and security partners.

These nations are our customers -- with fully one third of our economic growth coming

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from exports, much of it to emerging markets. If their economies flatten, our exports will falter, and our own growth will slow.

These nations are our competitors -- and when their currencies succumb to overwhelming financial stress the price of their goods falls, and we risk a flood of inexpensive imports, undercutting sales of goods made here at home. Thus far, we have not seen this kind of import surge, but if economic distress continues, we cannot be sure that will continue.

These nations are our allies -- and the United States has a profound stake in the spread of freedom and democracy around the world. Throughout this century, in two bloody world wars and a half-century Cold War, we fought to plant freedom's flag around the world. We argued that economic freedom and political liberty went hand in hand, that the prosperity brought by free markets would best be achieved by stable and democratic democracies of free citizens. To a degree that would have amazed the wise people of this organization a half century ago, the advance of freedom has been remarkable. Now, countries where economic turmoil has plunged millions into sudden poverty will face instability and the risk of a return to authoritarianism.

Nowhere is the link between economic freedom and political freedom clearer than in Russia, which I visited earlier this month. That country is facing an economic crisis that threatens the extraordinary progress the Russian people have made in just seven years under democracy and free markets. The ruble and the stock market there have declined, banks are

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weak, tax collection has slowed, and the government has trouble paying its debts. Some Russians have become wealthy, but many more struggle to provide for their families. Amid political uncertainty, some now talk of abandoning the path of freedom and returning to policies of the past -- policies that have already failed. Russia has a new Prime Minister, Mr. Primakov, in office only four days. We very much hope that under his leadership, and that of President Yeltsin's, Russia will stay on the path of prosperity and freedom. And will do everything we can to encourage that.

~~Over the last year, we have seen a new kind of crisis that demands a new type of response,~~ one that has recognizes the unstoppable realities of global economic change. ~~Here is the lesson that has been hammered home for~~ We know that the United States and our trading partners ~~this past year~~: No nation, rich or poor, democratic or authoritarian, can escape the fundamental economic imperatives of the global market. ~~No nation can escape the discipline of the market. No nation can avoid the responsibility to do its part.~~

~~In confronting this economic~~ crisis, we have been guided ~~not by inflexible ideology, but by a hard-headed understanding of the inescapable rules of the road in the global economy~~.

These new rules of the road are ~~clearly marked~~.

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~~In the new global economy, for good or ill~~, all economies are interdependent. ~~A loss of~~ confidence ~~or drop in demand that begins in one country can ripple across the globe. Even~~ a ~~decade ago, fluctuations in the Thai or Korean currencies would not significantly affect~~ ~~American businesses and families; today they~~ do. ~~And while investors should rightly judge the economic soundness of each nation on its own merits, it is plainly true that simple~~ fear and uncertainty about the economy of one country can cause investors to pull out money from another country thousands of miles away.

~~So~~ we must work ~~together~~ through ~~our~~ international financial institutions to help restore confidence globally and tame economic crises in ~~nation after~~ nation~~s~~ ~~not only~~ to ease the economic and social costs where they occur, ~~but~~ to prevent ~~the~~ economic ~~disease~~ from spreading. ~~Plainly the crisis has continued to spread, but if we~~ had not acted, and acted responsibly, ~~matters~~ would certainly be worse today, with many more people thrown back into poverty and a much longer road back to hope and recovery.

~~As we have moved to help these economies, we recognized that we can only help those~~ nations who are willing to help themselves. ~~For in the new global economy, every nation~~ is subject to the exacting discipline of the global marketplace. ~~As we recognized when we put our fiscal house in order in 1993, no nation can finance its prosperity with fiscal irresponsibility~~. If a nation chooses to print money, to wink at cronyism or corruption, to hide bad loans and protect corrupt or inefficient banks, then investors, foreign and domestic, will ~~ultimate~~ly withdraw their

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investments, with consequences both swift and severe. ~~In the new economy, all the outside assistance in the world can not help the nation who does~~ not first demonstrate that ~~they~~ are ~~willing to commit to take the~~ often tough steps to restore ~~investor~~ confidence.

That is why we support the basic approach of the International Monetary Fund: extending assistance only when nations have taken responsibility, strengthening their banking systems, introducing honest accounting and open markets, and awarding contracts on merit instead of collusion.

Still what has been done is clearly not enough to reverse
~~America can and must continue to act~~ -- ~~to work with other nations to take the urgent~~
decline in particular countries, and to
~~steps needed today to~~ douse the flames of international financial crisis. ~~We must further make~~
and to
~~certain that the institutions and rules of international finance~~ support steady and sustainable growth into the future.
+ the actions of major economic powers
New contributions + rules of international economic order.

~~First and foremost, the leading economic nations of the world must act together to spur~~
For most of the last 30 years, America + the world have been preoccupied
~~global growth. A generation of Americans grew up seared by the inflation of the 1970s, and saw~~
by inflation. Today,
~~the economic devastation that it could bring~~. Low and stable inflation is critical to our economic
and to that of many other nations,
health. But the balance of risks has now shifted. We must also guard against the danger of deflation -- the spiral downward ~~of prices and economies~~ that wipes out wealth ~~and eats away~~ Everywhere around us,
~~hope within nations and sows seeds of conflict among them~~. ~~In 1998~~, the industrial world's chief priority must be to spur growth. ~~In the world economy, as in our domestic economy, there is~~ no ~~substitute~~.

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[POSSIBLE REFERENCE TO G-7 STATEMENT]

Every nation must do its part.

~~The United States can rightly say that our~~ America's strong and growing economy has made a ~~been the~~ major ~~engine of~~ contribution to global growth, just as our weak economy was held back the world badly ~~This was far from predetermined.~~ Six years ago ~~America's chronic deficits were a ball and chain holding back the world economy~~. When I attended my first G-7 meeting ~~of what was then the G-7~~ in Tokyo, I and every other nation insisted that America put its house in order. They were right. We did. Now we must ~~continue to~~ maintain ~~our own~~ her fiscal discipline that has lowered interest rates and fueled ~~a period of historic~~ huge investment and job growth. This is the most important thing we can do for the United States and the global economy.

Europe also must pursue the policies that will spur growth and keep their markets open, so they, too, will be able to provide growing markets for Asian goods as those nations seek to find their footing.

~~And~~ Japan, ~~one of the world's economic superpowers,~~ has a particularly critical role to play. ~~Japan is~~ As by far the largest economy in Asia, ~~More than anything else~~ Japan has to keep to renewed growth in Asia ~~would underpin renewed confidence around the world~~ and renewed confidence in the global economy. Japan faces formidable ~~and Japan holds the key. As they well recognize, they are facing serious risks -- financial crisis, economic decline and diminished confidence -- with dramatic consequences for the rest of Asia. To do its part, Japan must be~~

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Challenges: it must

~~prepared to do whatever it takes~~ to revive its banking system, spur consumer demand, ~~restore confidence~~, and deregulate its economy. to restore growth. Still, it is a strong democracy ~~and~~ represented nation of great knowledge + achievement, fully capable of success.

The second immediate step we must take is to ~~continue working to achieve the fastest possible~~ intensify our efforts to speed economic recovery in Asia. Where countries have taken strong and responsible steps, the free-fall has ended and progress is being made. But the human cost of Asia's collapse is only now fully being felt. As recent press reports have described, an entire generation that worked its way into the middle class has plummeted into poverty. It is in America's interest -- ~~our farmers' interest, our workers' interest, our businesses' interest~~ to help ~~that~~ these nations recover; ~~their markets grow, and their people~~ to once again become our fastest-growing ~~customers~~ market.

We have worked with international lenders like the IMF to help these nations to adopt pro-growth budget, tax and monetary policies. ~~But we can and must do more.~~ How about?

~~And~~ We must see restore Asian growth, we can take new steps to help Asia grow ~~and to help its people thrive, committing ourselves to the quick restoration of economic growth in the region.~~

We must work to lift the weight of private sector debt that has frozen Asian economies. Today I am asking Secretary Rubin to work with other financial authorities and international economic institutions to intensify efforts to explore, reinforce, and accelerate comprehensive plans for corporate debt restructuring where individual firms have been swept under by systemic national economic problems. ~~In order to restore growth~~ We need we need to get credit flowing

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again and get businesses back to making products, providing services, and creating jobs.

30

We must recognize that adjustments, necessary for the long-term, can be painful in the short-term ~~especially for those nations that have never established an adequate social safety for their people~~. Economic reform that fails to factor in human need will ~~simply never add up~~. ~~Wrenching economic transition without an adequate social safety can sacrifice lives in the name of economic theory and can generate so much resistance that reform never occurs~~. With our support and encouragement, the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank have ~~taken significant strides~~ to deal with these challenges, ~~efforts~~.

~~Today, I call on the World Bank and Asian Development bank to greatly expand their efforts by seeking to gradually~~ redouble their aid through an expanded Social Compact initiative – focusing on job assistance, basic needs during economic transition, on children and the elderly, and groups most vulnerable to economic change. [I have spoken to Jim Wolfenson this weekend, and I commend him for his efforts and willingness to spearhead this expanded effort]

~~Third~~, we must be ready to respond immediately and with financial force if the currency crisis continues to spread, ~~threatening at this very moment the economies of~~ Latin America, ~~—The IMF and other international financial institutions must stand ready to offer support to those~~ nations seeking to reform themselves, ~~particularly those who had struggled to make progress, only to be swamped~~ by economic storms outside their control. ~~So I call on~~ the major

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economies ~~to be willing to~~ activate the $18 billion now in the emergency fund of the International Monetary Fund -- the General Agreement to Borrow -- to ensure that the IMF continues to support reform and fight economic contagion.

~~And~~ by far the most important thing we in America can do ~~to that end~~ is to meet our obligations to the International Monetary Fund.

~~We are learning every day, even countries with the right economic policies can fail if the international community fails to help. The key to all this is the International Monetary Fund.~~

After a year of financial firefighting, the IMF's resources are badly strained. Every day we do not act, we undermine the confidence the world needs ~~that in time of crisis, the community of nations is ready to act~~.

~~The~~ Congress ~~of the United States~~ simply must step up to its responsibility ~~for leading~~ in this new economy. In my State of the Union Address, I said that it is far better to prepare for a storm now than when the clouds are overhead. Today, eight months later, the clouds are much closer, and we can hear the thunder. By an overwhelming bipartisan majority, the senate has moved rapidly and responsibly on this imperative. ~~There~~ are only [5] weeks left in the congressional session, ~~and~~ there is still no action from the House of Representatives.

Let me put it as plainly as I can: Failure by this Congress to pay our dues to the IMF will

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put our prosperity at risk. Failure to act will send a sharp signal that at a time of economic challenge, lawmakers were unwilling to protect America's workers, businesses and farmers from the risks of global economic change, unwilling to maintain our leadership in building a global economic system that has benefited us more than any other nation. And we must be willing to take ~~bold~~ action for

We will take these immediate steps. ~~A half century ago, the leaders of that generation took the lessons of depression and war and built a global trading and financial system that was a platform for decades of unprecedented prosperity. Together with the movement toward more open markets and open capital flows, we have witness an unparralled period of economic prosperity. But as President Lincoln said, "as our case is new, we must think anew." Now,~~ Reform to modify the world's so-called financial institutions to make the system of the new economy they serve.

facing new realities, our generation must learn the lessons of our time, and ~~make sure that the world financial institutions are as modern and sophisticated as the markets they serve.~~

By creating the World Trade Organization in 1994 we began to build a modern trading system. But as bad as economic crises — governments take further steps to weaken world trade rules for ordinary citizens across the globe.

From the meetings in Naples to Halifax to our convening of a new Group of 22 this year, we began to lay plans for a new financial architecture. And as we respond to the urgent alarms of today, it is not too early to begin absorbing their lessons, expanding the reach and speeding the pace of our review.

~~So~~ I ~~want to~~ intend to convene here in Washington ~~D.C.~~ a major meeting of the world's leading economy's finance ministers and central bankers -- chaired by Secretary Rubin and Chairman Greenspan -- to review both the work done from Naples to Halifax and to develop to a preliminary report to the heads of state by the beginning of next year. We must find ways to

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enjoy the benefits of free-flowing capital without sentencing the world to an endless cycle of continued crises. Just as the bold new policies developed in the 1930s have helped to moderate the recessions associated with national business cycles, now we must develop policies to prevent or moderate harm that results from association with the global crisis of confidence.

In all these ways, we will continue to work to address the current financial emergency, and to build a system where such emergencies don't happen in the first place. There is no mission more critical to the strength and security of our country.

For what is at stake is more than prosperity, more, even, than the spread of free markets that has created an integrated global economy. For there is an extraordinary convergence at the edge of a new century. The same factors that allow nations to thrive in the new global economy are also those that deepen the democratic liberties that allow us to thrive as individuals. The free flow of ideas and information. Open borders and easy travel. The rule of law, fair and evenhanded enforcement, protection for consumers. A skilled and educated workforce. Each of these things is vital not only to the wealth of nations, but the spiritual and democratic health of nations. Many nations today are in transition, but some of their citizens tire of waiting for democracy and free markets to deliver a better life. There is real risk in such nations that democracy and free markets, instead of continuing to thrive together, will perish together. This would pose great risks for our security. For as we see around the world, the international aggressors, the harborers of terrosits and drug lords, are authoritarian nations without democracy and free markets. Nations that give their people freedom at home are also good neighbors to

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other nations. If nations turn away from freedom, it mean a turn toward tension, hatreds and instability.

At century's end, we have witnessed a stunning triumph of the ideal of freedom. At times, its triumph seemed so uncontested, so complete, that we forget how fragile its hold can be. At this moment of financial turmoil, we are called upon once again to lead – to organize the forces of a committed world, ~~not with force of arms this time~~, but to ~~master~~ channel the unruly energy of a new global economy. ~~Each and every one of you here must play your part, just as generations of leaders did before you.~~

~~If America once again rises~~ How we triumph as to our responsibility, as ~~we have~~ Americans so many times before, ~~then~~ we can redeem the promise of the global economy, and strengthen our nation for the 21st Century. Thank you etc.

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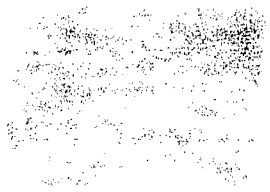
PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ADDRESS ON THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

September 14, 1998



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– Dick Holbrooke PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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Acknowledgments: Pete Peterson, chair of CFR; Les Gelb, Pres; admin alumni incl. Dan Tarullo and Anne Luzzatto; Sec. Rubin, NEC Dir. Sperling, Ex Sec Dir Tim Hannon

The Council on Foreign Relations has stood for political and economic freedom since the end of World War I. At century's end, we have witnessed a stunning triumph ~~of the ideal of~~ freedom. ~~At times, its triumph seemed so uncontested, so complete, that we forget how fragile its hold can be~~. But the economic difficulties, disruptions, and disappointment of ~~free~~ markets and global capitalism present a stark challenge to ~~the idea of~~ economic freedom, which if unaddressed, could ~~cast~~ a ~~shadow over~~ political freedom as well. That is the challenge I want to speak about today.

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Profound interests are at stake. This is a time of unsurpassed American economic strength -- but [redacted] a time of undeniable turmoil in the world economy. Our future prosperity depends upon whether we can work with others to restore confidence, manage change, stabilize the financial system, and spur robust global growth.

For most of the last 30 years, America and the world have been preoccupied by inflation. Today, low and stable inflation is critical to our economic health, and to that of many other nations. But the balance of risks has now shifted. ~~We must also guard against the danger of deflation -- the spiral downward that wipes out wealth and wipes away lives.~~ Today, the industrial world's chief priority must be to spur growth.

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There are [redacted] immediate steps we will take to help contain the current financial turmoil around the world:

(1) We must ~~will~~ work with Japan, Europe and other nations, ~~acting together~~ to spur growth. (2) We will expand our efforts to enable viable businesses in stricken Asian economies to emerge from crippling debt burdens, so they can once again contribute to growth and job creation. (3) We have asked the World Bank to double its support for the social safety net in Asia, to help those people who are the innocent victims of financial turmoil. (4) We will urge the major industrial economies to stand ready to use the $15 billion in IMF emergency funds to help stop the financial contagion from spreading to Latin America and elsewhere. (5) Our Sec'y/M Bank, under the leadership of Jim Harmon will intensify its efforts to generate econ. activity in developing world in next 3 months.

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(6)

~~And~~ Congress must live up to its responsibility for continued prosperity by meeting America's obligations to the IMF. Sec R has been working w/ his counterparts in G7 to get cooperation/support for several of these measures → ~~to~~ + understand Ch Greenspan & were consulting w/ his counterparts.

(4) ~~And~~ as we take these immediate steps, we ~~continue~~ must intensify ~~our~~ efforts to reform our trade and financial ~~architectures~~ institutions/rules so they better address the new challenges of the global economy. We must build a stronger and more accountable global trading system, pressing forward with market opening initiatives, ~~while~~ advancing the protection of labor and the environment. (5) ~~And~~ above all, we ~~should~~ must accelerate our ~~ongoing~~ efforts to [redacted] reform of the international financial system.

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Today I have asked Secretary Rubin and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Greenspan to convene a major meeting of their counterparts [redacted], to [redacted] ways to adapt the international financial architecture to the 21st Century.

Over the past six years, our strategy of fiscal discipline, investment in the skills of our people, and open trade has worked for all Americans -- unemployment is at a 28 year low, inflation a 32 year low, wages are rising at twice the rate of inflation after decades of stagnation, and on October 1 we will have the first balanced budget in 29 years.

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The global economy brought a lot of that prosperity to us. But its fast moving currents have brought or aggravated problems in Russia and Asia, and now threaten emerging economies from Latin America to South Africa.

With one quarter of the world's population, and one third of the world's economy, in recession, we must recognize that as Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan said, we cannot be an "oasis of prosperity." Growth at home depends upon growth in the world.

~~Why? Why should~~ Not surely Americans should care if Asia, or Russia, or South America is on solid economic footing?

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These nations are our customers -- with one third of our economic growth coming from exports, much of it to emerging markets. When their economies flatten, our exports falter. When the problem is widespread, our stock market reacts.

These nations are our competitors -- when their currencies drop, the prices of their goods fall, undercutting sales of goods made here at home.

These nations are our friends and allies ~~for the United States has a profound stake in the spread of freedom and democracy around the world.~~ Where economic turmoil plunges millions into sudden poverty, the risks of political and social instability -- and of a ~~return to dictatorship~~ turn from democracy -- rise.

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Look at Russia. Russia is facing an economic crisis that threatens the extraordinary progress the Russian people have made in just seven years, building a new society from the ground up. The ruble and the stock market there have plummeted, banks are weak, tax collection has slowed, and the government has trouble paying its debts and its salaries. Some Russians have become wealthy, but many more struggle to provide for their families. Amid political uncertainty, some now talk of abandoning the path of ~~freedom~~ reform and returning to policies of the past -- policies that have already failed. [illegible] could have implications not only for Russia, but for our country as well. Disease, fighting terrorism & spread of weapons, and many [illegible] together.

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Russia has a new Prime Minister, Mr. Primakov, in office only four days. He and President Yeltsin now face one of the greatest challenges of their time. Never has there been a more important moment to set a clear direction for the future: to affirm Russia's commitment to free markets and democracy, and to take the decisive steps that will stabilize the economy and restore investor confidence. As long as Russia takes these steps, we will do everything we can to provide support.

We know that no nation, rich or poor, democratic or authoritarian, can escape the fundamental economic imperatives of the global market. No nation can escape the discipline of the market. No nation can avoid the responsibility to do its part.

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Yet since all economies are increasingly interdependent, fear and uncertainty about the economy of one country can prompt investors to pull out money from another country thousands of miles away. Markets work best when they are driven neither by excessive inflows or outflows of capital, based on indiscriminate optimism or pessimism.

Regardless of what change in policies or institutions may be warranted, we still will be able to help only those nations who are willing to help themselves. If a nation chooses to print money indiscriminately, to wink at cronyism or corruption, to hide bad loans and protect corrupt or inefficient banks, then investors, foreign and domestic, sooner or later, will withdraw their investments, with consequences both swift and severe.

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That is why we support the fundamental approach of the International Monetary Fund: extending assistance only when nations have taken responsibility, strengthening their banking systems, introducing honest accounting and open markets, and awarding credit on merit instead of connections.

Still, what has been done is clearly not enough to reverse decline in particular countries, to douse the flames of international financial crisis, and to support steady and sustainable growth into the future.

~~The institutions and rules of the international economy and the actions of major economic powers must do so.~~

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In the face of this new kind of challenge, America can and must continue to act -- to take the urgent steps needed today to ~~douse the flames of~~ financial crisis, to restart the engine of growth in Asia, and to minimize the impact of the financial turmoil on other nations. ~~These steps will benefit us in the short-term.~~ And as we do so, we must also make certain that the institutions and rules of international finance are prepared to support steady and sustainable growth ~~into the future~~.

First and foremost, the leading economic nations must act together to spur global growth. No nation can do it alone; every nation must do its part.

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America's strong and growing economy has made a major contribution to global growth, just as our weak economy was holding the world back. Six years ago, when I attended my first G-7 meeting in Tokyo, every other nation urgently agreed with what I said when I ran for President: America must put its house in order. We did. Now we must maintain our own fiscal discipline that has lowered interest rates and fueled huge investment and job growth. ~~This is the most important thing we can do~~ Maintaining economic growth is the best thing we can do in the near term for the United States and the global economy.

Europe also must pursue the policies that will spur growth and keep their markets open, so they, too, will be able to provide growing markets for Asian goods as those nations seek to find their footing.

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Japan has a particularly critical role to play. As the second largest economy in the world, by far the largest economy in Asia, Japan holds the key to renewed growth in Asia and renewed confidence in the global economy. Japan faces formidable challenges: it must spur domestic demand, revive its banking system, restore confidence, deregulate its economy and open its markets. Still, it is a strong, diverse, sophisticated nation of great knowledge and achievement, fully capable of success. Look forward to my meeting next week w/ PM Obuchi to discuss how Am can support Jap efforts to restore growth + confidence

The second immediate step we must take is to intensify our efforts to speed economic recovery in Asia.

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Where countries such as South Korea and Thailand have taken strong and responsible steps, the free-fall has ended and progress is being made. But the human cost of Asia's collapse is only now fully being felt. As recent press reports have described, an entire generation that worked its way into the middle class over 25 years is plummeting into poverty in six months. The stories are heartbreaking -- doctors and nurses forced to live in the lobby of a closed hospital, middle class families who owned their own homes, sent their children to college, traveled abroad, now living by selling their possessions. It is in America's interest to help these nations recover; to once again become our fastest growing market.

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We have worked with international lenders like the IMF to help these nations to adopt pro-growth budget, tax and monetary policies. But we must do more to help restore Asian growth.

We must work to lift the weight of private sector debt that has frozen Asian economies. Today I am asking Secretary Rubin to work with other financial authorities and international economic institutions to enhance efforts to explore comprehensive plans to help Asian corporations to emerge from massive debt, where individual firms have been swept under by systemic national economic problems. We need to get credit flowing again and get businesses back to making products, providing services, and creating jobs.

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Third, Asian businesses need assistance, but so do millions of Asian families, and we must do more to establish an adequate social safety net in recovering nations. Wrenching economic transition without an adequate social safety net can sacrifice lives in the name of economic theory -- and can generate so much resistance that reform grinds to a halt.

With our support and encouragement, the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank have started to deal with these challenges, but they should expand their efforts.

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I ask them to double their aid through an expanded Social Compact initiative -- focusing on job assistance, basic needs during economic transition, on children and the elderly, and groups most vulnerable to economic change. I commend Jim Wolfenson for his efforts and willingness to spearhead this expanded initiative.

Fourth, we must be ready to respond immediately and with financial force if the currency crisis continues to spread – especially as it threatens the economies of Latin America, where nations struggled to make progress, only to find themselves buffeted by economic storms outside their control.

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Therefore, the major economies should stand ready to activate the $15 billion now in the emergency fund of the IMF -- the General Agreement to Borrow -- to ensure that the IMF continues to support reform and fight economic contagion.

(5) Our Ex-Im Bank is increasing its commitments to specific countries over the next 3 years, projects which will have concrete benefits for the citizens of those countries and which can help to restore confidence in countries that may are not alone but positive development can occur.

~~To that end, by far the most important thing we in~~

(6) For efforts of this nature to succeed,

America ~~can do it to~~ must meet our obligations to the IMF.

After a year of financial firefighting, the IMF's resources are badly strained. Every day we do not act, we undermine the confidence the world badly needs.

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Congress simply must step up to its responsibility for our leadership in this new economy. In my State of the Union Address, I said that it is far better to prepare for a storm now than when the clouds are overhead. Today, eight months later, the clouds are much closer, and we can hear the thunder. By an overwhelming bipartisan majority, the Senate has moved rapidly and responsibly on this imperative. But with only 5 weeks left in the congressional session, there is still no action from the House of Representatives.



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Let me put it as plainly as I can: Failure by this Congress to pay our dues to the IMF will put our prosperity at risk. Failure to act will send a sharp signal that at a time of economic challenge, lawmakers were unwilling to protect America's workers, businesses and farmers from the risks of global economic change, unwilling to maintain our leadership in building a global economic system that has benefited us more than any other nation.

Concerted action to spur growth … helping Asia through private sector debt restructuring and a strengthened social safety net … helping protect the rest of the world through use of the IMF's emergency fund, and by meeting our own obligations to the IMF … we will take these immediate steps.

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And we must be willing to take action for the long-term, to modify the world's [redacted] financial and trading institutions ~~so they~~ [redacted] to Match the realities of the new economy they serve.

By creating the World Trade Organization in 1994, we began to build a modern trading system. We must redouble our efforts to tear down trade barriers around the world. But as I said in Geneva last May, we must do more to ensure that spirited economic competition among nations never becomes a race to the bottom -- in environemntal protections, consumer protections, or labor standards.

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We are working to open the procedures of the W.T.O. to participation by the public and the full range of interests.

We have already completed 260 trade agreements, opening markets in areas from autos to telecommunications. Next year we will host the meeting of the world's trade ministers ~~in Washington~~, where we will set the agenda for expanded trade in the first decade of the new century. History teaches us that at a time of worldwide difficulty, it would be folly to retreat into a protectionist shell. We must keep trade flowing among nations.



But we must also ensure that trade works to reinforce nations obligations to preserve their environment & global environment & lives of their citizens

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This November, when I meet with the leaders of the Asian economies at APEC, we will move forward to further open markets in Asia. It is more important than ever. And when Congress returns in the new year, I will work to pass legislation to open markets further – from trade negotiating powers to the African trade initiative – that can win the support of a broad majority of both parties.

G7 And from the meetings ~~in Naples to~~ Halifax ~~to~~ ~~Birmingham~~, ~~we have begun to lay~~ we have been working to plans for a new financial architecture. For the first time this year, we ~~have~~ included key emerging markets in this process, in a new Group of 22, recognizing their important stake in the global economy. This group has been working for nearly a year to improve the global financial system.

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Even as we respond to urgent alarms, ~~it is not too early to begin absorbing the lessons of today's turmoil~~ we must ~~and~~ speed the pace of this dynamic work.

That is why I have asked ~~So today I ask~~ Secretary Rubin and Chairman Greenspan to convene the finance ministers and central bankers of the G-7 and key emerging economies in Washington D.C. within 30 days to develop a preliminary report to the heads of state, by the beginning of next year, on strengthening the world financial system. We must develop policies so countries can reap the benefits of free-flowing capital in a way that is safe and sustainable. We must adapt the IMF so that it can more effectively confront the new types of financial crisis, minimizing their frequency, severity, and human cost.

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We need to consider ways to extend emergency financing when countries are battling crises of confidence due to worldwide financial distress. We must find ways to tap the energy of global markets without sentencing the world to a cycle of continued crises. For a half century, in our national economy, we have learned to ~~tame~~ the swings of boom and bust; now, in the 21st Century, we must do so in the global economy as well.

I have discussed this in recent days with Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, the Chair of the G-7, and he shares my belief that this is an urgent task.

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It is critical to the mission that he and I and Prime Minister Prodi of Italy will be discussing next week at New York University School of Law – how to extend the benefits of the world economy to all, and how to strengthen democracy in a time of sweeping economic change.

In short, we must improve our ability to address the current financial emergency, and we must build a system to prevent such future emergencies when possible, and blunt their impact when they do occur. There is no mission more critical to the strength and security of our country.

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What is at stake is more than the spread of free markets and their integration into a global economy. The forces behind the new global economy are also those that deepen the democratic liberties that allow us to thrive as individuals. The free flow of ideas and information. Open borders and easy travel. The rule of law, fair and evenhanded enforcement, protection for consumers. A skilled and educated workforce. Each of these things is vital not only to the wealth of nations, but also to the health of freedom and democracy. If citizens tire of waiting for democracy and free markets to deliver a better life, there is real risk that democracy and free markets, instead of continuing to thrive together, will perish together.

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This would pose great risks for our security. For as we see around the world, the international aggressors, the harborers of terrorists and drug lords, are authoritarian nations without democracy and free markets. Nations that give their people freedom at home are also good neighbors to other nations. When nations turn away from freedom, they turn toward tension, hatreds and instability.

Now we have a chance to create opportunity on a worldwide scale -- to lift billions around the world in a truly global middle class. That is the possibility. But recent events show us it is not a certainty.

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At this moment of financial turmoil, we are called upon once again to lead -- to organize the forces of a committed world to channel the unruly energies of the global economy into positive channels that advance our interests, reinforce our values, and enhance our security. We know what to do; the World War II generation did it for us fifty years ago.

Now it is time for us to rise to our responsibility, as America has so many times before, so that we can redeem the promise of the global economy, and strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

Thank you, God Bless ...

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Draft 6/16/97 10 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF DENVER
DENVER, COLORADO
JUNE 19, 1997

[Acknowledgments]

It is my pleasure to welcome the world to Denver, a city that is bursting with the promise of the new century to come. A city whose people are the most educated in America, in a state that has increased its exports faster than any other state for three years in a row. A community that once drew its wealth from the mine shafts, the factories and the land, and now thrives on its telecommunications, aerospace, banking, and computer software. A pioneer outpost on the frontier of the 21st century.

Over a century ago, Walt Whitman visited Denver. Of the pioneers he met, he wrote: All the past we leave behind / we debouch upon a newer, mightier world. Today, the men and women of Denver are cutting new paths. In this building, the product of our culture is transformed from analog to digital, from yesterday s technology to tomorrow's, [~~more on this place~~]

Today the energy and optimism of Denver is felt throughout America. We gather here, for our summit of the world's leading industrialized democracies, at a time of unmatched prosperity and unparalleled American influence. Our economy is the healthiest in a generation, and the strongest in the world. ~~Our budget deficit is now the smallest as a share of our income of any major industrial nation, and our job growth is the largest. America's economy is resurgent, and~~ we are now poised to lead in the new century, as we have throughout this century.

This is a moment when we in America, and all of the industrial democracies, have an opportunity to cut a new path to prosperity, a chance to create a new dynamic center to ~~stabilize~~ the world economy and bring prosperity to our people. America's economic success ~~was~~ has been the product of a strategy born of that dynamic center -- a new American economic approach ~~that~~ required us to puncture the myths and push past the stale debates that had held us back for so long. It enabled us to move, earlier and more strongly than most other nations, into the new global economy.

For all its promise, this moment is not free from peril. More and more people prosper in the global economy -- but others struggle to keep up without the right education or training. New

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technologies and the lightning fast movement of information, money and people bring us closer than ever -- but also make us more vulnerable to new threats like international crime, drug trafficking, terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, infectious diseases and environmental decay that have no respect for borders.

Here in Denver, at the Summit of the Eight, our challenge is to use this time of relative peace and stability to organize our community of democracies for the future -- to seize the opportunities of the world economy to expand our own prosperity... to bring in other countries like Russia that want to share in its benefits... and to meet the new threats that globalization has unleashed.

The last time America hosted such a summit, in Houston in 1990, our economy was heading into recession. We had suffered two decades of stop-and-start growth, and slipping standards of living. America's budget deficit-- proportionally the largest of any nation--was growing larger and larger, and was a drag not only on our economy, but on the world s economy. In 1990, with our own house in disarray, America could not lead.

There was a new economy waiting to be born, and our economic strategy was designed to create the conditions for private sector growth, to help America move from the industrial age to the information age. Our strategy had three elements: reducing the deficit, investing in our people, and opening the world to trade. ~~In each of these areas, our actions and our success shattered the myths that were the conventional wisdom of our day.~~

First, we knew we had to reduce the deficit. ~~Those who oppose our plan, and even some who supported it, argued~~ that deficit reduction might be good for the economy in the long term but lead to recession in the short term -- bitter medicine, good for the patient, but hard to swallow. Well, we have reduced the deficit from $290 billion the day I took office to less than $70 billion today. It is headed toward zero. And what we now know is this: deficit reduction can stimulate the economy. It is now clear that in the era of international financial markets, and a bond market that judges the actions of all governments, putting your fiscal house in order is a precondition for prosperity. No nation can inflate or deficit-spend its way to ~~prosperity~~ good times.

Now we in America must ~~press forward with our strategy.~~ The balanced budget agreement ~~that I have reached with the leaders of Congress will eliminate the budget deficit by the year 2002.~~ This will lead to lower interest rates, more capital for private business, and even greater confidence in the American economy. I am pleased ~~by the progress we have made so far, working with the Congress, to enact this balanced budget.~~ It has received overwhelming ~~votes~~ support from ~~by~~ a majority of both parties in both houses of Congress. And I look forward to signing it into

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law before this year is over.

Today This is also a time when all the other industrial nations face a similar choice. As Europe moves to a monetary integration, as Japan continues to seek to stimulate greater demand, and even as Russia moves toward a full integration into the global economy, each nation faces the challenge of moving toward fiscal stability. Cutting the budget deficit is not easy. It was not easy in the United States, it is not easy anywhere it is required. But our experience shows that deficit reduction is not merely bitter medicine that must be swallowed to save the patient, but can be a boost of energy for a modern economy.

The second part of our strategy was to invest in our people. For many years, many argued that social investments might be noble social policy, but that they would lead to rigidity and inflexibility. But this was a dangerous, false choice. It is true that big governments, big bureaucracies and rigid policies can choke off economic growth. But in the modern economy, when factories and funds can flash across the globe, the key to national prosperity is to give our people the education, skills, and tools they need to prosper.

We got rid of those government programs that weren't working, and that gave people something for nothing. We ended the old welfare system, which trapped millions of Americans in a cycle of dependency, generation after generation. We focused instead not on new guarantees, but on new tools to help American families succeed in the new economy. Our primary focus is to give every American the best education in the world. Nothing else is more important in this new era. As Prime Minister Blair said when I met with him at 10 Downing Street last month, our focus must be "education, education, education." From expanding Head Start Pre-school, to improving school performance, to doubling the number of Pell Grant scholarships for deserving college students, we have worked to improve the quality and affordability of American education.

Now our balanced budget plan takes the bold next step. I said when we reached this agreement, I was especially proud that this balanced budget is also the best education bill in a generation. It includes the single largest increase in Federal support for education since the GI Bill 50 years ago. It will give families tax cuts targeted to education; it will help us to connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000; and it will xxxxx.

We have also worked, step by step, to extend health care to more Americans--making it possible for working people to take their health care with them, as they move from job to job, through the Kennedy-Kassebaum Act that I signed into law last year. And the effort to secure the pensions of 40 million Americans, giving working people and small businesspeople the chance to save for

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retirement even as they move from job to job. [TRAINING]

Each of these changes have one thing in common: they give hard-working American families the tools to prosper in the new economy. They do not seek to stop economic change; they do not seek to protect every American from the possibility of losing ground in the new economy; what they do is give Americans who take responsibility the opportunity to succeed in the new economy.

All the nations of the industrial world face a similar choice. Some say we must protect working people from all economic change; others say that a government that cares is a luxury. Our experience proves that in the new economy, it is not only possible to invest in people while increasing economic flexibility-- it is essential. Only if working people feel that they have a chance to succeed in a dynamic and changing economy will they wholeheartedly rush forward into that economy.

The third element of our strategy was this: America chose to reach outward, embrace the possibility of the global economy, and seek to ensure that it worked for our people. For us, this was an imperative: America has one-twentieth of the world s population, and one-fifth of its income. The only way for us to maintain our standard of living is to sell our goods and our services to the remaining 95 percent of the world's consumers who live outside our borders. We have made it our mission to break down the barriers to America's goods and services around the world. The NAFTA, the GATT, and over 200 other trade agreements all had one purpose in common: to tear down barriers abroad that keep out American-made goods and services.

This policy, too, has begun to bear fruit for the American economy. Once again, America is the number one exporter in the world. Today, ____ million jobs -- including ____ thousand here in Colorado-- are linked to global trade. And increasingly, the good jobs, the high-paying jobs that we want to create, are coming from trade.

Now, as we move forward, we must resist the false choice between building walls of protection and letting free trade run unbridled.

Protectionism is not an option because globalization is irreversible. We can go faster or slower by seeking more or fewer trade agreements. We can do more or less to cushion the negative effects of globalization by strengthening or shrinking our social safety nets... and investing more or less in education and training. But we cannot turn back. Legend has it that a millennium ago, Canute, the Danish King of England, set his throne on the sea's edge and commanded the waves

COPY

to go backwards to prove to his people that even Kings cannot control nature. Globalization is a new force of nature. If we try to will it away, it will wash over us -- and others in Europe and Asia will ride its tide.

But ungoverned free trade is not an option either. Even as it creates unparalleled prosperity, globalization threatens to widen the rift between people with the skills and mobility to flourish in the global economy and those without them. We cannot turn our backs on those who risk being left behind -- we have an obligation to enforce the trade agreements we make... to give our people the education, training and technology they need to succeed... to ensure that the benefits of progress are not enjoyed by the few while its burdens are carried by many. ~~[Labor/ environment?]~~

America is uniquely placed to succeed in the global economy and the Information Age. Increasingly, the forces of integration are driven by American ideas and reflect American ideals. Our movies and music, our t.v. programming and software programs animate the lives of people on every continent. The science, technology and new inventions that are shaping the future are made in America.. [95% of the world s Internet traffic is in English] Our diversity gives us strength and strong bonds to virtually every market on earth. At the dawn of a new century, America is not only a military superpower, but also an economic and information superpower. We have nothing to fear -- and everything to gain -- by embracing this new age of globalization.

In the weeks and months ahead, America faces two tests that will decide whether we stick with this strategy. First, will we continue to engage the world economy by continuing to give normal trade treatment to China? Or will we cut ourselves off from one quarter of the world's population -- ending our efforts to cooperate with China on issues important to America's interests and our influence to encourage China's adherence to the rules of international conduct? Second, will Congress give the President the fast track authority every President has had for the last XX years to open new markets for American products through tough new trade agreements? Or will we turn away from the vast opportunities offered by the rising regions of the world and let our competitors gain a lock on the markets of the future? The choices are clear -- and so are the answers.

* * *

~~Our approach is the approach of a new dynamic center.~~ The American System that I describe today recognizes frankly that we live in a world with fewer guarantees, fewer promises; a world of greater risk, and infinitely greater reward.

In our country, and in every country, change of this pace can be unsettling, sometimes even

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frightening. But we cannot order the tides of change to recede, like King Canute, even if we wanted to. We cannot expand a thriving middle class in 1997 or 2007 by paying lower wages than Singapore or Ceylon; by throwing up walls of protection and selling only to ourselves; by holding on to yesterday s government at a time when we urgently need to prepare for tomorrow. up.

(gonna to get it, easy.

This is the choice we face. This is the choice Europe faces. This is the choice Japan faces. And this is the choice Russia faces. This is the great challenge and the even greater opportunity for the industrial democracies as we leave this century behind and enter a new one. If we meet that challenge, this will be remembered as a time on the eve of the 21st century, when the leaders of the free world took the steps needed to extend prosperity, stability, and peace to all the nations of the world in the century ahead.

So I m very glad that we are meeting here, in Denver. When the leaders of the world's greatest economic powers fly into Denver, today and tomorrow, they will be struck not only by the breathtaking beauty of the Rockies [fill in Colorado]. They will see a city bursting with commerce, a city with satellite companies, software companies, and factories working double shift using the most advanced technology. They will see a city where people from every background, of many races, religions, working side by side, are seizing the opportunity of this new time. When the men and women of the world ask what will this future look like, I say come to Denver.

Thank you for hosting this important Summit of the Eight, and more important, thank you for helping to lead our nation with your example and your vision.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks prepared for delivery Democratic Leadership Council (22 pages)	06/04/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks prepared for delivery Democratic Leadership Council (22 pages)	06/04/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14447

FOLDER TITLE:
[Remarks by WJC Prepared for Delivery at Democratic Leadership Council, June 4, 1998]

2006-0469-F
db3369

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]
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]
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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]

THE PRESIDENT [illegible] FINAL

6-4-98

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
Remarks Prepared for Delivery
Democratic Leadership Council
June 4, 1998

– STATE REP ANTONIO RILEY, CHAIR – DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY BOARD

Acknowledgments: Al From and Will Marshall – SEN LIEBERMAN from the DLC. Governor Roy Romer, Gov. Tom Carper, Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, [redacted] – JILL DOCKING [redacted]. And the many other state and local elected officials in attendance.

I am pleased to be at the Democratic Leadership Council's second annual National Conversation. Around this room are the New Democratic leaders of the future. COME A LONG WAY SINCE 1984 — SINCE NO DECLARATION OF NEW POL OF OPP, REP, COMM —

CC: Laura Capps

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6-4-98

You belong to a growing and new national movement, but you are also at the same time the bearers of the oldest and most treasured American political tradition.

It's worth remembering that in the 19th century our party was known not only as the Democratic Party. It was also called simply the Democracy, ~~and the reason was self evident: it was~~ because it stood for all the people. We were the Democracy then, and we are the Democracy now.

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6-4-98

We belong to the party of hope, the party of the future, the party that empowers individuals in their own lives and gives them a sense that they are part of great national progress. The credo of Andrew Jackson's day is still our credo today: Opportunity for all, special privilege for none. ~~Today, New Democrats~~ are the cutting edge of the new Democracy. In each new age, we have found a way to make our bedrock principles modern. ~~Being modern means~~ finding new methods to animate enduring values.

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We've called our approach the third way. It is the path to progress for the middle class in the new economy. It means government must be more active, more effective and less expensive, ~~Our guiding purpose is equal opportunity for all. Our ethic~~ is individual and mutual responsibility. ~~We are dedicated~~ to the proposition that more than ever before we must be one America, not divided against ourselves by region or race, religion, gender or generation.

We advocate a government that can bring us together and move us forward, not a government that tears us apart and sets us back.

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6-4-98

The American people have entrusted us to lead our nation into the 21st century. ~~Why? It is not an accident. It's because we have a philosophy of governing. It's~~ because our ideas and our values are transforming our party and our nation for the better. ~~It's because we have a record of accomplishment.~~

This is a time of confidence, for ourselves as individuals and for our nation.

Today, all around the world, governments and leaders are looking to our movement, to the Third Way, to our vital center, as a model for their own progress.

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6-4-98

We are building an American example for the new millennium right now. We are present at the future.

Think of how far we have come. In the early 1990s, long-neglected economic and social problems had piled up. Crime was spiraling, and nobody believed that it could be stopped. Poverty was growing. The real wages of working families were steadily falling. There were deficits as far as the eye could see.

The country was told by certain ~~deep thinkers~~ experts that we could not solve our problems, that government was at best useless, and at worst a force for ill.

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Certain politicians, in the meantime, cynically exploited social differences by turning them into "wedge issues," dividing Americans for partisan advantage. Various schools of thought developed about national decline. Declinism, as it was called, became an intellectual fad. There was a debate about the end of history. And nobody, but nobody, believed that a Democrat could ever be elected President.

It was in this environment that the New Democratic movement began in earnest. At the DLC Convention in Cleveland in 1991 we proudly proclaimed ourselves "New Democrats", champions of "the third way."

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6-4-98

It was there that we adopted the themes that we've adhered to ever since: opportunity, responsibility, community. Our ideas were driven by our values, our politics was driven by our policies --and not the other way around. What we campaigned on, we intended to govern on. ~~We believed that success in government would do more than reverse the long trend of declining trust in government~~.

We had faith that if we translated our ideas into policy we would foster a new national self-confidence; we would begin to awaken a new sense of community.

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6-4-98

We came to the country with a new vision and a strategy to make it a new reality: to widen the circle of opportunity for the middle class in the new economy. Rather than empty rhetoric, we offered serious, substantive proposals. And those New Democratic proposals have truly changed the face of our Nation.

We promised to reinvent government so it costs less and works better. And we kept that promise. Thanks to the hard work of Vice President Gore, we have reduced the federal payroll by 350,000 positions -- its smallest size since John F. Kennedy was President.

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6-4-98

We've eliminated 16,000 pages of unnecessary government regulations, more than 250 outdated government programs, and 640,000 pages of internal rules. All told, the Vice President's efforts have saved $137 billion. Years ago, reinventing government was a New Democrat IDEA. Today it is an American success story.

We promised to make our streets, stores and schoolyards safer, by funding 100,000 new police officers in community policing programs. And we kept that promise.

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Our Crime Bill, Brady Bill, assault weapon ban and prevention efforts have helped reduce crime, saving lives, saving neighborhoods, saving a sense of security and community and dignity for millions of Americans. Years ago, our tough, smart plan for reducing crime was a New Democrat idea. Today it is an American success story.

We promised to ease the burden of taxes, to reward work and lift millions of working families out of poverty. And we kept that promise.

