Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to Erskine Bowles, et al,; RE: Communications Planning on Budget (2 pages)	07/27/1995	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to Laura Tyson & Budget Strategy Group; RE: Open Communications/Message Strategy Issues (2 pages)	07/17/1995	P5
003. memo	Michael waldman to Budget Working Group; RE: Thematic Structure (1 page)	07/19/1995	P5
004. memo	Michael waldman to Budget Working Group; RE: Thematic Structure [duplicate of 003] (1 page)	07/19/1995	P5
005. memo	Michael waldman to Budget Working Group; RE: Thematic Structure [duplicate of 003] (1 page)	07/19/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
MS - 1995 Budget: Budget Message

2006-0469-F
db3398

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

July 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
LAURA TYSON
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
GENE SPERLING

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: COMMUNICATIONS PLANNING ON BUDGET

I think that the past week and a half -- the failures as well as the successes -- points the way for us to plan proactively for the remainder of this phase of the budget, and for the coming steps. As I see it, these stages are somewhat distinct.

I would like to have this discussed and agreed to -- or just agreed to without discussion! -- and then we can implement it.

1. Pre-recess

Stipulating that we are not going to break through cleanly with Presidential budget message events -- or that we will break through, when we do, in a way that we don't want (lectern-pounding, partisan, Old Democrat). Therefore, a heavy schedule of presidential public events doesn't make sense. However, we still do have some groundwork we need to lay in the overall message. This can be done in two ways:

a. *Presidential one-on-one interviews* -- He can cap the pre-recess period with interviews with key media. He will get hit with Bosnia, etc., but still can control the budget message better and more fully than in any other format. (Julia Moffet has talked to the press office, who point out that he has never done a one-on-one with Ann Devroy; perhaps this is the opportunity.)

b. *Elite validator op-eds.* We still need to reinforce with the elites that we have a responsible balanced budget plan. We will ensure that these are prepared, and that they systematically are shopped to the right national media outlets. (For this, we can use the cabinet/senior WH staff as well as Rohatyn-type outsiders, who are certainly fewer in number.)

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2. Recess

Recess is the time for concentrated retail politics -- members specific hits on draconian cuts in Medicare, education, environment, as well as matters of particular local concern (rural, urban, etc.).

a. *Education, Medicare, environment working groups.* These groups are already developing a distinct recess strategy, using cabinet, subcabinet, regional op-eds, etc. (This is already underway through the district targeting process.) We need to make sure that the gears mesh.

b. *Paid media.* I gather there is some interest in paid media. If we can find the funds, that is worth doing, since the other side will be up with paid media. However, this should not involve a huge expenditure -- the purpose should be to show that we are in the fight, and to generate secondary free media off the paid media.

This requires a high-level decision about resources and who should do the ads.

3. September

Press interest in the budget will be at its height in September, as the train wreck looms. We must begin now to plan a concentrated series of events and messages for the post-Labor Day period. Mark Gearan can help pull this process together (now that he's all testified-out).

a. *Presidential events on budget contrasts/priorities.* The issue groups should be directed to plan at least one big event each around the first two weeks post Labor Day. The back-to-school theme is obviously relevant, but that won't sustain more than a day or two.

b. *Press/communications strategy for "train wreck."* We can increase the pressure on the Republicans -- without directly involving the President -- by researching and putting out the consequences of a government shutdown/debt limit debacle. This should be done calmly, routinely, ministerially if possible. (For example, if notices have to be sent out in advance of layoffs, closures, etc.) A carefully thought-through leak strategy is needed.

c. *Some sort of "big play" showing we want consensus/common ground.* We should ponder public events or messages that demonstrate our willingness to come to common agreement with the GOP. (Beyond a "summit.") For example, doing another town meeting -- with Dole too -- on the budget. Or whatever.

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July 17, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR LAURA TYSON & BUDGET STRATEGY GROUP

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: OPEN COMMUNICATIONS/MESSAGE STRATEGY ISSUES

Overview

Our communications strategy is undercooked at present. However, we should assume for the moment that this is the message structure:

a. The President has introduced a balanced budget.

b. Contrast. The President has a balanced budget that is good for the middle class; the Republicans have a balanced budget that benefits the special interests.

- Medicare
- taxes
- education and training

c. The President wants to be responsible and protect the public; they want to foment a "train wreck" in the interest of their extreme ideology.

Assume, as well, that these messages should -- to the extent possible -- be presented to the public seriatim. In other words, *a.* before *b.*, *b* before *c*. Finally, we should agree that we need some message discipline so that some of our message breaks through. If we try and rope everything in to being part of the "budget," then nothing will pierce the din.

Open issue one: Monday, 7/24 speech

There is an available spot for a message hit on Monday, July 24. The options are:

a. A "reintroduction" of the Clinton Balanced Budget. I believe that we need to "reintroduce" the budget, to deepen the impression that the President does, in fact, have a real live balanced budget proposal. (After all, he only gave one 5 minute speech, and then dropped it. The only reason people think we have a balanced budget is because the Democrats yelled at us.) This is an opportunity

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to once again lay out the budget, with charts, etc., preferably with a news hook -- and to thereby signal the press, elites and interest groups that a campaign is starting. *I strongly recommend this option. Otherwise, we will be off to the races, zapping the Republicans for cutting spending, without establishing our own bona fides.*

b. Meat inspection/consumer safety. Meat safety and consumer protection/environmental issues are wounding the Republicans. This would be an opportunity to once again hit them. We could, for example, have an event with E.-coli families.

This has been a major public relations problem for Senator Dole, whose bill has been assaulted for weakening food safety.

However, the President just did the radio address on this subject. As per Gene Sperling, I believe that it makes more sense to broaden this to a "they are for the special interests, I am for public health/consumer protection/environmental safety" indictment. The meat inspection issue will be stale by then (pun intended).

However, I just don't think this is a major or logical part of our budget message. I am all for a speech like this, but I think if we have an optional day, we should use it to set up the budget campaign.

Open issue two: Empowerment Zone event

On Wednesday, July 26, the President will be speaking at the Empowerment Zone event. The question is whether this should be framed as a budget hit ("the GOP budget is devastating to urban America"), or whether that detracts from the larger message discipline.

- It is a rare opportunity to give a message targeted to urban interests.

- However, it need not be framed as a budget message.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR BUDGET WORKING GROUP

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: THEMATIC STRUCTURE

As you know, our communications strategy is undercooked at present. However, we should assume for the moment that this is our message structure:

a. The President has introduced a balanced budget.

b. Contrast. The President's balanced budget is good for working families; the GOP's budget benefits the special interests.

- Medicare
- taxes
- education/training
- environment/consumers

(This list does not foreclose other issues being used. But in terms of the central messages for the President, these are my current thinking of the ones that work.)

c. Common ground. The President wants to be responsible and protect the public; the GOP wants to foment a "train wreck" in the interest of their extreme ideology.

We should assume, as well, that these issues are best presented seriatim -- i.e., that we need to remind people that we have a balanced budget before we attack their cuts; we need to persuade the public that they should root for our budget before the public will care about the train wreck.

Finally, we need to have some discipline. Not everything is budget!

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1995

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Education - K-12 Reform, Technology, Literacy, Construction (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
MW [Michael Waldman] Policy Planning Notes - 2nd Term

2006-0469-F
db3399

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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Amend ESEA to promote charter schools. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act could be amended to make significant federal money available to states with effective charter school enabling laws. (This is another Galston idea.)

Technology Literacy Challenge. This year's budget agreement includes funding for the first $200 million of our $2 billion proposal. If we want to meet our five year $2 billion goal, we will have to fight for it. (See note.) below

America Reads legislation. This proposal would combine a five-year $1 billion increase in National Service with legislation that would mandate 30,000 volunteer coordinators and reading specialists to lead our "volunteer army" of one million tutors. Additionally, we could enact legislation to require that half of new work study funds go to public service jobs, and at least 100,000 new jobs go to tutoring young children.

School Construction Initiative. Authorize $5 billion over four years, and achieve full funding for $2 billion immediately.

Executive Actions

We are working on additional executive actions, including the development of Department of Education guidelines on teacher removal, charter schools and the development of benchmark achievement tests, perhaps modeled on the international eighth grade math and science test. One avenue worth exploring is whether the federal government would be able to demonstrate its commitment to higher standards (and the commitment it expects all states to adopt) in one of the first sets of public schools federally-controlled schools on Military bases. One very important area where we could make a big difference is on the subject of

Bully Pulpit

With limited federal resources and without the relevant legal authority over state-run education systems, it is difficult for the President to affect state education reform. And yet, there is clearly a national need, especially in today's global economy. The key is to find a way to mobilize the states and relevant actors (parents, teachers, community organizations, etc.) towards common reform goals and to be able to show progress towards meeting them.

A model for action.

Since World War II, there has been a model for bringing about national reform through the passage of uniform state laws. Specifically, the Uniform Commercial Code (and other codes) was based on the recommendation of a blue-ribbon panel of experts, and then, through a nationwide crusade, was adopted by the 50 states so that there was national standards applied locally.

Applicable to education reform.

A similar model could be applied to education reform, with the President as the motivating force. Though we might not need a commission, we could arrive at a school reform package that would include the significant priorities most experts agree would bring about K-12 reform. The President would mount a crusade throughout the states, delivering a comprehensive K-12 reform speech to state legislatures in carefully selected states and attempting to mobilize through PTAs, student groups, teacher groups and others, the momentum to enact reform.

carefully selected

Textbooks -- which need to be based on more on general standards of excellence. The market power of

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At the February NGA meeting after the State of the Union, this effort could be kicked off through consultation with governors and others, ~~challenge states to pass comprehensive reform, and work with business community~~ to provide statewide classroom Internet access.

This national effort ~~might~~ also include:

A strong and persistent effort to significantly increase parental involvement in the education of children, perhaps setting a national goal for the year 2000.

Identification with successful reform efforts: Meet with General Becton and the new D.C. Board of Trustees, Mayor Daley to discuss his takeover of the Chicago schools and Mayor Giuliani to discuss partnerships with parochial schools.

A tough, centrist speech to the NEA: criticize private school vouchers that would undermine ~~our~~ public schools, condemn teacher bashing, but at the same time, call for charter schools, public choice, teacher testing and easier removal processes. Enlist the NEA's help, as the most important education group in America, to accomplish real reform.

A meeting with college presidents who will commit a significant number of work study students to work as reading tutors. Possible State of the Union announcement that 50 college presidents have committed 50,000 work-study students.

Net Days around the country: Bringing together businesses, community groups, schools, teachers, parents and students to connect classrooms to the Internet. (See note)

Political Considerations

If we attempt to pass federal school reform, Republicans are likely to insist on a private school voucher provision. If such a provision guarantees a veto, federal legislation will be very difficult. Additionally, some elements of our ideal reform package ~~our~~ guaranteed to face organized opposition.

Note: The technology literacy components of this plan will ultimately be part of a larger technology agenda being prepared by Greg Simon and others in the Vice President's office.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	From Gene Sperling; RE: Notes on Legacy Criteria/Key Issues (2 pages)	11/24/1996	P5
002. memo	Rahm Emanuel to the President; RE: Domestic Policy (4 pages)	11/12/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
Second Term Policy Planning Group Memos

2006-0469-F
db3326

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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November 24, 1996

From: Gene Sperling
Subject: Notes on Legacy Criteria/Key Issues

Below I have tried to consider some criteria for considering Presidential legacies. Using the criteria laid out here, I have tried to identify a few key areas that I believe are worthy of being designated as legacy goals. Note that there may be many other things that are critical public policies that should be on our action and legislative agendas, but the issues below is a start at seeking to narrow those measures that we may want to focus on a legacies.