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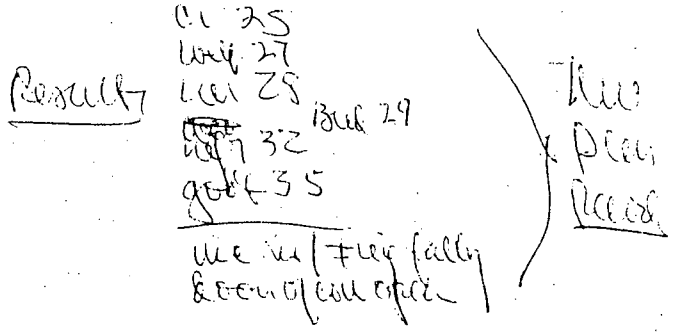
The Earned Income Tax Credit has helped make real the American Dream that if you work full-time, and have kids at home, you will not raise those children in poverty. Years ago, our plan for rewarding work and cutting taxes for working families was a New Democrat idea. Today it is an American success story.

And so it has been on so many other fronts. Welfare reform. Tough child support enforcement. Family and Medical Leave. Creating jobs by expanding trade. Empowerment Zones. National Service. HOPE Scholarships. A balanced budget. All of them promises made. All of them promises kept.

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6-4-98

All of them New Democrat ideas. And all of them American success stories.



As we near the end of this decade of change, we can look back with pride to its beginnings --and ours --and say that our work has brought us to a new place in a new time. We are not where we were in the early 1990s. We have redefined our party. The Democrats are the party of the future again. We have brought our nation into the new era.

COPY

6-4-98

And yet we dare not rest. The enemies of our time are complacency, contentment, self-satisfaction --attributes that run against the American grain. Our task today is no longer to repair the damage of the past, but to meet the challenges of the future.

Our duty is to strengthen the Nation for the 21st Century; to stand against those who would return to the policies of decline and drift.

We face a clear choice: leading the nation forward, advancing our interests, our values, our national purpose.

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6-4-98

On education, we support smaller classes, higher standards, better teachers, improved technology, get class

On juvenile crime and the plague of youth violence, we support a Youth Brady Bill, a juvenile crime bill, funding for the Safe & Drug-Free Schools Act.

On child care, we support tax credits to help make safe, high-quality child care affordable for working parents.

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These are pressing problems. They demand dynamic solutions. We must act now.

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6-4-98

The choice is clear. Progress versus obstruction; confidence versus doubt; positive versus negative; new ideas that work versus old orthodoxies that don't. We've come too far, as a party and as a people, to turn back now.

Today, especially, we should reflect on the journey that brought us to this moment of possibility. Thirty years ago this week our nation ~~was shocked and shaken to learn of the tragic~~ death of Robert F. Kennedy. ~~And~~ yet his urgent, striving voice challenges us still today.

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Robert Kennedy was compelled to enter into the presidential race by the Vietnam War and civil strife. Here was a man in the arena attempting to redefine what it meant, not just to be a Democrat, but to be an American, in a new and turbulent time.

Again and again in the cauldron of that 85-day campaign, he challenged us to look beyond the here-and-now, saying, "Some people see things as they are and ask, why? I see things that never were and ask, why not?"

COPY

Amid despair, he offered hope. Amid tumult, he offered vision. Amid division, he preached unity. Robert Kennedy spoke of the injustices of class and race--and challenged us to seek "national reconciliation." He spoke of the indecency of drugs and violence, and challenged us to personal responsibility. He spoke of the fraying of the ties that bind, and challenged us to renew our sense of community.

COPY

He spoke powerful truths in difficult times, declaring: "Perhaps the area of our greatest domestic failure is in the system of welfare," and called for "an effort which will provide jobs, not welfare dollars." He spoke of reinventing government. "There is nothing sacred about government procedure," he said. And he called for a "new politics," a new politics "that is an end to some of the cliches and stereotypes of past political rhetoric."

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"In too much of our political dialogue," he said, "'liberals' have been those who wanted to spend more money, while 'conservatives' have been those who wanted to pretend that all problems should solve themselves...But the times are too difficult, our needs are too great, for such restricted visions." And, then, he was taken from us.

~~It would be too glib, too flip today to claim that Robert Kennedy was a New Democrat. The issues of 30 years ago belong to their time. But Robert Kennedy was an insistent, impatient voice for change. He believed we could be one nation.~~

COPY

6-4-98

He was not bound by dogmas or myths, but had an instinct for innovation. He was in our tradition. And we loved him then and we mourn him still.

(2) Now we are moving again confident + free to pursue LET them ——— to seek the

(1) One of Robert Kennedy's favorite lines of poetry was written by Alfred Lord Tennyson: "Come, my friends/ 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world." never used of the 21st C

All across the nation, the New Democratic movement is the leading edge of the future.

In our day and in our way we too seek a newer world. And no, my friends, it's not too late at all. In fact, we've only just begun.

Butter don't have a more on to seek

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Thank you. And God bless America.

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CC: Laura Capps

6-4-98

1st DRAFT

President William Jefferson Clinton
Remarks Prepared for Delivery
Democratic Leadership Council
June 4, 1998

Acknowledgments: Al From and Will Marshall from the DLC. Governor Roy Romer, Gov. Tom Carper, Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Mayor Wellington Webb. And the many other state and local elected officials in attendance.

I am pleased to be at the Democratic Leadership Council's second annual National Conversation. Around this room are the New Democratic leaders of the future.

The DLC has come a long way since 1984, a long way even since our New Orleans Manifesto in 1990.

COPY

6-4-98

This is a time of confidence, for ourselves as individuals and for our nation. ~~Our faith in our ability~~ to carry on the world's greatest experiment in self-government is strong and growing. Our progress encourages us to believe that the path we are on is the right one and that ~~the goals we offer~~ our vision for the nation can be achieved. ~~The new era that I am talking about is not some vague futuristic fantasy. It is not science fiction. It~~ is down-to-earth, ~~practical and real~~.

~~We are already building this new era. It has required sacrifice and hard work and dedication. But our faith and our patience are being rewarded~~.

COPY

6-4-98

Today, all around the world, governments and leaders are looking to our movement, to the Third Way, to our vital center, as a model for their own progress. We are building an American example for the new millennium right now. We are present at the future.

Think of how far we have come. In the early 1990s, long-neglected economic and social problems had piled up. Crime was spiraling, and nobody believed that it could be stopped. Poverty was growing. The real wages of working families were steadily falling. There were deficits as far as the eye could see.

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COPY

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We had faith that if we translated our ideas into policy we would foster a new national self-confidence; ~~we would begin to~~ and awaken a new sense of community.

~~We came to the country with a new~~ vision and a ~~strategy to make it a new reality: to widen the circle of opportunity for the middle class in the new economy.~~ As we near the end of this decade of change, we can look back to its beginnings -- and ours -- and say that our work has brought us to a new place in a new time. We are not where we were in the early 1990s. We have redefined our party. The Democrats are the party of the future again. We have brought our nation into the new era.

COPY

6-4-98

We are at a new beginning, where the work we have done has opened the door to even greater possibilities than we had imagined. We are striving to create an American example for the world. We are striving to secure opportunity for an expanding middle class. We are striving to become one nation, rising together.

And yet we dare not rest. The enemies of our time are complacency, contentment, ~~self-satisfaction~~ -- attributes that are literally un-American. Our task today is no longer to repair the damage of the past, but to meet the challenges of the future.

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6-4-98

Our duty is to strengthen the Nation for the 21st Century; to stand against those who would return to the policies of decline and drift.

We must lead

We ~~face a clear choice: leading~~ the nation forward, advancing our interests, our values, our national purpose.

~~Or we can return to proven failure, a government that does less but costs more.~~

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6-4-98

Since one of our New Democratic initiatives is to require the government to use plain language, allow me to practice what I preach -- and say to you as plainly as I can, that on so many important issues facing the lives of working families, we Democrats choose to do the right thing, and those who oppose us in Congress choose to do nothing.

On health care, we say, pass a Patients' Bill of Rights. Expand Medicare for those 55 and older who want to pay their own way in -- do the right thing. But those who oppose us in Congress say, do nothing.

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On education, we say, smaller classes, higher standards, better teachers, improved technology -- do the right thing. But those who oppose us in Congress say, do nothing.

On juvenile crime and the plague of youth violence, we say, pass a Youth Brady Bill, pass our juvenile crime bill, fund the Safe & Drug-Free Schools Act -- do the right thing. But those who oppose us in Congress say, do nothing.

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On child care, we say, create tax credits to help make safe, high-quality child care affordable for working parents -- do the right thing. But those who oppose us in Congress say, do nothing.

A half a century ago, another Democrat, seeking to forge a new future in a time of great change, was faced with a similar situation. And Harry Truman famously branded the 80th Congress "the Do-Nothing Congress." But if he were alive today, Harry Truman would say the current Congress makes his "Do-Nothing Congress" look like a dynamo.

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Consider this: by June 1 of 1948, the notorious "Do-Nothing Congress" of Truman's era had enacted 178 public laws. But as of June 1 of 1998, the current Congress has enacted just 21. This Congress is going to have to get busy just to catch up to the "Do-Nothing Congress."

But let me be fair to our friends in the other party. On some issues they <u>have</u> proposals -- proposals that are actually worse than doing nothing.

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Today their budget -- their blueprint -- comes before the House of Representatives, and it seeks to turn back the clock on so many areas in which our Nation has made progress: Medicare, education, the environment, National Service, welfare reform. And perhaps worst of all, it would drain the surplus -- a surplus I have pledged to reserve until we come together to save Social Security.

The choice is clear. Progress versus obstruction; confidence versus doubt; positive versus negative; new ideas that work versus old orthodoxies that don't. We've come too far, as a party and as a people, to turn back now.

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Today, especially, we should reflect on the journey that brought us to this moment of possibility. Thirty years ago this week our nation was ~~shocked and shaken to learn~~ saddened the ~~of the~~ tragic death of Robert F. Kennedy. And yet his urgent, striving voice challenges us still today.

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Today, New Democrats are the cutting edge of the new Democracy, ~~In each new age, we have found a way~~ to make our bedrock principles modern, ~~Being modern~~ ~~means~~ finding new methods to animate enduring values.

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6-4-98

As my friend the British Prime Minister Tony Blair says about his efforts in building the New Labor Party, "This is a movement, not a monument." In our country, in our time, it is the New Democrats who are on the move.

The third way is the path to progress for the middle class in the new economy. It means government must be more active, more effective and less expensive. Our guiding purpose is equal opportunity for all. Our ethic is individual and mutual responsibility. We are dedicated to the proposition that more than ever before we must be one America, not divided against ourselves by region or race or religion, gender or generation.

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One of Robert Kennedy's favorite lines of poetry was written by Alfred Lord Tennyson: "Come, my friends/ 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

All across the nation, the New Democratic movement is ~~the leading edge of the future~~. In our day and in our way ~~we too~~ seek a newer world of boundless human possibility. And no, my friends, it's not too late at all. In fact, we've only just begun.

Thank you. And God bless America.

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6-4-98

You belong to a growing and new national movement, but you are also at the same time the bearers of the oldest and most treasured American political tradition. What we now challenge to make new cultural approaches and political connections, to take big steps with the future animated by energy that while strong fast to the unchanging values.

It's worth remembering that in the 19th century our party was known not only as the Democratic Party. It was also called simply the Democracy, and the reason was self-evident, it was because it stood for all the people. We were the Democracy then, and we are the Democracy now.

We stand for freedom + responsibility, a TJ idea
equal for all, for min for majority a TJ idea
respect for diversity but primacy of common
Am unity in interdependent world
Gov't must actively to make what & can
when - could in work and family
come common

Today, a in best moments
country's part → we stand for H*C vision
of

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BB/Sergh 29yrs open door of cell
Meredith 28yrs water service
Wells 27yrs peace + child
CK 25yrs Lisa + Leon
Inflat 30yrs well place, plot, space

Incidence → DC: cut + invest → gov't
jail + child sell
career goal
math service
welfare go for child
professions - clergy, adoption

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the DLC (16 pages)	12/02/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14447

FOLDER TITLE:
[Remarks to the Democratic Leadership Council,Washington, D.C., 12/2/98]

2006-0469-F
db3370

RESTRICTION CODES

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Final 12/1/98
Paul Glastris/Michael Waldman

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO THE DLC

CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART

WASHINGTON, DC

Wednesday, December 2, 1998

Aknowledge

- Senator Joe Lieberman
- Al From, DLC President
- Jonathan Tisch, DLC Dinner Chair
- Will Marshall, PPI President

COPY

I will never forget the day, seven years ago, when I spoke before the Democratic Leadership Council in Cleveland. At that time our party was struggling, our nation was suffering, and the DLC was just a small group of like-minded individuals with big plans. In Cleveland that day I said that we must give the American people "a new choice, rooted in old values, a new choice that is simple, that offers opportunity, demands responsibility, gives citizens more say, provides them with responsive government--all because we recognize that we are a community, we are all in this together, and we are going up or down together."

COPY

Opportunity; responsibility; community--these were the words we used to define a new approach to government and politics, one rooted in our most enduring values but shaped to match the demands of the information age. We would not seek to dam the currents of economic change; to do so would decrease opportunity and doom our children to diminished dreams. But also we would not--as Americans, and as Democrats, we could not--tell our people that they had to sink or swim on their own. We realized that the way to advance the spirit of the New Deal was not to preserve its programs in amber but to act in the spirit of FDR himself, who said in his great Commonwealth Club speech in 1932 that "new conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government." We said we were New Democrats. We called our ideas the Third Way.

COPY

Now, our ideas were not universally welcomed or even wholly understood--by the press, by the Republicans, or even by some in our own party. But fired by the conviction that America could lead once again, we won the Presidency in 1992; ~~insisting that our way was the only way to build a bridge to the 21st Century~~, our party won the White House again in 1996--the first time a Democratic president has been reelected since FDR. And as ~~we Democrats have stepped forward with a modern and bold approach, our party has~~ regained the trust of the American people.

COPY

Last month, standing strong and united on a platform of fiscal responsibility, strengthening Social Security, renewing our public schools, and protecting people in the new health care marketplace, our party won an historic election victory. As you well know, this was the first time the President's party has gained seats in a sixth year congressional election since 1822. I will point out that after the last time that happened, the other party disappeared!

Nonetheless, those members of the other party who this year had the greatest electoral success campaigned with language and even policies that are strikingly similar to ours.

COPY

When Republican governors stand in front of cloth banners that read "opportunity, responsibility, community," it may not be "the sincerest form of flattery," but we should take it as flattery nonetheless. In fact, these same ideas are reviving center-left political parties throughout the industrialized world. From Great Britain to Germany, Greece to the Netherlands, new center/left governments in Europe are using their strong majorities to cut deficits, to retool welfare systems to reward work, and to remake the social compact so that opportunities expand for all of their citizens.

COPY

Far from Europe, in Brazil, bold actions by a like-minded President Cardoso have tamed that country's notorious inflation, pointing the way for a new model for development in emerging democracies, one that does not over-rely on the heavy hand of government or on the invisible hand of markets. And it all started with the DLC. A political movement begun by people in this room ~~a decade ago~~ ten years ago is today literally sweeping the world.

We have ~~done~~ would have to do more than fashion a new political approach, well packaged and well marketed. We have ~~found~~ labored to find the right way for a leading industrial nation to thrive in the 21st Century. ~~We have led the way to a new American consensus--a way in which~~ to many post policy, to build a new American consensus, rooted in both the values and vision that have always animated the American center ~~can~~ and new ideas necessary to ~~once again guide our nation~~ transform our increasingly changing world we live in. Today, it is clear, the Third Way has become the American way.

COPY

This is however not a time for self-congratulation. America

~~The question is: Why? Why have our ideas become~~ is working again → ~~2+2+2+2+2+10~~ → But ~~most~~ many of the Reforms

~~so widely and profoundly accepted~~? As we move ~~tasks of [illegible]~~ (urgency for next century, new challenges remain to

forward, I ask you to remember three lessons. be done. We must move forward, in gratitude, humility, + determination

+ strengthen institutions

being first here —

achieve God's purposes through us

First, and fundamentally, our ideas have met the most important test: they work in the real world.

When I ran for President, the title on the bestseller lists asked the question on people's lips: *"America: What Went Wrong?"* But as I said in my first Inaugural Address, "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America." Today, after seven years of remarkable effort by the people of this nation, the question to ask is: "America: What Went Right?"

COPY

We attacked our problems with a full array of new approaches, many of them hammered out here at the DLC -- welfare reform, community policing, raising the Earned Income Tax Credit, creating AmeriCorps, and putting in place an economic plan that slashed the deficit, spurred lower interest rates, and sparked a boom in private sector investment.

By almost every measure, our families, communities, and country are stronger, healthier, and more prosperous. Crime, divorce, teen pregnancy, drug abuse rates--all have fallen. Welfare caseloads have plummeted, and wages are rising. In a few weeks our economy will break postwar records. And the federal deficit, that glaring symbol of Washington's gridlock, is gone.

COPY

Best of all, American has begun--just begun--to regain its legendary faith in itself, to believe that we can meet challenges together, that the system can be made to work for all Americans, that tomorrow ~~just~~ can be better than today, for all Am willing to work hard + be good citizens

The second reason why our ideas are ascendant is that they are true to the values and the common sense of ordinary, hardworking citizens. For too long the political system treated education, health care, crime, the environment as if they were merely battles over ideology -- not problems to be solved but issues to be exploited.

COPY

The idea was to divide and conquer the electorate--to split blacks from whites, Northerners from Southerners, the middle class from the working class. But truth be told, Americans don't want to be divided like that. It offends their deepest values of community and national unity and mutual responsibility. It offends their common sense.

We said: Americans should not be forced to choose between family values or government help for the needy; locking up criminals or preventing crime from occurring; high-wage jobs or global free trade; economic growth or a cleaner environment.

COPY

We say those choices are false; there is no reason we can't be tough on crime and tough on the roots of crime. No reason we can't insist that able-bodied people on welfare work but also offer training and child care to enable them to work. No reason we can't offer opportunity **for** all and demand responsibility **from** all.

The third reason our ideas have been so successful is that they recognize that a modern nation needs an effective government -- not a big and bloated government, but a government that is smaller, more flexible, stronger, and better able to meet the challenges of a new era. A government that does not seek to do for people what they best can do for themselves -- but gives them the tools to make the most of their own lives. A new kind of government for the Information Age.

COPY

We said federal bureaucracies designed for the industrial age had become outmoded. But we didn't take the approach of "Chainsaw" Al Dunlop -- we took the approach of Vice President Al Gore. Under his leadership, federal agencies have been reinvented. They have shed needless procedures, regulations, and layers of management to focus on customer service and results that matter. We have the smallest federal government since the ~~last~~ time John Glenn ~~orbited the Earth~~, but one that does more with less, just as corporate America has done. NASA ~~now~~ conducts six launches per year rather than two per year ~~as it used to~~, with fewer staff and a smaller budget. It is now clear: Americans do value government--when government gives them value.

COPY

America today is strong in the world, prosperous at home, and moving with enthusiasm towards a future of unlimited possibility. Now, we must use this moment of good fortune to meet our long term challenges. We must show that the Third Way is the answer not only to the remaining challenges of the 20th Century, but to the challenges of the 21st Century as well. .

In the 20th Century, we built a safety net to give dignity to our parents in their last years. In the 21st Century, we must show that we can strengthen the Social Security system so my generation can retire without bankrupting my daughter's generation.

COPY

In the 20th Century, we lifted millions of Americans into the world's first-ever mass middle class through strong public schools. In the 21st Century, we must show that we can revolutionize those schools so they can continue to transform the lives of our children.

In the 20th Century, we found a way to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust here at home. In the 21st Century, we must show that we can tap the dynamic power of a free international economy, limiting its volatility and giving it a human face.

COPY

We have already accomplished more than any of us could have dreamed of that day in Cleveland in 1991. But history will not judge us solely by what we have accomplished up until now. The real test of our ideas is whether they outlast us, whether they provide a strong foundation for our children, for our party, for our nation, for the world, well into the 21st.Century. I am confident they will. Thank you and God bless you.

###

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft: Remarks on After-School and Child Care (15 pages)	11/12/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft: Remarks on Education (15 pages)	10/01/1998	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft: Remarks to Conference on School Safety (pages 5-6) (2 pages)	10/15/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14447

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Education [1]

2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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REVISED

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

Revised final 11/12/98 9:15 am

'98 NOV 12 AM 9:41

Paul Glastris

cc:
Josh Gottheime

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON AFTER-SCHOOL AND CHILD CARE

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 12, 1998

COPY

Acknowledgments:

On stage, speaking--Rose Bowlz, Tucson, AZ; Rep. Mike Castle; Sen. Arlen Specter; Rep. Nita Lowey; Sen. Charles Robb

On stage -not speaking--Rep. Peter King; Rep. Sander Levin; ~~Rep. Robert Matsui~~; Rep. Jack Quinn; Deputy Sec. of Ed. Mike Smith; Asst. Sec. of Ed. Kent McGuire

Mayors in audience--Mayor Ernest Davis, Mt. Vernon, NY; Mayor Joseph Ganim, Bridgeport, CT; Mayor Bret Schundler, Jersey City, NJ

COPY

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11-12-98

Today we join together across party lines to support efforts to protect our children, strengthen our families, and improve our communities. And I want to begin by asking you to think about a question we have all heard from the backseat whenever we have travelled long distances with small children. "Are we there yet? Are we there yet?" When it comes to helping parents raise their children in this demanding new era, the answer is no: we are not there yet. But we can get there, if put put progress ahead of partisanship and work together. Today I want to talk about how far we **have** come, and how far we still have to go.

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11-12-98

~~In this new era of global trade and rapid~~ technological change, ~~America is thriving.~~ We have the ~~strongest economy in a generation.~~ But the trends ~~reshaping our economy are also reshaping our personal~~ lives, ~~in ways that are unexpected and mostly good, but often challenging~~. Today, there is no greater challenge than the struggle Americans have between fulfilling two obligations they value: their obligations to their jobs and to their families. ~~It is an old struggle, but one that has been heightened by a new economy that is bringing our nation unparalleled prosperity even as it draws more and more parents of young children into the workforce.~~

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

It's not very.

On any given day in America, as many as 15 million school-aged children are left to fend for themselves at home, ~~idle in front of the television~~ or ~~out~~ on the streets exposed to gangs and drugs and crime. ~~It's no surprise~~ that half of all juvenile crime occurs in the few hours after school lets out. For families with children between three and five, child care is the second or third greatest household expense. ~~If we care about the next generation, then helping parents fulfill their responsibilities at home and at work is a central obligation of our nation as we cross the threshold of the 21st Century~~.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

~~Government cannot solve this dilemma, any more than government can raise or love a child. Only parents can raise children.~~ Only parents can find the balance between work and home that works best for them. ~~What government can and must do is create the conditions and give parents the tools that will enable them to fulfill their many responsibilities. For some that may mean staying home with the children. For others, it may mean finding high-quality child care and after-school programs so that parents can succeed at work and succeed at raising their children.~~

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

In the last six years, I have worked hard, with Republicans and Democrats, to create the conditions and provide the tools by which Americans can meet their dual obligations to work and family. We took several big steps in the first four years of my administration.

First, we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, to make sure every working parent has the right to take time off from work to care for a sick child or relative.

Second, we tried to make sure that parents who work at low-wage jobs can at least feed their families and have the dignity of living above the poverty line. To that end we increased the Earned Income Tax Credit, created a $500 per child tax credit, and raised the minimum wage.

COPY

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11-12-98

Third, we revolutionized the welfare system in a way that strikes a balance between work and family. We gave people on welfare strong reasons to find work. But we also provided more resources for child care in the form of block grants to the states. We did this so that people on welfare can take on the responsibility of work, without abandoning their primary responsibility of being good parents.

Since then, we have focused on two other major areas: After-school programs and child care for lower-income working families who may not have been on welfare.

COPY

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11-13-98

Last month, I signed the bipartisan budget bill that ~~dramatically~~ expands Head Start and makes new investments in improving the quality of child care. Today, I am pleased to report that nearly one-and-a-quarter million low-income children are now receiving child care under the child care block grant program, up from about a million the year before. That is good news for America. Now here is the bad news: Another eight-and-three-quarter million low-income children are eligible for child care assistance but aren't receiving it. We simply have not made the sufficient investment. We are making progress, but we are not there yet.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

I was disappointed ~~that~~ in last month's budget, ~~Congress chose not to pass~~ my child care proposal. This year, I am committed to making progress on child care, and I look forward to working with members of both parties to make sure we move forward.

The budget I signed last month also increases five-fold the number of children who will receive after-school care ~~under a program first introduced by Sen. Jeffords--a program called~~ the 21st Century Community Learning Center Initiative.

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11-12-98

Thanks to that five-fold increase, ~~I am able to deliver some more good news~~ today, ~~I am delighted to announce that~~ 183 communities in ~~45~~ 44 states and the District of Columbia are receiving grants totaling $60 million to set up academically-enriched after-school programs. That means roughly 75 thousand more children will have someplace to go other than the streets when school lets out, and that is good news for America.

One of the recipients is Chicago's Lighthouse Program, which the First Lady and I have visited.

COPY

Every day Lighthouse keeps 112,000 children in 248 Chicago schools off the street and out of trouble while drilling them in math and reading and providing everything from computer instruction to supervised sports to a hot evening meal.

After-school programs like Lighthouse honor our values and benefit our nation. They offer opportunity and peace of mind to hardworking parents who cannot always be home when school lets out. They bolster responsibility among students while boosting their academic performance: Math and reading scores have shot up in nearly every one of the 40 Chicago schools where the program began two years ago.

COPY

And they strengthen our communities. Incidents of violent crime by juveniles double in the hour after school lets out, and our children are also at greatest risk of becoming victims of crime in the hours immediately after school. But in communities where children have something positive to do, youth crime and victimization drop steeply.

So it is good news that we are able to announce today these 183 new after-school grants. Now, here's the bad news: For every community receiving a grant today there are seven that applied but will receive nothing.

COPY

The need for after-school programs simply outstrips our investment in them. We have made progress, but we are not there yet.

When children ask from the back of the car "are we there yet?" it is always hard to give them a satisfactory answer. You can explain how far you've come and what good time you're making. But those answers only satisfy adults. They don't quiet impatient children. Yet perhaps we should **be** more impatient, and less satisfied with our progress, when it comes to providing Americans with the tools they need to meet the obligations of work and home.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-12-98

When as many as 15 million school-aged kids are home alone on any given day, we are not there yet. When violent juvenile crime doubles in the hour after school lets out, we are not there yet. When low-wage working families are spending 25 percent of their income on child care, we are not there yet. When our investment in after-school and child care meets only one-seventh of the need, we are not there yet.

But we'll get them together.

~~In this new economy~~ we can ~~no longer think of high-quality child care and after-school as luxury~~ items, because yesterday's luxury item is tomorrow's standard equipment.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

REVISED 10-1-98

Revised final 10/1/98 11:30 am

Paul Glastris

'98 OCT 1 AM 11:21

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON EDUCATION

EAST ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

October 1, 1998

cc: Josh Gottheimer

COPY

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State Dining Room Participants

Program participants:
Secretary Riley
Mrs. Kathryn Scruggs (teacher on program) and husband
Rep. David Bonior
Sen. Tom Daschle

Members of Congress:
Sen. Daniel Akaka (D-HI)
Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA)
Sen. Kent Conrad (D-ND)
Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-ND)
Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)
Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA)
Sen. Jack Reed (D-RI)
Rep. Marion Berry (D-AR)
Rep. Robert Borski (D-PA)
Rep. George Brown (D-CA)
Rep. Ben Cardin (D-MD)
Rep. Julia Carson (D-IN)
Rep. Donna Christian-Green (D-VI)
Rep. Bob Clement (D-TN)
Rep. James Clyburn (D-SC)
Rep. Elijah Cummings (D-MD)
Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT)
Rep. Julian Dixon (D-CA)
Rep. Eliot Engel (D-NY)
Rep. Sam Farr (D-CA)
Rep. Chaka Fattah (D-PA)
Rep. Vic Fazio (D-CA)
Rep. Elizabeth Furse (D-OR)
Rep. Gene Green (D-TX)
Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN)
Rep. Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX)
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD)
Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)
Rep. Dale Kildee (D-MI)
Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA)
Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Rep. Bill Luther (D-MN)
Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)
Rep. Jim Maloney (D-CT)
Rep. Bob Matsui (D-CA)
Rep. Karen McCarthy (D-MO)
Rep. Jim McDermott (D-WA)
Rep. Carrie Meek (D-FL)
Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY)
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
Rep. George Miller (D-CA)
Rep. Patsy Mink (D-HI)
Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-NY)
Rep. John Olver (D-MA)
Rep. Bill Pascrell (D-NJ)
Rep. Ed Pastor (D-AZ)
Rep. Donald Payne (D-NJ)
Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY)
Rep. Bobby Rush (D-IL)
Rep. Loretta Sanchez (D-CA)
Rep. Bernard Sanders (I-VT)
Rep. Karen Thurman (D-FL)
Rep. Robert Underwood (D-GU)
Rep. Bruce Vento (D-MN)
Rep. Robert Wexler (D-FL)
Rep. Bob Wise (D-WV)
Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-CA)
Rep. Albert Wynn (D-MD)

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- VP

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

Acknowledgments: Sec. Riley; Sens. Daschle & Kennedy; Rep. Bonior; teacher Kathryn Scruggs, DC school super. Arlene Ackerman; AFT and NEA friends.

Yesterday, it was my privilege to announce to the American people that our nation has triumphed over an enormous challenge: The red ink of federal budget deficits has been replaced by the black ink of surplus. We have brought order to the fiscal house. Now, we must bring ~~order~~ learning to the schoolhouse. The same focus, the same energy, the same bipartisan determination that we used to eliminate the deficit must now be used to elevate our public schools. For the sake of our children, we must choose progress over partisanship.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

Think of the challenges we have overcome in just the last six years when we put politics aside and focused on the issues that matter. We came together across party lines to pass historic crime, welfare, and budget measures that gave the citizens of ~~this~~ our country the tools they needed to face these problems. The results speak for themselves: Rising wages and the lowest unemployment rate in 28 years...the lowest crime rate in 25 years...the smallest percentage of people on welfare in 29 years...the lowest African American poverty rate since statistics have been kept; the lowest inflation in 32 years...and budget surpluses as far as the eye can see.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

Now, the moment is right to put partisanship aside once again, for one day, in the name of our children. ~~We~~ let us ~~must~~ devote one day between now and the end of this congressional session to strengthening America's public schools. One day to debate and vote on a plan to provide America's public schools with the tools they need: 100,000 well-qualified new teachers to reduce class size....after school and summer school programs to help students meet higher academic standards...and modernized schools for the 21st century.

In recent days Congress has chosen progress over partisanship by passing a higher education bill that includes my initiatives on higher education.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

These initiatives will help millions of Americans receive the college education they need to compete in the global economy. ~~We are blessed with the finest system of higher education in the world and~~ I applaud Congress ~~and~~ ~~Con~~. ~~William~~ Goodling ~~for making it even better~~.

But our nation also needs and deserves the finest K-through-12 educational system in the world. Nothing we can do will more profoundly expand the circle of opportunity than strengthening our public schools. Nothing we can do will more directly enhance our economic competitiveness than strengthening our public schools.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

Nothing we can do will more assuredly bridge the divisions among our people and bind this nation together than strengthening our public schools. Yet no issue has suffered more from misplaced priorities and partisan pursuits than our public schools.

Eight months ago I sent Congress an education agenda that ~~I believe~~ can dramatically improve public schools in America. It is an agenda that demands accountability from everyone involved in public schools--students, parents, teachers, administrators. It is an agenda that says to students, we expect you to meet high standards of discipline and academic achievement, but we will give you the help you need to meet those standards.

COPY

It is an agenda that is, or should be, bipartisan in its appeal.

It is not too late to act. There is still time before the end of the legislative session for Congress to spend one day and cast one vote on a plan that would transform public education by doing three things.

First, the plan would help school districts hire 100,000 new teachers to reduce class sizes in the early grades--goals Sen. Patty Murray and Cong. Bill Clay have been fighting for. Small classes are one of the first things parents look for in a school, and the latest research shows that they are wise to do so.

COPY

Children who receive the individual attention they need in the early grades show permanent academic gains. Every child in America deserves a chance to make those gains, and in one day Congress can vote to make that happen.

Second, the plan would help build or modernize 5000 schools around the country--goals Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and Cong. Charlie Rangel have been fighting for. The need is great. In fast-growing school districts kids are taught in trailers euphemistically known as "learning cottages." In older districts, children sit in magnificent old schools where chunks of plaster fall on their desks. That's wrong.

COPY

We cannot ask students to show self-respect when their schools don't show self-respect.

Our plan will also help connect every school to the Internet by the year 2000 and train teachers to use the Internet. Every child in America deserves a school as modern as the world we live in, and in one day Congress can vote to make that happen.

Third, the plan would help students meet higher standards with after school and summer school programs and other targeted investments--investments Sen. Barbara Boxer and Congwmn. Nita Lowey have been fighting for.

COPY

I have seen the benefits of such investments with my own eyes. Last week I visited a school in Chicago where students no longer advance to the next grade unless they can pass tests to demonstrate that they have learned what they were supposed to learn. Students who have trouble passing those tests are offered academically-enriched summer school and after school programs, with three hot meals a day for students who need it. The result: test scores in Chicago are up three years in a row.

Every school district in America can do what Chicago has done, and in one day Congress can vote to make that happen.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

Yet for partisan reasons, Congress has not even found time to send me an appropriations bill that invests in education. They must not go home until they do, and I know Sen. Tom Harkin and Cong. David Obey will insist they do.

) INSERT

Let me be clear: The men and women with me here today are ready to act <u>now</u> to strengthen our public schools. All they need is one day. One day to affirm the bedrock American value that every child, regardless of race, ~~ethnicity~~, religion or income, deserves the chance share the bounty of this country's prosperity by gaining a first-class education.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

~~Let me be clear: I will not sign an education and training~~ ~~appropriations bill that does not fully equip our young~~ ~~people to excel in the 21st century~~. Right now, The House Republican ~~falls~~ PLAN SORT OF woefully short on this mark. OF WHAT our young people need for the 21st Century

It shortchanges our youngest children in Head Start. It shortchanges our new initiatives in the Higher Education bill for mentoring children and preparing new quality teachers. It shortchanges our children in after-school care.

It shortchanges our major education program that helps children learn the basics. It shortchanges ~~children whose first language is not English~~ MY HISPANIC EDUCATION ACTION PLAN.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-1-98

It shortchanges our efforts for school reform and high standards. It shortchanges our commitment to technology and to train teachers.

It shortchanges young people in school-to-work efforts. It shortchanges workers who need re-training between jobs. It shortchanges our efforts to help disadvantaged youth get jobs. And it completely eliminates summer jobs for half a million youth.

This is wrong. I will not stand for it. We must fight efforts to shortchange our children. This bill needs to be changed.

COPY

One day to put in place a plan that will insure the future of that prosperity in a world economy driven by knowledge. One day to put aside partisanship and do the work that the American people elected us to do.

Thank you and God bless you.

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10-15-98

~~Every one of these initiatives was proposed by this administration, supported by the Democrats in Congress, and accomplished despite the consistent objection of the Republican majority.~~ I am also very ~~pleased~~ that we have turned away attempts to drain funds from America's public schools, and instead renewed our historic commitment to public education. This is what I mean by putting progress over partisanship -- people over politics. ~~WE HAVE AN EDUCATION AGENDA OF TEACHERS, OF ACCOUNTABILITY, OF CHOICE.~~

There is still much to be done. Too many of the new teachers we hire will have to hold class in trailers, hallways, or crowded and crumbling classrooms, ~~because the congressional majority still stands in the way of building or repairing thousands of schools in communities across our nation~~.

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~~The Republican leadership has refused to fully consider~~ I HAVE PROPOSED FOR SCHOOL MODERNIZATION ~~my school construction proposal~~ a targeted tax cut that was fully paid for, that wouldn't take a dime from the surplus or create a single new federal bureaucracy. ~~But I will say this again:~~ Any country that has its children learning in trailers instead of classrooms is not fully preparing its children for the 21st Century.

I am determined that the next Congress finish that job, among others; and that it do so in a spirit of bipartisanship, in a manner that puts the long-term interests of our nation above short-term political gain. There is hard work ahead -- and we should do it.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Decision Memorandum; RE: Climate Change Principals (19 pages)	06/02/1997	P5
002. note	Todd Stern to the President; RE: Climate Change (1 page)	10/05/1997	P5
003. memo	Gene Sperling, et al. to the President; RE: Climate Change Recommendations (18 pages)	10/04/1997	P5
004. memo	Gene Sperling, et al. to the President; RE: Climate Change Decision Memorandum (9 pages)	10/14/1997	P5

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Climate Change

2006-0469-F
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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]

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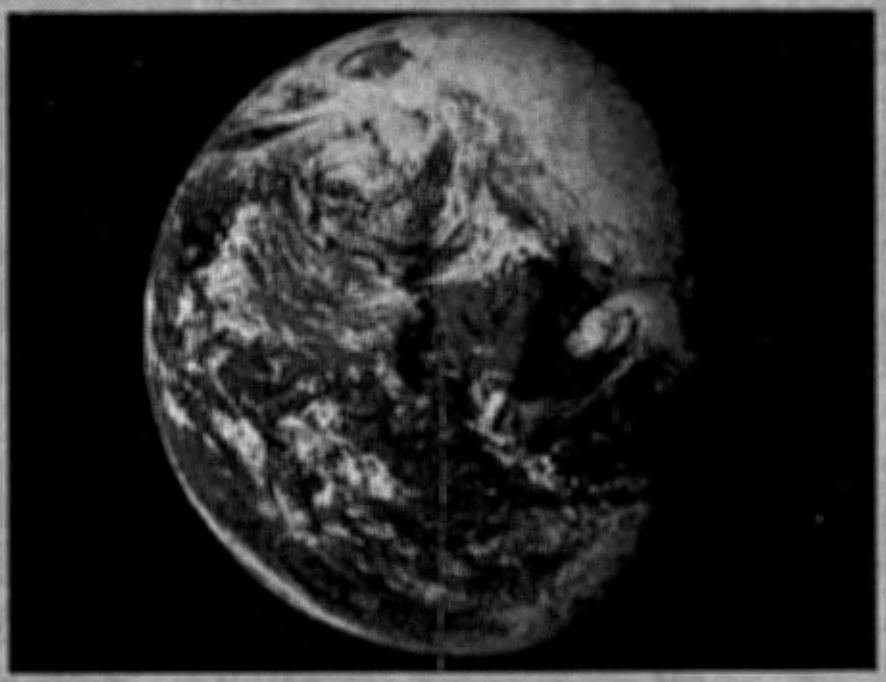
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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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Climate Change Principals

Decision Memorandum



June 2, 1997

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ISSUE FOR DECISION

What emissions levels should the U.S. support in international climate change negotiations?

NEED FOR DECISION

Decisions are needed in connection with trips by the President to the Denver Summit of the Eight (June 20-22) and UN General Assembly Special Session on Environment and Development (June 26). In addition, U.S. negotiators need guidance to allow them to generate support for our position prior to a meeting in Kyoto this December where participants hope to sign a treaty. Other countries and domestic constituencies are calling on the U.S. to state its views.

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I. BACKGROUND

Climate change is an issue of vast scale. Decisions on the issue posed in this memorandum could have significant environmental, economic and political consequences.

The build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere threatens fundamentally to alter the Earth's climate. Currently, greenhouse gas concentrations are at their highest level in more than 200,000 years. (See Appendix A). Absent policy interventions, concentrations by the end of the next century will reach the highest level in more than *50 million* years. Impacts are predicted to include sea level rise, the spread of infectious disease, more frequent and severe droughts and floods, loss of forest cover and shifts in agriculturally-productive regions. Absent policy interventions, global average temperatures by the end of the next century will increase 2-6.5 degrees F., sea-level rise will inundate more than 9000 square miles in the United States (with Florida and Louisiana most vulnerable) and an additional 50-80 million people will contract malaria worldwide. According to a NOAA study, average July temperatures in Washington, D.C. by the end of the next century are expected to increase by 5-15 degrees F. (with greater humidity).

The cost of reducing greenhouse gas emissions is potentially substantial. The principal source of such emissions is the burning of fossil fuels, which powers the global economy. Meeting the emissions targets proposed by the European Union, for example, is predicted to reduce U.S. GDP in 2005 by 0.1-1.0%, increase gasoline prices in 2010 by 20-25 cents per gallon and increase coal prices in 2010 by almost 180%. Without a well-functioning system of international emissions trading, these figures would roughly double. Private capital outflows associated with an international emissions trading regime are predicted to be roughly $5 billion per year. Significantly, modeling indicates that economic losses from some policies are transitory: after an initial loss, the economy rebounds and catches up to its original growth path. Costs depend significantly on rates of technological innovation.

The Clinton administration has been active on this issue since Earth Day 1993, at which time the President pledged to return U.S. greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000, and then to continue the trend of reduced emissions. In October 1993, the Administration issued the Climate Change Action Plan, made up of several dozen mostly voluntary programs, designed to meet that goal. (Due to Congressional budget cuts and other factors, the goal will be missed by a wide margin). U.S. negotiators have shaped the international climate change negotiations by calling for binding emissions targets, "flexibility" provisions (such as international emissions trading and joint implementation) that would significantly lower costs of meeting those targets, and the participation of developing countries. The President has spoken to this issue several times in the past year, including in the 1997 State of the Union, where he called for "reduc[ing] the greenhouse gases that challenge our health even as they change our climate."

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For many environmental groups, strong action on climate change is a litmus test for the administration's environmental policy. Although there is some difference of views in the business community, most in heavy industry and energy extraction are strongly opposed to action on this issue. Labor is increasingly opposed to measures to address climate change, largely in deference to the concerns of the United Mine Workers.

II. OPTIONS

This memorandum identifies four options concerning the U.S. position on emissions levels in the international climate change negotiations. Each option is defined in terms of a broad directional statement the President might offer in June.

Option 1: Significantly reduce emissions in the medium term. For example, reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 90 percent of 1990 levels by a multi-year period around 2010 and to lower levels thereafter.

> *Comment:* This is similar to the E.U. proposal. With this option, there is a reasonable chance of obtaining international agreement to key elements of our proposals on "flexibility" and "developing country participation."
>
> The option could impose very large costs on the U.S. economy. Environmental benefits could also be large, especially when non-climate benefits (such as reducing fine particles and ozone) are considered. Many environmental groups would be pleased, but business and labor would be very strongly opposed. Without significant changes in the political landscape, the prospects for ratification by the Senate in the next several years would be close to zero.

Option 2: Stabilize emissions in the medium term and reduce thereafter. For example, stabilize greenhouse gas emissions at 1990 levels by a multi-year period around 2010 and reduce to lower levels thereafter.

> *Comment:* With this option, there is some chance of obtaining international agreement to key elements of our proposals on "flexibility" and "developing country participation." Overall economic impacts could be significant (but mostly transitory); dislocation in some sectors could be large. Environmental benefits (both climate and non-climate) could be significant. Some environmental groups would be pleased; others would complain of lack of U.S. leadership. Most business and labor groups would be opposed, although some might support if the policy were coupled with other features they find attractive. Without significant changes in the political landscape, the prospects for ratification by the Senate in the next several years would be poor.

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Option 3: Begin to reduce projected emissions growth in the medium term. For example, limit greenhouse gas emissions to 115-120% of 1990 levels by 2010. (Absent new policies, emissions levels are projected to reach 120-125% of 1990 levels by 2010). This position has been referred to as a "growth target."

> *Comment:* With this option, there is no chance of obtaining international agreement on our "flexibility" or "developing country participation" proposals. Other countries and domestic environmental groups would be extremely critical. Economic costs would be mild, as would opposition in the business and labor communities. Environmental benefits (both climate and non-climate) would be modest. There is a chance this would be ratified by the U.S. Senate in the next several years without major political changes.

Option 4: Reject quantitative emissions limits under the climate treaty. For example, the U.S. could announce a new policy of supporting a worldwide end to fossil fuel subsidies and increased investment in technologies as the preferred alternative to emissions constraints. The U.S. could make clear that any internationally-imposed climate change policies that led to increased domestic energy prices would be unacceptable.

> *Comment:* Criticism from other countries and U.S. environmental groups would be scathing. Environmental benefits (climate and non-climate) would be small. Heavy manufacturing, energy extraction and coal unions might support. Generating Congressional support for large new expenditures on technology programs would be difficult.

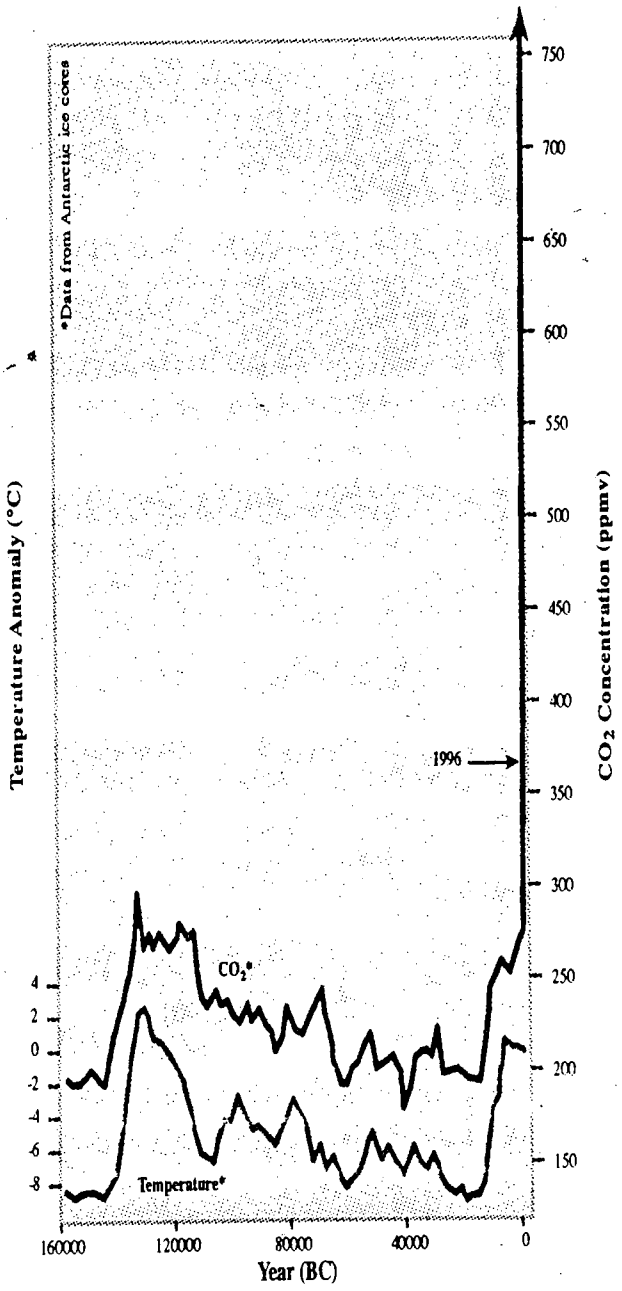
Material analyzing the environmental impacts of these options is attached as Appendix B. Material summarizing the projected economic impacts of Options 1, 2 and 3 is presented in Appendix C. Additional background material on climate change (including a discussion of domestic policy options) is attached as Appendix D.

A related issue is how best to formulate the U.S. position concerning "flexibility" and "developing country participation." As noted above, in the international negotiations the U.S. has proposed a series of flexibility provisions that would significantly lower costs of complying with a target (international emissions trading, joint implementation, etc.). The United States has also proposed that developing countries participate more fully in efforts to address climate change. Neither proposal has won much support abroad.

As part of any U.S. announcement on emissions budgets, the President could make a strong statement concerning the importance of these "flexibility" and "developing country" provisions. This could include a statement that the U.S. would not sign an agreement in Kyoto without such provisions.

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Appendix A



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APPENDIX B
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF OPTIONS

1. Climate Change Impacts

Absent policy interventions, atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations will increase during the next century to levels unknown on this planet for 50 million years. To avoid such extraordinary increases, *global* greenhouse gas emissions must begin to decline from projected levels early in the next century. For *global* emissions to begin to decline in this time frame, developed countries must move quickly to reduce their emissions, setting the stage for future rounds of negotiations.

In the short-term, the difference between the options presented in terms of additional greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere is small. However, institutional and political factors will lead to important differences between these options. Options 3 and 4, for example, are unlikely to lead developing countries to participate meaningfully in the negotiating process. Option 1, on the other hand, may be so stringent that many businesses would simply work to block implementation rather than restructure activities to comply.

For the world realistically to avoid a doubling of pre-industrial greenhouse gas concentrations (to 550 ppm) in the next century, *global* emissions must deflect from a "business-as-usual" path by about 2010. For the world realistically to avoid a near-tripling of greenhouse gas concentrations (750 ppm), *global* emissions must deflect from this "business-as-usual" path by 2020. Even assuming steep reductions in greenhouse gas emissions in distant decades (which our children and grandchildren may or may not be able to achieve), reductions must begin soon to avoid serious environmental damage.

2. Other Environmental Impacts

Any of the options discussed here could have considerable environmental benefits unrelated to climate change. Measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions would also reduce emissions of SOX, NOX and toxic pollutants such as mercury. Such measures would contribute significantly to meeting potential Clean Air Act standards for particulate matter and ozone. According to EPA estimates, monetizable benefits of reducing fine particles and ozone in connection with Option 1 or Option 2 could total tens of billions of dollars per year by 2010.

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APPENDIX C
ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

1. Introduction. An Interagency Analytical Team (IAT) has analyzed the economic impact of various emissions constraints, using three different models. The results are broadly consistent with the considerable literature on this subject.

Economic models are by nature imprecise, especially when projecting over several decades. The models' limitations are exacerbated by the complex and far-reaching effects of any policy aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Some agencies believe it is important to stress that similar modeling in the past with respect to SO2 controls under the Clean Air Act dramatically overstated costs, due to unforeseen factors. Nevertheless, models can provide insight into the economic costs and benefits of various policy alternatives.

The "base case" modeling results presented here make the following key assumptions:

- Policy options are implemented by 2010, with a ten-year phase-in period.
- Domestic emissions reductions are achieved by an emissions trading system, where certain entities responsible for greenhouse gas emissions must have a permit, a limited number of permits are sold at auction, and permits may then be traded.
- All revenues raised through the auction process go to reduce the Federal budget deficit.
- There are no transaction costs nor compliance problems with the domestic emissions trading system.
- Monetary policy offsets the effects of reduced economic activity through lower interest rates.
- The path of technological progress over the forecast period has energy use per unit of GDP decreasing more rapidly than observed in most historical periods, consistent with increased emphasis on greenhouse gas emissions and energy efficiency.
- The rest of the economy remains unchanged, which will not occur over the long forecast period used. Unexpected shocks to the economy are likely to have very large effects on the estimates presented.

Results are presented for Options 1 through 3, but the figures associated with Option 3 should be viewed as very tentative. These figures were not derived from specific IAT modeling of the Option 3 emissions constraints (reduce emissions to 115 percent of 1990 levels by 2010), but rather were estimated by reference to other constraints that were modeled.

Three additional caveats should be noted. First, the base case masks disagreements among agencies over likely rates of technological innovation and diffusion. A faster rate of progress in energy-efficiency and carbon-reducing technologies could reduce estimated economic

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costs by as much as one-third relative to the base case estimates. However, a slower rate of technological progress than assumed in the base case would increase economic costs noticeably. Second, to the extent that domestic greenhouse gas constraints are not implemented through an emissions trading regime, but instead through less flexible regulatory programs, economic costs will be greater than those shown. Third, to the extent that the distribution of emission permits does not support increased levels of capital investment compared to the baseline, the long-term economic results will be less favorable than estimated by the models.

2. Results. As noted above, the United States has strongly supported international trading of greenhouse gases. With trading, countries with high abatement costs (e.g., the United States and Western Europe) could purchase emissions reductions in countries with lower abatement costs (e.g., in the former Soviet Union). Incorporating a well-functioning international market in emissions permits in the modeling reduces estimated energy price increases significantly. With international emissions trading, the United States is estimated to pay about $5 billion per year to other developed countries (including those in the former Soviet Union) to purchase permits, avoiding greater expenditures in compliance costs.

Results with international trading

Table 1 presents results from the base case with trading of emissions permits among Annex I nations. The trading takes place among all Annex I nations. (In countries where emissions have fallen below 1990 levels, such as in some parts of the former Soviet Union, trading is assumed to be allowed only to the extent there are corresponding emissions reductions from a "no-policy" baseline). All figures are presented relative to a "no-policy" baseline, in 1995 dollars.

The losses in aggregate economic activity are noticeable, but largely transitory. Table 1 shows GDP loss with international trading peaking at a few tenths of a percentage point in 2005-2010. After this initial loss, the economy begins to rebound as the proceeds from permit auctions reduce the Federal budget deficit, leading to lower interest rates. Businesses respond by making capital investments to offset higher energy costs. After a while, the economy catches up to its original growth path, indicating that the emissions reduction program modeled is implicitly pro-investment and that the economy is robust enough to withstand modest shocks.

Coal bears the brunt of the emissions reduction policies, because coal is the most greenhouse gas intensive fuel. In general, the least costly way to garner significant emissions reductions is to replace coal in electricity generation and industrial uses.

Results without international trading

If an effective regime for trading international emissions permits is not established, then

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the estimated energy price increases are nearly doubled, with parallel economic losses. This situation is depicted for the base case in Table 2.

The losses in aggregate economic activity are significant, though again, largely transitory. Table 2 shows GDP loss without international trading peaking around 1 percent in 2005, for stabilizing emissions at 1990 levels in 2010. After this initial loss, the economy begins to rebound as revenue from the domestic permit auctions reduces the Federal budget deficit and lowers interest rates. Businesses respond by making additional capital investments, setting off a mini- "investment boom". By 2015, the economy is estimated (in some models) to regain and even surpass its original growth path. This result indicates that the emissions reduction program as modeled is pro-investment (because reduced personal consumption allows businesses the wherewithal to expand the capital stock).

Technology assumptions

Another possibility for mitigating economic costs is focusing attention and resources on programs that promise to decrease the rate at which the economy produces greenhouse gas emissions. Examples here might include an increased research and development effort or an initiative to more rapidly diffuse the most efficient energy practices through industry. The "hi-tech" set of assumptions added to the base case modeling shows that energy price increases could be reduced by 10-30 percent, by 2010, with larger reductions possible further in the future. Estimated economic costs of the base case policies would be correspondingly reduced.

Environmental benefits

The figures presented here do not reflect the environmental benefits associated with avoiding climate change, nor do they reflect collateral environmental benefits that may result from reduced emissions of greenhouse gases. Policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, for example, are likely to reduce emissions of other pollutants, including SOX, NOX, particulate matter and toxic pollutants (e.g., mercury). According to EPA estimates, the monetizable benefits of reducing fine particles and ozone in connection with either Option 1 or Option 2 could total tens of billions of dollars per year.

Economic effects are summarized on the charts below.

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Table 1 -- Base Case with OECD Emissions Trading*

Variable of Interest	Option 1 -- 10% below 1990 levels by 2010	Option 2 -- 1990 levels by 2010	Option 3 -- 15-20% above 1990 levels by 2010**
GDP in 2005	-1.0% to -0.1%	-0.5% to 0.0%	-0.1% to 0.0%**
GDP in 2010	about -0.3%	-0.4% to -0.1%	about -0.1%**
GDP in 2020	-0.3% to +0.2%	about -0.1%	about 0.0%**
Implied price increase per ton of carbon in 2010	about $85	about $50	about $10**
Implied price increase per gallon of gasoline in 2010	about 20-25 cents	about 10-15 cents	about 2-3 cents**
Implied price increase per ton of coal in 2010***	about $50	about $30	about $6**
Implied average price increase for residential electricity in 2010****	about 1.5 cents per kwh	about 1 cent per kwh	about 0.3 cents per kwh**
Decline in total employment in 2010 (national)	about 200,000	about 50,000-250,000	less than 50,000**
Annual value of domestic emission permits (2010)	about $110 billion	about $60-70 billion	about $10-15 billion**

* Analysis of Joint Implementation (worldwide emissions trading) would show lower costs and imply greater purchases by the U.S. of emissions reductions abroad.

** *Although figures are presented, obtaining agreement under the climate treaty to an international emissions trading regime would not be possible with a target in this range.*

*** Current national average appr. $28/ton

**** Current national average appr. 8 cents/kilowatt hour

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Table 2 -- Base Case without OECD Emissions Trading

Variable of Interest	Option 1 -- 10% below 1990 levels by 2010	Option 2 -- 1990 levels by 2010	Option 3 -- 15-20% above 1990 levels by 2010
GDP in 2005	-2.0% to -0.1%	-1.0% to -0.1%	-0.3% to 0.0%
GDP in 2010	-0.7% to -0.3%	-0.6% to -0.2%	-0.2% to -0.1%
GDP in 2020	-0.3% to +1.0%	-0.6% to +0.2%	about 0.0%
Implied price increase per ton of carbon in 2010	$130-200	$80-140	$15-25
Implied price increase per gallon of gasoline in 2010	35-50 cents	20-40 cents	5-10 cents
Implied price increase per ton of coal in 2010*	$80-120	$50-85	about $10-15
Implied average price increase for residential electricity in 2010**	about 4 cents per kwh	about 1.5-3.0 cents per kwh	about 0.5 cent per kwh
Decline in total employment in 2010 (national)	about 200,000-500,000	about 150,000-400,000	about 50,000-100,000
Annual value of domestic emission permits (2010)	about $270 billion	about $110-190 billion	about $20-35 billion

* Current national average appr. $28/ton

**Current national average appr. 8 cents/kilowatt hour.

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APPENDIX D
ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND

A. Basis for Concern

The build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere threatens fundamentally to alter the Earth's climate. The most recent international scientific assessment concluded that global average temperatures will increase by 2-6.5 degrees F. by 2100, unless actions are taken to slow the build-up of greenhouse gases. This is the fastest increase in more than 10,000 years.

Potential impacts from climate change include sea level rise, the spread of infectious disease, extreme weather events (such as droughts and floods), loss of forest cover and shifts in agriculturally-productive regions. Absent policy interventions, global average temperatures by the end of the next century will increase 2-6.5 degrees F., sea-level rise will inundate more than 9000 square miles in the United States (with Florida and Louisiana most vulnerable), and an additional 50-80 million people will contract malaria worldwide. According to a NOAA study, average July temperatures in Washington, D.C. by the end of the next century are expected to increase by 5-15 degrees F. (with greater humidity). The international scientific assessment states that "climate change is likely to have wide-ranging and mostly adverse impacts on human health, with significant loss of life."

Nevertheless, significant uncertainties remain concerning the magnitude, timing and regional distribution of impacts. Currently, scientists are unable to predict changes in short-termweather patterns in particular regions.

Atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide (the most important greenhouse gas) are well above historic levels and climbing sharply. Concentrations are currently 360 parts per million (ppm), about 30% above pre-industrial levels and the highest in at least 200,000 years. Absent policy interventions, concentrations in 2100 are predicted to reach roughly 750 p.m., the highest in more than 50 million years.

B. Human Sources of Greenhouse Gases

The principal cause of the buildup in greenhouse gases is the burning of fossil fuels. Other human activities, including deforestation and mining, also play a role. The international scientific assessment concluded that "the balance of evidence suggests there is a discernible human influence on the global climate."

Developed countries are responsible for more than 75% of the increase in greenhouse gas concentrations since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. In the decades ahead, however,

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emissions from developing countries are expected to grow sharply. By 2035, developing country emissions are expected to exceed those from the developed world.

The United States emits more greenhouse gases than any nation in the world (roughly 25% of the world's total). Our per capita emissions are among the world's highest -- roughly 50% greater than the OECD average and eight times that of China. In the United States, greenhouse gas emissions come mainly from industry (1/3), transport (1/3) and buildings (1/3). Since 1990, U.S. greenhouse gas emissions have grown 7-8%. Without policy interventions, U.S. emissions are projected to grow 20-25% over 1990 levels by 2010.

None of the actions contemplated during this round of negotiations will, by themselves, reverse the build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere or even slow it significantly. However, this round will set the stage for future negotiations over steps by both developed and developing countries, and will send important signals to the private sector that could affect the rate at which beneficial technologies are developed and adopted.

C. Clinton Administration Policies To Date

The Clinton administration has been active on this issue since Earth Day 1993, at which time the President pledged to return U.S. greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000, and then to continue the trend of reduced emissions. In October 1993, the Administration issued the Climate Change Action Plan, designed to achieve that goal. Due to Congressional budget cuts, higher-than-expected economic growth and lower-than-expected energy prices, however, this goal will not be achieved.

The President has spoken to this issue on many occasions. In May 1997, in Costa Rica, he said "we must meet the challenge of climate change"; in April 1997, before departing for North Dakota, he discussed possible links between extreme weather events and greenhouse gas emissions; in his 1997 State of the Union, he called for "reduc[ing] the greenhouse gases that challenge our health even as they change our climate"; in December 1996, in Australia, he said "we must work to reduce harmful greenhouse gas emissions...If they continue unabated, the consequences will be nothing short of devastating the children here in this audience and their children."

The Administration has strongly supported research and development programs with significant climate change benefits. Examples include the Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles (a $280 million program), the Global Change Research Program ($1.8 billion) and renewable energy and energy efficiency programs ($1 billion).

The United States has been an active participant in the international climate change negotiations, as described below.

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D. International Negotiating Context

There is international agreement that the climate change problem is significant and requires action. There is also consensus that the existing UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, signed in Rio in 1992, is inadequate. Under the Convention, developed countries set a goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000, but few will do so. The Convention contains no goal beyond the year 2000.

In April 1995, in Berlin, the Parties to the Convention agreed to negotiate next steps for the post-2000 period. Under the terms of the "Berlin Mandate, " developed nations would agree to quantified emissions limits over specified time frames (e.g., 2005, 2010 and 2020) by December 1997. Developing nations (who typically have less stringent obligations than developed nations in environmental treaties) agreed to reaffirm their existing commitments, and continue to advance implementation of these commitments in this round of negotiations.

In July 1996, the U.S. called for an approach that would include three key elements: (1) a binding target (instead of the existing Convention's non-binding goal), (2) flexibility in implementation (for example, through emissions trading among developed nations and "joint implementation" with developing nations), and (3) the participation of developing countries. The U.S. proposal did not include any particular target or timetable.

Support for most aspects of the U.S. proposal has been quite limited. Some aspects have encountered stiff opposition. Few countries have supported the US call for more active developing country participation under the Convention. Developing countries, in particular, have argued heatedly that the developed world is responsible for the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and must take the lead in addressing the problem. Support for "joint implementation" has also been limited. Such a mechanism could significantly reduce overall costs to the U.S., but involve substantial international payments or transfer of technology by the private sector.

Views of other countries vary considerably. The European Union has proposed that developed nations cut back emissions 10-15% from 1990 levels by 2010 (and an as-yet unspecified amount by 2005). Small island nations have proposed that developed nations reduce emissions by 20% from 1990 levels by 2005. Other nations, including Australia, Japan and Canada, have expressed concerns about moving too far too fast, but have not put forward any specific targets.

Absent policy interventions, atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations will increase during the next century to levels unknown on this planet for hundreds of thousands (and possibly tens of millions) of years. To avoid such extraordinary increases, *global* greenhouse gas emissions must begin to decline from projected levels early in the next century. For *global*

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emissions to begin to decline in this time frame, developed countries must move quickly to reduce their emissions, setting the stage for future rounds of negotiations.

E. Constituency Views.

At present, public attention to climate change is low. Although polling data indicate that the public believes climate change is a serious problem, few rank it high on a list of concerns. Public and media attention to the issue will likely grow as the Kyoto Conference approaches.

For many environmental groups, strong action on climate change is a litmus test for the administration's environmental policy. They plan public relations campaigns on the issue in the year ahead. Many environmental groups are calling for sharp emissions cuts early in the next century (e.g., 20% below 1990 levels by 2005). On the issue of emissions trading and joint implementation, the environmental community is divided, with some groups (e.g., Environmental Defense Fund) strongly supportive and others (e.g., Sierra Club) strongly opposed. Most environmental groups will support flexibility provisions if coupled with emissions reductions below 1990 levels.

Business is composed of several camps. The largest -- made up of coal companies, coal-dependent utilities, fuel producers, heavy industry and transporters -- is strongly opposed to any action at Kyoto. This group is well-funded and poised for a significant public relations campaign. A second group -- made up of chemical companies, natural gas interests, some appliance manufacturers and others -- is cautiously supportive of action at Kyoto. A smaller third group -- composed of natural gas, renewable energy and energy efficiency companies -- strongly supports aggressive climate change policies. Many businesses point to international competitiveness as a primary concern. In a major speech recently, the CEO of BP broke ranks with other oil companies and said "it would be unwise and potentially dangerous" to ignore mounting evidence of climate change.

Earlier this year, more than 2000 economists (including six Nobel Laureates) signed a letter stating that "sound economic analysis shows that there are policy options that would slow climate change without harming American living standards, and these measures may in fact improve U.S. productivity in the longer-run." Recently, several dozen scientists sent the President a letter warning of the consequences of rapid climate change and urging us to limit change to the "lowest rate feasible."

Agriculture groups are only beginning to pay attention to this issue. They have been concerned about extreme weather, but also worried that climate change mitigation policies could lead to rising fuel costs and competitive disadvantage with developing countries. The U.S. insurance industry is also beginning to pay attention, especially the reinsurers (who have lobbied Congress for more money for climate change research).

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Labor is increasingly opposed to action on climate change, largely in deference to the concerns of the United Mine Workers. An AFL-CIO resolution earlier this year was critical of the administration's climate change policy. Some unions -- including the UAW, the Steelworkers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the AFT and the NEA -- have taken more moderate views in the past.

Finally, the religious community is increasingly engaged on this issue. The National Council of Churches has collected more than 100,000 signatures in the past few months on a petition urging action on this issue.

F. Congressional Considerations

There is considerable skepticism about climate change on Capitol Hill. Most Republicans, and many Democrats, appear far more concerned about the costs of mitigation than the problem itself. Southern and western Republicans are, by and large, skeptical or hostile to action on climate change. Midwestern Democrats have expressed concern about the impacts of climate change policies on coal and heavy manufacturing (especially autos). Northeast and West Coast Members are perhaps the most likely to support action on this issue.

Many Members cite the unwillingness of developing countries to accept quantitative emissions limits as a major concern. Increasingly, Members are complaining about a lack of openness in our decision-making process. Many are urging the administration to make key aspects of our policy and analysis known in the very near future.

"Advice and consent" of the Senate will be required for any agreement reached in Kyoto. Implementing legislation will likely be needed as well. Favorable votes in the 105th Congress, or even the 106th, would be an enormous challenge. Ratification might need to await work on matters (e.g., joint implementation, developing country commitments) unlikely to be resolved in Kyoto.

G. Domestic Implementation

An Assistant Secretary-level working group has recommended a domestic climate change policy with three parts: domestic emissions trading programs, technology programs, and transition assistance programs. Details of these programs could be developed in consultation with consituencies in the months ahead.

i. Emissions Trading Programs Under domestic emissions trading programs, permits representing rights to emit greenhouse gases in the United States would be distributed, either through an auction or allocation system. Permits would be tradeable. Firms would have an incentive to control emissions where costs are low and sell reductions to firms facing higher

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control costs.

Domestic emissions trading programs are an attractive policy tool. Compared to traditional "command-and-control" regulatory approaches, they offer greater flexibility and lower costs. Such programs are being used successfully in several areas under the U.S. Clean Air Act.

Among the important issues to be addressed in designing a domestic emissions trading program are:

--Where the constraint is imposed. A "primary fuel" trading program would limit the production or import of fossil fuels. A "sectoral" trading program would limit emissions from one or more key sectors (e.g., utilities, transport and heavy manufacturing).

--How permits are distributed. Permits could be given to existing emitters, given to others (who could then sell them back to current emitters), auctioned, or some combination of the foregoing. If permits are auctioned, substantial revenues would be raised. (Options for using these revenues include tax cuts, deficit reduction and support for transitional or technology programs). If permits are given away, recipients would potentially receive a windfall.

ii. Technology Programs. The cost of reducing greenhouse gas emissions between now and 2020 depends greatly on the ability to accelerate use of existing energy-efficient technologies. Over the longer-term, the solution to the climate change problem depends on developing and deploying new technologies that are even more efficient and/or based on non-carbon energy sources.

A range of government programs might help accelerate technological change. Information dissemination programs assist businesses and consumers in identifying opportunities to reduce the energy intensity of their products or services (e.g., using more energy efficient light bulbs, insulation, appliances, etc.). In addition, research and development programs generally aim to improve technologies by lowering production and operating costs. Large opportunities for cost-lowering research and development exist in buildings, transportation, combustion, renewables and sequestration (e.g., fuel cells, advanced industrial turbines, advanced diesel engines, and transportation biofuels). However, generating significant increases in budget support for technology programs will be challenging.

iii. Transition Assistance Programs. Under any of the policy options being considered, some workers and communities may be adversely affected. Workers in energy-intensive industries and those in energy extraction may be most likely to be hurt. Given the geographic isolation of some of these industries, the surrounding communities may also be adversely affected.

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A transition program would reduce costs to individuals and communities. Transition assistance can help facilitate community and worker adjustments via retraining, job search assistance, and infrastructure development for new business in the community. As previous experience with acid rain, military base closures, and the federal government's own work force restructuring has demonstrated, the early development of such programs can be vital to building public support for a policy.

Among the important issues to address in designing a transition program are:

---Whether a new, categorical program should be designed or existing programs expanded. A new, categorical program would limit benefits to targeted workers and communities but allow for flexibility in benefit levels. Expansion of current programs to allow for increased usage is consistent with Administration program consolidation efforts but constrains program design flexibility.

---How the program will interact with the other components of climate change policy. Permit auctions could provide an important revenue source for these programs. Permit allocations could be used to "fund" transition assistance.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Fast Track Policy Outline (11 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14447

FOLDER TITLE:
Fast Track [2]

2006-0469-F
db3372

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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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]
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DRAFT

Fast Track Policy Outline

Four Document Package for Review:

Document 1 - Themes
Document 2 - Uses of Fast Track
Document 3 - Labor and Environment - Overview and Bilateral
Document 4 - Labor and Environment - Regional and Multilateral

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THEMES
Document 1

- In the rapidly globalizing world economy, the US needs fast track authority more than ever. Our best trade tool to maximize our competitive advantage in the global economy.
- The American economy is the envy of the world. We are perfectly positioned to compete. We have nothing to fear.
- The global economy presents many opportunities, but many barriers remain.
- These trade agreements are a good deal, since our barriers are low while foreign barriers are high.
- If we do not act, our competitors will.
- We face a clear choice: we can either seize the initiative or let others seize it from us.

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USES OF FAST TRACK
Document 2

Overview

- Emphasize multilateral/sectoral negotiations, which do not raise labor/environment issues. Shift focus off bilateral only.

- Possibility of "4+4" authority permits greater focus on Clinton Administration efforts only. Next President would articulate his agenda; could be subject to Congressional vote.

- During Clinton Administration, we would start broader processes resulting in agreements after 2000 (FTAA, APEC, etc.).

Multilateral Initiatives

- ***WTO:*** "Built-in agenda" creates various important negotiations. Early fast track permits early start on these. Need for fast track will depend on terms of agreements, but having fast track now permits larger agreements more likely to need implementing legislation. Agenda includes:

  - *Agriculture:* Negotiations to be launched December 1999 to further open this $526 billion global market. Types of barriers include market access, subsidies and domestic supports. Important incentive for farm constituency support.

  - *Services:* Negotiations to begin January 2000 to expand this $1.2 trillion global market - where U.S. firm exported more than $220 billion in 1996.

  - *Other:* Other scheduled negotiations and reviews include intellectual property (Jan. 2000), technical barriers to trade (Dec. 1997), sanitary and phytosanitary rules (Jan. 1998), pre-shipment inspection procedures (Dec. 1996), product origin rules (to be concluded by June 1998) and government procurement (Dec. 1997).

- ***OECD:*** MAI implementing legislation likely to be needed. Would need fast track authority if presented to Congress as an executive agreement.

Sectoral Initiatives

- ITA and Telecommunications agreements demonstrated popularity and benefits of sectoral agreements. Do not raise labor/environment concerns.

- Preliminary analysis of sectoral agreements completed by USTR. Further work required.

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Possible negotiations include environmental technology and services, medical equipment, software. bioengineered agricultural products, autos, electric power, financial services (already launched) and Internet electronic commerce

Bilateral Initiatives

Americas

- ***Chile:*** Negotiate FTA during this Administration. Fulfills POTUS commitment; creates momentum for FTAA (regional litmus test); good precedent for future Latin American agreements. Chile has agreed to adhere to NAFTA side agreements.

- ***FTAA***: Seek launch of mulitlateral FTAA negotiation by March 98 Santiago Summit; POTUS trips to generate support for launch, but most effective leverage is fast track.

- ***MERCOSUR:*** Not likely to conclude FTA during Clinton Administration, but largest Latin market. Would begin process towards agreement (not unlike early Chile exercise). Process could include: 1) pressing where MERCOSUR deficient (IPR, etc.); 2) preliminary harmonization discussions (standards, rules of origin); 3) parallel discussions relating to labor/environment (leading to a cooperative or framework agreement).

- ***Central America/Caribbean:*** Administration would continue to press for passage of Caribbean trade enhancement legislation. No FTA's likely before 2000, but keep open prospect of FTA with Central America.

- ***Other Latin Countries:*** None envisioned before 2000. Agreements seem unlikely with Columbia or Venezuela. Agreements with other countries possible, but wiser to put efforts into MERCOSUR. It would create major impetus for smaller agreements.

Asia

- ***Australia/New Zealand:*** Would signal interest in exploring agreements with these countries. Both are leaders in APEC, allies in pressing APEC agenda. Both have good labor/environment regimes. Dairy, beef and lamb imports could be sensitive domestic U.S. concerns vis Australia. They would argue to include export subsidies; would need to divert discussions to WTO agriculture negotiations.

- ***ASEAN:*** As with MERCOSUR, probably begin a process toward free trade, but will not conclude any agreements until post-2000.

- ***Other Countries:*** No other FTA's envisioned for various reasons: Korea (labor rights); Taiwan (not WTO member; complicated foreign policy issues); China/Japan (multiple reasons).

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Africa

- ***Region:*** Should not let U.S. 7 percent import market share stand (EU at 30 percent) unaddressed.

- ***South Africa:*** Likely to signal interest in eventual FTA. Need to coordinate with separate Administration Africa initiative. Labor situation relatively strong; 44% of workers unionized, recent reform of major labor laws. But no minimum wage and 32% unemployment rate. Environmental record good for developing country, but industrial pollution on the rise and weak NGO community. EU is negotiating an FTA.

Europe

- ***Transatlantic Marketplace:*** US-EU joint study examining following sectors for agreements: agricultural biotech, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, motor vehicles and parts and steel. Also "horizontal" issues, like government procurement and intellectual property rights. Fast track needed to ensure Administration credibility and to implement results (depends on substance of agreements).

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LABOR AND ENVIRONMENT - Overview and Bilaterals
Document 3

Overview

- ***Reaffirm Commitment***: Need activist labor/environment effort that reaffirms Clinton-Gore commitment.

- ***Broad Policy Approach:*** Set forth multi-faceted labor/environment approach (e.g., regional/multilateral efforts). Do not limit to bilateral trade agreements.

- ***Parallel But Separate:*** In bilateral context, three essentially parallel but separate tracks: trade, labor and environment.

- ***Countries Vary:*** Need to preserve flexibility in approach, recognizing that countries vary in labor/environment record and needs.

Labor/Environment - Bilateral FTA's

Overview

- ***Objectives***: retain flexibility of approach demonstrate ongoing commitment to labor/environment, preserve fast track coalition.

- ***Key elements:*** 1) Readiness criteria, and 2) labor/environment side agreements, when appropriate. Other steps may be added if necessary (see list below).

Readiness Criteria

- ***Description:*** Factors to be considered in choosing FTA partners; would include labor and environment criteria. Multiple criteria mean no one factor is dispositive. Criteria would be framed as the "extent to which" a country met the criteria, not as an absolute threshold. Could be used to encourage improvements in pre-negotiation period.

- ***Examples (Notional Only):*** The Administration will evaluate FTA partners taking into consideration the extent to which . . .

  - the country offers significant potential to expand U.S. exports.

  - an agreement would enhance larger regional market opening efforts of the United States

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- the country is implementing its multilateral trade commitments (e.g., Uruguay Round implementation)

- the country provides internationally recognized worker rights and constructively participates in international fora dealing with worker rights and trade

- the country enacts and effectively enforces laws providing for high levels of environmental protection and participates in and complies with its obligations under multinational environmental agreements.

- the country is taking steps to provide a transparent rules-based system of settling disputes

- a trade agreement would further the above objectives

Side Agreements (Key Elements)

- ***Flexibility:*** Countries vary as to their labor/environmental laws and enforcement. We need to employ different tools and approaches for different countries.

- ***Side Agreements:*** Where appropriate, we would seek parallel labor/environmental agreements. We do not believe such agreements would require a change in U.S. law; therefore, fast track authority not necessary to implement. (Agreements containing same enforceable obligations of the NAFTA side agreements can be entered without legislation.)

Possible Additional Bilateral Initiatives

- ***Pre-Negotiating Objectives:*** A commitment by the Administration to articulate specific objectives, including labor/environment, before each FTA negotiation.

- ***Post-Negotiation Provisions:*** Commitment to take additional steps after an agreement is reached (as in NAFTA, to provide a report on the environmental effects of an FTA)

- ***Enhanced U.S.-Mexico Border Initiatives:*** May become necessary as debate proceeds.

- ***Parallel Legislation:*** Legislation on education, worker retraining could become tied (directly or indirectly) to fast track bill.

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LABOR AND ENVIRONMENT - Regional and Multilateral
Document 4

Overview

- These are a critical element of our strategy to help obtain bipartisan support.
- Additional efforts to review these initiatives are needed by relevant agencies, although informal discussions already undertaken with some agencies.

Regional Initiatives

- offer opportunities for real progress re labor/environment if addressed as labor/environment issues as opposed to trade agreement issues.
- should explore what is possible, particularly in Latin America in regards core labor standards, and build on the start on the environment. Even in Asia Pacific, there is room for more progress with a "cooperative" based approach.
- Should also bear in mind that regional efforts:
  - can ratchet efforts in the multilateral sphere; and
  - provide more latitude to make progress faster.

Labor

- In the Americas, we should (DOL lead) pursue with Labor Ministers a core labor standards framework, and commitments to enforce it, in anticipation of the second Summit of the Americas (March 1998) and the Labor Ministerial (1998).
  - Such an effort would build on the OAS Labor Ministerial in 1996 where Ministers agreed to "recommend mechanisms most likely to ensure that economic growth is accompanied by improvements in working conditions, on the basis of unqualified compliance with those basic labor standards that represent fundamental rights."
- we should work even more with the IDB to generate more effective lending policies on CLS, Labor Ministry modernization, workforce education, etc.
- we should continue to seek the creation of a Labor Forum, not unlike the Business Forum, that precedes FTAA Trade Ministerials.
- In APEC, recognizing the severe restraints to our labor agenda, we should explore with

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members a stronger cooperative program building on the Group on Human Resource Development underway.

- We should work even more with the Asian Development Bank to generate more effective lending policies on CLS, Labor Ministry modernization, etc.

Environment

- In the Americas, we should build on the Sustainable Development Initiative of the Summit of the Americas action plan.
  - develop a coordinated strategy to cooperatively address capacity building re environmental laws and institutions in countries targetted for trade agreements;
  - continue DOC promotion of U.S. environmental technologies and services abroad.

Multilateral Initiatives

- We must continue our efforts in multilateral fora, but address these institutions with more innovation.

Labor

- should continue efforts in the WTO, including new initiatives to:
  - seek to address core labor standards (CLS) in the Trade Policy Review Mechanism process (TPRM);
  - raise questions re CLS in WTO accession exercises where appropriate; and
  - encourage intensified WTO-ILO collaboration in reinforcing ways.
- should continue efforts in the ILO, including new initiatives to:
  - encourage undertaking of broad based TPRM like reviews of CLS country compliance (as opposed to current practice of single Convention reviews);
  - encourage the ILO to send its Working Party reports on country compliance with Conventions to the WTO for information and comment;
  - encourage the ILO to follow-up on the OECD Report on Trade, Employment and Labor Standards building on the WTO Singapore mandate, which would force the

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ILO to act more decisively; and

- press for an active agenda in the ILO Working Party on the Social Dimensions of Trade, and encourage participation by trade and foreign ministry officials.

- should continue efforts in the OECD, including:

  - initiating further work to expand on the Report on Trade, Employment and Labor Standards in the Trade Committee and the Employment and Social Policy Committee.

- should continue efforts in the IBRD, including:

  - building on Treasury initiative to work with the Bank re more effective lending policies re core labor standards and worker welfare.

Environment

- should increase countries' accountability for compliance with their international environmental obligations, e.g. by

  - developing a complementary chapter or annex to the NTE Report which reports on countries' compliance with multilateral environmental agreements with trade aspects (e.g., CITES, Montreal Protocol);

  - sponsoring international conference on increasing compliance with multilateral environment agreements (State-led; planning underway).

- continue to push for reform and strengthening of international environmental institutions (underway with respect to UNEP, goal for G-7).

- increase environmental accountability of national and international financial institutions while leveling the playing field abroad for business investing abroad:

  - push developed countries to develop environmental guidelines for export financing, so that U.S. companies are not competitively disadvantaged by decisions not tofinance environmentally problematic projects.

- articulate commitment to address environmental issues in the MAI, and if deadline extended use the time to consult on environmental concerns.

- promote understanding of the relationship between trade and the environment by raising it in discussions in the WTO TPRM process on trade related environmental measures.

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- continue to push for the use of environmental expertise in relevant dispute settlement panel proceedings.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Lancaster, PA - addendum; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	05/09/1996	P6/b(6)
002a. memo	Don Baer to the President; RE: Draft (1 page)	04/10/1996	P5
002b. memo	Bill Nothdurft, Joellyn Murphy to the President; RE: Thematic Structure of Chapter One (3 pages)	04/10/1996	P5
002c. draft	RE: The Paradox of Progess (23 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. memo	Don Baer, et al. to the President; RE: Commencement Speeches (3 pages)	04/27/1996	P5
004a. memo	Bill Curry to Don Baer, Michael Waldman; RE: Commencements (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
004b. paper	RE: Ideas for Penn State Speech (1 page)	n.d.	P5
005. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Commencement Address Penn State University (2 pages)	05/10/1996	P5
006. paper	RE: Speech edits (1 page)	05/08/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Penn State 5/10/96: [Penn State Commencement] [2]

2006-0469-F
db1864

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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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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To:Don Baer, Michael Waldman
From:Bill Curry
Re: Commencements

To summarize this morning's discussion: We need three, possibly four speeches, laying out the President's vision. Among us, we agreed that, however we divide these speeches by topic and theme, we should adhere to the following points;

1. All the speeches, but in particular the domestic speeches, should stress community.

2. All should be confident and optimistic in tone.

3. All speeches should look to the future- to "the year 2000" or "the twenty first century". But the message should be that we are building on the policy initiatives of the first term. This continuity is important.

4. Beware the laundry list. For each speech, our purpose is to render the President's values, goals and strategies understandable and coherent.

5. To the extent possible, the first speech should be overarching and foreshadowing of those to follow.

There are a thousand ways to parse the topics. I suggest four speeches on the following topics delivered in the following order;

1. The Economy/ Education. We lead with our strongest suit, both substantively and politically. About half the speech is on education, which is appropriate since education is the centerpiece of our economic policy. It is redolent with values language, represents one of our best policy contrasts with Dole and shows the President dealing effectively, consistently and understandably with a big problem people really care about.

2. World Affairs. Probably not a lot of new material and probably not a lot of news. But timely within the news cycle and an overdue presentation.

3. A Government for the 21st Century. This is a good choice because, though we have done a great deal, our message is still unintelligible to voters so we still haven't gotten the credit we deserve. We have done more than just patch up the old tub with some caulking and string- we have truly begun to make this enterprise responsive to its owners. Our rhetoric can look back to the founders and ahead to the next century. This is a great opportunity to explain the Clinton style of leadership that is working so well and to give definition to the phrase "New Democrat".

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4. Values, Family and Community.(Possibly for a high school graduation ceremony.) This topic includes some of our most resonant issue and themes; V chips, deadbeat dads, teen pregnancy, domestic violence, family leave and family friendly workplaces, education, crime etc. On the whole, I tend to think that these issues work better as individual hits than they do collected into a grand speech. Standing alone, each reminds people that the President shares their values and understands their concerns. Strung together, they can seem mushy and calculated. If, however, we can state clear principles and an overarching vision, then the speech could be a home run.

What follows are very rough outlines of the two speeches for which I have the best feel- "Economy/Education" and "21st Century Government". I will follow up with a few thoughts on "World Affairs" and "Values". Hopefully we can sit down soon, draft new outlines and then begin writing.

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Ideas for Penn State Speech

National Service Scholars: The President could challenge communities to set up scholarship funds for young Americans who do significant volunteer service. For every dollar the community raises, the government will kick in a dollar, up to a total of $1,000. Communities, through institutions like Kiwanis, Lions Clubs and the Salvation Army, could set some of their own terms but he basics could be: high school students who work an average of 10 hours a week for a year for a charity, doing meaningful service, would get a scholarship upon graduation.

Since communities would be putting in half the money, they would have incentive to make sure the volunteer work was meaningful. We could set as a goal that in every high school in America at next year's graduation, the principal will proudly present at least one National Service Scholar. We give scholarships for athletes and saxophone players. It's time we gave scholarships for service.

Challenge Colleges to Use Work Study Jobs for Service – Expand the size of work study but challenge colleges and universities to return the program to its original mission: having people work their way through school by doing service to their communities. At minimum, Clinton could say that the new money should go towards service but he should challenge them to have a much greater share do so. The current law allows for bonus money for schools that emphasize service. We could increase that bonus.

Challenge College Admissions Offices to Give Preferences to Those Who've Served – This is a William F. Buckley idea. It would be a simple way to send a message, and encourage volunteering, without spending more money. Across the land, kids wanting to get into elite schools would be worrying about whether they'd done enough service to impress the admissions directors.

Challenge Colleges to Match the AmeriCorps Scholarships -- Several colleges in Rhode Island have banded together and made a pledge: if you earn an AmeriCorps scholarship through a full year of service to community and country, we will match it. The President could hold that up as a model and challenge other schools to do the same thing.

Trumpet Existing Service Learning and College-Based Volunteer Programs – There are already an extraordinary number of service programs on college campuses. We should use these as jumping off point to talk about how much can be accomplished if we truly mobilized the power of 50 million students. The key here is to talk about service not as an end in itself but a tool to solving social problems. The speech can detail the many ways that's already happening.

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draft 5/9/96 7pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
PENN STATE UNIVERSITY
May 10, 1996

[acknowledgements]

[Thank you for the University Scholars Medal. It is a privilege to be the first non-Penn State alumnus to receive this award. You should know that my father-in-law and brother-in-law both attended Penn State -- and both played for the Nittany Lions. In fact, my father-in-law played both offensive end and defensive end, back when you could do that. We have to do that every day in Washington. My brother-in-law was a quarterback on a team that went to the Orange Bowl. [*We are getting more information about the team/Penn State.*]

This great State University was started during a moment of national crisis, to help equip a young nation to meet the demands of change. In 1862, in the darkest moment of the Civil War, Penn State was made a land-grant school -- because Abraham Lincoln and his contemporaries knew that our nation's future depended on the widest possible dispersion of knowledge and educatoin. Now, Penn State is leading the way as our nation goes through another era of change. I have been told that today, every student is given an e-mail account, and more than one million e-mail messages are sent every day. This is just a taste of the world to come.

When you leave this campus today, you will walk into an age of enormous possibility. A dazzling new economy arises before our eyes. You will have the chance to work with your minds throughout a career, in jobs and industries that you haven't even invented yet. You will have incredible choices -- of where you live, how you work, how you raise your children. You will enjoy freedom and tolerance and diversity like no generation in human history has ever known.

What do you want America to look like, as you go out to work, as you raise a familiy, as you become part of this great nation? Your children will be raised in the 21st Century; you have to decide how do you want them to grow. Do you want it to be in a country with safe streets, a clean environment, good schools?

~~I believe that now, as throughout our history, the answer must be: We want a nation in which we do everything we can to help all Americans make the most of their own lives, and help America live up to its full potential.~~

In the fall of 1991, at my alma mater, Georgetown University, as a candidate for President, I set forth the goals I believed we needed to achieve in order to remain that kind of country. In a series of three speeches, I said, first, we were determined to build a

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saw that the power of the national government could extend the benefits of the industrial era to all Americans. They brought Americans together to face these great challenges together -- not as a scattered collection of villages or states but as one nation, one America. The antitrust laws, the child labor laws, the environment protection laws -- all were designed to protect our values while we harnessed the force of the new industrial age. And they built what became the American Century.

Today, we are living through another time of profound change. At the end of the Cold War, at the dawn of the information age and the global economy, the future has fewer moorings, fewer fixed stars, than the world of your parents. These changes affect the way we work, the way we govern ourselves, the way we face the world. Perhaps most important of all, our families, our neighborhoods, our very social fabric are pulled in too many ways, from too many directions.

When I was growing up, Americans could walk the streets of their towns and cities without fear of falling victim to violent crime. Having children out of wedlock was rare and a source of shame. Welfare was a temporary way station for widows and orphans. It was not a perfect time; women and minorities did not have the opportunities they have today, and we can never turn back. But in neighborhoods across America, people noticed when you were born, cared about you while you lived, and missed you when you died.

For too many young people growing up today, that world exists only in black-and-white reruns on television. The common bonds of community have frayed. In our toughest neighborhoods on our meanest streets, we have seen a stunning and simultaneous breakdown of community, family and work -- the heart and soul of civilized society. We have all grown too numb to reading about horrible crimes. But when a six year old in California is arrested for trying to murder a baby in its cradle -- and the witnesses are eight year olds who had broken into the house to steal a tricycle -- then we must recognize that something has gone terribly, terribly wrong.

I refuse to accept the breakdown of the family, the collapse of community, as irreversible failures we can only mourn. We can mend our social fabric -- because we have done it before. Our mission now must be to do what the Progressives did in their day: use our enduring values to find new solutions for changing times.

As I have said, we need a smaller government. But we also need a larger national spirit. Government alone cannot meet our challenges. But we as Americans can -- and we as a nation must. We must confront our national challenges, and marshall all the forces of this great country to meet them.

Today, it is clear that some of the problems that rip at our social fabric with greatest force -- welfare, crime, our crumbling communities -- have begun to yield to our efforts.

And I believe the most powerful force is the force of personal responsibility -- the responsibility each Ameircan must take for his or her own life. So many of our problems are caused by our failure as individuals to meet our responsibilities. It is through each of us

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BRUCE + MICHAEL 6-5709 21

time of William the Conqueror. It was the hunger for a piece of land you could call your own and upon which you might cultivate a future for your children, and your children's children--in short, the means by which to build a better life--that drove people across the Atlantic to a big and largely unknown land.