CRITERIA:

1) **Important and Transforming:** In the context of today's challenges, is the legislation, the progress, or the theme important and potentially transforming?

2) **Achievable:** Is significant progress achievable -- even if it is only changing perceptions?

3) **Memorable and Identifiable:** If the issue is "legacy," then we must consider whether it is something that is memorable and can be identified with the President?

WHAT CAN CONSTITUTE A LEGACY?

1) **Major Legislative Achievement**: Clearly, acts like the civil rights legislation or the Marshall Plan can themselves be significant legacies.

   - **Structural over Incremental**: Several people mentioned that the structural is more likely to be remembered than the incremental.

2) **Major Progress on a Key Challenge of the Time:** If a President is seen as identifying a major challenge to the extent they are identified as leading a national movement in an area.

3) **Representation of a Movement or Overall Theme:** Optimism, service, new frontier, centrism, are all examples of possible themes or movements.

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IMPORTANCE OF DETERMINING LEGACY:

Helps Us Focus On How We Define Ourselves As Well As On What We Do: Our policy actions will be driven by our commitments and what is important public policy. Our sense of legacy, however, can help focus how we define ourselves, organize our efforts, and communicate what we do. For example, if there is a potential for a major banking crisis, we, of course, should take the necessary policy action. We may choose, however, not to stress it if it has no connection to a memorable legacy. Or, if we know that "restoring fiscal integrity for the 21st century" is a legacy item, than we can try to organize and define and communicate our banking efforts as part of this restoring fiscal integrity legacy -- instead of as a commercial banking legacy.

Focus Allows Us to Pile On With Other Actions: If we know early on that we want a certain theme or issue to be our legacy, we will be able to constantly look for additional measures, statements, symbols, and executive actions, that we can pile on to further the legacy both substantively and in the minds of the American people.

Four Years of Bully Pulpit and Focus Can Go Along Way: If we agree on a few specific legacy themes early on in our legacy development process -- and commit to them -- we can make significant progress through our consistency. A well articulated theme on "service" or "no more social promotions" or the "importance of universal college month after month" in four State of the Union speeches, the inaugural and other national events will be useful in identifying the President with key legacy themes. Clearly, that will not be enough if there is not serious accomplishment, but it provides the public with a framework to look at what we are doing and to identity the President with those specific efforts.

> **Selectivity is Key:** We must exert the discipline to narrow our focus down to a few areas. If too many themes are stressed, the President's overall legacy message will become unclear and we will not achieve the high level of consistency and repetition we need.

How We Define our Aspirations Can Be Critical In the Initial Perception of Our Legacy: We must consider how to define our legacy aspirations in terms of "achievable impact." If we define a legacy aspiration too broadly, we will never be able to show documentable progress and therefore may fail to dramatize the powerful impact the President had on national awareness or on key aspects of the goal. For example, if we had defined our health care aspiration as a means to inform Americans of the importance of cost awareness, our efforts might now be seen as having been more successful.
On the other hand, one could focus so specifically, that failure on one specific measure could detract and distract from the President's larger effort in leading a national movement. Another example is urban economic development. If we focus on moving people from welfare to work, the difficulty of the challenge as well as the lack of knowledge as to what works, may mean that we are directing the nation's attention to a specific goal that is hard to reach and/or difficult to document the President's success in a four year period. On the other hand, we might be seen as making more progress on a larger goal like bringing new capital to the inner city -- through welfare to work and Community Development Banks and Empowerment Zones and CRA.

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001. memo	Rahm Emanuel to the President; RE: Domestic Policy (4 pages)	11/12/1996	P5
002. memo	Nancy-Ann Min to Bruce Reed, Don Daer; RE: Ideas for Second-Term Health Initiatives (9 pages)	11/23/1996	P5
003. memo	Guy Smith to the President; RE: Communications Strategy: Iinauguration and Beyond (6 pages)	12/11/1996	P5
004. memo	Dan Tarullo to Don Baer; RE: Second-Term Agenda - International Economic Leadership (5 pages)	11/27/1996	P5
005. memo	Bill Galston to Don Baer, et al.; RE: Education Policy in the Second Term (2 pages)	11/25/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
Second Term Legacy

2006-0469-F
db3327

RESTRICTION CODES

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

November 23, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED
DON BAER

FROM: Nancy-Ann Min NAM

RE: Ideas for Second-Term Health Initiatives

As you requested, I'm forwarding some ideas for health initiatives the President might want to consider for the second term. Under the theme of "Building a Healthier America", I've grouped them into two categories: (1) first-term initiatives that should be refined, strengthened, and re-proposed; and (2) possible new initiatives. I hope the result is helpful.

I've been telegraphic in some instances and will be happy to offer more details if you need them.

First-Term Initiatives That Should Be Refined, Strengthened, and Re-Proposed

1. Preserving Medicare for the Future

- Extend Short-Term Solvency: The very first thing the Administration must do is extend the short-term solvency of the Medicare Hospital Insurance (HI) Trust Fund beyond its current projected insolvency date of January 2001. To do this, the budget the President will submit to the Congress on February 1 must contain substantial savings and reform proposals, similar to the proposals that Congress refused to enact from the President's FY 1996 and FY 1997 budgets. Because we have lost two years from our original Balanced Budget Plan, the FY 1998 budget may require deeper Medicare savings if we are to extend the solvency of the Trust Fund to 2006 (i.e., ten years from 1996, which is the standard the President set in June 1995).

  While our earlier submissions contained no "new" beneficiary savings proposals, we should strongly consider income-relating the Part B premium and dedicating the savings to extend the solvency of the HI Trust Fund. Every Medicare plan on the Hill last year except the Administration's contained some version of this policy; it has gained wide acceptance among provider groups and the elite media, and even most of the seniors'

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advocates. A policy similar to the one we advocated in the Health Security Act would charge beneficiaries with more than $90,000 in income ($115,000 for couples) a higher premium, affecting less than 3% of beneficiaries and saving an estimated $10 billion over five years.

- Lead the Effort to Solve Medicare's Long-Term Financing Problem: In his State of the Union address, the President should also make clear that he intends to lead the fight to save Medicare for the future. While the Republicans' whining about a "Mediscare" campaign strategy is mostly sour grapes, the fact is that the public trusts this President to take care of Medicare. Tackling this problem is not only the right thing to do; it will bolster our political credibility as well. The President should announce that his next priority, after extending the short-term solvency of the HI Trust Fund, is to work with Congress to create a bipartisan commission to address Medicare's longer-term financing problems.

2. Strengthening Medicaid's Safety Net

- Improve Medicaid: We should also make clear our commitment to preserving Medicaid and reforming it to make it more flexible and more accountable. This time last year, many in Washington were predicting that Medicaid would not survive as an entitlement to health care coverage for poor, disabled, pregnant women, and elderly Americans. Our refusal to budge on the entitlement--coupled with our willingness to reform the program--anchored the debate in the middle and led to an important victory: a broad-based, bipartisan commitment to preserving the entitlement.

  Although Medicaid spending appears to have slowed slightly, projected per capita growth rates remain higher than GDP, and analysts believe that spending could shoot up again as states attempt to fill the hole in their budgets left by welfare reform. This could bring a renewed assault on the program. Therefore, we should re-propose our plan to preserve the entitlement but reduce the rate of spending through (1) a cap linking growth in spending per beneficiary to growth in nominal GDP, and (2) more stringent constraints on spending for so-called disproportionate share hospitals.

  It will be difficult to achieve the same level of Medicaid savings that we had in the FY 1997 budget because of reductions in baseline projections, but we can still get substantial savings from a sound policy that builds on last year's proposal. Ignoring Medicaid (viewed as a free program for low-income people) when we are proposing large cuts from Medicare (viewed, in contrast, as a program that middle class people earn the right to participate in) opens us to political attack.

- Allow States to Expand Medicaid: In our first term, we approved 15 statewide Medicaid waivers that were mostly designed to allow states to move Medicaid beneficiaries to managed care (prohibited by Medicaid law, which requires that beneficiaries have

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"freedom of choice") and use the savings to cover more uninsured people, usually workers and their families. HHS estimates that more than 2 million Americans gained health coverage through these waivers.

We could build on this progress in a couple of ways: (1) review the waiver process to see if it could be streamlined beyond what we've already done; and/or (2) develop a template, drawing on our experience with the first 15 waiver states, that specifies some waiver designs that could be, in essence, "pre-approved" if they meet certain criteria. The second option would be very bold and I suspect that some in HHS (and probably my own staff at OMB) would object to it. But it offers a tremendous opportunity for the President to work with the states and show his leadership in an area he cares most about--providing health coverage to more Americans.

3. Helping Families Maintain Employer-Sponsored Coverage

- Challenge Congress to Enact Our Workers' Transition Initiative: Our FY 1996 and 1997 balanced budgets proposed a new capped entitlement providing states with funds to subsidize insurance for up to six months for workers and their families who are receiving unemployment compensation and who had employer-sponsored insurance while they were working. While insurance coverage is theoretically available to these people through COBRA, many of them cannot afford it. We estimate that this would cost around $2 billion a year and would assist as many as 3 million Americans. And in an age of job insecurity, it has broad demographic appeal.

  The President should call on Congress to enact this program this year, as the next logical step to the insurance reforms in the Kennedy-Kassebaum legislation.

4. Protect Consumers and Enhance Managed Care Quality

- Challenge Congress to Enact "Anti-Gag" Legislation: One of the most contested bills in the last Congress was the "Patient Right to Know Act," bipartisan legislation that responded to widespread concerns (manifested by cover stories in the newsweeklies) that health plans have been restricting physicians from advising patients about alternative treatments. It appeared that this legislation had a good chance of passing, but the managed care industry managed to slow it down at the last minute by getting the Catholic provider community agitated about possible abortion implications.

  More than fifteen states--including California, Georgia, Indiana, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania--have enacted similar legislation. In the statement issued by the White House following passage of the FY 1997 appropriations bill, we expressed regret that the "anti-gag" legislation was not enacted. The President could challenge Congress in his State of the Union address to enact this legislation.

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- Highlight Advisory Commission: Of course, the new Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry, created by Executive Order, will also be working to develop additional options to address other concerns about quality in managed care. Once it becomes clear where this is headed, we should consider staging hearings around the country to put a spotlight on the Administration's efforts to address consumers' concerns about being protected from the excesses of managed care.

Possible New Initiatives

1. Reverse the Trends in Youth Substance Abuse

- The Problem: Teen Drug Use Is Increasing--According to the Household Survey on Drug Abuse (August 1996), the rate of marijuana use among youths aged 12-17 has more than doubled from 1992-1996, from 3.4% to 8.2% (3.4% was an all-time low). There is also a strong correlation between tobacco use and other substance abuse--youths age 12-17 who smoke are about 8 times as likely to use illicit drugs and 11 times as likely to drink heavily as nonsmoking youths.