But even when they got here, they discovered progress was not so much a place as an idea, not so much a destination as a journey that just began when the ship landed. We Americans are a questing, hopeful people. We keep striving toward a horizon ~~we define as prosperity, happiness, liberty and community~~ of our own definition, all the while knowing that the horizon will keep advancing before us, as each generation's dreams and expectations evolve. And at some level, we have inherited from our forebears the knowledge that it is ~~this journey, this idea of progress~~ the journey not the destination, that is our great and continuing achievement. ~~If we are dissatisfied with where we are, it shouldn't surprise us--though it should and does motivate us. For dissatisfaction is built in, "hard wired" in our Dream.~~ This sense of dissatisfaction, some degree of restlessness is essential to the American idea of progress - it drives us on. understood that we can't reach perfection, Therefore no ideal nature is ever to be fully achieved in human affairs

The Founding Fathers ~~intended it to be this way~~. When they drafted our Constitution, they described our national purpose as seeking "a more perfect Union." Not a perfect Union. Not the perfect Union. But *a more* perfect Union. They used the comparative form, and they included language that permitted the great document to be amended. They knew, as we must recall today, that ~~the idea of~~ America was and always would be a work in *progress*, ~~in both senses of that word~~ of the word. ~~America is not about perfection, it is~~ about ~~perfectibility~~. Lincoln called it "our unfinished work."

It would not be surprising to our forebears that this work with all its possibility would also have a fair share of tough problems. What would surprise them is our giving in to pessimism about our ability to improve our situation or our willingness to do what it would take to improve it.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Commencement Address Penn State University (7 pages)	05/10/1996	P5
002. memo	Gabrielle to Russell; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	05/09/1996	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Penn State 5/10/96 [4]

2006-0469-F
db1867

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

final

File

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

PENN STATE UNIVERSITY

May 10, 1996

COPY

At least that's what I want our

Will it turn out that way? It depends on your vision and what you do with it.

What do you want America to look like, as we move toward the Year 2000, as you go into the work world, as you raise a family, as you take your place as the next generation of leaders of this great nation? Your children will be raised in the 21st Century; what kind of America do you want them to inherit?

In the fall of 1991, at my alma mater, Georgetown University, in a series of three speeches, I set forth my vision of America in the 21st Century, and a strategy for realizing it.

COPY

These are the values that have made America strong. These are the values that have guided my actions as President. And I believe, more strongly than ever before, that these are values that must guide our nation as we ~~cross the bridge into a new century.~~ prepare for the tomorrows of the 21st Century.

Today, and at other commencement addresses in the weeks to come, I want to discuss how we can protect our enduring values and meet our challenges in the remaining years of this century; how we can build . . .

- <u>opportunity</u> . . . to build a better future for ourselves and our children.

- <u>responsibility</u> . . . to make the most of our own lives.

COPY

The Progressives built the foundation of what known as
became the American Century, a century in which
America won two world wars and the Cold War. . overcame the Great Depression . . . and established conditions that led to decades of economic growth, scientific breakthrough, more opportunities for women and minorities, a cleaner environment, remarkable security and good health for our seniors and the largest and most prosperous middle class in history.

Today, we are living through another time of profound change. At the end of the Cold War, at the dawn of the information age and the global economy, the future has fewer moorings, fewer fixed stars, than the world of your parents.

today tech & info are dom

COPY

But when a six year old in California is arrested for trying to murder a baby in its cradle -- and the witnesses are eight year olds who had broken into the house to steal a tricycle -- then we must recognize that something has gone terribly, terribly wrong.

Think radical.
Say to yourself:

I refuse to accept the breakdown of the family, the collapse of community, as irreversible failures we can only mourn. We <u>can</u> mend our social fabric -- because we have done it before. Our mission now must be to do what the Progressives did in their day: use our enduring values to find new solutions for changing times.

COPY

↑ Old fash idea

Community policing puts officers on the street, in the neighborhood, learning the territory, working with neighbors to spot criminals, shut down crack houses, and stop crime before it happens. ~~Nothing is more reassuring than the silhouette of a police officer, standing under a streetlight on what would otherwise be a dark and lonely street.~~

Again, community policing only works when there is a <u>community</u> working <u>with</u> ~~the police~~ for the pol to. In every community where citizens have worked with police, block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, crime is down. That is why violent crimes have dropped, why we have one of the biggest drops in the murder rate in 30 years.

COPY

We can't leave these kids alone to fend for themselves. It's not just their lives; it's ours. Every tax dollar you spend on putting them in jail is a dollar not invested in education, the environment, or economic growth.

COMMUNITY / SERVICE

Mobilizing the community to fight crime is no small task. We know that in far too many places, in far too many ways, the bonds of community have grown weak. People are working harder, moving more often, spending less time with each other and more time in front of the TV. Even in prosperous, happy neighborhoods, people often don't know their neighbors living right next door.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. itinerary	The Trip of the President to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; RE: Phone numbers, manifests, and USSS (21 pages)	04/05/1996	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E)
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Statement at Ceremony for YMCA Child-Care Center (8 pages)	04/05/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks at Memorial Service Oklahoma City (12 pages)	04/05/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
OK City 4/5/96

2006-0469-F
db1868

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]
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4/4/96 8:00 P.M.

96 APR 4 P9:01

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/1/96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATEMENT AT CEREMONY
FOR YMCA CHILD-CARE CENTER
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
APRIL 5, 1996

COPY

Acknowledgments: Governor Keating; Senator Nickles; Congressmen Brewster and Istook; Lt. Governor Mary Fallin; Mayor Ron Norick.

Today is Good Friday -- a day that marks the passage from loss and despair to hope and redemption. That is the lesson of the walk we have just taken -- from a place where we mourn lives cut brutally short...to a place where we can truly celebrate their beginnings. May the lesson of this day and of our walk give us comfort and inspire us in all our lives.

COPY

~~Any parent can imagine that the most unbearable feeling is the sudden knowledge that a disaster has befallen the place where you hugged your child goodbye that morning.~~

~~Almost a year ago, that feeling swept over parents in this city. And despite the passing of time, there is nothing we can do to erase the terror they must have felt.~~ Nothing we can do to bring back the children whose lives were torn from us 100 feet from here. Nothing we can do to sweep away the frightening memory that lingers in the minds of these children who, ~~with~~ by God's ~~help~~ grace, were spared.

COPY

~~There is no way -- as parents, as a community, as a country -- to understand the true evil that deliberately set in motion this shattering of lives~~.

~~We cannot comprehend the incomprehensible~~. But we **can** show our children that in the wake of evil, goodness will surround them, and lift them up. ~~We can prove to them that genuine compassion and our commitment to caring for one another will always prevail over hate and division~~.

We can prove to them that their lives are as strong and powerful as this tree -- which withstood the bomb's blast while larger buildings crumbled.

COPY

Its leaves were blasted off. ~~Every single one of them~~.

Its bark was scarred ~~with shrapnel~~. But this tree survived. And soon it will bloom again. [Tree is to your right. It is an Elm. It is called "the Survivors' Tree."]

Because its roots kept it standing →
The survivor tree spirit of Oklahoma City bloom again —
the roots have kept you standing → Now we're here

~~That is how we must think~~ about these children. In ~~creating this~~ the new YMCA child-care center ~~just three~~ a testament to ~~blocks from here~~, ~~you are reminding your children~~ of the resilience of the human spirit -- ~~of the American spirit. You are also showing them that as parents we will always be~~ the first duration of parents and what I'd like to call the village of ~~community~~ there to build and rebuild safe places to ~~sustain and nurture their new lives~~ citizen support to the future of our children.

COPY

Let us remember how important it is for our children to have a safe place to finger-paint or to plead with a teacher to read them a story for the fifth time that day. ~~In many ways, these places are some of the most important on Earth~~. For in them, our children learn the essential ~~American~~ our Amer. family values that have stood ~~as~~ so well for so long: to build, to work together, to treat others with ~~tolerance and~~ respect. and fairness,

By rebuilding a place for our children to learn these essential lessons, you -- as parents, as business people, as government workers, and most of all, **as citizens** -- are engaged in the most honorable task a nation can call for. And I thank you.

COPY

We have endured another ~~unimaginable~~ tragedy in recent days. The mission on which Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and 32 other Americans lost their lives grew out of the very spirit I am talking about. They went to the Balkans, a region that for too long has known only war, to do what you have done here: to prove that, through faith and commitment, ~~we~~ **can** heal the wounds of intolerance. ~~No matter the depth of the tragedy, we can build again -- if we work together~~. As we remember those who perished across this street a year ago, I ask that we mourn, too, the lives that were lost on a hard mountain thousands of miles from where we stand today -- and for those, the family members, who lost them.

COPY

Now, ~~on behalf of the American people and those who are with me on stage today~~, I would like to ask these children to help me unveil the plaque that will be placed in front of the new child-care center. And as we do that, ~~I ask you to think about the hymn we heard~~ a ~~moment ago ["Amazing Grace."]~~ ~~We know the first verse very well. But today I ask you to recall the words of the third verse~~. For it is here in Oklahoma City, that we have truly seen the power of God's amazing grace.

"Through many dangers, toils, and snares
I have already come;
'Tis grace hath brought me safe thus far,
and grace will lead me home."

God bless you all. And God bless America.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/11/96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS AT MEMORIAL SERVICE

OKLAHOMA CITY

APRIL 5, 1996

96 APR 5 A12:20

COPY

Acknowledgments: Rev. Alexander; Governor Keating; Senator Nickles; Congressmen Brewster and Istook; Mayor Norick. JLWitt

Families of victims, survivors.

One year ago, we joined to mourn your loss and pray for your healing. Today, in this season of rebirth, we join again, not only to remember your loss, but also to celebrate what you have rebuilt. ~~One year ago, 168 good people were taken from us by an act of evil and cowardice. One year later, we know we have withstood this tragedy~~. Oklahoma City is strong. ~~America is strong~~.

Ruins, wreckage, pain of the city - sorrow - but can carry hope

The people of Oklahoma City, are a testament to the power of faith and community, of God's grace & human courage

COPY

~~On~~ On this Good Friday, a witness of the way to go

Your lives demonstrate to ~~the watching~~ world that

~~evil cannot conquer goodness, darkness cannot~~ good can overcome sin, love can outlast hate,

~~extinguish the light, hatred cannot defeat love, and~~ the light of heavenly life can shine on those

~~death will not triumph over life~~. darkness.

We all here for this service to thank God → families
city must do this on their own → Faith

~~We learn in Hebrews 11 that "faith~~ is the ~~substance~~ assurance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen". . . that our faith in the Lord and in our fellow human beings must be stronger than anything the world throws at us. ~~But there are forces in our lives that provide evidence to prove the virtue of our faith. And Oklahoma City has become one of those forces~~.

~~You are building~~ again where it was not possible ~~to build~~.

COPY

Matthew 7 teaches us: "Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock."

~~Today, where the Murrah Federal Building once stood, all that remains is a foundation of stone and the memory of those who worked and played and did their daily business there.~~ You have rebuilt your house upon that solid rock of faith. ~~In so doing, you have paved the way for America to believe that out of tragedy we can do great and powerful things. We can move forward, if we work together.~~

COPY

You began to show us the reasons for our faith only seconds after the bombing. It is an agonizing irony: that the horrific act of a few can bring forth the heroic acts of so many. From the early rescue efforts of firefighters, doctors, paramedics, and average citizens . . . to the scholarship funds for children who lost their parents . . . to the current outpouring of support that will allow families to travel to Denver for the trial, Oklahoma City has put its faith into action.

You are showing our children the reason to have faith. We can do nothing to bring back the children whose lives were torn from us that day.

COPY

We cannot bring back those who died – cannot give ~~But their brothers and sisters must know that in the~~ those children back their childhood. But we can live in a way ~~wake of evil, goodness will surround them and lift them~~ overcome the pain and steel us all to ~~up. That is the purpose of dedicating a child care~~

~~center to~~ replace the one ~~that was destroyed~~.

~~And through all that~~ That is what you have done, you have renewed the faith of America and drawn our national family closer. A year ago, I said to you, "You have lost too much. But you have not lost everything. You have not lost America." All of America has stood with you. We have prayed with you. We have worked with you to help bring those accused of perpetrating this crime to justice . . . and to help you rebuild.

COPY

~~And America has found itself through you~~. The ~~forces of destruction prey on all that divides us. But they forget that for all our differences, so much more unites us. Across America, our people want the same things: to live in peace . . . to build a better life than their parents had . . . and to pass on an even better one to their children.~~

~~The lesson of Oklahoma City is that even the most horrible acts of terror are no match for those simple dreams. . .and for our spirit as a country. If we follow your example -- if we come together and work together as a team in our communities, and all across America -- we can and we will succeed.~~

COPY

Now, as we approach the first anniversary of this tragedy, I call on all Americans to remember with you. Earlier today I signed a proclamation calling for a moment of silence on April the 19th at 9:02 a.m. Central Daylight Time. I ask all the people of the United States to gather at that time in silent prayer and quiet reflection with family and neighbors. And I ask that right now, all of us here bow our heads in a moment of silence to remember all that this year has meant to us . . . thank you.

Perhaps no one has done more to restore our faith than the federal workers who survived the blast. We are grateful that many of them are back on the job.

COPY

And to those who are not, we will stand with you until the day when you are able to work again. You are not soldiers of the battlefield -- you are simply soldiers of the everyday, doing the work that keeps America strong. And those federal workers we lost gave their lives in service to their country.

Today, my heart is especially heavy, because in recent days I lost another dear friend who gave his life for our country. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, his colleagues from the Commerce Department, our wonderful military aides, and the outstanding business leaders -- all died on a mission of peace and renewal in the Balkans.

COPY

Before Hillary and I left the White House this morning, we planted a new dogwood tree on the South Lawn to honor their memory. ~~That tree will grow~~ near the one we planted a year ago before we came to be with you the first time. I said then that your tree embodies the lesson of the Psalms -- the life of a good person is like a tree whose leaf does not wither. And that, just as a tree takes a long time to grow, wounds take a long time to heal. People of Oklahoma City, my fellow Americans, that tree has taken root. In a few weeks it will begin to flower, just as the healing power of our faith has taken root and will bloom again.

COPY

On a windswept hill almost 2000 years ago, family and friends grieved the death of one whose life was brief but transformingly powerful. Their hearts ached with the sadness so familiar to you. But in that darkest moment, they sensed the early light of resurrection.

This Easter Sunday, the entire world will bear witness to the fact that there is new life after our losses -- that in the words of the poet, Dylan Thomas, "Death shall have no dominion."

Yet the healing must go on. Some of you are weary. Some of you still have doubts. So, in closing, I ask you never to forget the words from a gospel song -- a song from my childhood that was written in my home state.

COPY

It goes:

"Further along, we'll know all about it;

Further along, we'll understand why;

Rise up, my brothers, walk in the sunshine,

Further along, we'll understand why."

God bless you and God bless America.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Laura Tyson and Gene Sperling to the President; RE: Update on Corporate Citizenship Plan (5 pages)	03/21/1996	P5
002. paper	To Don; RE: Corporate Responsibility (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
[Corporate Citizenship 3/25/96]

2006-0469-F
db3317

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]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Don,

I understand the need for the President to say something soon about corporate responsibility. I understand his desire for such an event. That said, based on yesterday's meeting, Saturday's speech runs the very real risk of falling far short of what we want to get out of it.

1) Speech follows a roundtable about how a corporation has helped students serve their communities. (Corporate Americorps.) Two issues: 1) Community involvement is not one of the principles the President will be articulating. 2) The program we're discussing is sponsored by Procter and Gamble, which, as one of the Labor Dept. people pointed out yesterday, MAY NOT BE A GOOD CORPORATE CITIZEN.

2) By giving the President a speech about corporate responsibility in Ohio, we are potentially involving him in the GM strike. Even if he "no comments" or says we don't involve ourselves in these matters when talks are underway, he's going to look out of touch with the very issues -- how companies treat their workers -- that he's coming to Ohio to address.

3) Principles seem pretty vague.

4) We seem a long way off re. getting a list of good corporate citizens and what they are doing. This is crucial if we're going to make the principles seem less mushy.

5) Is a Catholic University the best venue for this sort of speech? It should be held somewhere like the Detroit Economic Club.

6) Best as I could tell, the President has not been informed about all this -- or the events to follow (i.e. conference etc.).

7) Are we stepping on the assault weapon news? (Michael says this issue has been resolved.)

8) Has the decision been made that we will offer nothing programmatic? (i.e. tax breaks for good corporate citizens).

, event has the potential to be an ill-thought-out disaster. I don't think the President is being particularly well served.

1) Judging from the conversation yesterday, he hasn't signed off on this event OR the follow-up events.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to NGA Education Summit (9 pages)	03/26/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
NGA [National Governors Association] Education Summit March 27, 1996 [1]

2006-0469-F
db3374

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3·27·96

Draft 3/26/96 3:30 pm

96 MAR 26 P4:02

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO NGA EDUCATION SUMMIT

PALISADES, NY

MARCH 27, 1996

1. Nation At Risk
   Rais Reg →
   Goal
   Tchg
2. Summit '89
   Goals
   Prog Eval Govt
   Std | Assessment - Consens
3. Accountability
   Effort more might than 1 Q
   Custom, compliance, other
4. Std
   Tests → writing in first HC.
5. Learning is Hd Work
6. Hy Prig → Wk → Hors

cc
Gabrielle
Bushman

COPY

Many of our communities are seizing the opportunities of new educational technologies, but too many have not -- and too many cannot do it on their own. And most important, ~~many of our~~ while our school students students are doing better but ~~too many students are not being~~ most are not being challenged, ~~inspired and held~~ to high standards adequate to challenges of today

~~Our mission, as we close out this century, must be to raise our sights and our standards. We must expect more of our young people and ask more of ourselves. We must never forget: Education equals expectation. We do not make it any easier on our children when we do not demand higher standards for our students, our teachers, or our schools.~~

Efforts Begin w/ facts: challenges → diversity
→ % of anth regions
→ soc probs
→ hgr ed
→ attitudes: IQ is comm am effort
effort → IQ: dr work, fun - curriculum -

COPY

~~When it comes to public education, we must throw away complacency and replace it . . . with a revolution of rising expectations~~.

Thirty or forty years ago, this meeting would never have taken place. Governors played little role in education, and businesses did not regard it as their responsibility. But in the late '70s and early '80s, an education reform impulse swept the country, punctuated in 1983 by Ted Bell's report, *A Nation at Risk*, which sounded the alarm about the need to turn our schools around.

COPY

Suggested addition to Summit speech:

In 1989, I was priviliged to serve as the NGA co-chair at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, which took reform to the next level. At that meeting, for the first time, we reached a bipartisan national consensus on education goals -- and agreed upon the clearest definition yet of what the national government's role should and should not be.

The Governors and the Bush Administration reaffirmed the federal government's financial role to ensure access to a good education, helping poor children and children with disabilities get the help they need, and ensuring all access to a college education. We also reaffirmend the federal government's important role in research, statistics, and in helping schools throughout the country replicate proven educational practices.

~~I know that not every Governor here believes these are essential federal responsibilities. I~~ do. And we have had a great debate about this, in the Congress and throughout the nation. The American people strongly ~~support~~ federal support for education at all levels. And I believe that shortly, as the Congress finally completes work on the FY 1996 appropriations, it will go a very long way to restoring the education funds ~~in~~ initially proposed to cut.

In the years since the Charlottesville Summit, we have made ~~great~~ progress.....

COPY

In 1989, I was privileged to serve as the NGA co-chair at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, which took reform to the next level. At that meeting, for the first time, we reached a bipartisan national consensus on educational goals -- and agreed upon the clearest definition yet of what the national government's role should and should not be.

In the years since, we have made real bipartisan progress. We have enacted Goals 2000. We have overhauled the programs in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We have worked with businesses and communities to make the School-to-Work program a reality.

COPY

In fact, we have moved forward since 1983. The number of young people taking the tough core courses has jumped from 13% in 1982 to 52% in 1994 -- and the national math and science scores are up one full grade since 1983. Half of all four year olds now attend pre-school and 86 percent of all our students are completing high school. That's progress.

But it is now clear, 7 years after Charlottesville, that our national education goals can only be met ~~through tough standards~~, enacted ~~at the state level~~ -- with each of us doing ~~our part~~.

COPY

So the states must take the lead in setting standards and in terms to an written they an Daylight. The businesses represented here today must not only speak out for reform, but pitch in with your knowledge and resources to help bring new technologies and get work knowledge, and accountability opportunities into our classrooms. And the national government continues to have a critical responsibility -- to provide seed money and leverage for education innovation and to clear away obstacles to reform. As your President, I pledge to do everything in my power to focus the nation's attention on this urgent challenge. ~~And I will do whatever it takes for as long as it takes to make America's schools the best in the world.~~

COPY

We should not fight about who does what. In all this, we should follow a simple rule: we should put control in the hands of the people who care the most about the result.

So today, I come to you as President to challenge every American to work to together to erase what's wrong with our schools and multiply what's right, scrape away the obstacles to excellence and open new ways to move forward. We must put in place high standards for students, teachers, schools, conduct and technology and make sure we meet them. America was built on challenges, not promises -- and on this challenge, we must not fail.

COPY

So I challenge states and school districts to change the certification rules that bar qualified -- sometimes brilliant -- young people from becoming teachers. ~~I was appalled when I read the story about the recent Harvard graduate who wrote her thesis on American literature, who was told she lacked the educational background to substitute teach English in the New York City public schools. That makes no sense~~. We reformed our certification procedures in Arkansas. We should do it everywhere.

I also want to challenge teachers to meet high standards of performance -- and states to reward them when they do.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the People of New Orleans (19 pages)	03/18/1996	#Error

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Louisiana Trip 3/18/96: New Orleans March 18, 1996

2006-0469-F
db3375

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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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)]

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Draft March 17, 1996 6pm

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3.18.96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS

THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS

MARCH 18, 1996

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-96

[Acknowledgements: Sen. John Breaux; Sen. Bennett Johnston; Rep. William Jefferson; Mayor Marc Morial; New Orleans Port Auth. CEO J. Ron Brinson; [port worker TK]] – IRWIN (ER-VIHN) JOSEPH [PRES. OF PORT OF N.O. LOCAL LONGSHOREMEN]

I am here at this great port, at the mouth of the mighty Mississippi, to celebrate what you have done to seize the opportunities of this new era -- and to talk about what our nation can do to master this age of possibility. I have come here to help you dedicate the New Nashville Wharf, because what you in New Orleans are doing shows how we can face the world, meet our challenges and meet them together

COPY

When I became President, I took office with a straightforward vision: I wanted our country to create opportunity so that every one who is willing to work for has a shot at the American Dream. I wanted to go into the next century with our country the strongest force for peace and freedom and security and prosperity in the world. I wanted this country to come together around its basic values of responsibility and opportunity, of work and family and of community.

In my State of the Union Address, I gave all of you a report on where we are, where we have been and where I think we have to go. I believe we have made significant progress.

COPY

R

Four years ago, our economy was drifting. Today, thanks to the energy of American businesses and workers, we have created 8.4 million jobs; the combined rates of unemployment, inflation and mortgages is at its lowest point in nearly 3 decades; and key industries from autos to telecommunications now lead the world. And hourly earnings are going up for the first time in ten years. → Today 3 Qs in a row US realized most prod. econ in the wes — Mfg jobs — '92 – 20% → 95 – 55%

Here in Louisiana, over 160,000 jobs have been created in the past three years. You have created twice as many manufacturing jobs as in the previous four years. Bank lending has increased by $5.2 billion. New homes are increasing by 15% per year.

COPY

Across our nation, the crime rate, poverty rate, welfare rolls, food stamp rolls, and even the ~~divorce~~ rate are all down.

And America remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. Later today, I will be reviewing the troops at Fort Polk in Alexandria. MANY OF These brave men and women have just returned from Haiti, where they helped restore democracy and stop the flow of desperate refugees to our shores. When I sent those troops to Haiti, I promised that they would finish the job and come home soon. I will be saluting them for a mission accomplished.

COPY

And I am proud that from the Mideast, where I just returned from a mission to rally the world's leaders against terrorism . . . to Northern Ireland . . . to Bosnia . . . people around the world continue to rely on American leadership and determination.

~~In all of these ways~~, our nation is moving forward, ~~Yet we know that at the same time, we have much work to do. The very forces of technology and economic integration that are remaking our world~~, clearing new vistas of opportunity for our nation, ~~threaten to~~ uproot our people and upend ~~our~~ expectations.

COPY

Even as our economy is creating jobs, too many people ~~have worked~~ without a raise, or fear the ~~devastation of~~ downsizing and mass layoffs. Even as the crime rate is dropping dramatically, the rate of violence and drug use among one group -- the very young -- is on the rise. Even as the world takes dramatic and proud strides toward peace, terrorists tear at the heart of civilization in London or Tel Aviv.

This is a time of challenge and ~~change~~ -- what I called, in my State of the Union, an Age of Possibility. ~~Not since a century ago~~, when millions of Americans first moved from farm to factory, ~~has our nation undergone so dramatic a transformation~~.

COPY

~~This change affects the lives of every American.~~ ~~And our urgent question~~ is: how will we master this moment of change? How will we do as a nation what you have done here, turning the challenge of the new economy into ~~an~~ opportunity for all who are willing to work for it?

~~The way we always have~~ -- <u>together</u>, as one America. The era of big government is over. But we cannot and we will not go back to an era of fend for yourself. All of us, in our businesses, our schools, our places of worship, our community groups, and in government at all levels, pulling together, doing our part. The great lesson of our democracy is this: when we are divided, we defeat ourselves. When we are united, we never fail.

COPY

~~That is how we will address the great challenges~~ Together we must face ~~faced by our nation today~~. In my State-of-the-Union Address, I set forth seven challenges that face our nation today. The challenge of cherishing our children and strengthening our families... the challenge of renewing our schools and opening the doors of college to any young American who is willing to work hard... the challenge of giving our people economic security, through access to training, health care, and secure pensions... the challenge of winning the fight against crime, so that crime once again becomes the exception and not the rule... the challenge of protecting the environment that God gave us, while using environmental prediction to spur economic growth...

COPY

... the challenge of keeping our nation the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world ... the challenge of rebuilding trust in our government.

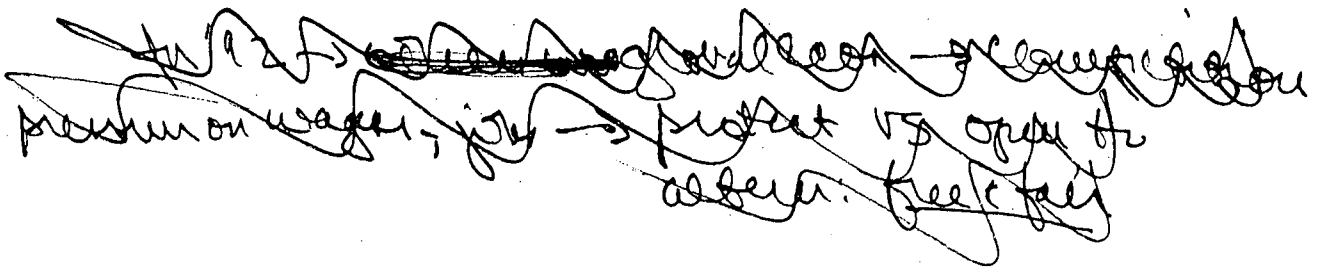
You have shown how we must meet these challenges, by turning your face to the world, embracing your diversity, and coming together.

This great city and magnificent Port reflect America's ability to change, and change for the better.

COPY

Over a century ago, when Mark Twain wrote of "the great Mississippi, the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi, rolling its mile-wide tide along, shining in the sun," this river carried the commerce of a young nation westward. And through this bustling trading city passed the machines and the men and women that built a continent.

Thirty two years ago, when John F. Kennedy dedicated this port, America stood astride the world. He told our nation then that we had a choice: "to trade ... or to fade." America chose to compete.



COPY

Reaffirm the choice today—

And today, you here know that when we face up to this new era, confidently and together, we can master this moment. This trading city knows that we cannot shrink from this new era. One fifth of all of America's trade is conducted through the ports of this state. So much cargo is crammed onto these wharves that the current port cannot keep up with demand. The terminal where we are standing was operating at full capacity just one week after it opened. Wharf C, which opens in several months, is expected to be at capacity within days after it opens.

COPY

This is what happens when Americans ~~You did all this, and you did it the way we will~~ work together ~~meet all our challenges: working together~~. This port was expanded and rebuilt by the state and city. The business opportunities have been seized by the workers and employers. And the national government has done its part to set the conditions for economic growth. - expanded trade, reduced debt, kept our people's taxes low — Dept of Agriculture -> FTPotts —

Through this port passes steel from Gary, Indiana, bound for Japan ... cranes designed and made in Minneapolis, steaming for South America ... and thousands of crates of pharmaceuticals, made here in Louisiana, bound for Europe and beyond. Already, 90,000 men and women across Louisiana earn their living due to the port.

COPY

And the future is expected to bring more trade, more opportunity, more jobs.

One thing has remained constant throughout our history: the restless energy and relentless determination of our people to conquer frontiers, and to make real the promise of the American dream. Today, that American spirit demands that we compete and win in the new world marketplace, and give our people the tools so that all who are willing to work for it will be the winners of economic change.

COPY

Some people say that we should retreat behind walls of protectionism, keeping foreign products out of our country. Others say that we should have a policy of pure ~~free~~ open trade, opening our markets to others and not worrying whether they play by the same rules. But I say they are both wrong.

I believe that we should have a tough policy of ~~open~~ fair trade - that we should demand that other nations open their markets to our goods and services. That America and its trading partners should play by the same set of rules. Because I know that America's workers are the best in the world. And I know that when we have a fair chance to compete, we can make our people winners.

COPY

Economic security. Education. Health care. Safe streets. We can do all these things -- if we do them together. We can conquer our challenges if we recognize that our diversity is a strength, that we all need to do our part, that we have no one to waste. Let me say again: Divided, we defeat ourselves. United, we never fail.

The 21st century is America's for the taking -- if we are bold enough and strong enough and confident enough to go forward together. We will make the best of technology and the global marketplace -- together.

COPY

We will create new jobs, educate our children, and build a brighter, freer, more prosperous future -- together. We will face our future with the same spirit that we faced every challenge throughout our history. That is the American way.

COPY

New economic fact for New Orleans remarks:

Today, the World Economic Forum ranked the United States as the most competitive economy in the world, for the 3rd year in a row. The year before you took office, the U.S. was ranked number five.

COPY

Suggested opening grace notes

The last time I was at the Port of New Orleans, in 1993, it poured all day. I was determined to come back on a day when the sun is shining … and here I am.

Sorry that Sen. Johnston is retiring … he always supports me, so long as Louisiana gets 40% of the federal budget ….

[HUEY LONG story -- "I have a pig"]

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Dorothy to M; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. calendar	Presidential Calendars [partial] (4 pages)	2/1996 - 5/1996	Personal Misfile
003. note	Chris to Michael; RE: Nashville Terminal Complex (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Louisiana Trip 3/18/96 [2]

2006-0469-F
db1872

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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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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Michael:

Attached you will find the answers to most of the questions you asked Carola to track down; I did the assignment working with a Port of New Orleans employee.

Overall: The first part of the Nashville Avenue Terminal Complex was dedicated by president kennedy in 1962.The ceremony Monday is to dedicate Nashville Avenue Wharf B and to celebrate the completion of Wharf C this spring, bringing to completion the entire upgrade of the Nashville Avenue Terminal. Wharf C is not yet opoerative; it is projected to be running af full capacity within a week of coming on line, just as Wharf B was at full capacity within one week of completion.

No federal dollars were used. Combination of state money matching dollar for dollar port revenues. Total cost for B and C is over 200 million dollars.

Within a week of the Wharf's completion, it was at full capactiy, leading to the need for the new Wharf C to be built, ready this spring -- it is expected that Wharf C will be to capacity shortly after opening as well.

Two companies are cited: U.S. Steel in Gary Indiana and AmClyde Engineered Products of Minnesota, as examples of inland companies utilizing the Mississippi and the Port to trade to Asia and Latin America.

WHEAT: No wheat is shipped through this particular terminal; my contact was unaware of the issue and said no unshipped wheat is anywhere nearby, to the best of his knowledge.

YOU SHOULD KNOW: I alerted patrick Steel that the backdrop of goods they have currently in place behind the President includes exports such as rubber from Indonesia...I told Patrick I think they need to make sure EXPORTED U.S. GOODS ARE BEHIND THEM INSTEAD...COULD YOU REINFORCE THIS POINT IF YOU ARE IN AGREEMENT.

I have to rework the event memo briefing per Phil Caplan and will do so Saturday between 10-12; will work on remarkds then as well if you still need me to do so.

Thanks.

Chris

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Laura Tyson and Gene Sperling to the President; RE: Update on Corporate Citizenship Plan (5 pages)	03/21/1996	P5
002. memo	Laura Tyson to the President; RE: Update on Coporate Citizenship Plan (5 pages)	03/21/1996	P5
003. paper	RE: Reinventing Government [REGO] (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Xavier University 3/23/96

2006-0469-F
db3319

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

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C. Teamwork does not work as well as Growth

1. We tested two paragraphs from speeches in California

a. The key to reducing insecurity and improve wages is teamwork. Amer is undergoing fundamental change. Layoffs and dislocations. Industrial to Information age. Can overcome by working together as a team. When we work as a team we never, never fail

Social issues + Crop Rasp

more likely Clinton: 46-11

b. The key to reducing insecurity and improve wages is growth. Made progress on unemploy, inflation, interest, mortgages. Autos beat Japan. By balancing budget, cutting interest, cutting taxes on working families and encouraging exports we confront change and challenges. Growth can meet challenges

Hard Edge Econ.

more likely Clinton 53-12

Growth = necessary for all to grow together

D. Corporate Responsibility

1. Go from negative to positive

2. Go from require to encourage

3. Go from layoffs-wages to benefits and family friendly

VIII REGO -- PROMOTE IT BY STRESSING JOB CUTS

A. We are having difficulty promoting REGO savings. I think it is because we are afraid of leading with job cuts

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to Employees of Harman International (23 pages)	03/08/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Harman 3/8/98

2006-0469-F
db3376

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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cc: Gabrielle Buchman

Draft 3/8/96 1

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/8/96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO EMPLOYEES OF

HARMAN INTERNATIONAL

NORTHRIDGE, CALIFORNIA

March 8, 1996

Audio → All willing to work for it : Modern Econ : Hi Gr, Hi Wages
Maint Values : work + fam
opport Negro
prod + farmers
Community : Teamwork

'92 → Jobs, Jobs

What Are Realities of Global Econ? → Δ Work
Δ Org, Tech
Δ Mkts

What works → I in Ed, Tech, R&D
Trade
Reconversion to I | Coop w/ Govt : Comm, Sc, Energy

Our Strat → Org : ½ 3 yrs
→ Exp Mkts : Asia, 200 agmt + GATT, WTO/FTA
→ I in tech, R&D, Org Δ
→ I in people : Ed + Tng
→ Help People, Places in Need : ETC | EZs | CDFI — LA: 400 m

Results

Remaining Challenges → Coop → Corp Citiz

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/8/96

[Acknowledgments]

— BERTHA TORRES
— DR. SIDNEY HARMAN
— CONG. HARMAN
— THE STATE + LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS

It is a pleasure to be back in Northridge. As all America knows, this community was devastated by the earthquake ~~three~~ TWO years ago. Your sprit and determination in those days was remarkable. Even more remarkable was the way your community pulled together to rebuild. I am proud that the national government was there to work with you. FEMA, SBA, HUD, Trans— We met that challenge -- together.

That is how we ~~will~~ must meet all our challenges as a nation. And that is how we ~~have met~~ are meeting the great challenge of economic growth. I am very proud to have an important announcement to make.

COPY

Four years ago, I said that if America met its economic challenges by bringing down the deficit, investing in education and training, rewarding work and opening markets, our economy would respond and create 8 million jobs in 4 years. It is a tribute to the hard work, ingenuity and strength of the American people that our economy has created 8.4 million jobs in just 3 years instead of 4. We are meeting our economic challenges -- and we are meeting them together.

Let me put that in perspective. Every year, more and more of these jobs are in high paying industries. America has created more jobs than were created by all of Europe and Japan, put together.

COPY

And new jobs created have dwarfed those lost due to layoffs and downsizing. [~~And the crunch you hear is the sound of a ten year record of job creation being broken.~~]

prev. 4yrs
-2001000
3yrs
3.3 M

92-20%
93-35
94-45
95-55+

7.7
3.3

8.4 million jobs. Each one of those jobs is a chance for someone to protect their family, make their way, to live out the American dream. Let's keep the American job machine going.

Assn must challenge stu out there for new econ,

Pres th's

I have come to Harman International in part because of my enormous respect for Dr. Harman and Congresswoman Harman, ~~but also because of the example being set here in this very plant~~.

trump: H+I admin
Hg → immigration ideas, others both to success + to work, fam, com
Jan → best bud new public
Romano — beg. end ÷ of pty pol — creative ways for you + bus to work

COPY

Respect for all of you who work here, in whatever role,

Because you ~~here in this business~~ are meeting your challenges with the same spirit of teamwork that will move our nation forward. → working together wld's best stereo & electronic equip

I want to talk today about the enormous changes now transforming our economy, and what we can do to make all our people winners of change. ~~And I want to speak about the special responsibility of corporations to~~ about what you + can do + about what private sector, gov't must do move our country ahead.

~~All of you, working in teamwork to produce some of the world's best electronic and stereo equipment, are a model for the entire country. What you do here, we must do all across America.~~

COPY

Harman International shows how a cutting edge company can do well while doing right by its people. This company believes that its employees are its most valuable asset. When layoffs are necessary, workers are given a chance to find other work within the company. Workers are fully trained to keep up with new skills. And senior executives work the production line 18 days a year so they'll keep in touch.

And while others may have downsized and even moved away, taking jobs with them, Harman has stayed true to Northridge. The new "factory within a factory" we see today is a testament to that commitment to the community.

COPY

And it shows how the transforming power of technology can create new opportunity. When you make audio equipment for computers that rivals the sound quality of a stereo, you are making real the promise of the information superhighway and all that it offers.

~~This company shows us that businesses can see robust growth~~, With better products, more productivity, more jobs and healthy profits. ~~And~~ Harman shows us that our leading edge in the 21st century is our people, working together, to face our challenges. That is how we will boost our competitiveness, and push ever upward the American standard -- the world's standard -- for excellence.

COPY

I ran for President determined to keep the American dream available to all our citizens who would work for it . . . to keep our nation the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world . . . and to bring our nation together.

We live in an age of possibility -- a time when more of our people will be able to live out their dreams than ever before. We are moving from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on information and technology. The kinds of technology we ~~saw~~ see here today. This new era will change the way we live and work. But this world of change can be a world in which America thrives.

COPY

Because—

This extraordinary change is transforming the way we work and the way we live. ~~It can~~ It can disrupt work lives and leave our people feeling uprooted, wondering if their traditional values will sustain them in the new era. We must deal with that challenge by building on what works, not by turning back to a past we cannot recover.

~~But~~ America has been through such periods of change before. A century ago, we moved from farm to factory -- a transformation as fundamental as the one we face today. And from that period of ferment and change came the American century of unparalleled prosperity and the rise of the middle class. I am confident: America will meet this challenge, as we have so often before.

— INSERT 7A —

COPY

When I took office, we put in place a comprehensive strategy for ~~economic growth~~. We cut the deficit nearly in half. We invested in education and training for our people. We cut taxes for working families.

We expanded exports through tough trade agreements that opened up foreign markets to our goods. And we shrank the federal government, so that it is now the smallest since 1965.

And our growth strategy is working. The American people have begun to turn the economy around. Things are not perfect -- but we are moving in the right direction.

COPY

Remember how far we have come: 4 years ago, this economy was drifting. In the last three years, we have come out of the recession. We have the lowest combined unemployment, inflation, and mortgage rates in decades. 4 years ago, our construction and auto industries were flat on their back; today, we sell more cars to the world than Japan. Many workers have faced layoffs, victims of corporate downsizing -- but we have still created many more jobs than we have lost.

Here in California, we are moving in the right direction. Four years ago, California had businesses had lost nearly 170,000 jobs; today, California businesses have created half a million new jobs. Business failures are down; new businesses are up.

COPY

Industries such as aerospace, entertainment and computers are leading the world.

How will we master this moment of change? The way we have always done it: together. The era of big government is over -- but we cannot go back to an era of "fend for yourselves." We will only meet our challenges by working in our schools, our houses of worship, our businesses, our communities, and government at all levels. Each of us playing our part. Each of us taking responsibility for our actions. When America is divided, we defeat ourselves; when we are united, we never lose.

COPY

That is how we ~~address~~ must meet the challenges that our nation faces as we move into this new era: to cherish our children . . . to renew our schools and open the doors of college even wider ... to give working families security through health care, pensions and training ... to fight crime and drugs so that violence is the exception, not the rule ... to preserve our environment ... to keep our nation the strongest force for peace and freedom ... to restore trust in government.

There are some things that only government can do. Earlier this week, I called on Congress to pass a growth agenda within 60 days, so that our economy keeps moving forward.

COPY

We should start by passing the right kind of a balanced budget -- one that eliminates the deficit without devastating cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education or the environment. We should reform welfare. We should pass an increase in the minimum wage. And we should pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care bill, so workers can't lose insurance when a job or someone in family gets sick.

~~[redacted]~~ so when we can win—

And I am fighting to make sure that every American can reap the rewards of economic change. I have proposed that we eliminate the tangle of government job training programs. Instead, we should give every laid off worker a single voucher so they can go back to school and get the training they need.

COPY

And I have proposed that $10,000 in tuition costs be deductible. Every American should have the skills to find a high-paying job in our expanding economy. To keep us growing, keep us the strongest in the world.

And there are some things that government should do in partnership with business and schools. In 1994, I signed a law helping create a national network of school-to-work programs. These programs are focused on kids who may not go on to college. Businesses work with schools, community colleges, universities and technical schools to design courses; they open their workplaces and porvide on-the-job training.

COPY

Over the past year and a half, some 42,000 employers have joined in, and 116,000 young people are learning new skills. Today, the Departments and Education of Labor announced that 37 additional communities around the nation -- including seven here in California -- will be receiving School-to-Work grants to enable them to strengthen existing partnerships. ~~The California grants are being negotiated today with~~ the offices of education ~~in~~ Los Angeles County, Napa County and Orange County, ~~as well as partnerships in~~ Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, Sacramento and East San Gabriel Valley.

COPY

Our strategy is to enable private sector to create more jobs as underscoring ~~create~~ by federal gov't. In 3 yrs, 90% new jobs private sector ~~But economic growth and job creation doesn't come from government. It comes from private business~~. And even more businesses has a unique role in this new age.

DICTATE TO

~~We should never tell every~~ business ~~how to do its business. And we should never ask business to do so much that it chokes off the vitality of our dynamic economy.~~ But corporations can be good citizens at the same time they turn good profits. We want corporations to be good citizens and good neighbors, to their communities, their customers, and the environment. But today I want to discuss a particularly important responsibility.

But faces gr challenges → $, team, Mkts → global — fast
Relentless pressure to compete, to change, to attract I. —
New pressures — challenge to be gd citizen → shareowners, customers, comm, environment —

COPY

I believe that business can be robust, profitable, creating jobs -- and a good citizen, too. I want to challenge every corporation to live up to the responsibilities it owes to its own people, its own employees.

Consider this: People work for one basic reason: to help support their families. Employers can help them to do this through more than just a paycheck. A family-friendly workplace can mean flexible hours, so that parents can spend time with their children while still getting their job done. That can mean day care, so that workers can know that their children are safe and nearby.

COPY

And that most assuredly means encouraging employees to take advantage of their right to family and medical leave. That is every citizen's legal right; and it is every corporation's civic duty. That was the first bill I signed into law as President -- and it was one of the most important. Here in California nearly 300,000 workers will take family leave this year alone. No one should ever have to choose between being a good worker and a good parent.

And we all benefit when corporations give their employees quality health care and retirement benefits. The era when take home pay was the only important form of compensation is long gone.

COPY

No paycheck can pay for the cost of an operation or some other dire medical emergency. And without pension plans, the most diligent of savers cannot fully protect their retirement.

Since nature of work Obj.

And as I have ~~said so often before, corporations should try to make every job a pathway to advancement~~. By investing in education and training, enlightened business gives every employee the ability to move up. Jobs that offer a ladder up encourage employees to do their best. They tell all our people: if you work hard, you will have your shot at the American dream.

↳ GoPhil
↳ tax Deduction
↳ Bus Edu Obj

COPY

And the burdens of the bad times as well as the benefits of the good times should be shared fairly, because employees are an asset, not a liability. It takes years to build an experienced and motivated workforce. But that can be destroyed in a day's unnecessary layoffs. In our vibrant economy, there will be layoffs -- although many more jobs are being created than destroyed. But where layoffs are necessary, they should be done humanely, by attrition if possible, and with good severance and job placement. The way to make our people winners in the new economy is not to discard them, but to empower them with new skills. Not to downsize, but to uplift.

COPY

And every corporation should give its employees a safe workplace. We have reformed OSHA, to cut red tape and give businesses the chance to find their own ways to improve safety. But a safe workplace is a right; it's the law. And businesses that pay attention to worker safety do better than their competitors.

These are challenges for American business. But business will never be able to meet these challenges if you do not do something simple, something that has been done here at Harman International: give employees a voice. You know better than anyone else what works and what doesn't. We know that in the new economy, corporations that make sure workers are heard -- whether collective or individual -- help themselves.

COPY

Family friendly workplaces. Health care and pensions. Training for workers. Sharing the benefits and burdens. A safe workplace. A voice for workers. All these aspects of good citizenship are things that corporations can strive for. I challenge every corporation to recognize that the bottom line for businesses and the bottom line for our country is the same. If we do this, we will move forward, together.

This is a great country. We are creating jobs; we are coming together around our values; we remain the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world. America is moving forward -- together. And we will make the next century the American century.