  Federal Role Is Unfocused--During the latter part of the campaign, charges that the Administration should be held responsible for the negative trend in youth substance abuse began to stick. While this is somewhat unfair (as General McCaffrey points out, the increase started before we arrived), it is true that things are getting worse on our watch. Further, while the Federal government is spending around $1.6 billion on anti-substance abuse activities (prevention and treatment), we don't have a great deal to show for it, partly because we have failed to adequately measure what the states are doing with the money we're giving them for prevention and treatment, mostly through block grants.

- A Solution: Go After a Clear, Achievable Goal--Goal #1 of our National Drug Control Strategy is to "motivate America's youth to reject illegal drugs and substance abuse." No wonder we haven't gotten beyond this fuzzy rhetoric. The President should articulate a clear objective--e.g., "Reverse the Trend toward Increasing Teen Substance Abuse" (i.e., by 2000, returning to the all-time low of a 3.4% rate of use among youths age 12-17, which would require us to achieve about a 1% reduction each year) and direct the Drug Council, led by General McCaffrey, to implement a strategy to achieve it.

  It will take a comprehensive strategy to make use of HHS' and other Federal resources to achieve this goal. It will require changing the national dialogue about illegal drugs and substance abuse, investing in more basic biomedical research on substance abuse, and targeted prevention and treatment initiatives throughout the agencies of the Public Health Service.

  Some of these efforts have already begun, and just need to be more effectively coordinated and highlighted, including:

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- FDA Tobacco Regulation Implementation--History will undoubtedly show that this is the most important thing we did to improve the health of Americans;

- SAMHSA "Synar Rule" Implementation--This rule became final in early 1996, and it requires that states prove that they have reduced the percentage of children who buy cigarettes by about 10% per year or lose SAMHSA funds;

- CDC Tobacco Control Activities--Our FY 1998 budget recommendation will include a substantial increase in these funds, go to states to promote nonsmoking among youth;

- SAMHSA Prevention and Treatment Activities--Our FY 1998 budget recommendation will include funding for SAMHSA to identify and replicate successful community-developed prevention programs and to coordinate a large-scale effectiveness study.

In addition, the initiative would include important new components:

- Aggressive Media Campaign to Change the National Dialogue--The best thing we have going for us is the President's ability to use the bully pulpit. We should stage an aggressive media campaign, led by the President, the Vice President, General McCaffrey, and prominent athletes and celebrities. Among other things, the President could promote corporate responsibility by calling on the major networks to provide more, and more desirable, air time for anti-drug abuse messages. Studies indicate that the frequency of anti-drug messages on television has fallen sharply since the mid-1980's, and also that having these messages appear during prime time is extremely important to their effectiveness.

- Challenge States to Crack Down on Substance Abuse--By the State of the Union, the plan the President requested from General McCaffrey and Secretary Pena to encourage states to make obtaining a driver's license subject to passing a drug test should be completed. The President should also renew his challenge to every state to pass "zero tolerance" laws for teen drinking and driving. Only thirteen states have laws prohibiting anyone under 21 from driving with alcohol in their blood.

  We should also consider whether the President should call on states to lower the legal limit for blood alcohol for drivers to 0.08 from the more common 0.10. There is evidence that in all but one of the states that have undertaken this measure, it has reduced deaths from drunk driving.

  We should also consider whether the President should kick off the initiative by inviting the nation's Governors to a "drug summit" to highlight our partnership with them in combating youth substance abuse and get their "buy-in" on the goal

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and our strategy.

- Invest in Research to Develop New Approaches to Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment--This year, NIH will spend approximately $700 million on research on causes of and treatments for drug abuse. As a result of recent scientific breakthroughs, we have moved closer to a quantum improvement in our ability to understand, prevent, and treat drug abuse. Although there is no guarantee that more research funding will produce specific results, increasing the Federal investment in substance abuse research has the potential to build on recent scientific discoveries and yield promising new ones. Therefore, we should consider devoting an additional $100 million or so to substance abuse prevention and treatment research.

- Consider Increasing the Tobacco Tax to Fund Anti-Substance Abuse Activities--I've suggested that our effort to stop underage smoking is our single most important health care accomplishment. It might be time to reconsider increasing the tobacco tax to fund additional anti-substance abuse activities. In addition to generating needed revenues, such a policy would also deter smoking--indeed, research indicates that a marginal increase in the cost of cigarettes has its greatest impact on teens. Some of the funding from the tobacco tax could be devoted to a subsidy/training program to help tobacco farmers shift to other ways of earning a living.

  Recall that we proposed a slight increase in the tobacco tax (around $.50/pack) in the Health Security Act, producing revenues of around $67 billion over 6 years.

2. Targeted Disease Prevention Initiatives

- Prevention Saves Lives and Saves Money: This is a classic "common ground" initiative that everyone believes and no member of Congress could vote against. Speaker Gingrich has been using this as one of the main themes of his recent speeches.

  I'd recommend that we pick one or two diseases--e.g., breast cancer, prostate cancer, diabetes--and launch a big public awareness campaign to make sure that all Americans are getting appropriate screening for early detection and treatment. There are a number of steps we can take to ensure that beneficiaries of our public health programs--Medicare, Medicaid, Indian Health Service, etc--are taking advantage of these benefits. In addition, we could use the bully pulpit to shame employers and health plans into covering these preventive tests.

  Increased Funding for Screening: We could combine the public awareness campaign with additional funding for states to provide free or low-cost screening to people who aren't covered by Medicare, Medicaid or private insurance. For example, CDC provides funds

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to states for breast and cervical cancer screening for low-income or uninsured women. That program has been increased substantially during our Administration and now is available in every state, but it is a formula grant and it does not meet all the need. We're spending around $175 million annually now and another $100 million would go a long way.

3. Require Immunizations as Condition of Federal Program Participation

- Build on Success of Comprehensive Immunizations Initiative: After a rough start, the Administration's immunizations initiative has been a major public health success, producing the highest immunizations levels of two year olds in history. But there are still pockets of children, including children receiving public assistance of some form, who are less likely to receive their immunizations. We've shown that immunizations are a public health priority by devoting more Federal funds to vaccine purchase and infrastructure, but we have not used our most significant leverage by requiring that all children who receive AFDC (now TANF), Food Stamps, WIC, Federal housing assistance, etc., be immunized.

  This idea has bipartisan support and was discussed early in our first term. Although Carol Rasco, Belle Sawhill, and I thought it was a good idea, HHS did not support it at that time. I have had conversations with the Secretary since then that lead me to think she might support the idea now, though she might be inclined to a "carrot" or incentive approach rather than requiring immunizations as a condition of receiving other benefits (i.e., giving mothers who get their kids immunized additional WIC vouchers rather than requiring them to show evidence of immunizations in order to continue participation in the program).

  A number of demonstrations of this concept have been conducted (notably in South Carolina and New York), and have shown that it increases immunization levels. It would also highlight the President's commitment to personal responsibility, consistent with our approach in welfare reform. We should require all states to adopt one of these strategies now. It is not, as some have argued, unfairly coercive: to believe that, you would have to believe that requiring children to be immunized to enter public schools, as all states do, is coercive.

4. Set a Goal of Developing an AIDS Vaccine by the Year 2000

- Vaccine is Possible: For some time now, AIDS researchers have been discouraging talk of an AIDS vaccine as something that could be achieved anytime in the near future. Recent informal discussions with NIH AIDS researchers suggest, however, that there is new optimism about the chances for an AIDS vaccine in the near term (say the next 5 years).

  We're spending approximately $1.5 billion annually on AIDS research at NIH. If there is real hope of developing and testing an AIDS vaccine on the horizon, we should consider a

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substantial infusion of new resources devoted to that research, with the President setting forth a national goal of making an AIDS vaccine available to all Americans by the end of the century (or by a date certain that the scientists are willing to embrace as a goal).

All the polling information I've seen suggests that the American people strongly support Federal funding for biomedical research, and that they believe that finding a cure for AIDS should be a top priority..

5. Set a Goal of Providing Health Coverage for All Children

- Reduce Number of Uninsured Children: Of the estimated 40 million Americans who are uninsured, some 10 million are children. Reducing the number of kids who lack health coverage is a goal no one could disagree with; the question is how we get there. The following are some of the ideas on the table; they could be pursued independently or in combination.

  - Provide Subsidies for Kids' Coverage--Congressional Democrats are considering an initiative to provide health insurance subsidies for children up to age 12 whose family income is under 240% of poverty. Our latest estimate is that such an approach would cost around $20 billion over five years; it would cover about 3 million children who are currently uninsured.

    There are some problems with this policy, not least of which is that it may have the perverse effect of encouraging employers to drop dependent coverage. Creating a new entitlement at the same time we are saying that balancing the budget is our top priority is also problematic. If we decide to pursue this proposal, we should consider financing it with an increase in the tobacco tax.

  - Increase Medicaid Coverage: HHS estimates there are about three million children who are eligible for Medicaid coverage but who are not enrolled in the program, and Secretary Shalala has in mind an outreach program to reach and enroll these kids. This is a good idea but will have to be pursued carefully, given that bringing these beneficiaries onto the Medicaid rolls will increase both Federal and state spending.

    States could also be encouraged to speed up the pace at which they are complying with the mandate to cover adolescents below 100% of poverty (under current law, coverage of 18 year olds does not become mandatory until 2002). In order to do this, we would probably need to offer states some financial incentive such as a higher matching rate (FMAP) for the new population.

    States also want--and they should have--the flexibility to provide less

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comprehensive benefits packages to children. Some governors have stated that they would gladly expand coverage to more children, but they want the option to design less expensive benefits packages rather than being mandated to offer the full array of current-law Medicaid benefits (organ transplants are often cited as an example of a mandated benefit that deters governors from extending coverage to optional children).

- Increase Funding for Community Health Centers and School-Based Clinics: We spend about $800 million annually on community and migrant health centers, which are supposed to serve primarily uninsured and low-income people. Presumably, a substantial percentage of the 10 million uninsured children live within a reasonable radius of a community health center. We should consider providing incentive grants to community health centers that serve the highest number of these children and/or develop the most innovative strategies to reach them.

  Community health centers have a great deal of support in Congress, and usually receive an additional $50 million or so every year. Tying next year's increase to a measurable increase in the number of uninsured children served would be relatively simple.

  We should also consider making a bigger investment in elementary school-based clinics (to avoid family planning issues) to provide uninsured children with basic primary care and prevention services. Funding could be provided through one of the education grant programs, with the design of the clinics to be decided on the local level.

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November 27, 1996

TO: Don Baer

FROM: Dan Tarullo

SUBJECT: SECOND-TERM AGENDA -- INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

The Goal and Its Significance

The economic well-being of the American people in the 21st century will be increasingly tied to the operation of the global economy -- market access for our goods and services, effective mechanisms to deal with common problems such as financial instability, and sustained growth in other parts of the world. In addition, our overall foreign policy goals often rely on our ability to influence deployment of international economic resources to buttress the economies of important countries subject to political instability. Hence the strong case for giving priority during the second term to American leadership in building the international economic institutions and arrangements of the 21st century.