THANK YOU.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	RE: Notes Regarding Presidential Remarks (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Youth Violence & Drug Conference 3/7/96 [2]

2006-0469-F
db3377

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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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]
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To: Jonathan Prince
Gabrielle Bushman

NOTES RE PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS

Gym

Speech is to 1800 of the school's students in the gymnasium. The Conference participants will be in the auditorium watching on screen. Remarks need to acknowledge up front why he is speaking to the students – and acknowledge that the Conference is going on and that he will be joining them soon.

Should acknowledge the involvement of such a large number of the Cabinet and what that means: seven Cabinet members participating in the afternoon.

Should acknowledge the satellite sites – at least a couple dozen cities having conferences to watch. Thank CADCA for organizing.

Should talk to the kids in the gym – specifically talk to the kids who are doing the right thing – not drinking, not doing drugs etc.

Should reference release of new report on youth violence being released today by DOJ. WE WILL GET YOU ONE PAGE WITH SOME OF THE KEY NUMBERS.

Should talk about the role of government as a partner with all the other sectors in society in solving this problem. One example he can cite is the release today of the National Juvenile Justice Action Plan – which lays out a clear statement of federal programs and resources being devoted to reducing violence and delinquency among youth.

Big announcement is the $33 million drug company deal. The execs from the company will be in the gym and will need to be acknowledged. They will be in the front row and will stand when the President announces the deal. Perfect example of public private partnership – etc. etc. Tie into the media announcement last week and whole theme of corporate responsibility.

Roundtable

Key for the 3–5 minutes of remarks to the Conference prior to the roundtable is a solid explanation of why he spoke to the kids: "They are why we are here." etc. These folks have gathered from all over the country to be part of the conference, and then the President doesn't give his major speech to them: need a very solid case to be made to them as to why.

Remarks should emphasize that the Conference brings together all the key actors in society that can affect this problem – youth, parents, teachers, religious leaders, community leaders, business, media – who can solve this problem if they each do their part and work together. "There is no problem facing this country nationally that someone, somewhere hasn't already solved." The people doing the "solving" are in this room. He has come to work with them and asked seven of his Cabinet members to spend the afternoon with them discussing strategy and working together on solutions.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	RE: Thoughts for POTUS talking points (1 page)	n.d.	P5
002. paper	RE: Teen Pregnancy (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michale Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Teen Pregnancy - 1/29/96

2006-0469-F
db3378

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]
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GAG- Deb emailed you info on people coming and our summary of what the admin has done -J.

Thoughts for POTUS talking points

I am very pleased today to be reporting in more detail on the progress being made toward launching a national effort to address teen pregnancy.

- One of our most serious social problems
- Very pleased to report that we are making progress: rates are beginning to come down slightly - but much remains to be done. (FOR NUMBERS AND FACTS -- see summary report).

↳ Deb emailed later

Teen pregnancy is a problem that government alone cannot solve. It can only be addressed if our whole society pulls together - public and private - national and local - families and individual teenagers.

Hit on Values/message to kids

A couple of paras on values, importance of family, responsible behavior. We have to send the clearest possible message to our young people -- do not become a parent before you are ready. Stay in school. Postpone sexual activity. Do not get pregnant or father a child until you are married, through school and prepared to be a parent. [This language is Galston/Reed language - particularly on the "married" thing. Even if we may not like it, we should probably use it.]

Importance of Grassroots, Local efforts -- these messages are really only going to be effectively delivered at the community level - in schools, in boys and girls clubs, through peer education and mentors. That's why I was so pleased to meet this morning with the array of people behind me - almost all of whom have worked at the community level on this issue. [Mention one of the stories specifically?]

Segue to National Campaign

To really reach our youth with these messages, we are going to need all parts of our society to work together -- businesses, entertainment, educators, religious leaders, community activists, parents. . . . A truly national effort will unite all these sectors together to help the people I met this morning and others like them accross the country replicate their efforts -- in every community, in every school. . .

That's why I am so pleased by the progress that is being made by a prominent group of Americans in putting together a National Campaign to Reduce Teenage Pregnancy. A dozen outstanding people have agreed already to be a part of this effort, including leaders in the field such as C. Everett Koop and David Hamburg of the Carnegie Corporation. Others who have agreed to play a role include former governor Tom Kean, former Senator Warren Rudman, Charlotte Beers, the Chairman of Oglivy and Mather, Whoopi Goldberg, and Judy McGrath, the President of MTV.

COPY

This is a serious, bipartisan effort to address a difficult problem in a substantive manner. I applaud their work so far and thank them for their commitment to this important work.

This coming month, the group is hoping to incorporate and I invite the full Board to come back to the White House to celebrate this tremendous accomplishment next month. This is a fine example of a challenge answered.

[Notes on campaign: really important not to say that it already exists, but to emphasize it's about to be. Really important to stress bipartisan and serious and how pleased he is about that.]

Segue to Foster

I am also very pleased to be able to announce today that Dr. Henry Foster has agreed to serve as my Senior Advisor on this issue. Dr. Foster, as most of you know, has a wealth of experience working on this problem and his own program in Nashville is a model of the type of community based effort we are hoping to help develop throughout the country. Dr. Foster will be my liaison to the work of the National Campaign.

That's sort of a rough outline of how I would suggest structuring the remarks. I'll be in by 9:30 if you want to talk about it or need more information. Debbie and Janet will also be around so we should be able to get you whatever you need.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Announcement on Federal Arrestee Drug Testing Policy (2 pages)	12/18/1995	P5
002. memo	Nicholas M. Gess to Rahm Emanuel and Dennis Burke; RE: DOB's and SSN's [partial] (2 pages)	12/15/1995	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14448

FOLDER TITLE:
Federal Arrestee Drug Testing Program 12/18/95

2006-0469-F
db1876

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]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ANNOUNCEMENT ON FEDERAL ARRESTEE DRUG TESTING POLICY
OVAL OFFICE
DECEMBER 18, 1995

[Acknowledgements: Attorney General Reno; Senator Biden; U.S. Attorneys Eric Holder of Washington D.C. and Kathryn Landreth of Nevada; District Attorney Lynn Abraham of Philadelphia; Mass. AG Scott Harshberger; Minn. AG Skip Humphrey; Michael Barnes, president, National District Attorneys Association]

I have just signed a directive to Attorney General Janet Reno asking her to take another important step in this administration's all-out effort to break the vicious cycle of crime and drugs in this nation.

These are the facts: More than half of all the individuals brought into the nation's criminal justice system have a substance abuse problem. ~~And~~ 60% of the cocaine in this country was sold to people who were at one time under the supervision of the criminal justice system.

We cannot allow the same criminal drug users to keep cycling through the courts, corrections and probation systems without any attempt to change their behavior.

All across America, employers have accepted the responsibility to reduce the level of drug use in their workplace. Teachers and coaches have accepted the responsibility to reduce drug use in the schools. Now, it is time, for the agencies in our criminal justice system to use all of their power to reduce drug use by defendants who have been charged and convicted of criminal behavior.

It is absolutely critical that the criminal justice system do its part in reducing the demand for drugs. ~~Here in Washington D.C., they have adopted a similar program with great success. It's now time for us to try this~~ on a federal level, ~~so we can set an example for the rest of the country.~~

--and their involvement should must be an essential component of any comp. effort to fight crime

we need to set this ex

~~executive order~~ directive, with this, when you enter the federal criminal justice system, you will be tested. And if you have been taking drugs, you will suffer the consequences. This administration is committed to breaking the link between crime and drugs. As a nation, there is only one message we should send to our drug-using criminals: If you want to stay out, you better stay clean.

3*

That's why I'm also asking states to follow the federal lead in cleaning up our criminals. I'm pleased to be joined ~~by Massachusetts Attorney General Scott Harshberger and~~ Minnesota Attorney General Skip Humphrey. When they leave here today, they are going home to ask their state legislatures to follow my lead in making sure all criminals are drug tested. I challenge every

COPY

governor and state's attorney general to do the same.

I am proud of this administration's ~~accomplishments in fighting the war on drugs~~ anti-drug strategy. ~~Our anti-drug strategy~~ combines tough enforcement with a comprehensive prevention program. This executive order is just another step in our efforts to eliminate illegal drug use in this country.

We will not tolerate a revolving door for criminals in our justice system. And by working together, we will ensure that all offenders in this country become drug-free and stay drug-free if they are going to stay out of jail.

We're going to keep drugs off our strts - out of our schls + keep them a

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	RE: Pillar - Campaign Finance Reform/Political Reform [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14449

FOLDER TITLE:
Buckley [versus] Valeo: [Campaign Finance Reform]/Political Reform Pillar

2006-0469-F
db3380

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PILLAR -- CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM/POLITICAL REFORM					
FEC soft money ban	The FEC is considering a ban on soft money, in response to President's petition.	FEC will take next step in fall	Would cut off most dangerous campaign finance practice, in a way that applies to both parties.	FEC is likely to deadlock on party lines (or even fail to do that). If it proceeds, its actions will be subject to legal challenge.	Soft money ban raises party issues as described above.
Court challenge to *Buckley v. Valeo*	DOJ has said it will argue to SC that spending limits <u>are</u> constitutional	18 months (2 cases on spending limits now being heard in federal court)	*Buckley* has made it hard to enact effective reform.	Unclear whether *Buckley* is on shaky ground with court or stronger than ever. A large group of legal scholars are making this a cause celebre. ACLU etc. oppose.	Democrats strongly support spending limits and would support DOJ's position.

* ROMER CONTINUES TO CHALLENGE G.O.P. TO JOIN IN A VOLUNTARY BAN ON SOFT MONEY. DO WE WANT POTUS, VPOTUS, Congressional Dems TO JOIN THIS, AND MAKE IT A <u>MANTRA</u>?

as now framed, it sounds funny/disingenuous. Any ideas for how to make it more real? (e.g., ~~as~~ involving state parties).

It's a much better way to say "no unilateral disarmament" though, than the defensive way he's been saying it.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on the Surplus (pages 1, 10, 12) (3 pages)	09/30/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14449

FOLDER TITLE:
1998 Budget Speeches

2006-0469-F
db3381

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-30-98

Twenty-nine years ago, Neil Armstrong walked on the Moon. Sammy Sosa was a one year-old baby. Bonanza was one of America's top-rated TV shows. And twenty nine years ago today was the last day that America had a balanced budget.

For twenty nine years, the last day of the fiscal year was not a day of celebration. It was a day ~~to tally up another year's worth of missed opportunity. Each year~~ we were handed a powerful reminder of our government's inability to live within its means, of gridlock between the parties, and most of all, of the crushing debt ~~we were piling~~ on the backs of our children.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-30-98

Because we acted, we are now in the strongest position to lead in decades. Our growing economy is the bulwark of stability in a turbulent world.

We have a balanced the budget and unprecedented prosperity. Now what are we going to do with it?

We see from the troubled economies around the world that there is no time to rest → Not to be distracted from our mission of strengthening Amer for 21st C —

For the sake of our children, we have balanced the budget. Now, for the sake of our children, we must save Social Security for the 21st Century. If Congress sends me a tax cut that retreats from fiscal discipline, drains away our hard-earned surplus and fails to put Social Security first, I will veto it.

Targeting to spend pt of surplus for ~~debt~~ tax cut just feels weaker leg. Well. Part wrong-
① Show strength keep & good
② save SSF
③ circumvents

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-30-98

Turning generations of red ink to black is indeed a proud accomplishment for every American. But most of all, the surplus we begin to count tonight serves as proof positive that the American experiment in self-government is succeeding. ~~That the same unstoppable American spirit that forged a Union out of 13 separate colonies, the same spirit that survived a civil war, the same spirit that defeated tyranny abroad and Depression at home, that explored space -- the same American spirit that has proved to be most powerful force for progress in the world -- is the very same spirit that will lead a strong, vibrant and forever young Nation into a new century of progress and promise.~~ God bless you, and God bless America.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on Jobs and Fast Track (pages 2 & 4) (3 pages)	11/07/1997	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the Pool Budget Briefing (1 page)	12/01/1997	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Radio Address on Fast Track (pgs 3-5) (3 pages)	11/08/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14449

FOLDER TITLE:
[Jobs and Fast Track]

2006-0469-F
db3382

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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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]
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-7-97

A key reason more people are working, wages are rising, and unemployment is down to its lowest level in more than two decades is that we have opened new markets and won new customers for American goods and services. ~~Later today~~, the vote by the House of Representatives on fast track will determine whether we will move ahead confidently with this successful economic strategy.

Every time there is a trade agreement, we hear dire predictions of the consequences for American workers. Today, with 4.7% unemployment, we see that America's trade policy creates good jobs, rather than losing them; boosts incomes, rather than undercutting them. It would be folly to turn back now.

COPY

R

If America is restricted in its ability to make trade agreements, then our national interest in creating good jobs, protecting the environment, and advancing worker rights will be restricted as well. We must not give other nations a boost in the global economic competition so vital to our national strength. The question is not whether we have a system of world trade, but whether we have one that works for America. Whether we have a level playing field, or one that is tilted against us. Let me give you one example: Now that Canada has negotiated a trade agreement with Chile, every major economy in the hemisphere has duty-free access to Chile's markets but one -- ours. And just yesterday, Canada signed a comprehensive agreement with Argentina, Brazil and other nations, ahead of the United States. That's a strategy of America last -- and it's unacceptable.

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11-21-97

R

The choice before Congress is clear: We can rise to the challenge of the future, write the trade rules on our terms, spur further economic growth -- or we can turn our back on the world and fail to compete for new markets, new contracts, and new jobs. More than ever, our economic security is the foundation of our national security -- our strength, dependent upon our economic allies, our trading partners, and our economy. To keep America's leadership strong and our economy on the right track, Congress must give our nation the power to negotiate pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-American trade agreements, and maintain the momentum and confidence our economy enjoys. A Member of Congress who votes for fast track is doing the right thing for America. ###

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-1-97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

'97 DEC 1 AM10:33

REMARKS TO THE POOL

BUDGET BRIEFING

CABINET ROOM

December 1, 1997

- 1 -

I am about to begin a meeting with my economic team, as we begin to lay plans for the 1998 budget. This will be the sixth year of our economic plan, and the second year of the balanced budget I signed into law this summer. On the day I took office, the budget deficit was $290 billion; today, it is $23 billion. And our economy is the strongest in a generation.

Copied
Laura Capps

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-97

A strong bipartisan majority of the Senate backs this bill. So do Presidents Bush, Carter and Ford. Now, it's up to the members of the House of Representatives to decide.

A yes vote means America stays in the lead in fighting for new markets. That's now at risk. Just this week, Canada gained an advantage by signing a comprehensive agreement with Argentina, Brazil, and others, ~~well ahead of the United States~~. That's a strategy of America Last.

COPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-97

(2) A yes vote means we can ~~press for stronger~~ ADDRESS labor protections and environmental ~~protections~~ CONCERNS around the world. Walking away from trade won't create a single job or clean up a single toxic waste site, here or around the world.

(3) A yes vote means that American leadership in this hemisphere and elsewhere, not only on trade, but in fighting drugs and terrorism, will ~~continue~~ be strengthened. ~~If we want to advance American interests, we cannot sit on the sidelines while other nations build new ties of commerce.~~

(1) A yes vote means that America helps write the rules for the new global economy. And that's the only way to make sure that it works for the American people.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-97

A yes vote is a vote for confidence in the world's strongest economy. A no vote ~~is a vote for fear~~ -- a vote ~~that says America cannot compete and must not lead~~.

Other countries look at us and ask: with 4.7% unemployment and 13.5 million new jobs, what could America be afraid of? No other country has an economy so strong, with so much promise. By expanding trade, we are expanding opportunity for working families and giving more and more of them a shot at the American Dream. Why would we turn back now?

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Ron Klain to Michael Waldman; RE: Climate and Presindet's BRT Speech (1 page)	06/09/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14449

FOLDER TITLE:
BRT [Business Roundtable]

2006-0469-F
db3383

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Ron Klain @ OVP
06/09/97 03:27:44 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: climate and president's brt speech

FYI, you should see this.
---------- Forwarded by Ron Klain/OVP on 06/09/97 03:21 PM ----------



Kathleen A. McGinty @ EOP
06/09/97 03:16 PM

To: John Podesta/WHO/EOP @ EOP, TARULLO_D @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
cc: (bcc: Ron Klain/OVP)
Subject: climate and president's brt speech

you probably have seen the "centerfold" the business roundtable has in the wall street journal today on climate. i am also advised from public liason office that the brt has been in touch with them to say that they really want the president to speak to this issue in his speech on thursday.

i wanted to suggest something here that builds on our discussion this morning of a white house conference on climate.

what if the president uses the thursday speech as an ocassion to announce an intensive consultation process along the following lines: IN PARTNERSHIP with the BRT (and others), we would hold a series (3 or 4) meetings in different places around the country that would help us to explore the issues presented by climate change -- e.g. what does technology offer and when?? what are the macro economic challenges and opportunies?? what are the micro challenges and opp'ys and what can we do about them??? what are the policy components that are most important in achieving the "balanced policy" the brt has called for in the wsj today???, etc. these meetings will lead up to the white house conference. the conference itself we would hold in mid-late september and it would be an ocassion to air issues and help define what the us policy should be. us policy would then be put in place -- with public comment -- before early november in time for kyoto in december.

call me crazy, but i actually think there is a way for us to get to a policy that is responsible and has integrity through a process like this. i think we can get to a place that responsible businesses will support and that we can articulate in a way that makes sense to john and sally q.

to do that, however, we need to bring these guys in and make them feel that they have a real and effective voice in this.

what do you think??/ should we try to develop this for thursday?? i fear a negative reaction from the brt if the president doesn't address this. but more importantly, i think we have a POSITIVE opportunity if he does address it in a way like that i've described.

pls. advise. thx.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks at 160th Anniversary of Metropolitan A.M.E. Church (4 pages)	10/23/1998	P5
002. list	Dais List; RE: SSN's and DOB's [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
003. email	Paul Glastris to Tracy Pakulniewicz, et al.; RE: Draft of Friday church speech (4 pages)	10/22/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14449

FOLDER TITLE:
10/23/1998 AME [African Methodist Episcopal] Church

2006-0469-F
db1881

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Draft 10/23/98 12:30 PM
Janis Kearney, Paul Glastris

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT 160TH ANNIVERSARY OF
METROPOLITAN A.M.E. CHURCH
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, DC
October 23, 1998

Acknowledgments: Sec. Rodney Slater; Sec. Togo West; Mayor Marion Barry; Congresswoman Norton; Gwen Ifill; Jonnie B. Booker; Bishop Vinton R. Anderson; Rev. Louis-Charles Harvey; Ernest Green; members of WH staff

It's wonderful to be here tonight to help you celebrate the 160th Anniversary of Metropolitan A.M.E., also known as, "the Cathedral of African Methodism." Much has changed in those 160 years, but through it all the Metropolitan A.M.E. has maintained a noble tradition of civic activism. From protecting runaway slaves in the 19th Century to anti-crime and AIDS education drives today, the people of this church have done much to help your community and your country. You deserve congratulations.

Let me also take this opportunity to say thank you for your prayers and kind words, and your letters of support over the last few months. Your friendship and faith have meant a great deal to me and my family. You have let me know when you thought I was on the wrong track, and supported me when you thought I was doing what was good and right. I could not ask for better friends than that. In the 160 years since the Metropolitan AME church was founded, many heroic men and women have addressed the church's congregation: Frederick Douglass, Mary McLeod Bethune, Eleanor Roosevelt, Hubert Humphrey, Nelson Mandela, and my dear friend Rev. Jesse Jackson. I am indeed, walking in tall cotton here.

But no more heroic voice has been heard at AME than that of Ernie Green. I do not need to tell Ernie's whole story--how he and eight other teens in 1957 faced the mobs on the steps of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas; how they endured the jeers and the waving fists and the television cameras; how they walked bravely into the den of racial hostility, and like Daniel, tamed beasts of anger and fear and incomprehension. I do not need to recount the details of this act of immense courage and faith--an act that changed the history of my state and of our nation.

But I want to repeat the the point I made last year, at the Ceremony commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Desegregation of Central High School: That like Independence Hall and

COPY

like Gettysburg, Central High has become a hallowed place in our nation.

For that reason, I am pleased to announce that I will soon sign a measure which Congress passed earlier this month, a measure that will officially designate Central High School in Little Rock a national historic site. I am also pleased to announce that the budget bill I signed this week authorizes me to present Congressional gold medals to each and every member of the Little Rock Nine: Ernest Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Jefferson Thomas, Thelma Mothershed Wair, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Terrence Roberts, Melba Pattillo Beals, Carlotta Walls LaNier, and Minnie Jean Brown Trickey.

Signing these measures will ensure that the memory of the Little Rock Nine, and all that they represent, will remain alive long after those of us with living memories of those events are called to God.

We all wonder how Ernie and the Little Rock Nine did it. How did they manage to wake up, day after day after day, for months, and walk into that school and be hated, taunted, tripped down stairwells, shoved against lockers? How did they summon the courage and perseverance? How did their parents summon the will to send their children into this cause, in spite of the harm that could befall them?

The answer, of course, is faith. Faith in a loving and protective God. Faith in the righteousness of their cause. Faith in their fellow citizens' ability to be persuaded by the righteousness of that cause. Faith, ultimately, in America. It is the kind of faith described in a passage from the Book of Isaiah, a passage I have been reading lately and taking great comfort in: "You were wearied with the length of your way, but you did not say it is hopeless; you found new life for your strength, and so you were not faint."

Cut-As president, I have met many Americans who have shown me what real faith looks like--and acts like. In 1993, I met a nine-year old girl named Anastasia. She suffered from cerebral palsy, and was bound to a wheelchair. She had a twin sister named Alba with the same disease. But because Alba could not speak, she was put in special education classes against her will. The sister and their family fought the school's policies for two years, and my staff weighed I on their beha
lf.

I recently received a letter from Anastasia, who is now 15. She says that Alba is happily enrolled in regular classes where she has won awards for her many achievements. And her letter said so beautifully what I believe, and I know you believe: That when it seems that things are toughest and you're sitting on your pity pot, and it seems so easy to give up and give in, that's when your faith is most important.

As Dr. King said:"In the spirit of the darkness, we must not despair, we must not become bitter--we must not lose faith."

Peace quotes:

COPY

Paul Robeson: "Peace is the highest patriotism. Peace is our most sacred responsibility."

ML King: "If there is to be peace on earth and good will toward men, we must finally believe in the ultimate morality of the universe and believe that all reality hinges on moral foundations."

cut... Another story of faith came to me in a letter from a 67-year-old man in California named Ruben. Ruben lost his job as an aerospace worker in 1990. Despite 23 years of consistent work, he could not find a job. He sent out resumes--2000 of them. That kind of rejection might have crushed another man, but not Ruben. With a little help from my staff, he enrolled in a computer accounting program, graduated with a 3.80 GPA, and shortly thereafter was hired by a small firm as a prototype inspector.

I think about Ruben, and Alba, and Anastasia, and I realize how much easier my life has been than theirs. I have a wonderful wife, a beautiful daughter, a loving extended family. I have a nice place to live, especially considering it's public housing. And I have the job that I prayed for and worked toward all my life--a job that is even more interesting and complex and far-reaching than I imagined back in Arkansas. And if my faith ever begins to fade, I can fire it right back up just by doing my job.

Every morning I wake up knowing I will have the opportunity to do something to help the American people who gave me this job. Using our faith to make the world better often means very often putting the grand problems of the world ahead of our individual problems. Most of us in here are going to be alright. We'll make it one way or another. But this kind of acting on faith is about moving mountains and molehills for those people who might not make it except for people like you -- or, people like me.

CUT.. We in government cannot solve everybody's problem. We can only provide the tools people need to solve their own problems. Beyond that it is a matter of each individual's faith in God and in themselves.

In Hebrews 11 it is written: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

CUT.. We did not give Ruben a job; we gave him the training he needed. Ruben himself got the job because he had the faith to reach for what seemed unattainable, for the things unseen.

CUT...In the budget I signed this week, we won a down payment to provide 100,000 new teachers to bring class sizes down for our younger students. But now parents must fulfill their responsibility, by focusing on their childrens' education and helping with homework, and that takes faith--faith in their childrens' God-given ability to learn. We won new investments in child literacy, college mentoring, after-school programs, and summer jobs. But now students must fulfill their responsibilities by studying hard, staying away from drugs and gangs, and that takes faith--faith that they can achieve their dreams. We won

COPY

higher funding for the EEOC to fight discrimination. But now all of us must fulfill our responsibilities by fighting discrimination within ourselves, and that takes faith--faith that we can become better children of God.

As president, I am doing everything I know how to give people the tools they need to improve their lives. But I can't do this alone. I need you to do your part, and that means getting out and voting. And that takes faith--faith that we can win in November.

Tonight, my friends, I want to leave you with more than a Congratulations on your 160th Anniversary. I want to leave you with a call to keep the faith: faith in God, faith in yourselves, faith in your country. On the day he died, Franklin Delano Roosevelt wrote in the last line of his last speech that "the only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith." Tonight, let us take those words to heart as we take our nation into the 21st Century.

BEGALA INSERT: Our faith must be strong. And our faith must be active. Our faith must be urgent, restless, questing. As the ancient Hebrew text teaches: "The work is hard, the day is long. It is not thy duty to complete the work. But neither art thou free to desist from it."

Yes the work is hard. Yes the day is long. But we do not give up; we dare not give up. For in this journey we walk by faith, not by sight.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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PB-
Paul is very eager to hear what you think.
Thanks -
TP.

Paul D. Glastris
10/22/98 05:20:18 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Tracy Pakulniewicz/WHO/EOP, Melissa N. Benton/OMB/EOP, Janis F. Kearney/WHO/EOP, Robert B. Johnson/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Dfraft of Friday church speech--coments back ASAP please (65716)

Draft 10/22/98 4:15 PM
Janis Kearney, Paul Glastris

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT 160TH ANNIVERSARY OF
METROPOLITAN A.M.E. CHURCH
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, DC
October 23, 1998
8:15PM

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Mid-East Peace Talks

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COPY

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Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

-30-

OUR FAITH MUST BE STRONG. AND OUR FAITH MUST BE ACTIVE. OUR FAITH MUST BE URGENT, RESTLESS, QUESTING. FOR ~~THE ROAD IS LONG, AND~~ AS THE ANCIENT HEBREW TEXT TEACHES US: "The work is hard, the day is long. It is not thy duty to complete the work. But neither art thou free to desist from it."

Yes, the work is hard. Yet the day is long. But we do not give up; we dare not give in. For in this journey we walk by faith, not by sight.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to Boys Nation (pages 4-9) (6 pages)	07/24/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
Boys Nation 7/24/95

2006-0469-F
db3385

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

I believe, now more than ever, that these two goals are inseparable. The only way to both restore economic opportunity and solve our social problems is to unite our people. Divisiveness is not only wrong, it's self destructive.

Since the mission of Boys Nation is to extend the American vision into the future, it seems only right that we should talk today about ~~the common ground we can share in~~ the great debate over our federal budget, for it will determine in large measure whether we find common ground or more division as we move toward the 21st C.

COPY

~~Let me explain that common ground.~~ The way we spend our money -- as individuals, as families, as a country -- is a reflection of our priorities and our values. As much as the laws we write and the culture we create, the federal budget shows what is important to us~~A Numbers express units. But they also express values~~.

~~What are the values that unite Americans? When I talk about opportunity, responsibility, and community, I mean what I think a sensible core of Americans believe: that we in this country should have the chance to make the most of our God-given capabilities.~~

COPY

To achieve this vision, we need an economic strategy
In our daily lives, that means the desire for safe and
that grows NC + blends US, creates opportunity for all.
secure streets; the commitment to give our children a
a foe strategy that reduces crime + violence, drugs
solid education; the certain knowledge that we do not
welfare dependency, & that demands responsibility
have a person to waste; and the fervent belief that the
from all of us; a community strategy, designed to bring
next generation should inherit a world better than the
people together, recognizing we don't leave a person
one we were brought into.
to work + answers all in this together

These values aren't Democratic or Republican territory.

They are the common ground we all share.

You and I understand this very well. These basic values have brought us all to this room. As you know, exactly 32 years ago -- on July 24, 1963 -- I was here with Boys Nation listening to President Kennedy.

COPY

And I know I would never have made it here and gone on from that day without the benefit of the beliefs I'm talking about.

I lived in a family where everybody worked hard and where kids were expected to study hard. But I also had a lot of opportunity that was given to me by my community. I had good teachers and good schools. And when I needed them, I got scholarships and jobs. I saw what happened to good people who had no opportunity because they happened to be black, or because they happened to be poor and white and isolated in the hills and hollows of the mountains of my state.

COPY

My philosophy is rooted in these beliefs that have worked so well in this country for such a long time. I imagine the same is true in your lives. ~~Your parents and your communities have sacrificed to give you a chance for a better future.~~ It must also be true in the generations of our youth.

~~The interesting thing is, many of the places you live couldn't be more different. Yet the priorities of your~~ Come from too places, but imagine 100 different families couldn't be more alike. That's what I mean by shared values.

The priorities of American families in their household budgets are no different than the priorities of our larger American family in our national budget.

COPY

From time to time we seek to improve upon these priorities or adapt them to meet changing times. But the basic convictions are at the very core of our national body of wisdom.

I believe at this moment of great change, Congress and I can find common ground in putting together the federal budget. After all, the goals we share are clear. First, balance the budget. And second, invest our resources to build on and strengthen all that's important to us.

On the first of these goals, we are at an historic moment.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "The Democracy Agenda" Commencement Address Dartmouth College (7 pages)	06/11/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
Dartmouth - 6/11/95 [1]

2006-0469-F
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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]
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Draft 6/9/95

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"THE DEMOCRACY AGENDA"
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
June 11, 1995

[Acknowledgements/opening joke] I would like to acknowledge the Class of 1945. When they graduated, they did not get a commencement. They left too quickly -- most of them, for service in our fight for democracy against the forces of fascism. Today, I want to talk to you, the graduates of 1995, about how we can reclaim the democracy that they sacrificed for, and that many of them gave their lives to save.

Fix tone

We stand at a moment of enormous hope and possibility in the history of our country. A new and changing economy offers the prospect of unparalleled opportunity. We have embarked on a vitally important national debate about the role of our government in our lives, about how best to move our country into the future.

The end of the Cold War has brought the end of a debilitating arms race. For the first time in decades, no Russian missiles are targeted at the people of the United States -- and none of our missiles are targeted at them. In the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in South Africa, seemingly endless hatred and violence has given way to negotiation, reconciliation and genuine hope.

For future scholars, above all this will be seen as a Golden Age of Democracy. From Prague to Santiago, from Johannesburg to Warsaw, from East Berlin to Moscow itself, hundreds of millions of people who only a decade ago lived in the stifling hothouse of dictatorship now breathe the fresh air of freedom.

And it is thrilling -- and humbling -- to know that for freedom fighters and nation builders across the globe, the United States of America has been a beacon and a model.

Havel

During a strike in that revolutionary fall of 1989, a Czech brewery worker rose on a platform in grimy overalls and told his countrymen: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

not just our words, but our deeds.

They know that our democracy is more than just a set of ~~institutional arrangements~~ words. scratched on parchment. Long after the ink faded on our founding documents, democracy was a creed, a way of life, that penetrated every village and every aspect of our lives. What New Hampshire senator Daniel Webster -- Dartmouth Class of 1801 -- called "The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." The New England town meeting. Even the New Hampshire primary: This is what American democracy means to the rest of the world.

COPY

Above all, ~~strong democracy~~ -- true democracy -- gives people the power to control their own lives. Democracy is hard work. It invests ordinary citizens with extraordinary authority. ~~And it xxx.~~ That is the vision that imbues our Americorps program, which has involved so many Dartmouth students here today. True democracy does not mean some vision of atomized individuals, bouncing off of each other like so many molecules. It also means people pulling together and acting together in communities, in the churches and schools and workplaces where they spend their days, etc.

America has taught the world to "live free or die." Now we must breathe new life into our own freedom. For at the very moment our vision of democracy is triumphing abroad, we cannot escape the fact that it is deeply troubled at home.

The story of America ~~is a story of repeated democratic renewal.~~ Whenever our politics lagged behind our society, the people have taken hold of the institutions of government and shaken them until they worked. From Andrew Jackson, who expanded the vote and brought the common people into government . . . to Abraham Lincoln, who led a crusade to restore government "for the people" . . . to Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressives, who sought to tame the unchallenged power of monopoly . . . to the suffragists and the civil rights movement . . . to Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and the modern Democratic Party, who created a platform of opportunity for the great American middle class . . . our people have risen to the task of remaking their politics.

~~We need such a renewal today.~~ Americans have withdrawn their trust from the government that is supposed to serve them, and the political system that is supposed to represent them. They have concluded that the deck is stacked, that their voices do not count, that the corridors of Washington throng with advocates for the powerful. They perceive that the political process is unable to meet the immense challenges of changing times. They have experienced two decades of stagnant incomes, and they see a government ~~that~~ is unable to help.

People aren't merely mad at politics; they yearn for something better. They feel in their bones that something greater is still possible for America. Now more than ever, we need a government that can change with the times, that can stand up for ordinary citizens and help them make the best of a changing world. ~~They want to be represented, to be reconnected with their government. Most fundamentally,~~ they want the system to work for them.

The elections of 1992 and 1994 were an unmistakable mandate to reject this brand of Washington business as usual. As I said in my State-of-the-Union, "in both years, we didn't hear America singing, we heard America shouting." It is up to those of us in public life to say by our actions: we hear you.

[In a sense, our problems stem from the uniquely participatory nature of our democracy.]

Students of history know that lobby power is nothing new. Students of political

COPY

theory know that James Madison warned that our government could fall prey to narrow interests.

We want citizens to participate in their government; the right to petition is enshrined in the Constitution. Our voluntary and civic organizations give our country a diversity of opinion that is an everlasting source of renewal. And it is natural that people will lobby their government. In an increasingly complex economy, when widely dispersed citizens share a common interest, they may want someone to represent them. At some time or another, all of us might become a lobbyist, if we felt that one of our interests were threatened in Washington, and we wanted to speak up. There ~~would be~~ nothing ~~necessarily~~ ignoble about that.

But the natural American impulse to organize has become entrenched, encrusted, so that narrow interests squeeze out the national interest. But today, something truly has changed, changed for the worse.

Every day, tourists throng Washington's marble monuments to see the government in action. But a mile away, on K Street, sits the other government of lawyers and lobbyists. The other government works in secret, often with as much impact on the lives of working Americans as elected representatives. An influence industry 90,000 strong, pressuring government on behalf of well-funded narrow interests. Three times the number of registered lobbyists walk the halls of Congress as two decades ago. Six times the number of special interest political action committees pour funds into the campaigns of politicians. Genuine ~~grassroots participation has been replaced by manufactured mass movements.~~

And too often, the earnest voices of honest debate are outshouted by pressure groups using mass mailings and scare tactics. There is no question -- the evidence is very considerable -- that the House of Representatives changed hands last fall because the National Rifle Association took out people who stood up for the assault weapons ban and the Brady Bill. These measures are working; they are saving lives; they were the right thing to do; there has not even been a serious effort to repeal them -- but those people lost their seats because they did it.

Let me be clear. These narrow interests aren't all bad; in many cases, they are you and me. But they can jam the gears of political change. They poke holes in the tax code, beg for bailouts, and extract unjustified subsidies from the government. They are special pleaders for the corporate welfare state that bloats our budget. And we will never have the resources we need for education, job training, and technology if the budget continues to be distorted by special interest power. We will never make government work for the middle class if we do not curb the power of the lobbyist class.

The public knows this. In the 1994 elections, fewer than x out of x people voted. By one account, out of twenty democracies, our voter turnout ranks nineteenth. And while the sweat and blood of politics once was subject for discussion in bars and barbershops and living rooms across America, now citizens have tuned out, convinced that what happens in politics is as distant from their lives as what happens on Mars.

COPY

So the question is: How can we generate grassroots participation without having the decisionmaking process so dominated by special interests in Washington? How can we restore a sense of grassroots democracy, so that citizens are animated by hope, and not just by special-interest generated, high-tech fear? (How can we reestablish the traditions of citizenship?)

I gave my answer when I ran for President, in my Inaugural Address, and in the days and months since. I have called on Congress to pass lobby reform, a ban on gifts, real campaign finance reform. We passed the Motor Voter law, which will bring hundreds of thousands of new voters onto the rolls this year alone. I have sought every day to give the people a chance to have a dialogue with their elected officials. That is why I believe so strongly in doing town meetings. That is why I have put White House transcripts and documents on the Internet. And it is why I have encouraged people with strong religious convictions to get involved in politics even when they didn't agree with me on certain fundamental issues.

~~That is my view of how to renew our democracy and reform our politics.~~

Not D or R. Problem of all. D's - Didn't pass last year.

Now, I will be the first to say that I am disappointed that lobby reform and campaign finance reform did not pass the Congress last year. Perhaps because one party had been in power for forty years, the Democrats failed to act when they had a chance. But that is no excuse for the new Congress to make the same mistake. ~~If either the Democratic or Republican party fails to act, this moment will leave them behind.~~

1. Filibuster last year. 2. new Cong. Hope for reform. Not happening. A. SOTU. B. Reset Environ C. [illegible] 3. Agenda A B C.

Things should be getting better. The moment of change in Washington should be a time when we put the special interests in their place. But instead, matters are getting worse.

Not just A The new majority in Congress has given the lobbyists -- the other government -- a place at the table. turned the table over on them.

The new Congress is pushing foward with the most aggressive assault in 25 years to roll back our environmental and consumer laws.

The bill to freeze all federal regulation was literally written by a posse of lobbyists. They were given a room off the House floor to draft amendments and write the words to be spoken by congressmen.

When the official brieifing was held to explain a bill to overturn 25 years of health and safety and environmental protections, the breifing was conducted by lobbyists for the tobacco and energy industries.

[1 sentence on Clean Water Act being written by lobbyists]

And now Members of Congress think nothing about barring from their doors lobbyists who didn't give them camapign contributions. One office even demanded resumes before

COPY

they would talk to the caller.

Some leaders, confusing temporary authority with divine right, have the presumption to tell corporations not to give money to mainstream charities. Why would the majority leader of the House of Representatives want to discourage people from giving to charities? They invite the corporate world to write their laws for them, and then they don't want them to give money to the Cancer Society, the Heart Association, or the Lung Association? What do the Cancer Society, the Heart Association, the Lung Association have to do with the cultural breakdown of America?

This is not the way to renew our nation and reinspire our citizens. We need a Democracy Agenda, a wholehearted effort to give our Congress and our system back to the people.

We should start by ending the legal corruption of lobbyists giving gifts, meals, travel and entertainment to Members of Congress. If a judge took a vacation from a lawyer in his court, he'd be disbarred. If an entry-level civil servant took a meal from a lobbyist, he'd be fired. But the skyboxes and golf-courses of Washington are filled with lobbyists and lawmakers. That's access that the average citizen just doesn't get. And it should end. It has now been six months since the State of the Union address, when I challenged Congress to act. Nothing has happened. And the American people are still waiting.

Then, it should drag the influence industry into the sunshine of public scrutiny. Today, professional lobbyists can work almost entirely in secret. Industries can spend tens of millions of dollars to sway Congress, but the public will never know. Consider this. Last month, my administration proposed a provision that would raise $3.2 billion over 10 years simply by telling billionaires that they cannot evade the taxes they owe simply by renouncing their American citizenship. It was in the legislation as it moved through Congress, and then it was out. Who saved the expatriate billionaires? Somebody lobbied for that -- hard, carefully, secretly. And I think the American people are entitled to know. Congress should reform the lobby laws to require professional lobbyists to tell the public who they work for; what they are trying to pass or kill; and how much they are spending.

When these reform measures were filibustered to death in the last Congress, the lobbyists literally stood in the halls off the Senate floor and cheered. But the American people weren't cheering. ~~The incoming Speaker of the House called a gift ban and lobby disclosure "Stalinist." I say it's the American way~~. Congress should act now.

And just as our nation has fought for free elections in Johannesburg, Panama City, and Port Au Prince, we must make our own elections true instruments of democracy, to give the voters a voice and a choice.

I have consistently argued that we must reform our campaign finance laws. A Democratic Congress did not pass it. And now the Republican Congress seems to have forgotten all about campaign finance reform. ~~In fact, their only act has been~~ to try to repeal ~~the existing reforms that were put in place after the abuses of Watergate.~~ I will not let that

COPY

happen. But we must move forward, not backward. I have called for free television time for candidates, so that all contenders can be heard regardless of the size of their bankbook. And free TV time can break the partisan stalemate that has blocked change, and lead to real reform. I ask the Congressional leaders to meet me on the field of compromise, and work toward a bipartisan approach to campaign finance.

The new leaders of Congress have shown very little enthusiasm for changing the way they do business. They have said that these issues are minor. But they cut to the heart of what the people want. The Democracy Agenda should be Congress' agenda -- because it is the people's agenda.

Let me make clear: The executive branch, too, must be held accountable. Every citizen has the right to seek to influence the government.

The first day I took office, I imposed a new ethics code. My appointees pledged that they would not lobby for foreign governments, ever. And my top trade officials pledged that they would not lobby for foreign businesses for five years after leaving office. We stopped the revolving door.

But the undermining influence of foreign lobbying has not gone away. During the Cold War, Americans properly wanted to know that their government was not being swayed by foreign forces. Today, at a time of peaceful but profound economic competition, the American people deserve a government that listens only to them, and not to the whisperings of others. For that reason, today I am instructing our trade representative's office, which negotiates trade deals, to disclose immediately to the public whenever they are contacted by a lobbyist for a foreign government or corporation. And I challenge the Congress to disclose any such meetings, too.

[In addition, we will put teeth in the laws that today govern foreign lobbying. Foreign agents already have to register with the government, but for too long their forms have simply gathered dust in an office in Washington. I am directing the Attorney General to toughen the enforcement of these laws, for the first time ever, to ensure that our generosity is not being flaunted. We will audit these filings. We will make sure that they are accurate. And if someone has broken the law, they will be punished.]

This, then, is my Democracy Agenda. It sets forth the tools for our people to use. But it is up to the people to use those tools. It is facile and easy to blame the politicians for the mess in Washington -- too easy. Democracy's quiet crisis is our crisis. The flash of a bomb in Oklahoma City outlines in sharp relief that the government is not them; it is us.

We live in times when we need the strengths and ideals of democracy more than ever. Yet the problems and frustrations that demand more democracy are themselves democracy's most potent corruptors. As we fail to vote, we become powerless; feeling thwarted and impotent, we grow still more cynical about voting. As we use democratic talk to vent our anger and assail our adversaries, we lose faith in the power of talk to heal our wounds and find common ground. We not only hurt each other with hate talk, we hurt talk itself as a

COPY

mediator of our differences.

Ultimately, democracy is about a people's confidence in itself. When we lose that confidence, we lose our way. When we have that faith, we govern well.

To the graduates gathered here today I say this: On you falls the obligation to renew our democracy, to hold politics accountable and to make political participation part of the fabric of your lives.

You have the skills, the education, the knowledge to master the forces of technology that will transform our society. As your presence here shows, you have the energy to succeed. And in you the flames of idealism still flicker.

Those were the flames that moved the graduates of 1945 to fight for democracy across the globe. Now you, the graduates of 1995 have the opportunity -- and the obligation -- to fight as hard and as well for democracy here at home.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	markatz to mawaldman; RE: 3/14 Draft - Radio & Television Remarks (5 pages)	03/14/1999	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (10 pages)	03/15/1999	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (10 pages)	03/15/1999	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/12/1999	P5
005. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/12/1999	P5
006. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/12/1999	P5
007. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/12/1999	P5
008. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Outline for Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/12/1999	P5
009. email	Mark Katz to Michael Waldman; RE: R&TV Draft 3/11 (5 pages)	03/10/1999	P5
010. email	markatz to mawaldman; RE: Draft 3/11 - Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/11/1999	P5
011. email	markatz to mawaldman; RE: Draft 3/11 - Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/11/1999	P5
012. email	markatz to mawaldman; RE: Draft 3/11 - Radio & Television Remarks (4 pages)	03/11/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
[Radio and Television Remarks]

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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]
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Subj: **3/14 draft 10pm**
Date: 3/14/1999 10:27:57 PM Eastern Standard Time
From: markatz@earthlink.net (Mark Katz)
To: mawaldman@aol.com

Draft 3/14/99 10pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
OUTLINE FOR RADIO & TELEVISION REMARKS
WASHINGTON, DC
March 18, 1999

Good evening. [dais acknowledgements], ladies and gentlemen.

I want you to know that on the way over here, my Press Secretary Joe Lockhart reminded me of his pledge that once the trial was over, the White House would be a "gloat-free zone."

Hey Joe, this is not the White House.

I'd like to thank the Radio & Television Correspondents Association for your invitation to come to this room packed with two thousand members of the Washington press corps. The amazing thing is, I accepted. If that's not contrition, I don't know what is.

Now, I realize this has been a very serious matter. If the Senate vote had gone the other way, I wouldn't be here speaking to you tonight.

I demand a recount.

[GOP humor TK, God willing]

I regret I couldn't be here with you last year. I wanted to come, but at the time, the Washington press corps was already having me for lunch.

This is only the beginning of my week with the media. Tomorrow I've got a press conference and then the Gridiron Dinner the day after that. You'd think I was selling a book.

Admittedly, it's been a long time since I held a press conference. If memory serves, most of the tough questions that day were about the nomination of Zoë Baird.

Some of you have noticed that when I do take questions in public, I've shared the podium with foreign leaders, attempting to deflect the full force of the White House correspondents.

As a matter of fact, at this point, bringing out a head of state to stand next to me at press events is something of a security blanket.

Frankly, I'm a little nervous, to be out there in front of all these reporters. So I thought I would use a method that's worked for me over the past 4 years.

Music up.
ANNCR:
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CONQUISDADOR, SHOREB ARNSVAT.

COPY

Dignified mature man wearing dark suit and satin sash enters stage and warmly greets the President at the podium.