Although I agree with those who have cautioned that choosing policy goals on the basis of what history will record is a potentially feckless exercise, it is worth noting that history ***does*** take note of U.S. action and inaction in the face of global economic challenges: FDR and Truman are credited with great foresight in laying the groundwork for the postwar international economic order (IMF, World Bank, GATT), while Harding and Hoover are berated for standing by while protectionism grew and financial instability increased in the interwar years. In this regard, it is important for us to note that the enormous energy and accomplishments of 1993-4 (NAFTA, GATT, APEC/Blake Island, Miami Summit) have not been sustained in the last two years. Moreover, our international economic leadership has been called into question not just for lack of follow-up, but for what much of the world perceives as U.S. threats to the system -- e.g., Helms-Burton and our large arrears to international organizations.

When the President hosts his G-7 counterparts at the Denver Summit in June, his international leadership will be a prime focus of attention. Denver presents a great opportunity to project his leadership and to move ahead an agenda for the 21st century global economy. It also poses a risk of highlighting ways in which we have failed to lead. Seizing the opportunity at Denver requires that we begin to take steps now: last minute fixes or initiatives will not be sufficient.

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Parameters of The Agenda

A few words about the three factors you mentioned for assessing the viability of priority goals for the second term:

Minimum-Maximum Agenda: Because there is a range of problems and possibilities in the world economy, and because no one believes all can be solved or realized in the next four years, we have some flexibility in reasserting our international economic leadership. Thus the policy aims identified below need not all be accomplished for us to have a very successful run in the next four years.

Executive-Congressional Continuum: As usual in the international economic arena, there is a sequential interplay between Executive and Congressional action. We need authority to negotiate and appropriations from the Hill, but we basically determine the timing and scope of initiatives, negotiations, etc. A number of possible initiatives do not directly depend on Congressional action, although it is obvious that adverse Congressional reaction could threaten those initiatives.

There is also a continuing opportunity -- need, actually -- for the President to use his public pulpit to lead the American people to at least acquiesce in the policies we pursue. The anxieties of some Americans in the face of the global economy are very real, if sometimes a bit exaggerated when measured against the facts of our economy. The President should continue delivering the message he articulated in From Hope to History, and at several points during the campaign -- that our economic future depends on success in the global economy, that we should be confident in our ability to do so, but that we have to equip all our people to profit from it.

Political Costs: There is no doubt that obtaining fast-track negotiating authority will require expenditure of some political capital. So too, if we make enough progress with China to proposed permanent application of MFN treatment, costs will be entailed. However, we should remember that precisely because the President stood firm in the face of opposition to NAFTA and the GATT Uruguay Round, he derived substantial political benefits as well. While judicious selection of aims and timing of initiatives are important, we cannot shrink from everything that may be unpopular in some quarters -- important changes rarely command unanimity.

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The Agenda

Pre-Denver Steps

-- *Obtain Fast-Track Negotiating Authority*: This would be the surest way to signal the rest of the world that the President has the tools to be activist in the international economic arena in the next four years. Ideally we would have the authority in hand by Denver; at the least legislative prospects for granting that authority would seem good

-- *Clear Arrears to International Financial Institutions*: The President has committed himself to this goal, specifically for the International Development Association of the World Bank (IDA). However, our request was slashed by the Congress last year. High-level attention to this item is important this year. We are subject to vocal criticism from virtually the entire world on failing to meet commitments we have assumed -- several G-7 sherpas have told me that their leaders held back on this issue during the President's reelection year, but will be outspoken if we do not solve the problem this year.

-- *Manage Helms-Burton Disputes*: It is hard to see this issue being resolved in any final sense, but it is important that it not be an open wound at Denver.

Policy Objectives

Some of the following could be launched or highlighted prior to, or at, Denver. Others may await later attention. Note that even items which are not strictly relevant to the G-7 will enhance the President's international leadership and thus his stature at Denver.

-- *Chile Into NAFTA*: Our failure to get fast-track negotiating authority to accomplish this seemingly modest goal has become the symbol of U.S. inaction in global economic matters.

-- *FTAA Progress:* Our inability to move on Chile has also handicapped our ability to influence the direction and pace of progress towards a Free Trade Area of the Americas. The goal in the next four years should be tangible further progress, either through accession of more countries to NAFTA or negotiation of hemisphere-wide agreements in certain areas as stepping stones to a full FTAA.

-- *Lead China into the WTO*: This is already a high priority. If successful in the next six months (an uncertain prospect), we may also be aiming for elimination of the

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annual Congressional review of most-favored-nation-treatment for China.

-- *Africa Initiative*: Precisely because immediate commercial benefits to the U.S. would be limited, our leadership on an international trade and economic initiative for Africa would do much to reestablish U.S. credibility with the developing world and the international institutions on a range of issues. Interestingly, the domestic politics of an Africa initiative are pretty good -- both Democrats (Rangel, McDermott) and Republicans (Gingrich) have expressed interest.

-- *Sustained APEC Momentum:* After the visionary statements of Blake Island, Bogor, and Osaka, this year's summit started what will be the hard work of getting real progress in reducing trade and investment barriers in APEC. We will not have huge accomplishments in any given year, but if we sustain our efforts in each of the next four, it is likely that a decade from now APEC will be judged a success.

-- *Promote Integration of Asian Countries into European-Dominated International Organizations*: In everything from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to the Bank for International Settlements, small European countries -- often abetted by their larger European Union partners -- try to keep Asian countries out in order to preserve their waning influence. It is in our interest to move some of these economically important countries into these limited membership international organizations, and will be regarded by Asia as a sign that we have a truly global perspective. [N.B. By and large, we can do this without Congressional approval.]

-- *Rationalize International Environmental Activities*: While not strictly an economic issue, this does have enormous economic implications -- the measures under consideration to combat global warming are one good example. Yet the international organization of environmental issues is a hopeless tangle of activities. Denver provides both an opportunity to rationalize these and to exert some influence on the substantive directions of those activities.

-- *Global Cooperation to Counter Shared Problems/Threats*: The President's global agenda (contra international crime, terrorism, nuclear safety and security concerns, etc., is an accomplishment that, on its own, should be consolidated at Denver. However, the need for such cooperation reaches into the more narrowly economic sphere as well -- dealing with international threats to banking safety, with international cartels, etc. We are already pursuing cooperative initiatives in a number of these areas. Whether at Denver

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or elsewhere, we should raise the profile of these efforts, because together they can constitute a sustained effort to equip the nations of the world to protect their peoples from both physical and economic harm in the new circumstances of the global economy.

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November 25, 1996

TO: Don Baer
Bruce Reed
Michael Waldman

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: Education policy in the second term

Bill Clinton has the opportunity to set American education on the path to excellence; it is impossible to imagine a finer legacy. But as I indicated last week, this goal is unattainable unless he addresses the tough questions concerning elementary and secondary education, not just higher education. (The reasons and supporting data are neatly summarized in the attached Kondracke piece: in short, educational progress has stalled.)

At a minimum, the President should work toward two goals for his second term:

1. By the year 2000, every state should enact meaningful charter school legislation.

2. By the year 2000, every state should adopt specific, rigorous academic standards in core subjects and implement exams in these subjects that students must pass in order to graduate from high school.

The following are steps the President could take to promote these goals, in increasing order of difficulty.

1. Announce these goals in his 1997 State of the Union address.

Political cost: the President would be criticized by those (most Republicans, some Democrats, large numbers of state and local officials) who believe that the federal role in elementary and secondary education should be highly circumscribed, and by groups at the national level (including many of our staunch supporters) who are unenthusiastic about charter schools and tests with teeth.

2. Go on a national tour of state legislatures to promote these goals.

Political cost: the President would be exposed to a range of unpredictable and uncontrollable responses, particularly in the 30+ states with Republican governors.

3. Convene annual White House meetings to promote these goals and assess progress toward meeting them.

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Political cost: These meetings might highlight the lack of progress, and they could be boycotted or sabotaged by the President's political adversaries.

4. Propose repealing the legislative language that prevents the use of Goals 2000 funds for developing and implementing high stakes tests.

Political cost: The urban-based legislators who led the charge against meaningful testing in 1993-94 would probably do so again, and Republicans who have never liked Goals 2000 might renew their efforts to kill it.

5. Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to make significant federal seed money available to states whose enabling laws do not impose crippling restrictions on charter schools.

Political cost: Teachers' unions are the principal backers of restrictions on charter schools and would resist new incentives for states to avoid or eliminate such restrictions.

6. Amend Goals 2000 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide substantial bonuses for states that institute rigorous standards and graduation exams, and penalties for states that don't.

Political cost: Unless overall funding were substantially increased, this proposal would trigger a major formula fight that would be hard to win.

7. Amend the Higher Education Act to make passing rigorous graduation exams a precondition for receiving most federal post-secondary grants and loans.

Political cost: While this proposal would almost certainly have a dramatic positive effect on both state policy and student performance, urban-based legislators and the higher education establishment would wage total war to defeat it.

In sum: the "bully pulpit" options entail modest costs and (in all probability) modest payoffs. The legislative options would all be tough slogging. Options 4 and 5 might be doable with total presidential commitment; options 6 and 7 might not be feasible, even with such a commitment. The President must decide how much political capital he wants to invest in break-the-mold efforts to overcome the forces of education inertia and renew progress (now stalled) toward excellence

One thing is clear: the time for educational happy talk is over. Without decisive presidential leadership, we will not come close to meeting any of the national education goals by the end of Bill Clinton's second term.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Karen Tramontano to Paul Glastris; RE: Some Medicare Language (1 page)	08/02/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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Michael Waldman
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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]

Karen Tramontano 08/02/99 12:49:11 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Paul D. Glastris/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: some Medicare language...

yes, that's good

also, they liked the president's remarks at the dnc labor dinner --- i am looking for the transcript right now -- i think it was monday evening -- a week ago --- although it seems like 2 weeks ago --

here's my thoughts on what they want:

1. I think the president should thank them for the constancy of their support and their willingness to put up significant resources when most needed and when others are hanging back -- (Gerry's not right in that this is the first time the president will see these guys because about 1/2 to 2/3 of them were at the dnc labor dinner)

2. the president should make a very strong pitch for his medicare proposal and an even stronger pitch for an all out mobilization -- he needs to tell them what's at stake --

3. i think they have laid out a good rif of everything we have accomplished together -- i'd add changes to procurement to the list

4. i agree we need to work in the mfg sector job decline -- but we will not talk about a thorough review of our trade policy -- we're not going to do that because the president believes one of the reasons mfg jobs are down is because exports are way down -- so i think we cannot avoid the topic -- he must say he is concerned, that we will begin a process to figure out the causes and develop the policy recommendations to reverse the trend -- he may want to talk abit about 1992 -- when he focused on increases mfg sector -- i think that resulted in an additional 750,000 mfg jobs -- we need to focus on this and reverse the trend line --

5. i like the importance of his veto, in maintaining a pro-family, pro-worker agencda fmla -- workers a right to choose a voice on the job --- laying out what is at stake for working families

does this help?

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to Tacoma Community [pages 3-5] (3 pages)	09/19/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on Child Support Enforcement [pages 2-3] (2 pages)	07/22/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on Child Support Enforcement [pages 2-3] (2 pages)	07/22/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to the People of Ft. Worth (1 page)	09/27/1996	P5
005. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks to Southern Governors Ass'n [pages 1, 14, 15, 17] (4 pages)	09/10/1996	P5
006. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Labor Day Rally Green Bay [pages 2-8] (7 pages)	09/02/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
Speech Drafts with POTUS Notes [1]

2006-0469-F
db3401

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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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(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]

First, we will ~~step up our exploration of Mars to~~ continue ~~the search for evidence of life and~~ to expand our knowledge of the universe. ~~Next month~~ In December, America will launch a long-planned robotic probe to the surface of Mars. Today, we commit for the first time to a continuous robotic presence on the surface of Mars by the Year 2000. As often as necessary, we will launch probes that will give us a sustained, continuous flow of information from the surface of the red planet. This data will help determine whether, how, and when to send human missions to Mars.