Thank you, your Excellency.

I know the White House press corps has been busy preparing questions for me. And we've been busy working on the answers. In fact, here they are.

Yes. Helen.
She was first, Sam.

I'll get to you, Sam.

OK, your question, Sam.

No, I didn't watch it.

No, I haven't read it.

Well, it depends on what the meaning of the word "is" is.

[Puzzled]: Why is that funny?

Your Excellency, why don't you have a seat right here. I'll ask you to join me again if I need some cover.

I am also expecting a question at the press conference regarding the future political career of the First Lady. I honestly don't know what she'll decide but I can tell you this: yesterday at breakfast, she was complaining that it's impossible to get a decent bagel here in Washington.

By the way, what's a "shmeer"?

[turns to side]
I'm sorry, what's that your Excellency? With cream cheese? Oh.

I do hope Hillary makes up her mind soon. The prospect of her running for the Senate is something of a distraction. And I'm not sure how much longer I can compartmentalize.

The Vice President has been busy, too. I heard him talking about how rough it is to travel on airplanes these days – the delays, the lost baggage, the disgusting meals. Al, I had no idea that things were that bad on Air Force Two.

You know, I think he's due for an upgrade.

And it's nice to see Garrison Keillor here. I understand that when he wrote a satire critical of his Governor, the government tried to cut off his public funding just because it was deemed to be offensive. Why didn't I think of that?

I realize this is a bit of a slow season in the news business.

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Now that the trial is over, we must do something about the disturbing issue of displaced pundits. What is to become of the gangs of telegenic, opinionated people currently roaming the streets of Washington, speculating wildly to unsuspecting passersby?

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This is a challenge best met at the state level. I propose a new relocation grant – to move Washington's pundits to our fifty states – the laboratories of democracy – giving them new opportunities to comment upon the private lives of the nation's governors ... from Trenton to Tallahassee, Albany to Austin.

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LAA-LAA: Laaaa! Laaa la la la!

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Issue two: if GDP growth continues on its upward trend, will the Republicans be content with the President's so-called targeted tax cuts? Miss Po!

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MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Wrong! It's fi-dit fi-dit fi-dit, ren ren ren! Dipsy?

DIPSY: Hellloooo! Hellloooo!

PO: Eh-oh!

DIPSY: Hellloooo! Hellloooo!

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TINKY-WINKY and LAA-LAA: [bump tummies] Big hug!

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: I'll take that as a "yes'! (Nice bag, by the way.) We're out of time. BYE BYE!

TELETUBBIES: Bye byyyye!

PRESIDENT, CONT.

I'll explain all that to you later, Your Excellency.

But there has been some news this week. The DNC announced that it will hold the 2000 convention in Los Angeles, California. There was some delay in the announcement because the Los Angeles planning committee insisted on making some slight adjustments to the regular convention format.

It will be the first political convention hosted by Whoopi Goldberg. A Keynote Address by Alec Baldwin. And there will be a Lifetime Achievement Award for Jack Valenti.

In addition to the usual red meat rhetoric delivered by convention speakers, there will also be a fabulous vegetarian plate prepared by Wolfgang Puck

Delegate votes will be tabulated by the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse.

And the Democratic nominee will begin his acceptance speech by thanking

COPY

the Academy and saying it was an honor just to be nominated.

Instead of running mate, the nominee sill select a co-star.

The first post-nomination interview with the candidate has been secured by Leeza Gibbons. In fact, they came up with a whole new plan for candidate interviews. All the really tough questions will be put to a stunt double.

At a nearby fitness center, James Carville will be leading a spinning class.

It will be the first convention where delegates drop out of the electoral college to write screenplays.

There will a groundswell of support on the floor for Holistic Health Care Insurance. 100,000 Personal Trainer in the gym.

Personally, I'm excited about it because the new LA Convention Center is just a short commute from DreamWorks. Well, depending on the traffic.

How does this sound to you, Al? [VP puts on too-cool shades.]

This has gone on long enough. Let's see if we can bring this speech to closure.

Conclusion TK

Thank you and good night.

Victory handshake with Foreign Leader.

###

———————— Headers ————————
Return-Path: <markatz@earthlink.net>
Received: from rly-zd02.mx.aol.com (rly-zd02.mail.aol.com [172.31.33.226]) by air-zd03.mail.aol.com (v56.26) with SMTP; Sun, 14 Mar 1999 22:27:56 -0500
Received: from hawk.prod.itd.earthlink.net (hawk.prod.itd.earthlink.net [207.217.120.22])
by rly-zd02.mx.aol.com (8.8.8/8.8.5/AOL-4.0.0)
with ESMTP id WAA22998 for <mawaldman@aol.com>;
Sun, 14 Mar 1999 22:27:51 -0500 (EST)
Received: from earthlink.net (ip216.washington13.dc.pub-ip.psi.net [38.30.214.216])
by hawk.prod.itd.earthlink.net (8.8.7/8.8.5) with ESMTP id TAA15419
for <mawaldman@aol.com>; Sun, 14 Mar 1999 19:27:50 -0800 (PST)
Message-ID: <36EC7E33.743F2497@earthlink.net>
Date: Sun, 14 Mar 1999 22:27:50 -0500
From: Mark Katz <markatz@earthlink.net>
Organization: Sound Bite Institute
X-Mailer: Mozilla 4.05 (Macintosh; U; PPC)
MIME-Version: 1.0

COPY

Draft 3/15/15 10:45am

INVENTED

Delay → spray deodrants

Nobody at 1st — 72

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
OUTLINE FOR RADIO & TELEVISION REMARKS
WASHINGTON, DC
March 18, 1999

Good evening. [*dais acknowledgments*], ladies and gentlemen.

I want you to know that on the way over here, my Press Secretary Joe Lockhart reminded me of his pledge that once the trial was over, the White House would be a "gloat-free zone."

Hey Joe, this is not the White House.

I'd like to thank the Radio & Television Correspondents Association for your invitation to come to this room packed with two thousand members of the Washington press corps. The amazing thing is, I accepted. If that's not contrition, I don't know what is.

[Now, I realize this has been a very serious matter. If the Senate vote had gone the other way, I wouldn't be here speaking to you tonight.

Some days

I demand a recount.]

INVENTIONS

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[You know, I was going to make a number of jokes about the House Republicans tonight, but that wouldn't be fair. They're not here to defend themselves. They're all at the Taliban Correspondents' Association Dinner.]

[Times are tough in the right wing. The President of the Concerned Citizens' Council has been forced to resign because of his alleged ties to Bob Barr.]

[*Possible joke re: Tom DeLay as exterminator*]

This is only the beginning of my week with the media. Tomorrow I've got a press conference and then the Gridiron Dinner the day after that. You'd think I was selling a book.

Admittedly, it's been a long time since I held a press conference. If memory serves, most of the tough questions that day were about the nomination of Zoë Baird.

Frankly, I am a little nervous to be out here all alone in front of all these reporters tonight. So I thought I would use a method that's worked pretty well for me over the past year.

[*Music up.*]

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen: the President of the United Republic of

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Karjakador, Shoreb Arnsvat [*shore-ahb arnss-vaht*].

[*Dignified mature man wearing dark suit and satin sash enters stage, warmly greets the President, and stands mutely by President's side during routine.*]

Thank you, your Excellency.

I know the White House press corps has been busy preparing questions for me. And we've been busy working on the answers. In fact, here they are.

Yes. Helen.

She was first, Sam.

I'll get to you, Sam.

OK, your question, Sam.

[*with a big smile*] The longest peacetime economic expansion in history.

No, I didn't watch it.

// other than they could not ... not too many pundits ... too few to ...

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No, I haven't read it.

Well, it depends on what the meaning of the word "is" is.

[*Puzzled*]: Why is that funny?

Your Excellency, why don't you have a seat right here. I'll ask you to join me again if I need some cover. [*Foreign leader takes a seat near the podium.*]

I am also expecting a question at the press conference regarding the future political career of the First Lady. I honestly don't know what she'll decide but I can tell you this: yesterday at breakfast, she was complaining that it's impossible to get a decent bagel here in Washington.

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Thank you and good night.

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Draft 3/15/15 10:45am

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OUTLINE FOR RADIO & TELEVISION REMARKS
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<u>Conclusion TK</u>

Thank you and good night.

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COPY

Draft 3/12/99 9:30am

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OUTLINE FOR RADIO & TELEVISION REMARKS
WASHINGTON, DC
March 18, 1999

Openers

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Now, I realize this has been a very serious matter. If the Senate vote had gone the other way, I wouldn't be here speaking to you tonight. I demand a recount.

If Bob Barr is watching this, I guarantee you he just jumped out of his chair and started issuing subpoenas.

[*1-2 more impeachment jokes - 1 self deprecating, one tweak at House GOP*]

I regret I couldn't join you at last year's dinner. I wanted to come but at the time, the Washington press corps was already having me for lunch.

But I thought it was important that I be with you here this evening. And this is only the beginning of my week with the press. Tomorrow I've got a press conference and then the Gridiron Dinner the day after that. You'd think I was selling a book.

And I'm actually doing the press conference without a foreign leader by my side. Though I've been assured that Prime Minister Cretien could be flown in at an hour's notice.

Admittedly, it's been a long time since I last held a press conference. If memory serves, most of the tough questions that day were about the Zoë Baird nomination.

I know you've been busy preparing your questions. And we've been busy working on the answers. In fact, here they are.

COPY

Yes. Helen.

Yes.

Nope.

Yes.

No, I didn't watch it.

No, I haven't read it.

It depends on what the meaning of the word "is" is.

[Puzzled]: Why is that funny?

And of course I expect a question regarding the future political career of the First Lady. I honestly don't know what she'll decide but I can tell you this: yesterday at breakfast, she was complaining that it's impossible to get a decent bagel here in Washington.

By the way, what's a "shmeer"?

I do hope Hillary makes up her mind soon. The prospect of her running for the Senate is something of a distraction. And I'm not sure how much longer I can compartmentalize.

Vice President Gore has been busy, too. I heard him talking about how rough it is to ride the airlines these days -- the delays, the lost baggage, the bad meals. I had no idea that things were that bad on Air Force Two. I'm doing everything I can to get him an upgrade.

Now, realize this is a bit of a slow season in the news business. Now that the trial is over, what will become of all these pundits suddenly discarded by the all-news cable networks? What can we do about the gangs of telegenic, opinionated people currently roaming the streets of Washington, speculating wildly to unsuspecting passersby?

I think there are important issues to consider in the aftermath of the pundit boomlet of 1998. We live in an age of rapid technical change where the average worker will change careers seven times. And now we know that one of those careers is a short stint as a panelist on MSNBC.

In the future, everyone will be a pundit for 15 minutes.

My fellow Americans, that's why we must help pundits dislocated by change retool their skills for the opportunities of the 21st Century.

There is plenty that we as a nation can do. With relocation grants, we can help

COPY

unemployed Washington pundits move to the laboratories of democracy, our fifty states, seizing new opportunities to comment upon the private lives of the nation's governors. This is a unique opportunity to put their skills to work in state capitols from Trenton to Tallahassee, Albany to Austin.

And we should pass the long-overdue Pundits Bill of Rights.

You have the right to a fresh danish in the green room.

You have the right a chiron with your name spelled correctly.

You have the right to interrupt others.

You have the right to complain bitterly when others interrupt you.

No American should ever have to make the painful choice between the beat they cover and the talk show they love.

We must also end the destructive practice of self-promotion. It is wrong to move from cable to networks simply because your friends are.

I don't want to appear too hard on television pundits. The willingness to say anything to remain in the limelight is understandable. It is a very human trait. All too human.

Now all the news networks have to fill 24 hours of news programming with twenty-five minutes worth of actual news. I know they're trying to diversify to reach new audiences.

MSNBC in Crisis

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Inside the Politics of Burden of Proof

America's Most Illegally Leaked Depositions

And all of a sudden, they've got an interest in Al Gore's All-Earth Channel. I still think it's a good idea.

They are absolutely desperate for new programming. And we got our hands on a sneak preview of cable news next big show:

[The PRESIDENT gestures to VIDEO screen]

PUNDITUBBIES VIDEO

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ANNOUNCER: From the nation's capital, Punditubbies, an unrehearsed program presenting inside opinions and forecasts on the major issues of the day. Boycotted by the Moral Majority. The Moral Majority: We're moral. And we're the majority. Here is the moderator, John McLaughlin.

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DIPSY: Hellloooo! Hellloooo!

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MORE TK

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Draft 3/12/99 9:30am

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WASHINGTON, DC
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Mark Katz <markatz @ earthlink.net>
03/10/99 11:17:08 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman <Waldman_M @ a1.eop.gov>, mawaldman @ aol.com, Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP, Jordan Tamagni/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: r&tv draft 3/11

Draft 3/10/99
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I'd like to thank the Radio & Television Correspondents Association for your invitation to come to this room packed with a thousand members of the Washington press corps. The amazing thing is, I accepted. If that s not contrition, I don t know what is.

After all that has happened in the past year, this is a moment in the history of presidential press relations almost without precedent. But still the precedent exists. So as I was preparing this speech, I went back and read Andrew Johnson s 1866(?) remarks to the organization that preceded yours, at the annual dinner of the Telegraph & Word-of-Mouth Correspondents Association.

I m afraid his speech wasn t very instructive but Johnson did have a great opening line. Let me read it to you: "I was only one Senate vote shy of not having to show up here this evening. I demand a recount!"

I regret that I wasn t able to join you at last year s dinner. I wanted to come but at the time, the Washington press corps was already having me for lunch.

But I thought it was important that I be with you here this evening. And this is only the beginning of my week with the press. Tomorrow I have a press conference and then the Gridiron Dinner the day after that. You d think I was selling a book.

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Admittedly, it s been a long time since I last held a press conference. If memory serves, I think most of the tough questions that day were about the Zoë Baird nomination.

In fact, I might save some of you the trouble of showing up at the White House tomorrow because I was preparing for tomorrow s press conference this afternoon and have a list right here of all of my answers.

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I do hope Hillary makes up her mind soon. The prospect of her running for the Senate is something of a distraction and I m not sure how much longer I can continue to compartmentalize.

I know many people in this room are also intensely interested in what the First Lady decides to do. Now that the Impeachment Trial is over, there seems to be a decided lull in the news cycle. And all the pundits recruited for the trial now find their services are no longer in demand. And how's this for irony: the majority of these now unemployed pundits predicted that by this time, I'd be the one out of a job.

I know my press secretary said that once the trial was over, the White House would be a "gloat-free zone." I hate to parse that sentence but, this is not the White House.

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Take your average unemployed television pundit. Let's call him "Lanny." Lanny worked hard and played by the rules. Plus his opinions had particular merit. He deserves better than to shoved aside by a shifting economy.
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There is plenty that we as a nation can do. With relocation grants, we can help unemployed Washington pundits move to the laboratories of democracy, our fifty states, seizing new opportunities to comment upon the private lives of the nation's governors. This is a unique opportunity to put their skills to work in state capitols from Trenton to Tallahassee, Albany to Austin.

Here in Washington, we must redouble our efforts to bring about real pundit reform, including a long-overdue Pundit Bill of Rights.

You have the right to a fresh danish in the green room.

You have the right a chiron with your name spelled correctly.

You have the right to interrupt others.

You have the right to complain bitterly when others interrupt you.

And finally, no American should ever have to make the painful choice between covering their assigned beat and appearing on the talk show they love.

We must also end the destructive practice of social-promotion. It is wrong to move from cable to networks simply because your friends are.

I don't want to appear too hard on television pundits. The willingness to say anything to remain in the limelight is understandable. It is a very human trait. All too human.

The end of the impeachment hearing has had ill effects not only upon these people but the very networks on which they appeared. Suddenly, they have to fill 24 hours of news programming with twenty-five minutes worth of actual news. The sudden news drought has left cable programming executives scrambling for new ideas for programs.

Here s what they ve come up with so far. Programs called:

MSNBC in Crisis

When Correspondents Attack

Inside the Politics of Burden of Proof

America s Most Illegally Leaked Depositions

And all of a sudden, they've got an interest in Al Gore s All-Earth Channel. I still think it s a good idea.

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[The PRESIDENT gestures to VIDEO screen]

PUNDITUBBIES VIDEO
Music up
ANNOUNCER:
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LAA-LAA:
Laaaa! Laaa la la la!

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Wrong! It s fi-dit fi-dit fi-dit, ren ren ren! Dipsy?

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Hellloooo! Hellloooo!

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TINKY-WINKY and LAA-LAA: [bump tummies]

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I ll take that as a yes ! Nice bag, by the way. We re out of time.
BYE BYE!

TELETUBBIES:
Bye byyyye!

MORE TK

Non-impeachment humor TBD

Conclusion

###

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Date: 3/11/1999 9:11:46 PM Eastern Standard Time
From: markatz@earthlink.net (Mark Katz)
To: mawaldman@aol.com

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E-mail me back to acknowledge receipt.
–mark

Draft 3/11/99 9:00pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
OUTLINE FOR RADIO & TELEVISION REMARKS
WASHINGTON, DC
March 18, 1999

Openers

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Yes. Helen.

Yes.

Nope.

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MORE TK

Conclusion

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COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Maria Echaveste to Bruce Reed, et al.; RE: The President's Reace Report: Education Section Meeting (2 pages)	01/27/1999	P5
002. email	Michael Cohen to Maria Echaveste; RE: Comments on Education Section of Race Book (2 pages)	01/25/1999	P5
003. memo	Melanne Verveer to Maria Echaveste; RE: Comments on Intro and Education Chapters of Race Book (2 pages)	01/27/1999	P5
004. email	Ann Lewis to Clara Shin; RE: Race Book (1 page)	01/26/1999	P5
005. email	Christopher Edley to Edward Correia; RE: Draft Book (2 pages)	01/22/1999	P5
006. memo	Christopher Edley to the President; RE: Race Book, Budget, and SOTU (5 pages)	01/05/1999	P5
007. memo	Bruce Reed, Mike Cohen to the President; RE: Education Issues in Chris Edley's Memo (2 pages)	01/13/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
[Race Book March 5, 1999] [1]

2006-0469-F
db3388

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]
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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]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1999

TO: BRUCE REED
GENE SPERLING
MINYON MOORE
ANN LEWIS
MELANNE VERVEER
SHIRLEY SAGAWA
PAUL BEGALA
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
MICHAEL WALDMAN
ELENA KAGAN
SYLVIA MATHEWS
JOSH GOTBAUM
MICHAEL COHEN

CC: CHRISTOPHER EDLEY, JR.

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S RACE REPORT: EDUCATION SECTION MEETING

Many of you recently reviewed and provided comments on the draft education section of the President's Race Report. As noted before, I plan to hold meetings throughout this review process to address any issues in dispute prior to sending a final draft to the President. Based on your comments with regard to the education section, I have identified three primary issues: (1) the consistency between the education workplan and our current initiatives and FY2000 budget; (2) the Report's emphasis on legislative solutions; and (3) the extent to which the President should highlight Administration achievements in the education arena. I have summarized these issues below, with recommended discussion points for tomorrow's meeting.

- *Consistency*. Many of you stressed the need for the education workplan to be consistent with policies announced during the State of the Union, including ESEA reauthorization, quality teachers, social promotion, and accountability. In particular, there was concern about the Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education and its compatibility with the current ESEA reauthorization strategy. *Discussion Point*: How do we make the education workplan consistent with the State of the Union policies and FY2000 budget?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- *Legislative Strategies*. Some of you recommended that the education workplan not rely too heavily on legislative solutions, arguing that a legislative emphasis takes away from the Presidential "bully pulpit" aspects of the chapter. The First Lady's Office encourages us to develop a workplan for schools that is "as strong as possible regarding what schools can and should do regardless of federal policy." *Discussion Point*: What is the proper balance between the bully pulpit and legislative strategies?

- *Administration Credit*. Many of you recommended that the President highlight more of his and Mrs. Clinton's education initiatives than are currently in the Report. You provided specific suggestions: (1) America Reads, (2) Prescription for Reading, (3) Head Start and other early childhood programs, (4) charter schools, (5) scholarships to recruit people to teach in high poverty communities, (6) Troops to Teachers, (7) the Native American teacher recruitment initiative, (8) the battle for school modernization, (9) Literacy Challenge Fund, (10) English language acquisition, and (11) school safety initiatives. *Discussion Point*: To what extent should we highlight Administration accomplishments, and which ones?

Of these three issues, I plan to concentrate our meeting discussion on the first two points. With respect to the Administration initiatives to be highlighted in the Report, I will ask you to work with Edley's staff outside of the meeting to incorporate your suggestions.

In preparation for our meeting, I am attaching background materials: (1) the book summary outline and education section of the workplan; (2) your comments on the education workplan; (3) Edley's January 5th memorandum to the President regarding opportunity-related ideas in relation to the Race Book, budget, and the State of the Union; and (4) DPC's January 13th memo addressing the education issues in Edley's memo. If you have any questions or suggestions, do not hesitate to contact me or Clara Shin at 6-5506.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Michael Cohen
01/25/99 02:16:26 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
Subject: Comments on education section of race book

I reviewed the education chapter and introduction again over the weekend, and have a number of comments. Please note, I did not have a chance to do any fact checking -- I presume the numbers Chris uses are right and have been double checked by him and others.

1. The fundamental concern with this chapter has been addressed already, in our memo to POTUS. The Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education is clearly at odds with the President's State of the Union proposals and the direction that ESEA reauthorization is taking, so obviously that piece can't stay in here as is. If it is removed or substantially changed to reflect what POTUS has already proposed, the structure (but not necessarily the content) of much of the rest of the workplan would also need to be altered, since some of the issues in the workplan--quality teachers, social promotion, accountability for all--are addressed in the SOTU proposals. However, I'm not clear what the process is for resolving this conflict, so rather than relitigating now, I'll offer other comments designed to strengthen the rest of the chapter.

2. A couple of editorial comments:

- p.1 of the education section: I don't remember if in 1957 there was such a thing as "breaking news" television coverage. Someone should check before POTUS declares he remembers it.
- p.6: sentence describing our class size reduction effort should end with the point that reducing class size will "...have positve effects on student achievement *particularly for minority youngsters."*
- p. 8: The sentence "On the other hand, I have seen that Federal education programs are often too confining, with their red tape and narrow categorical programs." is a problem (beyond the fact that it is contained in the disputed section on the "Compact". First, in the beginning of the Administration, we made a major and successful effort to reduce regulations and red tape in el/sec programs (e.g., we cut regs in ESEA programs by 2/3). This sentance doesn't reflect our own success. Second, since then, we have added several of our own programs with "narrow categorical purposes" including Class Size reduction and the America Reads initiative, which are as categorical as anything we found when we came into office. I would simply drop this point.

3. In the section highlighting aspects of the nation's workplan - the education issues that must be addressed -- Chris pays inconsistent attention to the extent to which our own initiatives help the nation address the challenges in question. While I know this section is not intended to be a compendium of federal education programs, it does seem important to highlight Presidential initiatives that support the nation's work. To that end, I offer the following suggestions (a number of these highlight NEC initiatives, so I assume they will respond similarly):

- *Support familiies and promote early learning opportunities.* the discussion here should mention that our America Reads initiative includes a significant effort -- through outreach, work with community based organizations, development of materials, etc. as well as budget proposals -- to encourge parents to read to their kids and to become literate themselves.

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- *Teaching* -- This section should at least mention the initiatives POTUS highlighted last week -- scholarships to recruit people to teaching in high poverty communities, Troops to teachers and the Native american teacher recruitment initiative.
- *Buildings* -- Should underscore our battle over the past 2 years to enact federal legislation to support school modernization.
- *Technology* -- In addition to the e-rate, there should be some mention of our nearly $2 billion technology Literacy Challenge Fund, to help get computers and trained teachers in the classroom.
- *English Language Acquisition.* I think there should be some indication that POTUS believes that if local communities should strive to help kids become proficient in English in 3 years.
- *Safety* -- There should be some mention of our school safety initiatives, with a particular emphasis on zero - tolerance for guns in schools, other efforts to keep guns away from kids, and after-school programs designed to keep kids safe.

Overall, I think this section is otherwise quite good.

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To: Maria Echaveste

From: Melanne Verveer and Shirley Sagawa

Re: Comments on Intro and Education chapters of Race book

Date: January 27, 1999

We met with Chris Edley last week and gave him some comments directly. It looks as if the January 21circulated predates our meeting. We assume he is planning to incorporate those comments.

One of the topics we discussed was the need for the draft to be consistent with the ESEA proposal, and not to confuse readers who might not understand the relationship between the two. A related issue is ensuring the chapter is as strong as possible regarding what schools can and should do regardless of federal policy. Too much emphasis on a federal proposal that requires legislation takes away from the "bully pulpit" aspects of the chapter.

Other comments:

p. 9, 1st full paragraph, under (e) -- in addition to promoting higher expectations and taking aggressive action against failure, should add "for all children" and call for the end of harmful tracking of children into deadend curriculum options.

p. 10 -- re: early learning opportunities. Could we mention the "Prescription for Reading" campaign initiated by Mrs. Clinton? Physicians responding to this challenge agree to "prescribe" reading for their young patients, and give them a book at every checkup. It is an example of how others in the community can promote reading. We can provide additional details.

Second, it makes sense to mention the need to apply the latest research on reading development in Head Start and other early childhood programs.

Third, it would be useful to underscore the link between health and education, early brain research, etc.

p. 11 -- re: K-12 educational opportunity. Improving reading curricula and teaching based on the latest reading research is very important if we are to close the gap. America Reads would fit here as well.

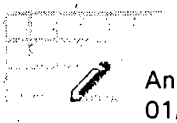
P. 12 -- re: teaching. It's unfair to say there is a "lack" of high-quality teachers. The problem is that there is a shortage of high quality teachers and that they are not distributed throughout the system in a way that optimizes achieving for the students who need them most. I would also mention the need to support new teachers (which would address the point raised in the text about new teachers quitting after three years). Strategies include mentors, better assignment policies,

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and higher quality professional development opportunities.

p. 15 -- re: Increased accountability. This is the first meniton of public school choice -- it's buried too. We would like to see the vouchers section when it is drafted. Believe there should be a positive mention of charter schools.

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Ann F. Lewis
01/26/99 07:50:59 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Race Book

You asked if I had comments about the intro /education section .

I saw some policy recommendations that seemed new to me--eg the Compact for Equal Opportunity, which would make major change in federal funding, with no reference to our new accountability policy. (There is discussion of acountability later but not as an administration initiative .) I didn't see any reference in the section on the importance of teachers --perhaps I missed it - to our incentives for teachers to teach in innercity and other underserved schools.

I assume either that this reflects a separate process on policies to highlight or that the next level of discussion should be with the policy offices. Language/ communication has to reflect the policies --not the other way round. So I can probably be more helpful if I know that these decisions have already been made.

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"Christopher Edley, Jr." <edley @ law.harvard.edu>
01/22/99 01:40:39 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Edward W. Correia/WHO/EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: Re: Draft Book

Thanks Eddie!

At 12:53 PM 1/22/99 , you wrote:
> I apologize for not getting back to your earlier with comments on the
>draft. I have seen the 12/12 draft of the introduction and the 12/11 draft
>of Part IV. Overall, I found the themes were very powerful and much of the
>prose is really inspiring. Also, the policy suggestions and goals are good,
>too -- eliminating racial disparities, reducing segregation, avoiding
>inappropriate tracking and so on. My main concern is that the level of
>generality and the long list of ideas (and this is only one part among
>several) will generate a ho-hum reaction by the press. It could be one of
>those more-is-less situations where there are lots and lots of ideas, but
>there doesn't seem to be anything sharp enough to react to, so the
>(irrational) reaction is that there's "nothing new" there. On the other
>hand, there are clearly disadvantages in being more specific. For one
>thing, there may be more controversy just getting the book out the door.
>For another, a suggestion in the book may conflict with the budget or some
>other policy we are currently taking. So, I don't have an easy answer. My
>main thought is that you should avoid this sounding like a long State of
>the Union. Fewer, sharper proposals beat a larger number of fuzzy ones.
> The idea of a "Compact for Equal Opportunity" is a new and important
>idea. My own view is that current law, including Title VI, are poor tools
>for solving resource comparability and other problems that come under the
>head of inequality in education (as opposed to across the board low quality
>education). Title VI is certainly difficult to use at the inter-district
>level. Federal standards tied to funding could potentially be a much more
>powerful tool that could be targeted specifically to particular problems,
>e.g., an inner city high school receiving substantially fewer resources
>than a suburban school. Title VI is tough to use in this case as the recent
>dismissal of the case in Philadelphia suggests. There are two problems:
>First it can become (or seem) very bureaucratic and intrusive, so it
>provokes strong opposition from the states and localities, which is then
>passed on to Congress. We have already seen that in response to the Goals
>2000 idea and to the State of the Union. Second, if the authority is there
>to withhold funds, and we actually do, the kids who may suffer are the
>very ones we want to help.
> If the compact idea is going to be in the book, it deserves a more
>complete discussion, including an answer to the likely objections. So, my
>suggestion is to deal with these issues more directly than you do know. In
>fact, compliance would not be as voluntary as you suggest, or the compact

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>wouldn't mean much. The truth is that the quality of education in some
>places is so bad that we have to have federal oversight -- it's just too
>costly to the nation a as a whole not to. Second, I suggest that you
>include some real-life examples to show the problem, e.g, lack of
>comparability. I think ED can come up with some if you need some. And, if I
>can help, let me know.
>

Message Copied To:

Scott R. Palmer/PIR/EOP
aedmonds1 @ home.com
terry.edmonds @ ssa.gov
James T. Edmonds/PIR/EOP
Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Christopher Edley to John Podesta, et al.; RE: The President's Race Report: Crime Section Meeting (2 pages)	02/05/1999	P5
002. email	Ann Lewis to Clara Shin; RE: Crime (1 page)	02/01/1999	P5
003. memo	Shirley Sagawa and Melanne Verveer to Maria Echaveste; RE: Race Report Crime Section (2 pages)	02/03/1999	P5
004. email	Jose Cerda to Clara Shin; RE: Edits to Race/Crime Chapter (6 pages)	02/04/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
[Race Bok March 5, 1999] [4]

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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]

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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]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 5, 1999

TO: JOHN PODESTA
BRUCE REED
GENE SPERLING
MINYON MOORE
ANN LEWIS
MELANNE VERVEER
SHIRLEY SAGAWA
PAUL BEGALA
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
MICHAEL WALDMAN
ELENA KAGAN
SALLY KATZEN
SYLVIA MATHEWS
JOSH GOTBAUM
JOSE CERDA
LEANNE SHIMABUKURO

CC: CHRISTOPHER EDLEY, JR.

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT'S RACE REPORT: CRIME SECTION MEETING

Thank you to those who recently reviewed the draft crime section of the President's Race Report. As you know, we are meeting on Monday to discuss the current draft and address those issues you identified. With regard to the majority of your comments, Clara Shin will work to incorporate them into the Report. I plan to focus Monday's meeting on three primary issues: (1) the manner in which the President should portray the current criminal justice system; (2) the extent to which prevention and community-based strategies should be significant components of the workplan, including the way in which the Report iterates our proposed criminal justice policies; and (3) the way in which we discuss racial profiling. On a fourth issue, the Hot Spots Initiative, I will ask DPC and Edley's book team to work outside of the meeting to ensure its consistency with our 21st Century Policing legislation.

Please find below a summary of your comments with respect to these issues, with recommended discussion points for Monday's meeting:

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- *Criminal Justice System.* DPC encourages us to portray the criminal justice system as one that is fundamentally fair, while acknowledging that it insufficiently protects minority groups in high crime neighborhoods. As it is currently written, DPC is concerned that the Report sends conflicting messages as to the system's fundamental fairness. *Discussion Point*: In what manner should the President discuss the current state of our justice system?

- *Proposed Strategies.* Some of you recommended that prevention methods and strengthening communities take a more central role in the workplan. Both the First Lady's Office and DPC call for revising the criminal justice section so that the Administration's proposed policies -- particularly the 21st Century Policing legislation -- are cast from the perspective of asset-based community engagement and analysis strategies. *Discussion Point*: To what extent should the criminal justice workplan derive from prevention and community-wide strategies for reducing crime, and how should the Report cast our proposed criminal justice policies?

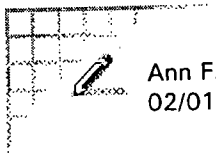
- *Racial Profiling.* Some of you are concerned about the way in which we address racial profiling. There were also some questions about the proposed Executive Order on Profiling as described in the current draft. *Discussion Point*: How should the President discuss racial profiling?

- *Hot Spots Initiative.* Some of you stressed the need to formulate the Hot Spots Initiative so as to be compatible with the 21st Century Policing legislation as introduced. I will ask DPC and Edley's book team to work outside of Monday's meeting to ensure consistency between the two.

Note that these discussion points are based on comments submitted by DPC, the First Lady's Office, and Ann Lewis. NEC has signed off on the current draft.

In preparation for our meeting, I am attaching background materials: (1) a summary outline of the Race Report; (2) the crime section of the workplan chapter; and (3) your comments. If you have any questions or suggestions, do not hesitate to contact me or Clara Shin at 6-5506. See you on Monday.

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Ann F. Lewis
02/01/99 05:50:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Crime

To: Clara Shin
From: Ann Lewis
Re: Crime Section
2/1/99

My concerns about the Crime section of the workbook are similar to those raised in our discussion of education:

The Centerpiece , the Hot Spots Initiative, calls for redirecting funds currently in the 21st Century Policing Initiative. Is this to be included in the 21st Century Policing legislation as it is introduced ? If not, how would we answer the question why not , if it is the right answer to such an important problem?

The draft suggests that the President will have signed an Executive Order on Profiling. Is this going to happen ? What is the timetable ?

I have some other, smaller concerns.. For example, in discussing the Hot Spots Initiative , the chapter says that "program evaluations have been weak." But there are also repeated references to the results of research :

P 9, "Research confirms that increased law enforcement can help crime..."
P 10, " research shows that enhancing such targeted law enforcement..."
P. 13, " Evaluations of CAPS show that the effort has been successful...;" etc.

Finally, I have some concerns about the economic numbers. P 14 cites the source of unemployment in minority communities "as high as 80%" as William Julius Wilson's 1996 book, which means the figures are even older. Surely, we have seen some progress since then . Is that also true of the 1995 book cited on p 17 ?

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MEMORANDUM FOR MARIA ECHAVESTE

FROM: Shirley Sagawa and Melanne Verveer

RE: Race Report Crime Section

DATE: February 3, 1999

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the crime section of the race report. The chapter has a lot of good information. We have one overarching comment -- that their should be more emphasis on prevention than in the current draft. Specifically, given the Administration's record on afterschool, we should highlight the importance of these programs, including in the introductory paragraphs. We would also like to see the role of the media addressed in the introduction.

Here are our more detailed comments:

1. Media -- We thought it made sense to talk about the impact the media has on the self-image of young African American males, as well as others' views of them.

2. The introduction states that "strong law enforcement" will "build stronger communities." It would be equally (or more) valid to stress that stronger communities will reduce crime. Perhaps this idea could be included here -- it is addressed well later on page 3. It might also be worth hinting at what we might do "to keep young people out of crime" -- ie creating more opportunities for them, afterschool programs, etc.

3. On page 1, second paragraph, the quotation marks around "to protect and serve" seem odd.

4. On page 3, we suggest mentioning or citing the neighborhood cohesiveness study of Chicago neighorhoods (it is mentioned on page 14).

5. In general, we would like to see building stronger communities become a more significant part of the workplan. We would put an emphasis on comprehensive, community-wide strategies to address crime and create more opportunities for young people.

6. On page 14, the conclusion of the first paragraph is that it is essential that "formal law enforcement efforts be fully aligned with and support commujity based efforts.. . ." While we agree with this statement, we would also include other parts of the strategy, such as schools. We would also stress the importance of adult involvement in the lives of children.

7. On page 16, we wanted to make sure that the statement "Stable community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods" does not imply that existing grassroots organizations (even those that are very informal) should not be supported. We think we should

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support an asset-based approach.

8. On page 18, we would like to see more in the section on preventing crime by supporting young people. The Administration has a good record of prevention programs, and this section could be more interesting, and the connection made more clearly between prevention and crime reduction, with some good anecdotes and examples. The National Crime Prevention Council's Youth as Resources program and Save the Children's Web of Support programs could be mentioned. Head Start should be mentioned with respect to early childhood. The Perry Preschool study was done by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation in Ypsilanti, Michigan. They have longitudinal data to age 30 by now, we think. This is also a good place to talk more about afterschool programs and our record on this issue. The First Lady's mentoring event today should provide some good background and examples.

9. On page 19, the bullet suggesting "alternative punishments for good kids who get in trouble," implies that some kids are inherently good and others inherently bad. While this may well be true, it probably should be said here. How about "alternative punishments for kids who have good records but get into trouble.

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Jose Cerda III 02/04/99 10:01:01 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Clara J. Shin/WHO/EOP

cc: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP, Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP

Subject: Edits to Race/Crime Chapter

Clara:

Forgive the tardiness, but here are my comments on the initial draft of the race/crime chapter circulated last week, with concurrence and input from my two maximum leaders. Since the comments are extensive, a bit repetitive, and not limited to line edits, I have tried to summarize the major points up front.

Also, let me begin by saying that we appreciate the efforts of Chris and Scott to address our conerns and incorporate many of our ideas. For instance, the initial emphasis on the problem of minority victimization, the recognition that community policing must be at the center of our efforts, and the specific inclusion of language supportive of the law enforcement community are very important to us, and have all been prominently featured in the current draft. That said, however, we continue to have some concerns -- some major, some more a matter of nuance -- that we are hopeful can be worked out in our upcoming meeting. Again, thanks for your patience, and I hope these comments are taken in the candid spirit that they are offered.

Jose'

1. Contradiction on whether the system is fair or unfair. Most importantly, the draft suffers from a series of contradictions about whether we believe the justice system is fundamentally fair or unfair to minorities. We believe that the facts show that, if you control for criminal offending, the system is essentially fair, but that it doesn't do enough to protect minorities in high-crime neighborhoods. There are several things we need to do to convey this. First, the opening of the crime chapter should include a key set of facts that makes clear the rates of minority victimization and offending. Without such facts, it is almost impossible to engage in a broader discussion of race and crime -- and it is difficult to distinguish whether issues should be dealt with as matters of policy or perception. Second, given these facts, the draft should characterize America's race/crime problem as both a lack of opportunity and responsibility...too little opportunity for minority youth to avoid crime, stay out of jail, and get ahead...and too little responsibility in the form of high crime, public disorder, and broken communities. Beginning the race/crime discussion as such, we can begin to understand why minority communities mistrust a justice system that -- while not fundamentally unfair or intentionally discriminatory -- doesn't meet their public safety needs, despite incarcerating so many persons. And we begin to lay the groundwork for solutions that address these issues (i.e., more opportunity for youth, improved public safety) and build trust (i.e., engaging the community).

2. More focus on the need to build stronger communities. The draft should focus more on the importance of building strong communities. That means more than simply picking up garbage, rehabbing housing, and targeting resources. Although these things matter, they are not the

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biggest predictors of violent crime. Falling crime rates in some of our worst neighborhoods have proved this. So, too, has the Earls/Sampson study on Chicago neighborhoods, which found that communities with a strong sense of shared values and people willing to reinforce those values -- whether black or white, rich or poor, uptown or downtown, etc. -- had 40 percent less violent crime. This is a powerful study that should be more prominently and positively featured in the draft. It shows that community members who act responsibly and in the interest of their neighbors have a huge impact on crime and violence. It shows that even the best law enforcement is no substitute for strong communities. And, as is the case with the Boston Gun Project, it shows that one entire communities -- police, prosecutors, parents, and priests -- organize to reinforce certain behaviors, they can literally bring murder and gun violence to a standstill.

3. Concept of community justice not clear. I don't think the discussion of community justice makes clear exactly what policies the Administration is calling for. We are probably better served by discussing how community policing has revolutionized policing and public safety in America, and how its two component parts -- solving crime problems and engaging the community -- can help revolutionize our entire criminal justice system. More importantly, these two concepts -- more than the term "community justice" -- capture what it will take to address the paradox of America's race/crime problem: that, with respect to the criminal justice system, minorities are both fundamentally underserved and overrepresented.

4. Wrong tone for discussion of "hot button" issues. While I recognize the desire to touch on the difficult issues of racial profiling and police brutality. I think the draft's language will be viewed by our friends in law enforcement as inflammatory. Not only are the vast majority of law enforcement officers decent, hard-working public servants who put their lives on the line every day, but -- as a result of community policing -- they have become the harbingers of change in the criminal justice system. In many cities, police-led efforts to work w/the community have made the justice system more responsive, resulted in new prevention programs, and increased the flow of information to the public. Condemning them and their practices with a broad brushstroke strays from the known facts, and doesn't contribute to our goal of building trust. Equally important, I don't believe our own federal law enforcement bureaus -- who I'm sure don't think they engage in racial profiling -- are prepared to live under the executive order on racial profiling proposed in the draft. In many ways, dealing with this issue at the federal level (i.e., INS and Customs enforcement at the nation's borders) is even more difficult than locally (traffic stops and drug enforcement).

Also, with respect to the section on racial disparities in the rates of incarceration, I think this entire discussion is inconsistent with point #1. It ignores the disparities in criminal offending and suggests we excuse away behavior. We simply shouldn't.

5. More emphasis on President's record and its impact on minorities. Finally. the draft should include discussion and examples of falling crime rates in minority communities. It should mention the dramatic drop in youth gun homicides, mostly among minority youth, and it should include anecdotes with specific and well-known minority neighborhoods (e.g., Washington Heights in New York City, where the number of murders has dropped from a peak of 100+ per year to about 10 now). Also, we should take credit for major policy shifts that have benefited minorities -- such as taking on the gun lobby at a time when more teenagers were being killed by guns than by any natural cause; and transforming the nature of policing across the nation. Finally, the President's leadership in appointing an unprecedented number of high-caliber, minority law enforcement professionals (Holder, Noble, Johnson, Gonzales, etc.) is worth highlighting, too.

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Here are some additional, specific comments:

1. Page 1, paragraph 4, 3rd sentence: Replace with, "Since 1993, the violent crime rate has dropped by more than 20 percent nationwide, including a 28 percent drop in the homicide rate, which is at its lowest level in 30 years." (1997 National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of Justice Statistics).

2. Page 2, paragraph 2, between 3rd and 4th sentence: We should think about adding a sentence along the lines of, "Although African Americans represent 12 percent (?) of the overall population, they have represented approximately half of all murder victims for the past 30 years." (BJS crime stats...Scott should have this chart)

3. Page 2, paragraph 3. This is an important point that needs to be clearer and perhaps expanded. We need to make clear from the outset what we know -- what the facts are -- about rates of victimization and offending by race. I recall that Chris Stone's paper to the Advisory Board has a good discussion on this topic; perhaps it should be incorporated. And the recent BJS homicide study (12/98) including factoids showing that African Americans were 7 times more likely than whites to be murdered, as well as 8 times more likely than whites to commit murder. Perhaps we should come to agreement on the 5-10 most important facts here and break them out as bullets. And perhaps we should also include the findings from the GAO and DOJ studies, mentioned at the end of page 26, showing that -- if we control for the type of criminal offense committed -- rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction do not differ significantly by race. Again, the point being that we should make the facts of minority rates of victimization and offending very clear up front

4. Page 3, paragraph 1, last line: I believe this number is included in the DOJ/Interior report on crime in Indian Country, and that it might be that violent crime is up by more than 80%. (Scott should have this in his copy of the final report on crime in Indian Country.)

5. Page 3, last paragraph, last 2 sentences: I'm not sure this is right...or what we want to emphasize here. Don't we want to emphasize the cutting edge findings from the Earls/Sampson Chicago Study that a strong, shared sense of community (collective efficacy) is a better predictor of violent crime than the usual demographic data -- by 40 percent, in fact.

6. Page 5, final paragraph and sentence: A couple of comments on this sentence...(1) if the GAO study shows that, if we control for criminal offending, the rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction don't differ greatly by race, than what are the assumed "racial disparities" that are even greater in the juvenile system...or do disparities only really exist in the juvenile system? If we're trying to make a point about the juvenile system, let's cite the facts and make it. If not, let's drop the inconsistent rhetoric....We can't say throughout this chapter that the system is both fairer than people think...yet unfair...and (2) with respect to the following sentence, the sad truth is that we've already lost a generation of minority youth -- victims and offenders -- to the mix of crack/gangs/guns (discussed on pages 10 and 11), and this sad chapter accounts for many of the difficult issues surrounding crime and race. Perhaps this is a story that should be told more explicitly here.

7. Page 6, first full paragraph, drop everything after the 4th sentence: Again, either we believe the system is fundamentally fair or unfair, but it can't be both. I would argue that we want to say the system is fundamentally fair, but that it can be improved...that the relationship between law enforcement and some minority communities is not as strong as it could or should be...and that law enforcement and the community both lose when this is the case. Consistent with this point, I wouldn't generalize that unfair policies, racial biases and police brutality undermine the criminal justice system. Instead, I would point out that in some communities racial tensions, past riots, incidents of police brutality, police shootings, etc., have led to

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historically strained relationship between police department and some minority communities, and that these strained relationships can and must be overcome. Perhaps a specific example of a community that overcame racial unrest/tension would help make the point.

8. Page 6, 2nd and 3rd full paragraph: Do we really want to introduce/coin the term "community justice" here? I'm not sure the term "community justice," without further explanation, is clear. Instead, I would suggest that, in the last sentence of the 2nd paragraph, we replace "community justice" with "community policing," and then drop the opening sentence of the third paragraph. Later in the workplan we can talk about applying what we've learned from community policing to other components of the criminal justice system -- neighborhood DAs, community corrections, special youth/gun/drug courts, etc.

9. Starting w/the last line on page 6 and over to page 7: I'd replace this w/a paragraph along the lines of:

> "Before I ran for President, I traveled across the country and visited different cities where local officials were leading the way in solving some of the nation's most difficult domestic problems. One of the places I visited was Charleston, SC, where Police Chief Reuben Greenberg was at the forefront of the community policing movement. Through community policing, Chief Greenburg was both driving down the crime rate in public housing and strengthening the relationship between local police and community residents...(add more specifics here on what Charleston has done...and we can add more here on Charleston overcoming a difficult history of police mistrust)."

I would then add a paragraph on our policing initiative...something like:

> "That is why when I became President one of my top priorities was to help our cities hire more police and expand the community policing philosophy. I was proud to work with an unprecedented coalition of law enforcement, teachers, clergy, local officials and other community leaders to pass our initiative to put 100,000 more community police on the street. Today, we have nearly reached our goal of funding 100,000 more police officers and helped expand community policing to thousands of police departments across the country. Our efforts are making a difference. Crime and the fear of crime have dropped to their lowest level in a quarter century..."

10. Page 7, 2nd paragraph, last sentence: Strike everything after "community policing," and replace with -- "applying the lessons learned from community policing to other areas of the criminal justice system, such as local prosecutors' officers, our courts, local jails, etc."

11. Page 7, "Community Justice" subheading and subsequent paragraph: Replace "Community Justice 'Hot Spots'" w/ "Targeting Crime 'Hot Spots.'"

12. Pages 7 and 8, bullets describing "Hot Spots" initiative: I would expand the first bullet on our 21st Century Policing Initiative to include more details on this initiative, and add bullets with other programs that would be specifically targeted. I would drop the 2 bullets on comprehensive community plans; they are meaningless in terms of message and substance...perhaps something like this:

> * The federal government will target funds from its 21st Century Policing Initiative to help communities with high-crime neighborhoods to hire and redeploy up to 50,000 additional police officers, acquire the latest crime-fighting technologies, and engage their entire community in the fight against crime.
>
> * The federal government will target key prevention programs, including afterschool

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programs and programs for at-risk youth...

* What else? (i.e., gun enforcement...drug testing...?)

13. Page 8, 1st full paragraph: Rewrite this paragraph to be focused on how targeting resources will allow high-crime, minority neighborhoods to develop comprehensive anti-crime strategies, and to engage their entire community -- schools, prosecutors, clergy, etc.

14. Page 8, penultimate paragraph: Drop entirely.

15. Page 12, first paragraph: We should quote David Kennedy's article from the NIJ journal; it's very powerful and persuasive.

16. Page 12, 2nd paragraph, 3rd and 4th sentences: I don't think this rhetoric on the drug war works; we should drop it here and elsewhere. The truth is that much of the perceived unfairness and/or disparate impact in the drug war is tied to government's response to the crack cocaine epidemic. If we wanted to be brutally honest we'd point out that the crack epidemic did in fact cost us a generation of minority youth -- both as victims and perpetrators -- and that well meaning legislators/government officials of all races supported the current crack and drug policies. The more important point to make, I believe, is that drugs and related crime have devastated minority communities, and that we can never let what happened with crack happen again. Instead, we must support a balanced drug strategy that supports tough enforcement, more treatment, better prevention...etc.

17. Page 14, bullet at top of pace: Change to "Building stronger communities."

18. Page 17, 1st paragraph...question: What do these numbers mean? How do they comport w/our earlier findings by GAO and DOJ that, if we control for criminal offending, there are no substantial differences between the races?

19. Page 19, bullet/subheading: Replace with, "Reinforce right from wrong by promoting appropriate punishments when kids first get into trouble."

20. Page 19, bottom paragraph, 4th sentence: After "including alcohol," add, "or to get money to buy drugs."

21. Page 20, 1st paragraph, 2nd sentence: We shouldn't use this reference to only 12 percent of prisoners receiving treatment; Justice has disclaimed it and believes its inaccurate. I think the more important point to make here is that numerous studies show -- convincingly so -- that most persons on probation, parole or in prison have a drug history/habit, but that we don't do everything we can...we don't use the full power of the justice system...to reduce their drug use and criminality. Also, this section provides an opportunity to laud the President's record on promoting drug testing/treatment, drug courts, etc.

22. Page 20, 2nd and 3rd paragraphs: I'd drop these entirely; I'm not sure they add anything.

23. Page 21, first full paragraph: I can't believe we want to get into a discussion of OJ and jury nullification. What would we say?

24. Page 22, 2nd paragraph, penultimate sentence...through the end of the chapter: I think these four sections on racial profiling, police brutality, incarceration, and diversity in law enforcement are fundamentally problematic for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, in one fell swoop, we say that these are difficult issues that need to be addressed, but we haven't made a convincing case for them. Again, either we need to make the case that the system is

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fundamentally fair or unfair, and go from there. If the justice system is fundamentally fair, as I believe we should be saying, than we should say these are isolated problems that are important because of their disproportionate impact on perceptions and attitudes of the system's overall fairness -- not because they're implicitly widespread.

More specifically, I have the following concerns w/each of the sections...

Racial profiling: As I understand it, we are not in a position to propose the executive order recommended in the chapter. DOJ has, for some time, been reviewing their own policies, but they have concerns, especially with respect to INS (I believe, for instance, that some courts have held that the use of ethnicity is sometimes okay for law enforcement purposes). Secondly, Treasury -- especially with respect to the Customs Service -- is sure to have concerns as well. With respect to data collection, I'm not sure if there's any point in supporting the Conyer's bill. It was killed by the police groups last year and will easily be killed again this year. Thus, if we really want to do something on improved data collection, let's just direct the AG to work with law enforcement to do it now; we don't really need a legislative language.

Police Brutality: I would reverse the emphasis of the current section by leading with the fact that there are very few case of police brutality (less than 1 percent of police encounters), and laud the Administration's record on bringing federal civil rights and pattern or practice suits when necessary. Then I would go into the fact that we must have zero tolerance for police brutality...that it undermines the work of most honest, hardworking officers...poisons the trust between them and the people they're sworn to protect...etc.

Disparities in Sentencing/Incarceration: I would reverse the emphasis in this section, too. I would open with the GAO and DOJ studies showing that, if we control for criminal offending, rates of arrest, prosecution and conviction do not differ greatly by race. Perhaps we could also include Eric Holder's report from several years ago that comes to the same conclusion for federal crack and gun sentencing. I would then talk about how, over the long term, we can't be satisfied with a system that incarcerates so many Americans, especially so many minorities...that destroys so many families...disenfranchises whole communities...makes so many people unemployable. We can't simply be satisfied with high rates of incarceration; we must actually work to reduce criminality and recidivism. One way to do this is by using the power of the criminal justice system to get offenders to kick their drug habits. We can do this by making an unprecedented commitment to drug test, treat, and appropriately punish the millions of probationers, parolees and prisoners with drug habbits....etc.

Finally, I'm not sure what if anything I would include on the disproportionate minority confinement of juveniles or the death penalty. The draft seems to indicate we'll have more to say on these topics.

Diversity in Law Enforcement: Two quick points...we really should be able to tell a more positive story here. I'm sure our policing initiative has done much more to promote diverse police forces than we're acknowledging. Also, the President has a strong record of appoint minority law enforcement professionals; perhaps they're worth mentioning (Ron Noble, Jim Johnson, Eric Holder, Eduardo Gonzales...?).

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks for the New Hampshire Democratic Party Dinner (17 pages)	02/17/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
New Hampshire: NH [New Hampshire]

2006-0469-F
db3391

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]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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'99 FEB 17 PM 10:02

Final 02/17/99 8:30pm

Waldman/Shesol/Shih

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS FOR THE NEW HAMPSHIRE

DEMOCRATIC PARTY DINNER

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

February 18, 1999

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2-18-99

Acknowledgments: Gov. Shaheen; Billy Shaheen [*her husband*]; Senate President Junie Blaisdell; House Leader Peter Burling; Jeff Woodburn, Dem Party Chair; Kathy Sullivan, Vice Chair; Rep. Raymond Buckley, House Dem. Whip and candidate for Vice Chair; Deb Crapo [CRAY-poe], Vice Chair; Stan Post, Secretary; Gaeten DiGangi [Di-GAN-jee], Treasurer; Sophia Collier, Finance Chair; Anita Freedman and Sen. Rick Trombly, DNC members.

When I first started coming to this state in the fall of 1991, people laughed when I said that New Hampshire reminded me a lot of home. —> Most people thought you were going to tell me worse! Instead you made me feel at home — & still do —

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~~But if you think about it a little, Arkansas and New Hampshire are both small states full of small towns~~ -- ~~communities where people know and care when you are~~ born, when you get sick, ~~when you die.~~ ~~As Hillary and~~ I ~~traveled from Manchester to Claremont to Dover~~ to Merrimack, we met so many families ~~just like those back home -- good people who were working hard to make ends meet, to educate their children and prepare them for the future.~~

In town squares and town meetings, in restaurants and living rooms all across this state, ~~you told us how~~ ~~you were struggling to do all this in the face of layoffs~~ and cutbacks and foreclosures, ~~in the face of recession and tough economic times.~~

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I met people whose business loans had been canceled, even though they had never missed a payment in their lives. I met people who had to go on welfare just to keep a roof over their children's heads. Middle class people who never thought they would be unemployed.

I met people like Ron and RhondaLee Machos, who couldn't get health insurance for their family -- even though RhondaLee was pregnant with their second child -- because their son had had open heart surgery. I've kept in touch with the Machoses over the years. And earlier today, I had a chance to see them and their two beautiful sons.

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I'd like to share a letter Ron wrote to me not so long ago: "Little Ronnie is doing exceptionally well. There have been no problems with his heart and it is looking like he will need no further surgery ... He scored two goals and got one assist in his last hockey game ... [Younger son] Tristan is seven this year ... [And] more startling news! RhondaLee is pregnant with our third child ... One thing we will experience for the first time is -- health insurance and pregnancy."

But back in '92, it seemed as though, no matter how hard you worked, the American Dream was moving further and further from reach. New Hampshire was eager for candidates with new ideas to get our economy going again, to put our people first.

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And seven years ago today, you -- the Democrats of New Hampshire -- gave me the chance to become President of the United States. On that day, I pledged "nothing less than every ounce of my fiber and being ... to give this country the government and the future it deserves."

Over the past seven years, I have thought often of the people I met up here -- and people like you all over America -- whose quiet courage and determination inspired me then and inspire me now to keep fighting for a better America.

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2-18-99

What a remarkable journey we have taken together.

~~What a remarkable recovery we have worked together to create~~. What a difference ~~our~~ the we all embraced in '92 '93 ideas have made.

~~When I came here in February 1992~~, 9 years ago today New Hampshire's unemployment rate was 7.3 percent. Today, it is 2.9 percent -- one of the lowest in the nation.

~~In 1992, New Hampshire had lost 3,600 jobs in the previous year. Since I took office~~, In the 4 years before I took office, NH lost 41,000 jobs. In the last 6 years since, New Hampshire has created 77,500 new jobs~~. -- that's about 13,000 a year~~.

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~~[In 1992, five of seven big banks~~ in New Hampshire ~~had failed. *Facts on current strength of banks to come.*]~~

In 1992, business failures in New Hampshire ~~had~~ increased 44 percent every year. Since I took office, business failures have dropped by nearly 70 percent.

In 1992, the New Hampshire welfare rolls were the among the fastest growing in the country. ~~Today, we've~~ cut ~~them~~ in half.

New Hampshire is working again. America is working again. — A record is how happened with you — Ty - Pride

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2-18-99

Yesterday I marked another anniversary: it was exactly six years ago that I issued my plan for economic recovery. On that day in 1993, the deficit was $290 billion. Today, we have a balanced budget, we are building a record surplus of $79 billion -- the second in a row -- and America is enjoying the longest peacetime expansion in American history. We have the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957. . . wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation. . . and the highest homeownership in history. Our welfare rolls are the lowest in a generation; and crime has dropped six years in a row.

Ty for believing
Ty for letting it [illegible] for me to take it
to Ann Jupes

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Now, let me add a completely factual, ~~wholly non-political, and~~ purely historical note: No American has done more to get the right economic and tax policies in place to create the prosperity we see here and across the country than ... Vice President Al Gore. You may have seen him around here recently. Back in 1993, it was the Vice President who cast the decisive vote in the Senate for our economic plan. And ever since, he has worked to reinvent and streamline our government for the 21st Century, leading our efforts to prepare Americans to succeed in a knowledge-based, high-tech economy. Just two weeks ago he was in Marlow to visit the P.C. Connection, a mail-order computer company that started in an old mill and now has 1,000 workers.

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~~My friends, this is a season of reconciliation and renewal. This is a moment of unprecedented prosperity~~. Rarely has America had such abundance, such confidence, such strength as we do today to meet the challenges before us.

I am here today to say TY to people of VA for twice voting for me, for being my friends to the end, for giving me the chance to prove that a child at peak prosp 1st, puts unity 1st, progressive work — I am honored to have served —

~~And rarely have we had such a clear choice between strategies for the future -- that of my administration, on the one hand, and the majority party in Congress, on the other~~. It is a great debate we're embarking on, a great and substantive debate. Will we ~~make the most of this moment of opportunity and prepare our nation for the~~ 21st Century? Our future is riding on it.

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Now are stand at edge of a new Frontier, new hill, at peak of our prosp - & ask to come here tonight to look backward but to chart the future seem to be looking & marching forward — we have an unprecedented opportunity & profound responsibility to take this moment to help Create a more perfect Union

Here is the ~~choice~~ before the American people.

① Begin w/ Aging & Trust + How it affects

~~When you~~ get past all the complexities of Social Security, ~~of Medicare, of whether and how to pay~~ down the ~~debt, it all comes down to this: what is your first~~ priority? ~~Will our first priority be to spend the budget surpluses we worked so hard to achieve, on an appealing tax cut for the moment~~ -- or will our first priority be to set aside what we need to save Social Security and Medicare ~~and~~ help people save for retirement?

② 1st priority for surplus first is yes;

Then Aging & Trust Then Ed & Childcare to Help Create Jobs Then Rest of min/fam Then Debt & Child Care

+ pay down Nat'l Debt Exercise

~~I believe that the plans now being offered by the majority party in Congress would move America backward -- to the policies that exploded the deficit and quadrupled the debt in the twelve years before I took office.~~

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2-18-99

Our plan would invest the surplus for tomorrow -- their plan would squander the surplus for today. Our plan would reward savings -- their plan would reward consumption. Our plan is focused on the middle class. Their plan. . . well, it's a Republican plan!

Here is one more way that our plan will strengthen our nation. While saving Social Security and strengthening Medicare, we will pay down the debt. We can pay off the entire debt accumulated by previous administrations in the 12 years before I took office. And by 2017, we will eliminate the national debt altogether.

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2-18-99

America has a lot more to do.

Together, we can strengthen our schools -- finishing the job of hiring 100,000 teachers. Modernizing and rebuilding 5000 schools. And bringing a revolution of accountability and reform to our schools -- insisting that all schools who receive federal assistance end the destructive practice of social promotion, ensure that teachers teach to high standards, and either turn around failing schools or shut them down.

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Together, we can do more to improve Americans' access to the best health care in world. Three years ago, we passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum law so that no family will have to endure what the Machos' family did seven years ago. The law now ensures you can keep your health insurance when you change jobs, and prohibits companies from denying coverage because of a pre-existing condition. It was a bipartisan achievement.

Now we must work across party lines to finish the job of health insurance reform and to pass a tough, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights. I know that Gov. Shaheen is working to pass New Hampshire's own HMO Accountability Act, and I wish you well in this effort.

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2-18-99

We should also act in a bipartisan way to pass the Kennedy-Jeffords bill, ensuring that people with disabilities can keep their Medicaid insurance when they go to work. No American should have to choose between keeping their health care and taking a job.

Together, we can do more to extend our prosperity to every American in every community. We should raise the minimum wage. We should pass my New Markets Initiative to spark $15 billion in private sector investment in inner cities and ~~isolated~~ rural communities.

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Seven years today, I pledged that my presidency would be about expanding opportunity, increasing responsibility, and rebuilding a sense of American community. I said that "we can no longer have a country where I worry about me, you worry about you, they worry about them. . . We've got to be one country again, going up or down together again." That is what this presidency has been about; that will remain what this presidency is about. Let us make the time ahead -- the final days of this century and the first days of the next -- a season of renewal. Let us gather our strength, prepare for the challenges we face together, and seize the opportunities of the 21st Century.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Don Baer to Erskine Bowles; RE: Strategic Plan for Summer Months (4 pages)	05/30/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
Message Schedules, Planning 1997

2006-0469-F
db3392

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Michael —
Please don't share
this with anyone...

May 30, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: **DON BAER**

SUBJECT: **STRATEGIC PLAN FOR SUMMER MONTHS**

Attached is the memo you requested, growing out of the meeting in your office on Wednesday (drafted with assistance from Eli Attie). It is an attempt to lay out the strategic guidelines upon which we agreed, and then frame a more aggressive message schedule for June and the early part of the July. I am also sharing this with John, Sylvia, Rahm, Doug and Ann. I am ready to talk about it, even long-distance. Eli knows how to reach me on a moment's notice, and we are both prepared to do further work on this at any time.

(Note: there are numerous other issues that the policy councils are working on which can be scheduled in the last two weeks of July. We will continue to slot them into the schedule if you feel that this plan is on the right track.)

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May 30, 1997

I. BACKGROUND. The coming two-and-a-half months present major opportunities for advancing the President's agenda, but also potential pitfalls. On one hand, we have the chance to achieve major, historic progress on many of the big issues that the President and Vice President have worked on -- in particular, the economic strategy and central aspects of the foreign policy agenda. On the other hand, we know that throughout this summer, some opposing forces will do everything possible to divert the public's focus from these real and pressing issues to other, corrosive political concerns.

II. OVERALL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE. The best strategy to maximize the positive and defend against the negative is to reaffirm the President's activist, future-oriented leadership and show that he is doing his job every day, seizing every available opportunity to move forward on his core beliefs and prepare America for the 21st Century. This will require a renewed, aggressive effort to combine both major actions and announcements and a steady stream of smaller, more targeted executive actions and demonstrations of Presidential leadership.

III. MESSAGE GUIDELINES. The following should drive both the message and the schedule. In large measure, we should highlight two separate categories of activist Presidential leadership: A) the President's leadership of Congress, in particular in his pursuit of his economic strategy against expected opposition, potentially from both parties, and B) the President's leadership outside of the traditional Congressional-Presidential relationship (including executive action and the bully pulpit) to advance his priorities to prepare America for the 21st Century.

A) **Leading Congress on Economic Strategy.** We must view this summer as a critical test of our ability to move forward the three-pronged economic strategy that has worked beyond all expectations for the last 4 ½ years -- cutting the deficit, investing in people for the future (especially through education, training and technology), and opening markets around the world. This means that wherever possible, we must take on fights to:

1) Finish the job of balancing the budget with the budget agreement;
2) Ensure that the tax cut package and budget agreement advance our key investment priorities;
3) Engage Congress on crucial, upcoming trade issues, including Fast Track and China/MFN.

This is the area we should coordinate most with all of our surrogates during this period. The Vice President should continue carrying this core message, and we should get the Cabinet actively engaged as well.

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B) **Leading the Country and the World Outside the Legislative Context.**

1) Foreign agenda. We must continue the coordinated effort to project strength, leadership, and vision through major foreign policy opportunities, in particular the push for NATO enlargement, from the West Point speech through the Madrid trip. This includes the Denver Summit of the Eight to underscore the relative strength of America's economy (contrasting the differences between the Houston 1990 Summit, when our economic house was not in order, and today, when our economy is the envy of the world) as well as Russia's historic involvement.
2) Major domestic challenges. This includes aggressive use of the bully pulpit to launch the race initiative and intensify the call to move people from welfare to work (perhaps with a major speech around Independence Day, pointing out what is working within the states to implement the new law).
3) Executive action on other priorities. We need to step up targeted executive actions on other State of the Union priorities, to push back against any sense that the pace of activity is slowing in the second term (especially during a summer when some will want to write that story because of other distractions). We should aim to produce several "message missiles" every week during the summer months. The premium should be on real substantive action over simple exhortation. We need to remain flexible to move into news opportunities created by court decisions, developments on values issues and other current events.

IV. BUILDING BLOCKS OF THIS PERIOD. We cannot develop a complete schedule right now -- in part because the existing schedule is quite full, but also because we cannot be certain when many important actions and announcements (including budget breakthroughs) will be ready. But these are the major components to implement the above strategy:

A) **Major Speeches.**

1) West Point -- foreign policy agenda, American leadership, NATO enlargement (5/31).
2) Business Roundtable -- aggressive speech to define the coming fights on the budget, tax cuts, and trade issues, in the context of the President's long-term economic vision and three-pronged economic strategy (this would be a good time for the Vice President and the Cabinet to fan out across the country in a concerted effort to amplify this message) (6/12).
3) UC San Diego -- launch of race initiative (6/14).
4) Possible welfare speech (recommended by DPC) -- highlighting required state reports showing what is working under new law, and heightening call to all sectors to finish job of welfare reform. (Possible pre-Independence Day speech.)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

5) Possible future of Democratic Party speech -- this could be a defining moment, building on the Business Roundtable speech. Having secured a budget agreement, changed the course of the Democratic Party, and turned the tide on issues/labels that had plagued the party for a generation (crime, welfare, tax and spend), this speech could further point the way toward the New Democratic Party the President is shaping. Having reformed the old, outmoded government, we must now use the government we have and all other forces to truly prepare for the 21st Century. (Not clear when the right time for this is, and the extent to which it would require the completion of new issues/agenda, on which we are already working. It might go as late as Labor Day, and could entail drawing lines for the '98 elections.)

B) **Balanced Budget.** We must prepare for at least 3-4 news opportunities in the next 6-8 weeks, pending breakthroughs on the following:

1) Progressivity of our tax cut proposal (subject of 5/31 Radio Address);
2) Business-related tax cuts;
3) Children's health care proposal;
4) Other agenda items caught up in budget (including welfare-to-work, America Reads, etc.).

C) **Other Actions on Which We Must Remain Flexible** depending upon news developments that necessitate action (e.g. court decisions such as Communications Decency Act decision, prompting Internet V-Chip announcement; clean air proposal).

D) **Proposed Message Schedule.** This blends the current schedule with possible dates for other message events that the policy shops believe will be available. We go as far forward as current information allows (items marked * are suggested and not now scheduled):

* • Tuesday, 6/3 -- **Campaign Finance Reform** -- One month away from 7/4 deadline, call on Congress to vote on McCain-Feingold; release FEC soft money petition. (Very brief event in Oval.)

• Wednesday, 6/4 -- **Education** -- IDEA/special education bill signing (other message announcement/call for education tax cuts?)

• Saturday, 6/7 -- **Race** -- Announce Hate Crimes Conference.

* • Monday, 6/9 -- **Family** -- Announce new regulations on child care standards.

• Tuesday, 6/10 -- **Science/Technology** -- press conference with cloning report and proposed legislative fix at top.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: One America in the 21st Century (9 pages)	06/14/1997	P5
002. email	Janice F. Caramanica to Michael Waldman; RE: SF278 (2 pages)	06/05/1997	P6/b(6)
003. email	Janice F. Caramanica to Michael Waldman; RE: SF278 (1 page)	06/10/1997	P6/b(6)
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: One America in the 21st Century (9 pages)	06/13/1997	P5
005. email	Bruce Reed to Michael Waldman; RE: Comments on Latest Draft (1 page)	06/13/1997	P5
006. draft	RE: Pages 4-5 of a Speech Draft (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
007. note	RE: Speech Draft edits (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14450

FOLDER TITLE:
[League of Cities Research]: America in the 21st Century

2006-0469-F
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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]

THE President's Needs to Set a VISION OF What America could be if We lived up to our potential

Draft 6/13/97 noon draft 1c

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO
June 14, 1997

[Acknowledgments]

Thank you for inviting me here, and thank you for offering our nation a shining example of diversity and strength. Here, you have overcome old boundaries of race and national origin. You have blazed new paths in science and technology, and explored the new horizons of the Pacific Rim and Latin America. All that and more mark UCSD as ~~one of the cutting edge universities of the nation~~ -- a great university for the 21st Century.

America that will help us define the greatest nation

When I took office in Jan of 1993 I saw a vision of an America with Unlimited Possibilities that lied

You Represent an

Today, we celebrate your achievements at a golden moment for our nation. The Cold War is over, ~~with~~ freedom is ascendant around the globe. Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology are on the cutting edge. ~~Social problems -- from crime to poverty -- which for so long seemed destined to deepen, are now bending to our efforts~~.

w/more than ½ the world's people living under gov't of their own choosing for the 1st time.

We have experienced the best economy in over two decades, and in the last two years, more people have moved from welfare to work than ever before.

We enter a new century w/ the very real prospect that more people than ever before will have the chance to pursue their dreams in peace and freedom.

~~Not so long ago, some were predicting our decline. Instead, we have entered a new era of American leadership, bringing us to the eve of a second American century~~.

Of course, ~~Admittedly~~, we face ~~serious~~ threats to our forward march. At home, ~~we must find ways~~ we must deal w/ appalling rates of poverty among young children to build our economic strength; we must prepare for the ~~moment when your parents~~ retirement of the large baby boom generation; and give every American the chance you have had to develop their God given capacities;

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retires; we must harness the powerful forces of science and technology so they serve the public good. Abroad, we must build new institutions and new alliances for peace, and do endless battle against terrorism and drugs, to the spread of new and deadly weapons of mass destruction,

But the greatest challenge we face is also our greatest opportunity: Can we become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy? Will we be one America in the 21st Century?

Within the next three years, right here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. Already 5 of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. At this campus, 12 Nobel Prize winners have taught or studied -- from 9 different countries. And half a century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, it is entirely conceivable that a majority of the population will be Latino, African American, Asian American, Native American and other people of color.

We know what we will look like -- but what will we be like? Can we be one America, respecting, even celebrating our differences, but embracing even more strongly what we have in common? ARE we willing to examine our own beliefs, values and stereotypes in order to make America not only a economic superpower, but a cultural superpower as well?

Our hearts long to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard. The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but the forces that would pull us apart are not new

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-- and the striving to surmount them is the story of America. As I Reflect on our American History, I realize that

We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that it is self evident that we are all created equal -- and a Constitution that enshrined slavery.

We fought a bloody civil war to abolish that slavery and preserve the union -- but we remained a house unequal and divided for another century.

We advanced across this continent in the name of freedom – yet in so doing we pushed the Native Americans off their land and into reservations, often crushing their cultures and ~~destroying~~ their livelihoods.

Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our shores -- but each new wave of them has felt the sting of discrimination.

In World War II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly for freedom in Europe, taking great casualties -- while their kinfolks back in America were herded into internment camps.

But I also remember young people Black, White & Brown marching hand in hand singing We Shall Overcome during the turbulent Moments of the civil Rights Movem

In our own time, no one doubts we are closer to our ideal of one America than in the past, but no close observer denies that there is still discrimination, stereotyping and misunderstanding in America that keeps our house divided.

Michael We need to use some examples of Whites helping to transform history

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Page (2)

within the next three years, here in CA

The complexity of these issues has multiplied with our growing diversity. To be sure, there is old, unfinished business between black and white Americans. We see it in acts of discrimination, in the assault on affirmative action without any effective alternative, in grossly disparate views held by blacks and whites about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

But the classic American dilemma in many ways has become a new dilemma. We see tension between blacks and Hispanic customers and their Korean or Arab grocers. We see a resurgent anti-Semitism, even against college students. We see stereotyping of immigrants, even those who through hard work and family spirit, have succeeded in their new land.

In spite of all these difficulties, our society is more integrated than ever. More of us share neighborhoods, work, school, social and community activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines, than ever before. More of us enjoy each other's distinctive cultures -- and learn from each others varied experiences -- than ever before.

And that is more important than ever before, as our nation of many ~~nations~~ now competes in a global economy. America has just one 20th of the world's population, but one fifth of its wealth. The only way for our economy to continue to grow is to export -- to sell the fruits of our enterprise and creativity to the 95% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Americans, drawn from every country and every culture on earth, are uniquely

We keep tiptoeing around this should all be on the vision upfront

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positioned to link our land with the rest of the globe through currents of commerce and communications. Moreover, our nation is uniquely endowed and clearly obliged to lead [illegible] toward a new era of cooperation against [illegible] weather and environmental threats, against the terrorism and drug trafficking that know no national borders, [illegible] conflicts that can destroy democracy's advance. This new era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe. We can prove to the people of the world, torn by modern rivalries and ancient ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy are the best organizing principles for a multiracial society.

So even though our past was poisoned by racial division -- and our present remains infected with it -- and the rest of the world, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa, shows how deep the destructive impulse of racial division is -- there is still more cause for hope than fear. If we face the facts, if we speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and if we work together in concrete ways to build our One America, we can go beyond the darker side of our own history. We can lead the world away from its racial hatred. We can build one America.

The problems we face

We have to start by facing the facts and facing up to our problems.

Three decades ago, when I was the age of those graduating today, all America saw the brutality of police dogs set on civil rights marchers in Birmingham, and they saw the dignity of

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Cesar Chavez fighting for workers rights in the farm fields, and they saw the streets of cities in flames during urban unrest. Most Americans agreed then on what the problems were. But, while we know we still have problems, we're not sure what they are or why we still have them.

[*We will insert more from Don't Believe the Hype, as we look through it.*]

It is a myth that people in the inner cities don't want to work. When work has come, the response has been overwhelming. When a new hotel opened in Chicago 4 years ago, 3 thousand people lined up in bitter cold, some of them waiting overnight to be the first to apply for work. In Harlem, New York, a study found that there were 14 applicants for every fast-food job.

It is a myth that most Hispanics are immigrants. They are not. Two-thirds of Hispanics in our nation are U.S.-born, and many have been here for generations.

It is a myth that new immigrants don't want to learn English. They do. In fact, the demand for English as a second language classes is so great, that keeping up is a challenge. In Los Angeles, classes are offered round the clock; in New York, there is a X month waiting list; in xxxx. And most Latino immigrants see bilingual education as a way not to reinforce Spanish, but to learn English.

We need to get past the myths if we are going to understand each other, and we need to

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understand each other to work together. For all the progress we have made, whites and blacks, Anglos and Latinos, Asians and others -- we still live in different worlds, and we see the same realities in very different ways.

[Today, one third of blacks surveyed, and more than half of whites surveyed, believe that blacks make up as much as half of our population, instead of the 12% that is reality.] [*we don't think this proves much*] What you find is the overbearing stereotypes

Today, most whites believe that blacks have achieved equality with whites on the issues that set off the civil rights movement. But the numbers tell a different story:

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites earn 60 percent more than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are xx times more likely to have access to health care for their families.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are twice as likely to graduate from college than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that the problems of black and white are

We need to balance the numbers

but we need to change the system

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not the problems of three decades ago. The black middle class has grown fourfold since Dr. King's murder. But the rate of poverty among black children is the same -- cut off from the work and values that shape our society, falling prey to the many pathologies of poverty.

How we solve the glaring disparities in our society, how we bring every person to the table of opportunity, and how we learn to better live together will ultimately determine how we do as a nation in the generations to come and whether we can truly come together as One America. * Where I was born we judge people by the content of their character" MLK Jr.

What we must do

Our first imperative must be to expand opportunity. Our basic bargain is unchanged, and has been the source of our strength for two centuries. By offering responsibility to all Americans and demanding responsibility from all Americans, we can forge the ties of a strong community of common values.

For four and a half years, we have worked to create an economy that offers all our people the chance to live out their dreams. A strong and growing economy is the best antidote to envy and despair and racism. Today, our prosperity is unrivaled in the world, and it is America that stands ready to lead the new global economy of the 21st Century. Now we must redouble our efforts to bring that prosperity to those places, in our cities and in our rural areas, that prosperity

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has not yet touched. We must press forward with our efforts to bring private capital, jobs and hope to the inner cities. [*more on urban policy?*]

And the most important thing we can do to expand opportunity – the passport to the future for all our people – and our most critical task as a nation is to give all our people the best education in the world. We are demanding that all our children meet high standards -- and we must give all our children the tools to meet those standards, through trained teachers and modern classrooms.

Put it up front when your start talking about them.

For you, the college education you have earned reflects the fulfilment of your parents dreams and your hard work. For America, an educated citizenry is the key to our strength. So we must open the doors of college wider than ever -- and we can never allow them to be slammed shut. A college education means stability, better jobs, a chance to join the middle class, another stakeholder in America.

America does not believe in guaranteeing equal outcomes, but we do believe in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all who will work for it -- and that means education. We cannot abandon any efforts to expand access to higher education. ~~We cannot abandon~~ affirmative action.

I know that many people in this state voted to abandon affirmative action last year, and

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Draft 6/13/97 afternoon, post POTUS edits

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO
June 14, 1997

Acknowledgements: Members of my Cabinet, Sen. Boxer, Sen. Akaka, Rep. John Lewis, Rep. Maxine Waters, Rep. Patsy Mink, Rep. Jim Clyburn, Rep. Bob Filner, Rep. Carlos Romero-Barcelo. Chancellor Robert Dynes, President Atkinson, Distinguished University of California Regents, Faculty, Students.

Thank you for inviting me here, and thank you for offering our nation a shining example of diversity and strength. Here, you have overcome old boundaries of race and national origin. You have blazed new paths in science and technology, and explored the new horizons of the Pacific Rim and Latin America. All that and more mark UCSD as a great university for the 21st Century.

Today, we celebrate your achievements at a golden moment for our nation. The Cold War is over. Freedom is ascendant around the globe, with more than half the world's people living under government of their own choosing for the first time. Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology are on the cutting edge. We have experienced the largest drop in crime in over three decades, and in the last great years, more people have moved from welfare to work than ever before.

We enter a new century with the very real prospect that more people than ever before will have the chance to pursue their dreams in peace and freedom.

But together, we must decide if we will pursue those dreams as one nation — united across all difference and diversity.

Of course, we face threats to our forward march. Abroad, we must ~~build new institutions and new alliances for peace, and do endless battle against terrorism and drugs to the spread of new and deadly weapons of mass destruction. At home, we must deal with appalling rates of poverty among young children, and give them the chance you have had to develop their God-given capacities; we must prepare for the retirement of the large baby boom generation; we must harness the powerful forces of science and technology so they serve the public good; and we must keep working for the balance of freedom and responsibility necessary to root out crime and drugs and build stronger families and communities.~~

laundry list?

This

~~But the~~ greatest challenge ~~we face here~~ is also our greatest opportunity: Can we become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy? Will we be one America in the 21st

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Century? If we are not, all the wonders of modern technology cannot save the American idea from basic human frailty. If we do, there will be no limits to the American Dream, and to our capacity to lead the world away from ancient hatreds toward brighter days. The darker forces of

-- all the strength of our industry and economy -- its

Tolerance + The promise of unity that has always defined the American dream.

My fellow Americans: we must

Within the next three years, here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. Already, 5 of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. At this campus, 12 Nobel Prize winners have taught or studied -- from 9 different countries. Half a century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, it is possible that a majority of our population will be Latino, African American, Asian American, Native American and other people of color.

We know what we will look like -- but what will we be like? Can we be one America, respecting, even celebrating our differences, but embracing even more strongly what we have in common?

set

Our hearts long to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard. The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but the forces that would pull us apart are not new. -- and the striving to surmount them is the story of America.

say

Says that it is not so simple.

so are

We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that it is self evident that we are all created equal -- and a Constitution that enshrined slavery.

We fought a bloody civil war to abolish that slavery and preserve the union -- but we remained a house divided and unequal, by law, for another century.

We advanced across this continent in the name of freedom – yet in so doing we pushed the Native Americans off their land and into reservations, often crushing their culture and their livelihoods.

Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our shores -- but each new wave of them has felt the sting of discrimination.

In World War II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly for freedom in Europe, taking great casualties -- while their families back in America were herded into internment camps.

These are the hard truths of our history: That as close as In our own time, no one doubts we are closer to our ideal of one America than in the past, we have but no close observer denies that there is still discrimination, stereotyping and misunderstanding and disrespect in America that keeps our house divided.

come to that American ideal,

The complexity of these issues has multiplied with our growing diversity. To be sure, there is old, unfinished business between black and white Americans. We see it in acts of discrimination, in the assault on affirmative action without any effective alternative, in grossly

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disparate views held by blacks and whites about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

But the classic American dilemma in many ways has become a new dilemma. We see tension between blacks and Hispanic customers and their Korean or Arab grocers. We see a resurgent anti-Semitism, even against college students. We see stereotyping of immigrants, even those who through hard work and family spirit, have succeeded in their new land.

In spite of all these difficulties, our society is more integrated than ever. More of us share neighborhoods, work, school, social and community activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines, than ever before. More of us enjoy each other's distinctive cultures -- and learn from each others varied experiences -- than ever before.

And that is more important than ever before, to all of us. First, our nation of many nations now competes in a global economy. America has just one 20th of the world's population, but one fifth of its wealth. The only way for our economy to continue to grow is to export -- to sell the fruits of our enterprise and creativity to the 95% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Americans, drawn from every country and every culture on earth, are uniquely positioned to link our land with the rest of the globe through currents of commerce and communications.

[Also, we face these new security threats, and because of our diversity, if we do it right, we'll have more influence to help us with the security threats.]

[Moreover, our nation's diversity, along with our strength, makes us uniquely positioned -- and clearly obligated -- to lead an ever-more interdependent world into a new era of cooperation against global health and environmental threats; against the terrorism and drug trafficking that know no national borders; against the racial and ethnic conflicts that can halt democracy's advance.]

My friends: we can only unite the world if we are united ourselves.
~~We can only do these things as One America.~~

~~[illegible]~~ And this is ~~the~~ our moment — a moment

~~That is why I ask the American people to join me now, over the next year, in rededicating ourselves to the fudnamental principle of our founding -- and to perfecting the brilliant promise ofour diversity. Now is a time, where~~ when there is more cause for hope than fear, ~~to~~ let us face the facts of American life ~~today, to speak with and listen to each other~~ respectfully and honestly, and ~~to chart a course for all of us to~~ let us work together to build our one America.

~~This new era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe.~~ We can prove to the people of the world, torn by ~~modern~~ resurgent rivalries and ~~ancient~~ age-old ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy ~~are the best organizing principles for~~ through we can live together in a multiracial society.

~~So even~~ Though our past was poisoned by racial division -- and our present remains

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are willing to right the wrongs around us, and within us,

infected with it -- and the rest of the world, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa, shows how deep the destructive impulse of racial division is -- there is still more cause for hope than fear. If we face the facts; if we speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and if we ~~work together in concrete ways to build our One America~~, we can ~~go beyond the darker side of our own history. We can lead the world away from its racial hatred. We can build one America.~~ find even in the darkest reaches of our history, the shared hopes and values that can light our common future.

The problems we face

First, let's start with the facts. There are many misperceptions out there -- here's a few.

A lot of people think they have to tell people that English is the language of the country. We have to start by facing the facts and facing up to our problems.

Three decades ago, when I was the age of those graduating today, all America saw the brutality of police dogs set on civil rights marchers in Birmingham, and they saw the dignity of Cesar Chavez fighting for workers rights in the farm fields, and they saw the streets of cities in flames during urban unrest. Most Americans agreed then on what the problems were. But, while we know we still have problems, we're not sure what they are or why we still have them.

[*We will insert more from Don't Believe the Hype, as we look through it.*]

It is a myth that people in the inner cities don't want to work. When work has come, the response has been overwhelming. When a new hotel opened in Chicago 4 years ago, 3 thousand people lined up in bitter cold, some of them waiting overnight to be the first to apply for work. In Harlem, New York, a study found that there were 14 applicants for every fast-food job.

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It is a myth that new immigrants don't want to learn English. They do. In fact, the demand for English as a second language classes is so great, that keeping up is a challenge. In Los Angeles, classes are offered round the clock; in New York, there is a X month waiting list; in xxxx. And most Latino immigrants see bilingual education as a way not to reinforce Spanish, but to learn English.

We need to get past the myths if we are going to understand each other, and we need to understand each other to work together. For all the progress we have made, whites and blacks, Anglos and Latinos, Asians and others -- we still live in different worlds, and we see the same realities in very different ways.

[Today, one third of blacks surveyed, and more than half of whites surveyed, believe that

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blacks make up as much as half of our population, instead of the 12% that is reality.] [*we don't think this proves much*]

Today, most whites believe that blacks have achieved equality with whites on the issues that set off the civil rights movement. But the numbers tell a different story:

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites earn 60 percent more than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are xx times more likely to have access to health care for their families.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are twice as likely to graduate from college than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that the problems of black and white are not the problems of three decades ago. The black middle class has grown fourfold since Dr. King's murder. But the rate of poverty among black children is the same -- cut off from the work and values that shape our society, falling prey to the many pathologies of poverty. (How about: majority of people on welfare are white?)

How we solve the glaring disparities in our society, how we bring every person to the table of opportunity, and how we learn to ~~better~~ live together will ~~ultimately~~ determine ~~how we do as a nation in the generations to come and~~ whether we can truly come together as One America.

What we must do

Our first imperative must be to expand opportunity. Our basic bargain is unchanged, and has been the source of our strength for two centuries. By offering responsibility to all Americans and demanding responsibility from all Americans, we can forge the ties of a strong community of common values.

For four and a half years, we have worked to create an economy that offers all our people the chance to live out their dreams. A strong and growing economy is the best antidote to envy and despair and racism. Today, our prosperity is unrivaled in the world, and it is America that stands ready to lead the new global economy of the 21st Century. Now we must redouble our efforts to bring that prosperity to those places, in our cities and in our rural areas, that prosperity has not yet touched. We must press forward with our efforts to bring private capital, jobs and hope to the inner cities. [*more on urban policy?*]

And the most important thing we can do to expand opportunity – the passport to the future for all our people – and our most critical task as a nation is to give all our people the best

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education in the world. We are demanding that all our children meet high standards -- and we must give all our children the tools to meet those standards, through trained teachers and modern classrooms.

For you, the college education you have earned reflects the fulfilment of your parents dreams and your hard work. For America, an educated citizenry is the key to our strength. So we must open the doors of college wider than ever -- and we can never allow them to be slammed shut. A college education means stability, better jobs, a chance to join the middle class, another stakeholder in America.

America does not believe in guaranteeing equal outcomes, but we do believe in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all who will work for it -- and that means education. We cannot abandon any efforts to expand access to higher education. We cannot abandon affirmative action.

I know that many people in this state voted to abandon affirmative action last year, and did so with no intention to hurt their fellow citizens. But it is a stunning and sobering fact that African-American and Latino enrollments at this university and all across California and Texas are plummeting, for the first time in decades. Call it what you will -- I call it resegregation. We cannot afford to turn back the clock. To this day, the South is still recovering from the self-inflicted wound of segregation. America cannot make that mistake again.

This past week we learned that our fourth grade students, the most diverse student body in the world, are among the leaders in the world in math. Diversity and excellence go hand in hand.

To all of America, I say, we must make sure that only qualified students are accepted. But if only qualified students are accepted, I also say: our universities will provide a stronger education – a better preparation for the new world – and a more enjoyable experience – if its student body looks like the student body reflects our diversity as yours does here at UCSD. The purpose of affirmative action is not to help any one group or individual. It is to help America -- for we don't have a person to waste.

And to those who say that race and ethnicity should not be factors, that scores on standardized tests should be the sole measure of qualification, I say: We take into account whether someone is an athlete, a musician, or a child of an alumnus. And we know when given a chance, students who enter with the help of affirmative action do just as well as any other student.

I want to be clear: We will continue to fight the rollback of affirmative action in higher education because it is wrong, it is hurtful to our progress and it divides our people.

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Our second imperative must be to break down the walls of discrimination wherever they exist. Racism is wrong; discrimination is wrong; and moreover, it is illegal. Our civil rights agencies are among the most critical law enforcement agencies in the government -- and we must give them the resources they need to end the crushing backlog of cases and get the job done. It's time for Congress to put our money where our ideals are. [*housing discrimination?*]

And our third imperative is in many ways the most difficult of all: we must begin a great national conversation on the issues of race and our diversity.

We must recognize that we cannot come to solutions or even truly identify our problems unless we are willing to be honest with each other. It's time to let down our guards, and to be honest with people different from ourselves. We have talked at each other and about each other. It is high time we begin talking with each other.

Over the coming year, I want to lead the American people in a great and unprecedented conversation about race. I have asked one of America's greatest scholars, Dr. John Hope Franklin to chair an advisory panel of seven distinguished Americans. He will be joined by former Governors Tom Kean and William Winter, Linda Chavez-Thompson, Suzan Johnson, Angela Oh, and Robert Thomas -- distinguished citizens, leaders in their community, who will work with me in a searching examination of the truth about the changing face of America.

We will examine the stereotypes and the facts – the myths and the reality – that hold us apart. We do this because we cannot move forward together, and act together, if we do not agree together on what action is needed.

We will ask Americans to talk to one another everyday, at home, in their communities, in school, at work -- and help us develop plans of action. I will join this conversation with Americans across our nation at town meetings over the next year.

The town meetings I will hold are just the start. I call on Americans of all colors to begin a "table fellowship" within their communities, to break bread together and begin to know each other. And I want every American to see this as an opportunity to learn about each other by doing with each other. Tutors are needed in many communities to teach reading and other skills; that kind of interaction pays dividends in many ways. Churches, mosques, synagogues could consider exchanging congregations for a day. And the best chance for dialogue is among the young. I call on the nation's churches to link up the young people in the suburbs with those in the cities.

And in one year's time, I will report directly to the American people about what I have found and the what actions we must take to move our nation forward.

I know that honest dialogue and exchange will not be easy at first. We need to get past

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defensiveness, fear, political correctness and other barriers to honesty. That may open wounds, but that is how we begin the healing so that we may move past them.