Second, we will tear down barriers that block the full development of the American space industry. -esp might to Hi Peels Dual of Pace Mus

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[Boeing recently announced an innovative proposal to work with Russia, Ukraine, and Norway to launch satellites at sea.] ~~For the first time~~, We are committing to moving from country-by-country quotas, which limit the access of U.S. satellite companies to rockets launched by other countries, ~~to a free market in space~~ TO FREE + FAIR TRADE AMONG MILT ECON. IN SPACE. This will help spur a telecommunications revolution, with hundreds of low-altitude satellites girding the globe -- from worldwide computer networks beamed satellite-to-satellite, to cell-phones that will work anywhere in the world.

TO FREE + FAIR TRADE IN SPACE TECH AMONG MILT ECONOMIES

[WHILE WE OPEN MARKETS FOR SATELLITES, WE WILL BUILD AN AMERICAN LAUNCH SYSTEM THAT IS SECOND TO NONE. JUST LAST JUNE, THE VICE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED OUR COMMITMENT TO BUILD THE X-33, WHICH WILL REPLACE THE SPACE SHUTTLE.] 4

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Third, this report gives us a blueprint for national security space activities in the post-Cold War era. We commit: Our military will continue to use space to protect our national security, to maintain our freedom of action in space, to monitor threats and compliance with arms control treaties.

All of this owes a great deal to the leadership of Vice-President Gore. I asked the Vice-President to convene a bipartisan space summit this year. We expect to hold this in December. It will reorder our spending to match our new priorities.

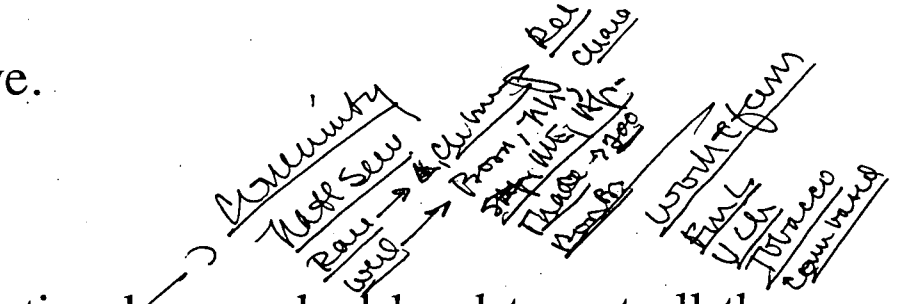
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Denver is a city that is getting ready for the new century, now only 4 years away. I believe it is a time of extraordinary promise -- an age of great possibility. But this new era poses stiff challenges as well. It is a time to ask whether and how our country is preparing itself to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

I believe that America will master this moment of change if we rely on our enduring values: if we offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community, overcoming our differences and helping our families.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And I want to talk to you today about what we can all do to make sure that all parents act responsibly toward their children, so we can give them the bright future they deserve.



My administration has worked hard to put all these values into action. We know that the key to opportunity is a growing economy. Four years ago, our nation was drifting. Unemployment was high, new jobs were scarce, the deficit was out-of-control. We put in place a tough economic plan that cut the deficit, expanded trade, and invested in our people.

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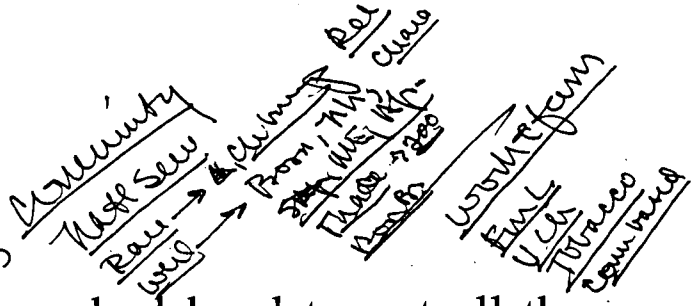

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-27-96

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF FT. WORTH
FT. WORTH, TEXAS
SEPTEMBER 27, 1996

YOLANDA CHAVERRA ("CHAH·VAY·RUH")

Acknowl: [Pre-prog: Tarrant Cty Chr Art Brender. St. Sen. Mike Montcrief, St. Rep. Glenn Lewis. 5thCD John Pouland, 12thCD Fmr Ft. Worth Mayor Hugh Parmer. Fmr Spkr Jim Wright.] Mayor Ken Barr, Rep. Martin Frost, Fmr Gov. Ann Richards; Victor Morales, TX Chr Bill White, Gary Mauro. ALL-TARRANT CO. PRES BAND - CARLTON LANCASTER

Simple strategy: Meet challenges, protect values. Opp for all, Resp from all; come together as Comm.

Record. 10.5M new jobs; >900K in TX. Lowest unemp. 7½ yrs; lowest TX in 12yrs. 4.4M new homeowners; deficit cut 60%. **Yesterday:** Median HH inc. up $898 over infl. -- big. incr. decade; 2yrs, up $1,600. Tax cut 15M; 1.44M TX. ~~More Opp~~: Head Start; standards: more collg scholarships. More Resp: Crime down; last week: 1M fewer victims. Welfare down: 1.8M; ch supp up 40%. More Comm: Families: Min. wage, 10M; $5K adoption. K-K, 25M. Safer H_2O, air, food. ~~Last wk: Grand Staircase-Escalante~~. **America is on the right track to the 21stC.**

Replaced "who's to blame" with "what to do." That should be spirit of this campaign: ideas, not insults.

NOW, must build bridge to 21st Century. Time of extraord opp to live out dreams.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[Acknowledgments: Gov. Carnahan, chair; Gov. Allen, vice-chair]

'34 → Food/SG
→ welf

As a former member [~~and former chair~~] of the Southern Governors' Association, I am delighted to join you here.

For good DL of your country. S. 1/7½yr
Jobs. tue. dyfer. ~~FED~~. Def
Crim. Welfer. Ch supp
Reg → 250,000. 77/43.
Sweat at work laws. H01,000. VChap
EITC. Tobacco
Family. Min
Ends)

Today, I want to talk about one of the greatest
△ → Who to learn. What to Do.
responsibilities you now face as governors, and we must
Pt touch → Brdg A Bridge: everyone can walk
all face as Americans: to create a new social bargain based
→ ED: SOA: Goo Hills High school → 2yr
ED Summit: Hyr Std/Accts/Sch: Charter schools BSO/3000
on opportunity and responsibility, on work instead of welfare. You asked for the new welfare law; I was proud to sign it.
→ welfare → Success - 77/43. 1.8m. Hm Fdst. 40% Ch supp
→ welfare → Ch supp
→ NewBorn → Hcare, Chcare, Food
→ Income
→ Park Dep, Mg work, train limits
teen at home/ or in proper supervised
setting/ State Needs

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Under this new welfare law, governors have a particular responsibility, an extra obligation to make reform work. You asked for this challenge; now you have a duty to make the most of it. The single most effective thing states can do is to use the job creation tool in the new law -- the most powerful job creation tool you now have.

Under this law, every state can now take the money that was spent on welfare checks and use it to help businesses provide paychecks. Gov. Carnahan does that here in Missouri. So do Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, and 7 other states around the country.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's a good deal for businesses, who can create more jobs for less money. It's a good deal for the taxpayers, who save every time someone leaves welfare for work. And it's a good deal for the people who get to trade the trap of welfare for the pride and dignity of earning a living.

Let me urge every governor here: put this idea at the heart of your plan. I urge every state in America to get out of the business of just writing welfare checks, and start using the private sector to help people on welfare earn paychecks.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~The welfare reform bill I signed into law last month~~ give ~~employers new and powerful incentives to meet~~ this challenge, ~~by letting them~~ Beyond us turn welfare checks into paychecks. ~~In my acceptance speech in Chicago~~, I proposed that we go further, with special tax credits and hiring incentives to move one million people from welfare to work by the year 2000. Our plan will give the same private job placement firms that most Americans use to find a better job a bonus for helping people on welfare find their first job. It will give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare. And it will enable states and communities across the country to work with businesses to move people off welfare into jobs.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Acknowledgments: ~~Senator Herb Kohl~~; Senator Russ Feingold; Jerry McAtee, President of AFSCME.

Before I begin, I just want to congratulate the Green Bay Packers for yesterday's victory in their first game of the year.

It is great to be here with so many wonderful families to celebrate the end of a glorious summer and the beginning of a new season. **On this Labor Day, we honor work. And we honor workers. You are the men and women who have built every bridge in this country.**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

With the world of work changing at a rapid pace, we must make sure we give you the tools to help us build that bridge to the 21st century. ~~That means education and training and the support you need to succeed at home and at work.~~

I have ~~just spent the last few weeks~~ been visiting with working families all across this country. My train and bus trips took me through the heartland where I saw the face of America. And I touched the hands that will build our bridge to the 21st century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Four years ago, Vice President Al Gore and I set out to change the course of America. We were a nation adrift -- with a skyrocketing deficit, high unemployment and stagnant wages. Families like yours, were working harder and harder for less and less. We believed working families deserved better, and we knew America could be better. We asked not who's to blame, but what could we do. → Andy, Ann Lewis, Amy Lewis

We had a simple strategy: Opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a renewed sense of community.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~We understood that the only way we~~ would succeed ~~in the new economy of the 21st century is if everybody pulled their own weight and we all pulled together.~~ ; Se Strat: Dep, Tr, I →

With your help, we began to bring back hope. Look at what we have accomplished together: 10 million new jobs; the lowest rates of unemployment, inflation and home mortgages in 28 years. Record #s women, vets

4.4 million new homeowners; the deficit cut by 60%; strong growth -- 4.8% in the last quarter.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are selling more cars than Japan for the first time in a decade;wages rising for the first time in a decade; the crime rate down four years in a row; and 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than the day I took office.

A few weeks ago, with the strong support of the labor movement, I signed legislation that raises the minimum wage for more than 10 million Americans who deserve a decent, living wage to raise their children. That legislation also makes it easier for small businesses to offer pensions to their employees.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I also signed much needed legislation that prevents insurance companies from cutting off your health care coverage if you change jobs or if you get sick. So, we are on the right track to the 21st century.

The 21st century is just 4 years away. This is a time of great challenge and opportunity.

We want to build a bridge to the future, not the past. And we need that bridge to be wide enough and strong enough so that all Americans can crossover. This bridge can only be built by strong families and strong communities, rolling up their sleeves and working together.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century by expanding the Family and Medical Leave Act to allow parents to take time off to take their kids to the doctor or attend parent-teacher conferences. We should clean up two-thirds of toxic waste sites. Our children should grow up next to parks, not poison.