What do we want from all this? If we achieve nothing more than talk, that will be too little. If we propose nothing but policy ideas that are merely small gestures along the way, that will be too little. But if 10 years from now, people can look back and see that America's commitment to our ideals was renewed and reinvigorated and that the post-Martin Luther King generation finally shouldered its fair burden in this historic struggle, then this effort will have been a success.

Conclusion: why this matters

This is a steep challenge. And many of you, coming of age in a time when the acid of doubt and cynicism seems to corrode our faith, might look at this mission and feel it is impossible. But what we are called upon to do is nothing less -- and nothing more -- than what America has done at every moment of challenge and change in its history.

For two centuries, wave upon wave of immigrants have come to our shores, to work, to raise their families, to build a new life, speaking many tongues, wearing the ~~garb~~ clothes of many cultures, but all drawn ~~here~~ by ~~those~~ the same ideals. We have never lived up to our founding vision, but we have never stopped trying -- and our people, even those who have suffered the most, have never lost faith in the American creed that unites us.

Today, we are all, in Martin Luther King's words, woven into "one garment of destiny." We rightly celebrate the multiplicity of America -- our marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races. Yet despite this diversity, ~~or above it~~ beneath it, we possess a common identity -- as Americans and as human beings.

~~We must recognize that the same ethnic and racial ties that can offer us a sanctuary of so much meaning and personal strength also contain the possibility of a frightening fragmentation.~~ We must honor our diversity; we must cherish the uniqueness of each culture that feeds into the American experience; we must find new ways of talking to one another with respect instead of disdain. But we must reach with even greater fervor across those lines that divide us, to ~~honor and strengthen those bonds of community and shared values that have always united us.~~ define each other by the things that unite us, as much as the things that divide us.

It was almost exactly one hundred [forty nine] years ago, Abraham Lincoln, quoting Scripture, warned, us that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

For two centuries, on every continent, people struggling for freedom looked to see if our house would stand. Over the past century, we have taken our greatest strides when we knew the whole world was watching. Today, the people of Belfast and Bosnia, of Rwanda and the Middle East, are watching. With American ideas and ideals ascendent, with ancient racial and ethnic

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hatreds once again flaring around the globe, we must be a beacon, we must be that last great hope for mankind.

To those who say we will not ever transform the problem of prejudice into the promise of diversity, we can, for I have seen it happen. I grew up in the segregated South. I saw a different future when I worked by my grandfather's side in his small grocery store back home in Hope. My grandfather taught me that, yes I was different than the black children who came into his store, but I was no better. But I could see that on the black side of town, the streets were left unpaved. And segregation was legally sanctioned. There were "whites only" signs at public restrooms. Blacks and whites could not swim together, we could not drink at the same water fountain, we could not even sit in the same section at the movies. I was 11 years old when President Eisenhower ordered troops into Little Rock so that nine black children could integrate Central High. And when I was your age and in school in Washington, D.C., Martin Luther King was killed and the streets exploded in flames. My memory is forever singed by the pain and anger I saw.

Since those days, we have made great progress. We have torn down the barriers in our laws. Now we must tear down the barriers in our hearts. More than 30 years ago, at the high tide of the civil rights movement, the Kerner Commission said that we were becoming two Americas, one black, one white, separate and unequal. Today, we face a choice: will we become, not two, but many Americas, separate, unequal and isolated? Or ~~will we draw strength from our great diversity to become the world's first truly multiethnic, multiracial, and multi religious democracy~~? That is the unfinished work of our times.

will we realize that the things that unite us are truly greater than the things that divide us — that we are ~~one people~~, with common purpose, and common values, that bind us

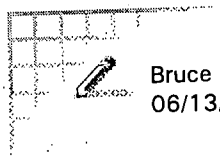
Much of the burden, and all of the benefits of this work lie with you, the young people here today and throughout our land. As Dr. King reminded us, there is real power in our dreams. So, dream large. Aim high. Teach your children well, and don't be afraid to challenge your elders on this issue.

We may not achieve as much as we want, but let us set our aim as high as we can. ~~Let us resolve that in our day and our generation, we shall overcome~~. In the 21st century, we cannot be many Americas. We must be One America. We are One America.

###

The bonds of our spirit run deeper than the bind

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Bruce N. Reed
06/13/97 01:53:07 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Comments on latest draft

For your sake, I wish this were over and done with. The next 24 hours will be as bad as the last 48.

I'm with you -- I liked the previous draft better. This draft is heavy on description and commentary, and a little light on both substance and emotion.

I don't have an easy answer, but a few thoughts:

1) the opportunity section has too little about opportunity and too much on affirmative action. I'm all for a vigorous (and concise) defense of mend it don't end it, but our whole opportunity agenda -- education, urban policy, jobs for welfare recips, etc. -- is a lot more compelling, future-oriented, and more likely to make a real difference.

2) the draft is really weak on responsibility. Memphis and Austin both made powerful appeals to whites and blacks alike to take responsibility for their own lives and actions, and not to use divisions as an excuse. That's been the heart of our approach to racial issues, and what set the President apart. It's also a way for him to soar and to challenge, as opposed to just saying, let's have a conversation. (Along these lines, there is almost nothing about crime in this draft, which is a mistake.) We have to say over and over, we have common responsibilities -- to use a favorite phrase, that is our duty to one another.

3) It's a big mistake to say "If we propose nothing but policy ideas that are merely small gestures along the way, that will be too little." That sentence manages to raise expectations and trash everything we've done for the last 2 years. Drop it.

4) It might help to play up the preparing America for the 21st century theme a bit more. You want to paint a vision of an America that leaves all these things behind, where every child has the chance to learn, where every American can live wherever they want, walk wherever they want, become whatever they want. You need to close with a story of multiracial hope that sets the new story line, not just King, Lincoln, and Central High that track the old story line.

2)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

on affirmative action without any effective alternative, in grossly disparate views held by blacks and whites about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

But the classic American dilemma in many ways has become a new dilemma. We see tension between blacks and Hispanic customers and their Korean or Arab grocers. We see a resurgent anti-Semitism, even against college students. We see stereotyping of immigrants, even those who through hard work and family spirit, have succeeded in their new land.

In spite of all these difficulties, our society is more integrated than ever. More of us share neighborhoods, work, school, social and community activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines, than ever before. More of us enjoy each other's distinctive cultures -- and learn from each others varied experiences -- than ever before.

And that is more important than ever before, to all of us. First, our nation of many nations now competes in a global economy. America has just one 20th of the world's population, but one fifth of its wealth. The only way for our economy to continue to grow is to export -- to sell the fruits of our enterprise and creativity to the 95% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Americans, drawn from every country and every culture on earth, are uniquely positioned to link our land with the rest of the globe through currents of commerce and communications.

[Also, we face these new security threats, and because of our diversity, if we do it right, we'll have more influence to help us with the security threats.]

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[Moreover, our nation's diversity, along with our strength, makes us uniquely positioned -- and clearly obligated -- to lead an ever-more interdependent world into a new era of cooperation against global health and environmental threats; against the terrorism and drug trafficking that know no national borders; against the racial and ethnic conflicts that can halt democracy's advance.]

We ~~can only do these~~ things as One America.

That is why I ask the American people to join me now, over the next year, in rededicating ourselves to the fundamental principle of our founding -- and to perfecting the brilliant promise of our diversity. Now is a time, where there is more cause for hope than fear, to face the facts of American life today, to speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and to chart a course for all of us to work together to build our One America.

~~This new~~ era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe. We can prove to the people of the world, torn by modern rivalries and ancient ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy are the best organizing principles for a multiracial society.

So even though our past was poisoned by racial division -- and our present remains infected with it -- and the rest of the world, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa, shows how deep the destructive impulse of racial division is -- ~~there is still more cause for hope than fear.~~ If we face the facts; if we speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and if we work together in concrete ways to build our One America, we can go beyond the darker side of our own history. We can lead the world away from its racial hatred. We can build one America.

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Pg. 1

WHEN I took office in January of 1993 -- I saw a vision of an AMERICA with unlimited possibilities and challenges. Your generation Represents a defining moment in our history -- You will help (the 21st Century generation) define the greatest of our nation.

We celebrate your achievements. —

Pg. 2 Paragraph 2

Can we become the world's first truly multiracial, Multiethnic Society that can live up to the true meaning of our democracy —

Within the next three YEARS . . .

That paragraph should be moved to the top of page 4 the flow is better In my judgement.

Michael I am working my way towards the back . . . It's a lot of stuff here 20

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Statement on the Capitol Shooting (7 pages)	07/25/1998	P5
002. paper	RE: Addresses and phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
7/25/98 Eulogy

2006-0469-F
db1899

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]

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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]
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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]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

cc: Josh Gottheimer

DRAFT 7/25/98 MIDNIGHT
WALDMAN/BEGALA

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATEMENT ON THE CAPITOL SHOOTING
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE
July 25, 1998

The shooting at the United States Capitol

yesterday ~~was an attack on heroic officers of the peace~~

~~and defenseless citizens. It was~~ Was a moment of savagery

at the front door of the home of American civilization.

~~I know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and~~ Fed law enf. agencies and

the U.S. Attorney's office are working closely with the

Capitol Police USCP. **to make sure that justice is pursued.**

I am an American to reflect for a moment on the ~~political~~ human elements of today's tragedy.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

~~Scripture tells us, "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." [John 15:13]~~ He Officer Jacob "J.J." Chestnut and Detective John Gibson laid down their lives for their friends, their fellow citizens, their coworkers, and those whom they were sworn to protect. ~~With some 20,000 people visiting the Capitol~~ On today ~~Today~~ they saved many others from exposure to lethal violence

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

Officer Chestnut was a Vietnam veteran, a member of the Capitol Police for 18 years, just months away from retirement. Detective Gibson was deeply religious, beloved by his coworkers, devoted to the Red Sox and the Bruins. Both of them leave behind loving wives and children, the affection of neighbors and ~~coworkers~~, and the deep gratitude of those who are alive today because of their bravery.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

Every day, ~~this~~ a special breed of men and women pin on their badges, put on their uniforms, and kiss their families goodbye, knowing full well they may be called to lay down their lives. This year, 79 other law enforcement officers have made the ultimate sacrifice.

~~Today~~ I ask every American ~~to think about these police officers, the freedom they guard with their lives; and our obligation to turn away from violence and hate.~~ show gratitude to these officers for the freedom & security they & to guard with their lives; and every American shall stand up for tolerance & to reject violence & hate.

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In this one heartless act, there were ~~countless~~ many acts of heroism: By strangers who shielded children with their bodies. By officers who fanned across the Capitol. By Dr. Bill Frist, a renowned heart surgeon before election to the Senate from Tennessee, who had just put down his gavel when he rushed to tend to the injured. ~~So often, only in crisis do we set aside the indulgence of dwelling on our differences, and unite around our common humanity. This was such a moment.~~ To all of these ~~heroes~~ those who stood for our common humanity and ~~more~~, we extend the thanks of a nation.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

To the families of Officer Chestnut and Detective

Gibson, nothing we say can bring them back ~~or ease~~
But all Americans pray that the power of a loving God t
~~your sorrow. Only God and the comfort you give to~~
the comfort of family & friends will & w/ time can yr,
~~each other can do that. But know that you are in our~~
sorrow and know your pride for yr. loved ones and the
~~prayers. All America is grateful.~~
sacrifice they made for ~~[illegible]~~ their fellow citizens.

To Angela Dickerson, the young woman who was injured in the shooting, we extend our prayers and our hope for your speedy recovery.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-98

And to every American who has been shaken by this violent act, to the millions of parents who have taken your children through those doors, I ask you to think about what the Capitol means. All around the world, this majestic marble building is the symbol of our democracy, the embodiment of our nation. ~~It is a~~ We must keep it a place where the people can freely and proudly walk the halls of their government, ~~I hope every American takes a moment to reflect on this Capitol on a hill~~, and we must never take for granted the values for which it stands, or the price of preserving them.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Todd to Michael; RE: Clinton Presidency speech (1 page)	03/14/1996	P5
002. memo	Don Bear, Michael Waldman to Leon Panetta; RE: NGA Speech and DOT Announcement (1 page)	02/06/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
[Michael Waldman Memos]

2006-0469-F
db3393

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1996

MW
let's talk.
P

Michael --

I know this isn't the most important message document of the year, but I still think it's worth a little work. Right now, our summary of the Clinton presidency for the first half of 1995 amounts to this: 1st, and foremost, Rego; 2d, foreign affairs (D-Day, visiting Russia and Ukraine, Haiti, the UN); 3rd Oklahoma City (with no mention of the counterterrorism bill); 4th, a balanced budget that reflects our values.

I think the emphasis here is out of whack. This forward ought to make the case for this presidency as compellingly as possible; that sure doesn't argue for a preeminent focus on Rego. I'd include Rego, but move it toward the bottom and put more emphasis on a balanced budget that protects our key priorities (environment, education, Medicare, Medicaid, no tax increase for working families, etc.).

Also, are there any other specific actions we took in this January-June period that could be usefully highlighted (e.g., on immigration, environment, whatever). Any significant executive actions? Any significant steps to open markets? It seems like pretty thin gruel right now. Has someone scrubbed the record?

Todd

cc: Don
Vicki
Gene
George
Barry

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 6. 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: DON BAER DMB
MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: NGA SPEECH AND DOT ANNOUNCEMENT

At your request, this memorandum explains why the Department of Transportation grant announcement was not included in the NGA speech.

As we discussed last week, our goal was to keep the speech elevated in tone, without being cluttered by detailed policy announcements (in part because it was paired with Sen. Dole's speech). That is why the DOT announcement was not included in the remarks; it did not seem to fit the tone. Clearly, in retrospect, this was the wrong call. (There was a reference to highway funding, but a direct grant announcement did not seem to work in the context of the points we were trying to make.)

Judgment calls that to us seem very similar get made a dozen times in writing a speech like this. On any major speech, the speechwriting department gets bombarded with special pleadings from departments and agencies for the President to mention their programs. We are often in a position of trying to keep the President's remarks focused and tight in the face of these kinds of requests. For example, yesterday we received several calls from Labor Department officials on the GI Bill for workers. NPR and Cabinet Affairs both produced material for possible inclusion. We took comments from DPC, NEC, and OMB as well.

We made clear from the beginning the DOT announcement was not likely to be in the speech. Speechwriting first heard about the DOT grant last week, when Steve Silverman of the office of Cabinet Affairs urged that the "flexible funding" grant be announced in the speech. Don first heard about it when a DOT speechwriter casually approached him after a meeting. Last Thursday, Cabinet Affairs was E-mailed, indicating that it did not look like the type of thing that would work in a "lofty" speech. We repeated this on the phone.

Yesterday evening, we told DOT's speechwriter that they should not assume it was in the speech. Last night, we called Steve Silverman to tell him that it was not in the speech. This morning, Kitty Higgins was told that it was not in the speech. Nobody "appealed" it to a higher level of decisionmaking.

Apparently, DOT had been led to believe the grant would be announced. It is not clear why this happened -- if this was undue optimism on their part, or if they were led to believe this by someone else in the White House.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phil Caplan & Todd Stern to the President; RE: Gasoline prices (1 page)	04/27/1996	P5
002. memo	Don Baer, et al.; RE: Commencement Speeches (3 pages)	04/27/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
[Memos to and from Michael Waldman]

2006-0469-F
db3324

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]
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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)]

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April 27, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR

FROM: DON BAER
MICHAEL WALDMAN
BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES

This memorandum outlines themes and topics for this spring's commencement addresses. We propose that you do a total of four such speeches -- the three currently scheduled, plus an additional speech at a site yet to be determined. These speeches would give the press and public a sense of what your goals for the nation would be during a second term, and would show how those goals flow from the goals you ran on in 1992 and the policies that you have put in place since then. agenda?

This proposal reflects the work and views of a number of people, including Dick Morris, Mark Penn, [xx, xxx, xx]. Tysons Corner Mall, White Flint, Pentagon City

Overview/economy (Penn State, May 10)

Overview. We are approaching a new century, living through a new era. Students who start school in a few months will graduate in the new century. What kind of country do we want when we enter that new century? I ran for President in 1992 with clear, straightforward goals for our country. I wanted to create opportunity for every American who would take responsibility to make the most of his or her own life. I wanted America to ~~go~~ remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And I wanted our nation to come together as a community again. Opportunity, responsibility, community -- these have been my lodestars during the past 3 years. And I belie these are the vales that will best guide our country into the new century. and throughout my career in public life.

In a sense our challenge is to use these traditional values -- the values that helped build our nation -- in new and unsettled times. Traditional values do not mean traditional methods for achieving those values. Just as we are moving from the industrial era into an information age, the way our nation meets its challenges must move from large, standardized bureaucracies doing things for people, to a decentralized model that gives people the tools to make the most of their own lives. The four speeches will sketch out a governing philosophy -- tomorrow's progressivism -- that can make the next era a time of prosperity and greatness for our people.

Economy. Age of possibility/time of change. This speech should have a concrete, detailed discussion of the move into a knowledge economy. Extraordinary promise. [For

In the weeks to come, I will set forth my values agenda for the country: expanding opportunity by empowering individuals who work hard to get ahead, strengthening families, standing up for America's ideals around the world, and ~~repairing the nation's social fabric by~~ inspiring a new sense of personal responsibility

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

example, a wristwatch today contains more computer power than existed in the entire world in 1961.] But churning change creates uncertainty, threatens to wash away our moorings. People have to work harder than ever to keep up. We have put in place economic strategy to address this moment of change: cut deficit, invest in people, trade, reform and shrink government. Result: 8.5 million jobs, etc.

Now we must move forward. 1) Keep economy growing (need to balance budget, etc.). 2) Need to empower people, to give them the confidence and security to move forward in new era. Portable and secure health care, pensions, training. 3) Above all, in a knowledge economy, we must make the single greatest element of success available to more people than ever before: college. [***NEED SIGNATURE IDEA HERE, FOLKS***]

① Inspire a new spirit of mutual responsibility for America's economic growth: Every employee has a resp to make their company more profitable, and every employer has resp to make their co. more valuable
- Idea: middle-class cap. gains tax cut?
- Encourage more profit gains-sharing

Foreign policy (Coast Guard Academy, xx)

~~The~~ The Canadian Purchase

Community (Princeton, June 4)

This speech would discuss how we can mend our social fabric and restore the sense of duty and mutual ~~obligation~~ responsibility that binds our people together. For decades, the bonds that linked neighbor to neighbor have been frayed, by crime, distrust, economic upheaval, the mass migration from union halls and lodges to the television room.

(refer to Teach for America, started by a Princeton student)

The speech would include a direct call to service, ~~[illegible]~~ civic response, etc

It is not enough to yearn for a lost era of backyard cookouts and local taverns. Our goal must be to recreate strong American communities in a new time. We have made real progress: crime record/accomplishments; welfare reform waivers, empowerment zone concept. Now our goal must be to give people the capacity to build strong communities, and to give communities the capacity to defend themselves and grow, in three major ways:

② Make college more avail:
1) $ds in public schools
2) Service scholarships ~~College~~ scholarships for football, cheerleading + playing tuba – why not for service? (we've done on part w/Americorps)
3) Usual college tax breaks etc.

Crime: When streets are empty and families are barricaded behind closed doors, crime flourishes. When neighbors walk the beat with police, a safe community is reborn. We are putting 100,000 police on the streets; now we call for 100,000 new citizen patrols ("red hats," etc.). Call on comms to use COPS under crime bill to set up crime academies, block watch programs, squatter eviction programs, etc.

Service: The second way to renew our communities is to summon an ethic of service from our people. The national service program has shown the benefits to society and to those who serve when young people work for their community. We will propose a "service scholarship," so that young people who performed community service in high schools will get priority for college scholarships.

Yes, maybe it fits better here

Civic organizations: As is well known, the latticework of churches, civic groups, and informal associations that used to be the backbone of our communities is under enormous pressure. Too often, their roles have been taken by government, even when private charity or community organizations can do the job better. Our job should be to help these institutions of "civil society." The speech would endorse elements of the bill proposed by Sen. Dan Coats, possibly including ~~a scaled-down charity tax credit (he proposes $500; we could endorse $100). ... OR ... Keeping schools open.~~ adoption tax credit, incentives for charity, and a general commitment that as we reform the tax code, we should press for m-class tax relief but also rewards for savings + charity – not across the board tax cuts that punishes charity, screws the m-class, + rewards the rich.

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Family (site TBD)

The family is our most important institution -- it is how we raise our children, build character, build economic security. It is the way we exercise our duties toward our parents and our children. And for decades, the American family and its values have been under assault -- rocked by seismic social changes, increased work pressures, deteriorating schools, TV violence, advertising and mass culture. We need to help families help themselves to live out their values.

We have made progress: saving Medicare/Medicaid, education, environment; Family leave, smoking; V-chip, stepped up child support, violence against women. Now we must continue with a new family agenda that helps parents protect their children and raise them into their traditional values:

- families and work / family friendly workplace (flextime, corporate citizenship)
- ~~teen pregnancy initiative (fathers' responsibility)~~ attack illegitimacy
- welfare reform

[*HELP! THIS IS WHERE WE ARE WEAK SUBSTANTIVELY*]

- marriage initiative
- adoption
- call on VP to lead sweeping review of every govt program to ensure that it's pro-family. (Announce some example that we're about to change - e.g. more married families in public housing.)
- mandatory cooling off period in divorce

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the Business Roundtable (11 pages)	06/12/1997	P5
002. draft	RE: A Speech Draft (3 pages)	08/05/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
[Miscellaneous Speeches 1998]

2006-0469-F
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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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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]
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6-16-97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS TO THE BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE

WASHINGTON, DC

JUNE 12, 1997

97 JUN 12 P6:30

cc: Laura Capps

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6/16/97

Acknowledgments: Don Fites (fights), Chair, Maria E

Business Roundtable, Pres./CEO, Caterpillar, Inc.; Sam

NEC CHAIR
Maury, CEO, Business Roundtable; Mack McLarty. GENE
SEC. RUBIN, SEC. DALEY, SPERLIN

Thank you for the opportunity to talk to you today

about ~~the things we need to do together to keep America~~'s

what we must do to keep our economy growing and
~~businesses going strong, and to~~ prepare our country for

the 21st Century.

compact 20yr
+ say 60s
Stanford
3200-
7500

~~We are living at a time of remarkable hope for our~~
boys begin careers in 35 yr, girls begin work life 30 yr,
~~country. The global economy, stunning new~~
breakthroughs in Kyoto, entrepreneurial culture, we can make
technologies, the spread of computers, ~~remarkable~~
another American century
breakthroughs in biological science, ~~all combine to offer~~

~~wider vistas of hope and opportunity than we have~~ ever

seen. ~~The new century~~ looks as if it, too, may ~~become~~ an

~~American century~~.

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Get credit - Auburn town, to possible problem of Fed Res, unnecessary - trouble down w/ I to grow

Beginning in 1993, ~~we put in place a comprehensive~~

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~~strategy to prepare our country for the new century.~~ First, ~~we had to~~ cut the deficit. In the 12 years before I took office, the deficit had skyrocketed and the national debt had quadrupled. We have cut the deficit from $290 billion the day I took office to less than $70 billion this year. That is a 77% cut. ~~As a share of our economy, our deficit is among the smallest in the industrialized world~~. ~~And~~ Now, with the balanced budget agreement I have reached with the leaders of Congress, our budget is heading to zero.

Second, ~~and at the same time, we had to~~ invest in the skills and training of our people.

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6/16/97

We began to put in place a system of lifelong learning, expanding Head Start preschool, ~~improving~~ school standards, opening wider the doors of college and improving job training for employees.

~~And~~ third, we ~~committed to embrace the world economy, aggressively moving to~~ open markets for American goods and services. With NAFTA, GATT, and over 200 other hard-won trade agreements in place, exports have surged and are now at an all time high.

Fiscal responsibility . . . investing in our people . . . free and fair trade: this is our economic strategy. ~~It is a strategy that is the envy of our major industrial allies.~~

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Results - wary of the word

~~As you know~~, the business magazines are having a hyperbole contest -- debating whether this economy is "the best in thirty years," or "the best it has ever been." That's what I call a high class problem.

We can begin to grieve. We can do better.

~~Unemployment has dropped from over 7% in 1992~~ to ~~4.8% today -- with the lowest inflation of any administration in decades. The economy has created over 12 million jobs; wages are up, corporate profits are the highest they have been in two decades~~.

~~In some areas, companies have put so many people to work that they now must look beyond their own communities to find employees to fill good paying jobs~~.

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~~And~~ over the coming months, there will be several critical choices before our country -- decisions that amount to a referendum on whether we choose to move forward with a vision and a strategy that has paved the way for prosperity.

First, we must continue to cut the deficit until we have balanced the budget in a way that is consistent with our values. ~~I believe that~~ the bipartisan balanced budget agreement we reached with Congress can keep us on this path of economic renewal. By bringing the deficit to zero, this plan will lower interest rates, providing new incentives for private sector investment and laying the foundation for continued growth and higher productivity in the future.

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That's good news for everyone in this room, and I thank you for your support of that plan.

Request for Rt Ds to implement Bud Agr. in gd faith → enough Ds around the edges could make them regret suff to enforce the agreement.

The second test for our nation will be whether -- in the course of balancing the budget -- we will make the vital investments in education and training that our people need. As you know so well, we can create jobs and opportunities, but we must make sure that all our people are prepared to seize those opportunities. I appreciate the strong support that the Business Roundtable has given to our national effort to raise educational standards -- and I thank the BRT and Brooks Robinson for the public service ads on standards you are creating. # for the ads, as well as Mark 19th Byr of 3rd as anniv hits today —

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And I also believe that with a strong economy and a balanced budget, we can afford to give the American people a dividend through prudent tax relief -- tax relief that American families richly deserve. That tax relief must meet five critical tests. It must be faithful to the bipartisan agreement; it must help the economy grow; it must be fair to working families, ~~and~~ it must target our nation's top priority: ~~the~~ education ~~of our children, and all of our people~~. And ~~finally, let me be clear~~: it must not explode the deficit in later years and make it more difficult to meet the fiscal challenges we face when the baby boom nears retirement. After 1998 → 4% def → Private cut 10 yrs → Y10.

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That is why I have favored tax relief that will help middle families send ~~their children~~ to college, pay for lifetime learning, or to own their own home. And I have also indicated that I could support a tax cut package that included some pro-growth ~~form~~ of capital gains tax relief along with some help to ease the burden of estate taxes on small businesses and family farms. ~~But,~~ Any tax relief must fit within the constraints of a balanced budget plan -- ~~and that's why the plan specifically limits the tax cut to $85 billion over 5 years. And we must make careful choices~~. should help families succeed at home & at work, not

~~American families who work hard and play by the rules should be the top priority of tax~~ relief.

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~~Our economic strategy allows Americans to be good workers and good parents. And we have designed a tax cut package that will help more Americans raise and educate their children. Americans should not be forced to choose between work and family.~~

~~Unfortunately, this Republican tax package makes~~ House ~~that choice even more difficult for millions of Americans.~~

The House Republican plan explicitly excludes 4 million of our hardest-pressed families from receiving the child tax credit. Another provision actually penalizes parents who receive tax relief for child care by cutting their child tax credit.

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It is wrong to design a tax plan that singles out our working families who need child care by giving them less tax relief. I will not let it stand, and I urge you to join me in opposing it.

Get up-to-date on tax debate in 5th - expect questions

The third test of whether America will continue with this economic strategy is in the field of trade. As we approach the 21st Century, we cannot retreat behind walls of isolation or protectionism, but must meet the challenge of global competition head on. This has not been in the past -- and will not be in the future -- a position free from controversy and risk. But we have no choice. We must move forward.

EITC → work 4.8 – [illegible] + high wage

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8-05-98

First, I want you to hear something straight from me: I have an all-out commitment to doing everything I can to see a Democratic House of Representatives elected in November. ~~If that~~ means I have to raise money, I'll raise money. ~~And if that means I have to raise my voice, I'll raise my voice~~. Not ~~simply because~~ a Democratic House is is my political interests, or yours ... but because having a House that reflects Democratic values and a Democratic vision is important to ~~the national interest~~.

We began this journey together, you and I, when I came to office in 1992. ~~We were carried into office by people who believed we needed not only new leadership, but new ideas. We took a~~ new ~~message to the American people -- based on opportunity~~, responsibility, community. ~~And we went to work to give the American people the change they voted~~ for.

It is entirely fitting that we meet today, five years to the day when we won the central policy battle of this decade: the fight over the fundamental direction of the American economy. History will never forget that long day, five years ago, when you passed our economic plan. Neither will I. What I saw 5 yrs ago today was a new chapter in JFK's Profiles in Courage -- ~~at least~~ from the Democrats.

Remember what our opponents said. Here's Speaker Gingrich: "This will lead to a recession next year." Dick Armey said: "Clearly, this is a job killer." John Kasich said: "This plan will not work. If it was to work, I'd have to become a Democrat." By my count, that puts us just ten seats away from a majority!

Think of the difference that single vote has made. That single vote produced 92% of the deficit reduction our nation has achieved. That single vote paved the way for an American economic renaissance.

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8-05-98

That single vote helped to create 16M new jobs … lowest unempl in 28 yrs … lowest inflation in 32 years … highest homeownership in American history … the smallest federal government in 35 years. Wages rising strongly again. And the first balanced budget in 29 years. After decades in which government couldn't seem to do the big things well, this strategy worked -- for the reasons we said it would work -- and better than we could have hoped it would work. And this is the strategy that is keeping our economy growing, steady and strong.

That is the difference a single act of courage and conscience made. And as you know, our economic rebirth was only the beginning. It was the Democrats who said, put 100,000 police on the street. When we passed Family Leave that has allowed millions to take time off from work, most in other party opposed us. It was Demo party that said: balance the budget, but let's do it with the Hope Scholarship, Pell grant, health care for children. It was the Demo Party that said: we can grow economy & have cleaner enviro.

New dynamic moment of prosperity — SSF

Because of the progress we have made, America is in a golden moment of prosperity. Now we must take the lead in meeting America's big challenges as we approach the 21st Century. We have a duty to use the time of fiscal plenty that we created to meet our next critical obligation: Saving Social Security First. I want to thank you for your strong support, and for your involvement in town meetings/forums across the country. Here is my bottom line: we must reserve every penny of any surplus until we act to strengthen SS for the long term. No tax cuts, no spending programs from the surplus until we save SS. If the GOP sends me any bills that squander the surplus, I will veto them. - exclusive tax cuts, childcare, ENT, envir → hurt, pol.

Saving Social Security 1st is the centerpiece of the agenda we Democrats must carry together into the Fall campaign. We must contrast our message of progress with the GOP's partisanship.

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2d, Patient's Bill of Rights. 160 M in HMO/man care. ~~I want us to stand strong, together, not let GOP get away with passing weak/phony bill. We need a plan that has~~ full coverage, full remedies if you are injured, full guarantee of care. If the Congress sends me the bill that passed the House, that every single one of you stood against, I will veto it. for Dingell-Gaukle

3rd, Education -- saving public schools. USA has best college in world, now must make public schools best in world. Smaller classes; 100,000 teachers; modernization; connecting schools to Internet, summer and afterschool opportunities.

4th, Environment. No riders that cripple wildlife protection & put roads through wilderness. Safe & clean drinking H20. Toxic cleanup. Community right-to-know. I in reunion for CD. Boehlert.

Social Security, patients' rights, public schools, a clean environment. That is our message -- and that is our mission. When people ask you what's at stake in the 1998 elections -- when they ask you why they should bother to vote in an off-year, low turnout election. You tell them what's at stake. You tell them Democrats are the party of Social Security, patients' rights, public schools and a clean environment. Four strong pillars that we can build a majority on.

While we choose progress, GOP chooses partisanship. GOP ldrshp killed tobacco, trying to kill camp fin reform. Partisan measure on the census -- I believe all Americans must be counted.

Because of our record, our message, our agenda, and our unity, we have a chance to make history and win back the House. As VP said, we are working very hard with DCCC and all of you to do that. Let's take our message to the American people and we will make history in November. Great history, [illegible]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: One America for the 21st Century (6 pages)	06/14/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
Suggested Outline for Reconciliation Speech

2006-0469-F
db3395

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]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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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]

Draft: 6/9/97 5:30 pm **PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON**
ONE AMERICA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT SAN DIEGO
JUNE 14, 1997

It is great to be in a place that looks like America.

[acknowledgments] Thank you for inviting me here today and thank you for offering our nation a shining example of diversity and strength. Here at UCSD, whites, Asian-Americans, Latinos, African Americans and Native Americans learn and live side by side. You have produced 12 Nobel Laureates, born in 9 different countries. You're so diverse, you even have a surfing doctor on your faculty. Your diversity, along with your excellence in science and technology, and your emphasis on the Pacific Rim and Latin America, make you one of the most forward looking universities in the nation.

When I first became President I said I had three great goals to prepare America for the new century. I wanted to create a country where the American Dream of opportunity was alive for all Americans, where America was coming together as a responsible community, not being divided, and where we continued to be the world's leading force for peace and freedom.

Unemployment is at the lowest level in 24 years. Our economy has created more than 12 million new jobs. Our society is becoming more cohesive. We had the biggest drop in crime in 36 years last year. We are seeing an historic drop in the welfare rolls and we are putting in place an effective welfare-to-work strategy. We have made significant progress in reconciling our differences as a society.

Lincoln told us a house divided - life

Taylor Verner

We have made all this progress, but there is one thing that could hold us back -- racial and ethnic divisions. Nothing can hold us back more than these divisions; nothing can give us more strength than if we come together.

I have come here today to set out the work that we must do as a people -- and that you must take on as your mission -- to guarantee America's prosperity, freedom and future, but most of all, to ensure that in the next century, we will be the greatest multi-racial, multi-ethnic democracy the world has ever known. The great civil rights leader, W.E.B. Du Bois, predicted that race would be the number one problem of the 20th Century. And, in many ways he was right. At times, in this century, in flames and in anger, racial conflict almost consumed us. And it was only during those times of crisis that we faced this issue squarely. Now, at a time of great hope, there is no crisis. Now is the ~~moment to forestall future crises~~ time to address. Our great and growing diversity ~~must~~ will not be the number one problem of the 21st century. ~~To the contrary,~~ it ~~must~~ can be our great promise. We will only make it so if we are willing to learn from each other, talk to each other and take action.

Beginning today, I want to lead the American people in a great and unprecedented conversation about race. I have asked one of America's greatest scholars, Dr. John Hope

the only thing America

by 1 - new version
Shared values - shared responsibility
NOT A Person to Waste - Patriotism - Civic - race is big stumbling

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Franklin to chair an advisory panel of distinguished Americans. [OTHER NAMES]

We will examine the stereotypes and the facts – the myths and the reality – that hold us apart. We will ask Americans to talk to one another, at four town meetings that I will conduct over the next year. And in one year's time, I will report directly to the American people about what I have found and what we must do.

This is a significant undertaking for me and for this nation. But there is no moral question more fundamental and no endeavor more important for the President of the United States ~~to undertake at this time~~.

Let us all agree: Racism and prejudice are wrong. They have been wrong whenever they have occurred in our history -- from the injustices heaped upon the Native Americans to the enslavement of Africans to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and the mistreatment of brown skinned migrant and farm workers. Prejudice and contempt aimed at newcomers to America have held us back time and again and they threaten us still.

I am a son of the South and the grandson of a man who taught me a valuable lesson at a young age. He allowed that yes, I was different than the black children who came into his small grocery store, but I was no better. But I could see that on the black side of town, streets were left unpaved. And segregation was legally sanctioned -- swimming pools, drinking fountains, public restrooms and movie houses -- separated white from black. I was 11 years old when President Eisenhower ordered troops into Little Rock so that 9 black children could integrate Central High. And when I was your age and in school in Washington, DC, Martin Luther King was killed and the streets exploded in flames. I will never forget the pain and anger I saw.

For more than two centuries, the curse of racism has been the greatest stumbling block to our progress. Our streets are not now on fire, but we must address this question of race and diversity now, because in the new century, the face of America will undergo a dramatic change. It has already begun.

There are already more people of Irish heritage in Massachusetts than in Dublin; more people of Italian heritage in New York City than in Palermo, Venice, Florence and Genoa. One-half century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, one out of every four people will be Latino. And it is entirely conceivable that a majority of the population will be African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans and other people of color.

Within the next three years, right here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up as much as half the state's population. There are now five school districts in this country where more than 100 languages are spoken by students. And the demand by newcomers to learn English is so great that some cities are conducting 'round the clock English as a second language classes and still the demand cannot be met.

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We must address this question now, as well, because this burgeoning diversity can be our greatest strength in the new century.

In the global economy, we will prosper through trade with every nation and every people on Earth. We are dynamic and open and that gives us a decided advantage over stagnant societies around the world. Ninety-five percent of the world's consumers lie outside our shores, and in the future we will earn our prosperity by selling abroad.

In the information age, our greatest resource will be the minds and talents of our people. We do not have a person to waste. I am proud that I have appointed more minority and women judges to the Federal bench than any other President. And far more of my judicial appointments have received the highest rating from the American Bar Association. We send the most diverse teams to the Olympics and bring home the most medals. Our armed forces are the best in the world, and they are also the most diverse. When our armed forces can patrol the streets of Sarajevo, Serbian-Americans and Croat-Americans serve side by side. And in a world bound ever more closely by currents of commerce and communication, America's diversity will be an example to the entire family of nations.

And we must address this question now not only because it can be our greatest strength but also because we know it can be our greatest weakness.

We still see prejudice all around us: The inability of a black man to hail a cab after dark downtown. The indignity of a Latina being followed around in a department store. The resentment toward Asian Americans who achieve. The assumption that someone who is poor and white is also not intelligent. Church burnings and hate crimes. Job and housing discrimination.

The great changes in our nation risk tearing open festering wounds. No country has ever gone through the kind of change in our ethnic makeup that the United States will undergo without facing major upheaval. With the end of the cold war, old hatreds and divisions are thawing. People who look the same and share a common history, nonetheless are trying to annihilate each other. Look at Chiapas, Chechnya, Rwanda. And consider the tensions in Northern Ireland, Bosnia, even next door in Canada. It falls to us to make sure this can never happen in America.

Progress is not inevitable; too often throughout our history, the tide of racial progress has come in, only to recede, leaving in its wake dashed hopes and shattered dreams.

You have a college here named after the great Thurgood Marshall. Thurgood Marshall led the fight to end segregation in America's public schools. It was 30 years ago yesterday that he became the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court. Justice Marshall buried the notion of "separate but equal," and the years have shown us that it was the right thing to do. But today, we are in danger of exhuming that failed policy from its grave with the elimination of

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affirmative action in higher education here in California and in Texas.

Proposition 209 is a bad deal for America. Just look at what it is doing to graduate school admission here in California. Last year there were 78 Latinos in the entering class at UC Berkeley Law School. This year half that number -- 39 were admitted. Last year there were 75 African Americans in that same class -- this year only 14. The same thing is happening in Texas as result of the Hopwood case.

This stunning drop is not because these students were not qualified; but because they did not feel welcome and many have already stopped applying here and in Texas. This is appalling. My fellow Americans, we say we believe in opportunity for all. Well, education is the key to that. And I tell you, we can never build the kind of future we want, if we slam shut the door of educational opportunity and resegregate higher education.

It is clear: the face of America is evolving. And, I will tell you, we cannot greet that fact with indifference; we cannot run away from it; we cannot retreat into racial and ethnic enclaves of isolation. And we cannot pretend that the changing face of America is invisible. We must look in the mirror and ask the question anew: What does it mean to be an American? How we answer that question will determine our future.

That is the question that John Hope Franklin and the other members of our advisory board will help me to study as we engage the American people in a year-long dialogue, to challenge our perceptions and to seek out the truth.

I will ask them, and the American people, to do two things at once. First, we must find ways to honor and celebrate our diversity. We no longer expect America to be a melting pot, where everyone blends into an indistinguishable mass. We know that our rich stew of cultures and backgrounds gives us a vitality and texture that no other country has.

But we also know that different groups in America at various times, have been labeled, ridiculed and mistreated. That is wrong. And it helps to explain why some groups have created their own subculture apart from the mainstream. In some cases this has been used to bolster wounded self esteem. But in other cases it has taken on the self destructive form of gangs and angry alienation. That is wrong too and it is not the kind of America that we want to leave to our children.

At the same time we respect diversity, we must with even greater fervor find ways to honor our unity -- we must find new ways to unite around our common creed. Being an American means accepting that we are not a nation united by a single race, or a single religion or even a single history. What unites us is the vision of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence -- the best models ever created by humankind for a fair, just and free society. Being an American means always trying to live up to those ideals. We have not always done that well, but we have never stopped trying and our people, even those who have

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

suffered the most, have never lost faith that these ideals would produce a better day.

We cannot simply honor diversity -- and we cannot simply demand unity. All too often, people of goodwill insist on focusing on those things that unite us, without first acknowledging those ties of ethnicity, religion or race that give our country its marvelous variety. That is a mistake we cannot make. In 1997, and the century to come, we must honor our diversity if we are ever to forge a new unity.

We have grappled with this before. Thirty years ago, the Kerner Commission said that we were two nations, one black, one white, separate and unequal. Today, we are in danger of becoming many nations, separate, unequal and isolated. Yes, we may live closer together, but our hearts are still too far apart.

That is why our Advisory Board will take a hard look at some hard questions: Does the criminal justice system treat whites and minorities differently? Are there still barriers to equal housing? What must we do to make sure all our citizens, especially in our urban and rural areas are benefitting from the extraordinary prosperity most of America enjoys? What steps can we take to eliminate the glaring disparities in education and health care?

I have always believed that a strong economy, that is producing jobs and lifting everyone up, is the best way to help every American live to his or her fullest potential. Today, that means passing a balanced budget that is in balance with our values. It means increasing our investment in education. And it means demanding more personal responsibility and more of a partnership between government, citizens and all sectors of society.

We also must remain vigilant in our fight against discrimination. We must enforce our laws and make sure they are applied equally and fairly.

And finally, we must do something together that may sound simple, but it is not. We must talk to each other.

Today, discriminatory laws have been torn down. More of us are working together, living side-by-side, even intermarrying than ever before. But we know that stereotypes -- some ugly, some benign, but all destructive -- still keep us apart. We know that there are two or three or more ways of looking at the world and at each other. We know that blacks and whites can look at the same event and see two different things; hear the same remark and hear two different meanings.

We have talked at each other and about each other. It is high time we begin talking with each other. We need a great national conversation about race and diversity to acknowledge frankly those things that divide us, precisely so we can move beyond them to those things that unite us.

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I know that honest dialogue will not be easy at first. It may open wounds, but that is how we begin the healing so that we may move past them and live in unity.

Let's start with the truth. To whites, I say, do not pretend there is no prejudice. We will never get beyond this problem, unless we first acknowledge its existence.

To the grandchildren of European immigrants: Do not pull up the ladder from the new immigrants who come here for the same reason and with the same values as your ancestors.

To minorities, especially young black and Hispanic men and women: Do not let real or imagined racism cause you to retreat into enclaves of anger and isolation.

To the media, both news and entertainment: understand that your depictions of people can either ~~set~~ or explode stereotypes. ~~Do not take that power lightly.~~ Use that power wisely.

And to all Americans; do not use prejudice and discrimination as an excuse for lawlessness, hatred or self-destruction. It is not racist to insist that our immigration laws be obeyed. Racism is no excuse for black on black crime any more than it is for white on white crime.

What is needed is ~~not~~ another commission, issuing yet another report. This time, the President will lead the effort. This time, the panel will recruit local leaders to engage their communities in this great national dialogue. This time, it will be the responsibility of the President to report to the nation in about one year's time.

What do we want from all this? If we achieve nothing more than talk, that will be too little. If we propose nothing but policy ideas that are merely small gestures along the way, that will be too little. But if 10 years from now, people can look back and see that America's commitment to our ideals was renewed and reinvigorated and that the post-Martin Luther King generation finally shouldered its fair burden in this historic struggle, then this effort will have been a success.

From our earliest days, America has been a beacon to the world. For two centuries, on every continent, people struggling for freedom looked to see if our "great experiment" would succeed. Over the past century, we have taken our greatest strides when we knew the whole world was watching. Today with American ideas and ideals ascendent, with racial and ethnic hatreds flaring around the globe, once again, we must be a beacon, we must be that last great hope for ~~the~~ mankind. America's best days lie ahead. We have what it takes to be the greatest multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-religious democracy the world has ever known -- a place where differences are not merely tolerated, but celebrated. We cannot be many Americas. We must be One America. We are One America.

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Waldman to Carolyn, Don, Mark; RE: Structure of "Family Values" Speech (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14451

FOLDER TITLE:
[Glendale Community College - 1996] [3]

2006-0469-F
db3396

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

To: CAROLYN, Don, Mark
FR: Waldman
SUBJECT: Structure of "family values" speech

Great to be at comm college — they are building block for society: family. helping community

- ~~opportunity & responsibility~~
- ~~college tuition thing~~

~~Families face enormous pressures in modern world.~~
- ~~hours/work ... less time to~~ be with kids.
- ~~bombardment with advertising & bad influences~~
- crime/violence
- ~~general threat to values, right&wrong~~

Our mission must be to come together as a community to help families. That's the only way to do it -- all of us acting together. Families ~~should~~ shouldn't have to feel

(1) How's fmla + heart + truism
(2) We have acted to help families raise their children in this new era.

- ~~fmla~~
- v chip
- smoking /// some stuff from what Calif has done, for Peter Jennings special
- ~~school~~ uniforms/curfews/~~school violence~~
- ~~religion in schools/character???~~ → anti drug!! — drugs + guns

Now we must do more

- need a national commitment - a rededication - to helping families and helping them raise their children

- therefore, today, NEWS????

  if the news is Family Leave2, comptime then greater emphasis in speech on work as thing that makes it hard to have a good & sound family life

→ so today we announce

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