We should extend health care to those ~~who become unemployed~~ between jobs. And we should balance the budget and do it without undercutting Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Announcement of New Airline Security Measures John F. Kennedy Airport (10 pages)	07/25/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Statement Preceding Briefing with handwritten note (2 pages)	07/25/1996	P5
003. draft	Sppech Draft; RE: Remarks on Welfare Reform [pages 1-3 and 7-13] (10 pages)	07/31/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Welfare Reform Bill Signing [page 10] (1 page)	08/22/1996	P5
005. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Statement on the Economy [pages 2-6] (5 pages)	08/01/1996	P5
006. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on the Economy Robert Morris College [pages 8-11] (4 pages)	09/25/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14454

FOLDER TITLE:
Speech Drafts with POTUS Notes [2]

2006-0469-F
db3402

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]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-96

7/25/96 7 a.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ANNOUNCEMENT OF
NEW AIRLINE SECURITY MEASURES
JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT
NEW YORK
JULY 25, 1996

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I have just met with the families of those who lost their lives in the crash of TWA Flight 800. Let me tell you what I told them -- and describe for you the immediate steps I have ordered to improve airline safety and security.

~~What~~ these families have suffered ~~is unspeakable~~ -- the loss of a parent, a child, a husband or a wife. ~~And~~ we can ~~all~~ understand ~~the overwhelming~~ frustration ~~they feel~~ at the time it is taking to recover their loved ones and to get answers.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~I told them that while nothing we do can ease their suffering, the American people stand with them in sorrow and mourning. And I let them know that~~ we are working hard, with every tool we have, to find their loved ones, to recover the wreckage and to learn what happened.

INSERT

We do not yet know what caused Flight 800 to crash -- whether it was mechanical failure or sabotage. But we will find out -- ~~no matter what it takes, no matter how long it takes.~~ Just last night, the divers who are braving the depths of the Atlantic to search for answers recovered both flight data recorders. Our experts are analyzing their contents at this very moment. This is a major step forward in unraveling the mystery of TWA 800.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

INSERT - P.3

We have listened to the victims' families. While much has been done by many to assist them, they believe and I agree that there should be a place in the Federal government that has the responsibility and the capability to assist victims' families in tragedies like this one. But it's not the case today. I will work with the Congress to make it happen.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the meantime, I would ask every American not to jump to conclusions. This investigation is moving forward with great care and [redacted]r determination. ~~Let us not become distracted by speculation or rumor~~.

While we seek the cause of this disaster, we must not wait to alleviate the concerns of the American people about air safety and security. In the wake of the Valuejet crash and TWA 800, that concern has increased. The safety record of U.S. aviation in unmatched in the world. Air travel remains the safest means of transportation. But that's of little consolation when a single crash -- whatever its cause -- can take so many lives.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beginning in 1993

~~That's why, well before the crash of TWA 800,~~ we took steps to improve aviation safety and security. ~~For example~~, we proposed a detailed plan to overhaul and modernize the air traffic control system. We've worked with the airline industry to identify and correct safety problems... hired more than 200 safety inspectors and budgeted for 258 more... and issued uniform safety standards. We began field testing new high tech explosive detection machines in San Francisco and Atlanta. We significantly increased security vigilance at our airports. And the FAA created a new government and industry panel to review airline security, AND IMPROVE which ~~met for the first time~~ Legislation earlier this month.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today, I am announcing new measures to increase the safety and security of air travel.

First, I have ordered the Secretary of Transportation to issue new directives on airline security that cover international and domestic flights, and apply to passengers and cargo. From now on, we will hand search more luggage and screen more bags ~~with certified detection equipment~~. ~~From now on~~, we will require pre-flight inspections for any plane flying to or from the United States -- every plane, every cabin, every time.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Second, I have asked Vice President Gore to ~~form~~ TAKE CHARGE OF a commission to review aviation safety, security and the modernization of the air traffic control system. The Gore Commission will work with the NTSB, the Departments of Transportation and Justice, industry advisory groups and concerned non-governmental organizations. The Vice President will report his initial findings on aviation security to me in 45 days -- including an action plan to deploy new high technology inspection machines that can detect the most sophisticated explosives.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I want to stress again that we do not know why TWA 800 crashed. If it proves to be a mechanical failure, additional safety measures may be required. If it proves to be a criminal act, other security steps may need to be taken. Whatever needs to be done -- we will do it. I will do my part using the full powers of the presidency. And if Congressional authorization is required, I know that Congress will give me its full support.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The steps we are taking today -- and others we may take in the future -- could increase the inconvenience and expense of air travel. We will do everything we can to minimize these costs -- but ~~not at the expense of~~ the safety and security of the American people. ~~That is my~~ first priority.

We are privileged to live in a time of great change and remarkable possibility. But we are not free from peril. Our responsibility as Americans is to pull together and work together in the face of tragedies like the crash of TWA 800. ~~If we do, we can and we will meet the challenges of this new era.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TY – pgrm w/ you –
H+I wanted to com-
be w/ you, discuss wht
we are doing, wht else –

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ht I wanted to come to be w you, discuss what we're doing
wrt else — ~~Thank all for~~ —

7

I know how hard this week has been, and how deep is your frustration; for those fr. other nations, difficulties compounded. Thank Fr, Ht Amb. for coming; pressing cause of Fr, Ht families.

- Many Qs → 2 relate to gr. loss
  → enormous efforts of those working to recover victims

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Good afternoon. When I ran for President four years ago, I pledged to end welfare as we know it.

Today, the Congress will ~~finally~~ vote on ~~real, bipartisan~~ welfare reform legislation that ~~lives~~ up to that promise. ~~I will sign it into law. At long last, we will~~ transform a broken system ~~and put people to work~~ so they can earn a paycheck, not draw a welfare check.

This legislation is far from perfect; there are parts of it that are wrong, and I will address them in a minute. But, on balance, this bill is a real step forward -- for our country, for our values, and ~~most of all~~, for the people who are on welfare.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are faeing our best chance to give those on welfare what we want for all Americans: the opportunity to succeed at home and at work.

I have worked to reform welfare for more than 15 years, as governor and as President. I have spent time in welfare offices, and I have talked to mothers on welfare who desperately want the chance to work so they can support their families and make it on their own. I concluded a long time ago that the current welfare system is broken in fundamental ways.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~For decades, the welfare system has~~ undermined our basic values of work, responsibility, and family. ~~It is~~ trapping generation after generation in dependency and hurting the very people it was designed to help. Today, we have an historic opportunity to make welfare what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life -- and I believe we have ~~a duty to act~~. even though the civil rights issues involved to welfare to seize that opportunity

Over the past three and a half years, I have done everything in my power as President to promote work and responsibility. We have worked with 41 states to launch 69 welfare reform experiments.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The bipartisan legislation before the Congress today is significantly better than the bills I vetoed. Many of the worst elements I objected to are out, and many of the improvements I asked for are in.

First, the new bill is strong on work. It provides $4 billion more for child care so that mothers can move from welfare to work, and protects their children by maintaining health and safety standards for daycare. It gives states powerful performance incentives to place people in jobs. ~~And~~ It requires states to hold up their end of the bargain by maintaining their own spending on welfare. – It gives tax credit to create jobs by taking $ now used for welf. checks – and using it for wage subsidies to get pple. on to livn. wage, or for comm. service jobs.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Second, the new bill is better for children. It keeps the national nutritional safety net intact, by eliminating the Food Stamp cap and optional block grant. It drops the deep cuts and devastating changes in school lunch, child welfare, and help for disabled children. It allows states to use federal money to provide vouchers to children whose parents can't find work after the time limit. And it preserves the national guarantee of health care for poor children, the disabled, pregnant women, the elderly, and people on welfare.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Just as important, this bill continues to include the child support enforcement measures I proposed two years ago -- the most sweeping crackdown on deadbeat parents in history. If every parent paid the child support they should, we could move 800,000 women and children off welfare immediately. With this bill, we will say to parents: If you don't pay the child support you owe, we will garnish your wages, take away your drivers license, track you across state lines, and if necessary, make you work off what you owe.

1st bee. current system is broken,

So I will ~~sign this legislation, because it gives~~ us 2d bee. Congress made many changes I sought 3d bee. even ~~the best chance~~ we have ever had to move people from this session must remain in the non-work bill. moreover, future welfare to work, because it demands responsibility, and the best chance we can have for a long time to ~~give~~ complete the because it does better by children.

work of ~~ending~~ welfare as we know it by moving ending

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But I want to be very clear: Some parts of this legislation go too far, ~~and some are just plain wrong~~. I am determined to see those areas corrected.

First, I am concerned that although we have made great strides to maintain the national nutritional safety net, this bill still cuts deeper than it should in nutritional assistance for working families. In the budget talks, we reached agreement on $21 billion in Food Stamp cuts, which are included in this bill. But the Congressional majority has insisted on another cut we did not agree to -- the excess shelter deduction, which helps some of our hardest-pressed working families. ~~People in this country should never have to choose between food and shelter~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This provision is a mistake, and I will fight to correct it.

Second, I am deeply disappointed that the Congressional leadership insisted on attaching to this extraordinarily important bill a provision that will hurt legal immigrants and that has absolutely nothing to do with welfare reform. ~~Legal immigrants pay taxes and work hard for their families. I believe that immigrant children and the disabled who through no fault of their own need some help should be able to get it, and~~ I am determined to fix this mistake as well.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~If the American people choose to return me to this job for a second term, I will make the restoration of aid to legal immigrants and their children, and the provision of adequate nutrition assistance, top legislative priorities.~~

~~In addition, I will not hesitate to expand voucher protection for children whose parents are cut off from welfare if the current protection in the legislation proves inadequate.~~ And, in the meantime, I will take future executive action to ~~cut through red tape~~ to ~~make sure~~ that ~~everyone who is eligible to become a citizen can do so~~ as quickly as possible.

~~We will act to make these improvements on this bill.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~But they do not undercut the central fact: This~~ bill ~~remains the most promising possibility~~ we have ever ~~had to help millions of our people end lives of dependency and begin lives of work, responsibility and~~ hope.

I will do everything in my power to make sure this bill lifts people up and does not become an excuse for anyone to turn their backs on this problem. This bill must not let anyone off the hook. ~~Our states and cities~~ must make sure that the coming years of reform and change actually result in moving people from welfare to work.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I have worked hard over the last four years to steer jobs and capital to the places that need them most through our empowerment zones, community development banks and urban brownfields clean-up. In the days and weeks to come, I will have more to say about our plans. But I know this -- nobody wants to get off welfare more than the women and children who are trapped on it, and we owe them the chance to build a better life.

That means states must shoulder the responsibility they asked for.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-14-96

Four years ago today, the economy was drifting; unemployment was nearly 8%; job growth was weak; and the deficit was at an all-time high. Great American industries were falling behind.

For the last three years, we have had a comprehensive plan in place to put our economic house in order and create opportunity for the American people. My economic team, which has joined me here today, has worked day and night to put this strategy in place, ~~Each year we were bitterly opposed by the Republicans. They said our plan wouldn't work~~. But today's good news shows that the plan we put in place is the right plan to move us forward into the 21st century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-14-96

This strong growth is reflected in other ways as well. American industry is on the rebound. We have 900,000 new construction jobs. Once again, we lead the world in autos and semiconductors. 4.4 million people have become homeowners. We now have a record number of women-owned businesses. Exports have surged an historic high. We learned this week that consumer confidence is at its highest level in 6 years. The deficit has been cut by more than half -- so that it is now the smallest since 1981. ~~The economy has created 10 million new jobs~~. And real wages, which had fallen for a decade, have begun to rise again.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strong growth. Low inflation. New jobs. Higher wages. We have the strongest American economy in a generation.

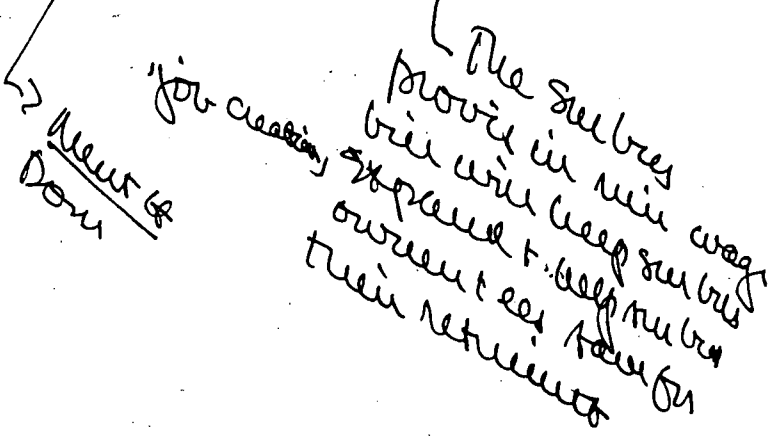
But, even as we celebrate this economic good news, we must remember that we still have more to do. Yesterday we took a step forward by giving the American people a welfare reform bill that, though not perfect, offers our best chance to move people from dependence to independence while giving them a real opportunity to succeed at work and at home.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-14-96

I am pleased at the progress Congress has made toward the passage of other critical measures to give our people the capacity to make the most of this growing economy.

The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill will give millions of Americans access to health insurance. And an increase in the minimum wage will honor work and family. I call on Congress to finish its work on both of these bills before leaving town.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-14-96

Today's news shows that our economic strategy is working. Our economy is growing. America is moving in the right direction. This is not the time to make radical changes to reverse our discipline on the deficit, ~~simply to score political points in the heat of th~~is ~~election season~~.

We must not turn our backs on the progress we have made toward balancing the budget, creating jobs and raising wages. The American people do not want to go back to where we were four years ago. We know our plan is working. We must press forward.

Thank you.

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~~What I have said this all across our country, is true in Pittsburgh, and I will say it to you here today~~: America's economy is on the right track. We are moving toward the 21st Century with confidence and conviction that our best days are ahead.

Now America must keep pressing forward. We can ~~never be satisfied unless our economy grows faster, unless our living standards keep rising, unless every family has the opportunity to join in our prosperity~~.

~~Above all, we must recognize that~~ the private sector is the engine of growth -- ~~and the best way to keep our economy growing, steady and strong, is to balance the budget.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have cut the deficit by 60% ---> lower mortgage rates, lower credit card rates, lower car payments, more job creation. The budget would be in balance today but for the interest payments on debt that was run up in 12 yrs before I took office.

Now we must finish the job and balance the budget. I have proposed a plan to balance the budget while reflecting our values . . . honoring our parents/Medicare . . strengthening our families/Medicaid . . . giving our children a future by expanding education . . . and passing on the Earth God gave us by protecting the environment.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

My plan: <u>targeted tax cuts</u> for the times that families need them most -- to pay collge, raise children, health care, homebuying. And every one paid for, line/line, dime/dime. We <u>can</u> balance the budget in a way that reflects our values -- and we must.

~~As you know~~, our opponents have put forward a risky tax scheme that would force even deeper cuts in MMEE than the ones I stopped last year. Even that wouldn't be enough: so their scheme would blow a hole in the deficit.

GOP economists: retreat from bal bud = 2% spike in interest rates. America cannot afford to imperil our prosperity and put our progress at risk.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The second thing we need to keep doing is to make sure Americans can be winners in the new global economy. Export-related jobs pay more than other jobs. That is why we have concluded nearly 200 trade agreements to open markets to our products and services -- and exports have surged by 1/3 to a record level. America's workers and businesses are the best in the world, and if other nations will give us fair and free trade, nobody can hold us back.

3Q → Res + Tech: Summit w/ H: Map progress/Solo Cities Speech (Hill – AIDS
~~Sec Tech Proposal~~
Computers
Practical applic of Ag, Space tech: Envir

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Discussion Paper; RE: WTO [World Trade Organization] (5 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Madeleine Albright, et al. to the President; RE: Address to the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the GATT/WTO (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. memo	Gene Sperling and Samuel Berger to the President; RE: WTO Strategy (6 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
Questionnaires

2006-0469-F
db3328

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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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.

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WTO speech file 4/15 mtg.

Discussion Paper

With the approach of the WTO trade ministerial in May, we need to develop a strategy that advances our trade agenda, demonstrates U.S. leadership and builds domestic support. This memo lays out strategic options for your consideration. The timing of this decision is driven in part by the 50th anniversary of the WTO, which is taking place in parallel with the ministerial in May.

Negotiating Approach Options

The WTO trade ministerial will lay the foundations for the launch next year of negotiations in agriculture, services and possibly other subjects, pursuant to the Uruguay Round Agreement, and will make progress on information technology and electronic commerce. The key outstanding questions surrounding the WTO are: (1) whether to launch a "round" or take some alternative approach to negotiations and (2) the scope of such negotiations. In the past, negotiations characteristically have been organized as comprehensive rounds, with uniform start and finishing dates for all issues as part of a "single undertaking." With the advent of regular WTO trade ministerials, some have suggested alternative approaches. These issues may come to a head in May, when Blair, in his capacity as EU President, may call for the launch of a "Millennium Round" in a speech at the WTO 50th anniversary. Clearly, the United States will have a critical voice in these decisions. With this in mind, we have defined four possible approaches:

1. Call for a Round Now: You could take the lead and call for a new round.

   Pros:

   - This option provides a clear opportunity to demonstrate leadership and indicates your commitment to forge ahead on market opening and rebuild the domestic consensus for trade.

   - It would reassert American commitment to the multilateral system, assuaging doubts that we have abandoned it in favor of regional initiatives.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- The comprehensive nature of the negotiations provides scope for cross-sector trades, potentially yielding the greatest progress in high priority areas, but also requiring difficult concessions.

- There is strong momentum for a new round from the EU, Canada, Japan, Mexico and Chile.

Cons:

- An endorsement this year of a round could elicit a strong, negative backlash from the Hill and important constituencies because we have not built support and this is a difficult issue for many in an election year.

- Tactically, many are critical of the single-undertaking approach, since it tends to hold up progress on all issues until the most difficult issues are completely resolved. For instance, the Uruguay Round, which was originally slated to conclude in four years, ultimately took eight because of EU foot dragging.

- Since negotiations in several of our highest priority areas, including agriculture and services, are already scheduled to begin next year, broadening the negotiations stands to put more negative than positive additions on the table.

- We have not yet built support among key trading partners for such an initiative.

2. Sector-by-Sector Negotiations: Critics of the traditional approach have advocated that individual negotiations should proceed separately on their own merits and timetables, using the regular WTO ministerials to make progress.

Pros:

- This approach offers the best chance of achieving concrete results in the near term, which is attractive to many industry groups. Indeed, since the WTO's creation, we have already concluded three separate sectoral negotiations (information technology, financial services, and telecommunications).

- From a political perspective, this is the least risk option.

Cons:

- This option does not show leadership and does nothing to counteract the perception that we are in retreat on trade.

- Critics claim it is difficult to make meaningful progress in contentious areas unless there is a sufficient number of sectors on the table to permit tradeoffs. Agricultural export groups in particular are concerned that our trade partners will not reduce agricultural barriers unless we make concessions in other areas.

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- Many developing countries complain that the sector-by-sector approach pursued by the United States over the past few years has narrowly favored strong U.S. sectors.

3. Call for a New Type of Negotiation for the 21st Century and Offer to Host 1999 Ministerial: You could call for a new type of negotiation, suited to the accelerated pace of technological change in the 21st century and which addresses the concerns of labor and the environmental groups. Further, you could offer to host the 1999 WTO trade ministerial, where this new approach would be launched. (Some have proposed variants of this approach under the rubric of "mini-rounds" or "round-ups").

Pros:

- This option demonstrates clear leadership and permits you to articulate a compelling vision for the WTO going forward.

- This approach combines the best features of the main alternative approaches. The idea would be to start with sufficient breadth to permit tradeoffs, but allow individual issues or groups of issues to be finalized and implemented on their own timetables, in order to produce results more rapidly.

- By launching the negotiations in the United States, it puts us in a strong position to be the chief architect of the multilateral trade system going into the 21st century.

Cons:

- Politically, this option may elicit a negative reaction from Congressional trade opponents and key constituencies -- especially if we explicitly describe it as a "round."

- This approach is untested. As such, it may not command as much support from our trade partners as would a call for a traditional round.

4. Offer to Host 1999 Ministerial but Remain Open on New Negotiations: This option would guarantee us a key role in shaping the launch of negotiations next year, while enabling to postpone committing to a particular approach.

Pros:

- This approach preserves maximal flexibility. It guarantees us a key role in determining the ultimate form and scope of the negotiations to address key American priorities, but permits us to wait until after any possible fast track bid and the elections to make that decision.

- Most of our trade partners are comfortable with this approach.

- By launching the negotiations in the United States, it puts us in a strong position to be the chief architect of the multilateral trade system going into the 21st century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cons:

- This approach can succeed only if Blair and other key leaders do not call for a round.

- This approach does not show leadership or counter the impression that we are in retreat this year, although it sets the stage for a bold announcement next year.

50th Anniversary

As you will see in the attached memorandum, all of your international economic advisers strongly advocate that you make a stop in Geneva on your way home from Europe on May 19th or 20th to deliver a speech at the WTO's 50th anniversary celebration. There are compelling reasons to do so. Prime Ministers Blair, Hashimoto and Chretien plan to participate in the celebration, along with a variety of other leaders. Your presence would demonstrate continued determination to advance an ambitious market opening agenda and to take on the associated domestic challenges. Your absence could be interpreted as a sign that we are in retreat and that we have abandoned the multilateral system in favor of regional initiatives -- especially if we launch a trade initiative at the U.S.-EU Summit on May 18th.

Clearly, the overriding consideration should be whether such a speech advances U.S. objectives in the WTO and your trade agenda. For example, if your goal is to call for either a traditional round (option 1) or a new type of negotiations (option 3), then it is important to attend the 50th anniversary in order to take leadership and avoid preemption by Blair or others. Similarly, if your goal is to preserve maximum flexibility (option 4), then your presence at the WTO 50th could help to secure the United States as the site for the 1999 ministerial, but might be awkward if Blair called for a round. If, on the other hand, your goal is to maintain the presumption in favor of sector-by-sector negotiations (option 2), then your presence at the WTO 50th anniversary could create false expectations.

Much depends on whether Blair calls for a round. We will work with UK and EU officials to discourage such a call as premature. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that a number of interests within the EU favor this approach: Sir Leon Brittan is an active advocate, seeing it as a legacy issue; some EU members favor it as a way to postpone agricultural liberalization far into the future; and others see it as favorable to developing country interests. In addition, EU foreign ministers unanimously endorsed a new round on March.

In addition to laying out your vision for how negotiations should proceed, a speech by you at the WTO 50th would lay a strong marker on priority areas at the core of your broader trade agenda. For instance, you could call for the WTO to:

- Give stakeholders a greater voice in the WTO system by creating a consultative forum with labor and environmental groups and by increasing the accountability and transparency of WTO proceedings.

- Complement our efforts elsewhere in combating bribery and corruption by adopting WTO rules on good governance.

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- Build the infrastructure of the 21st century by providing the foundations for an electronic marketplace spanning the globe, starting with a pledge to keep the Internet free of tariffs and a second generation Information Technology Agreement.

RECOMMENDATION

[Hold for principals' positions]

Attachment

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	RE: Global Electronic Commerce WTO Initiative [pages4-5] (2 pages)	05/13/1998	P5
002. memo	Rita Hayes to Ambassador Charlene Barshefsky; RE: Golbal Electronic Commerce: Alternative Strategy (2 pages)	05/11/1998	P5
003. paper	RE: Policy Proposals for WTO 50th Speech (4 pages)	05/13/1998	P5
004. memo	August Schumacher, Jr. to Malcolm Lee; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	05/13/1998	P6/b(6)
005. paper	RE: Policy Proposals for WTO 50th Speech [duplicate of 003] (4 pages)	05/13/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
WTO [World Trade Organization]: WTO [World Trade Organization]

2006-0469-F
db1914

RESTRICTION CODES

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- Similarly, I hope that you have kept an open mind about our approach in the WTO for a GEC initiative. I ask that you contact your colleagues in other Directorates General to advocate their taking a more flexible approach in Geneva.

Background

On Monday, May 11, there was a multilateral meeting at the WTO to discuss the U.S. draft text for a declaration Global Electronic Commerce (GEC). (*Attachment 2 contains the text of the U.S. draft text.)* At the meeting, several additional delegations joined in support of the text, but it became evident from other delegations' comments that it would be extremely difficult to reach consensus agreement in the time remaining.

- Many delegations questioned the format of the decision, arguing that the decision should be taken in the context of the Ministerial Conference instead of on a separate "50th Anniversary" track.

- Others said the text should be streamlined and eliminate subjective judgments; and, certain delegations (in particular, the EU) said the items of the work program should be enumerated while others preferred a general approach.

New Supporters and Old Holdouts. Brazil, Singapore, Guatemala, Iceland, Korea and Mongolia spoke in support of an approach that includes a standstill and a simple work program. These countries join support already provided from Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Hungary, Romania, and Hong Kong China. Support is likely from Uruguay, Philippines, Egypt and India (although Egypt and India are waiting for instructions from New Delhi).

- A big problem is that a number of smaller developing countries will still not be in a position by next week to join a standstill deal on duty free cyberspace.

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- Moreover, ASEAN has not express support for the declaration because of resistance from Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia.

- Mexico also mentioned the need to "go slow" and to take time to study the issues.

US Approach Too Complex. Notwithstanding the emerging support, USTR Geneva has come to the conclusion that the U.S. approach is too complex. This fact coupled with the diverse views of other delegations will prevent a consensus from emerging, particularly by the end of this week, or early next week.

The EU as Spoiler. The EU has been decidedly unhelpful since the Quad Ministerial meeting. EU officials have told USTR Geneva that they will not agree, as a fallback, to a plurilateral approach à la ITA. Thus, it appears that we can not go for a less-than-consensus approach. If we are determined to try to achieve this as a deliverable for next week, as opposed to working over a longer time frame, then the only viable option is to go for a slimmed-down, consensus-oriented approach. The EU at staff level, is still insisting that there must be a listing of the topics (such as privacy) to be examined during the work program. As a justification for their position, EU staffer say that privacy is mentioned in GATS Article 14. Thus, there is an impasse in Geneva with respect to the EU and U.S. positions.

Alternative: Short, Action-Oriented Text. With this in mind, we could circulate a short action-oriented text (contained in Attachment 1), for inclusion in overall Ministerial Declaration. Though by no means perfect, agreement on such a paragraph nevertheless would allow us to claim a victory for duty-free cyberspace at the time of next week's meetings. In addition, even if the paragraph on electronic commerce is subsumed into the Ministerial Declaration, the fact that it was agreed to could still be announced and trumpeted on May 19th.

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11 May 1998

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ambassador Charlene Barshefsky

FROM: Rita D. Hayes

SUBJECT: Global Electronic Commerce: Alternative Strategy

This memorandum was prepared by Alicia Greenidge, Dan Brinza and Andy Stoler and reviewed by Don Abelson, JoAnna McIntosh and Dorothy Dwoskin.

Issue

At a multilateral meeting in Geneva earlier today it became clear that it will be extremely difficult to reach consensus on a separate GEC declaration by May 19. This is because our current approach is too complex and the views of delegations are too diverse to reach a consensus in the next several days. If we are to get a deliverable for next week--as opposed to working over a longer time frame--we need a slimmed-down consensus-oriented approach. With this in mind and based on your decision today, USTR Geneva will circulate a short action oriented text for inclusion in the overall Ministerial Declaration.

Attachment 1 contains the text of short, action-oriented text

Background

There was a multilateral meeting at the WTO earlier today to discuss the U.S. draft text for a declaration Global Electronic Commerce (GEC). (*Attachment 2 contains the text of the U.S. draft text.)* At the meeting, several additional delegations joined in support of the text, but it became evident from other delegations' comments that it would be extremely difficult to reach consensus agreement in the time remaining.

- Many delegations questioned the format of the decision, arguing that the decision should be taken in the context of the Ministerial Conference instead of on a separate "50th Anniversary" track.

- Others said the text should be streamlined and eliminate subjective judgments; and, certain delegations (in particular, the EU) said the items of the work program should be enumerated while others preferred a general approach.

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- A big problem is that a number of smaller developing countries will still not be in a position by next week to join a standstill deal on duty free cyberspace.

- Moreover, ASEAN has not express support for the declaration because of resistance from Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia.

- Mexico also mentioned the need to "go slow" and to take time to study the issues.

US Approach Too Complex. Notwithstanding the emerging support, USTR Geneva has come to the conclusion that the U.S. approach is too complex. This fact coupled with the diverse views of other delegations will prevent a consensus from emerging, particularly by the end of this week, or early next week.

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Alternative: Short, Action-Oriented Text. With this in mind, we could circulate a short action-oriented text (contained in Attachment 1), for inclusion in overall Ministerial Declaration. Though by no means perfect, agreement on such a paragraph nevertheless would allow us to claim a victory for duty-free cyberspace at the time of next week's meetings. In addition, even if the paragraph on electronic commerce is subsumed into the Ministerial Declaration, the fact that it was agreed to could still be announced and trumpeted on May 19th.

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USTR COMMENTS

POLICY PROPOSALS FOR WTO 50TH SPEECH

I. Creating a Trading System for the 21st Century Economy

Agriculture

- Goals:
  - Substantially reduce agricultural subsidies and tariffs in WTO talks to begin in late 1999.
  - Develop new trade rules covering new agricultural products to ensure that regulatory regimes governing trade in agriculture protect health and safety of U.S. citizens ~~and~~ / but are based on ~~sound~~ science and not disguised trade barriers

not sure a "pause" position is agreed, interagency

- New Initiative: No pause on reform; U.S. is prepared to continue reducing tariffs and export subsidies while negotiations on additional reductions are ongoing and challenge other WTO members to do the same.
- U.S. Benefit: One out of three acres of America's farms dedicated to exports, supporting nearly one million jobs. U.S. is largest agriculture exporting country. Agriculture trade faces some of highest tariffs and most trade distorting government subsidy practices of any sector. For example, EU budget for export subsidies was $6.1 billion, as compared to the U.S. budget of $0.12 billion in FY 98. Regulatory restrictions cost U.S. exporters $5 billion annually.

Services

- Goal: Launch new negotiations to ~~further reduce barriers~~ provide new commercial opportunities in the dynamic services sectors, including in distribution, ~~telecommunications~~, audio visual, ~~multimedia~~ and professional services, (express delivery, energy, environmental services
- New Initiative: Call for wide-ranging launch of services negotiations to ensure that WTO rules extend to every significant services sector in emerging and other important markets.
- U.S. Benefit: U.S. is the world's largest services exporter, with global market share of 20 %. U.S. exports more than doubled over past ten years, totaling $254 billion in 1997 (against imports of $169 billion), supporting an estimated 4 million U.S. jobs. World trade in services totaled $1.3 trillion. Yet the preponderance of global services trade is not yet subject to WTO rules. STET

Industrial Tariffs

- Goal: Broad based, significant reduction in industrial tariffs.
- New Initiative:

and to provide the global infrastructure that will get US industrial and agricultural goods exports to the market.

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- Call for inclusion of industrial tariff reductions in next set of WTO negotiations (with Quad support), starting with WTO agreement on APEC sectoral liberalization initiative and pharmaceutical expansion in 1999.

- Call for successful completion of ITA II in June.

- U.S. Benefit: The Uruguay Round cut foreign tariffs on manufactured products by a third, largest in history. More work remains to create a level playing field. The U.S. maintains one of the lowest industrial tariff rates in the world (2.8% post Uruguay Round), while many of our trading partners in Asia (e.g, India 30.9%, Thailand 26%, Indonesia 10.7%, Korea 7.7%), Latin America (e.g., Brazil 11.7%, Argentina 14.6%) and the developing world maintain much higher tariffs.

Electronic Commerce

- Goal: Promote development of key infrastructure of the 21st century economy through principle that private sector should lead, government role should be to ensure regular, consistent legal framework.

- New Initiative: ~~Call at~~ Welcome and establishment of work plan. WTO ministerial ~~to reach~~ agreement to refrain from imposing duties on electronic commerce. Call for development of broader framework of rules for electronic commerce in appropriate multilateral fora, building on bilateral agreement reached with Japan at Birmingham.

- U.S. Benefit: By 2002, electronic commerce will grow from about $8 billion to over $300 billion in the U.S. alone. Sound trade policy, beginning with decision to keep Internet duty free and moving on to ensure open trade in new technologies as they emerge in other fields, will help set ground rules that provide incentives for development of new technologies, ease their transmission from the laboratory to the market, and help people lead healthier and safer lives.

Add section on IPR (see Attachment 2)

Integrating Transition Economies

- Goal: Bringing transition economies into rules-based trading system.

- Initiative:

- Benefit: 132 nations are members of the WTO, yet a quarter of the world population -- including Russia and the other former Soviet Republics, China, and Indochina -- remain outside the WTO. ~~33~~ 31 countries have applied for accession to the WTO. The admission of these nations, on commercially meaningful grounds, is a chance to commit virtually the entire world to the principles of the market and the rule of law. Will mean vast new markets for the world, full participation in world economy for Russians, Chinese, Vietnamese, Ukranians and others. Integrating China and Russia into world of free

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markets based on rule of law will help complete larger task of laying permanent foundation of peace among nations. Open markets help lead to more open societies.

Be careful NOT to suggest a special standard.

II. Opening the WTO and Advancing Good Governance

Opening Up the WTO Process

participation

- Goal: Open WTO processes and dispute settlement system to public ~~scrutiny~~
- New Initiative:
  - Call for transparency and accessibility of dispute settlement system, including by public dissemination of panel decisions, permitting outside ~~groups~~ parties to file amicus briefs and observe proceedings. more timely
  - Starting today, U.S. will ~~move~~ urge all panels and other disputing parties to open to public any dispute panels involving cases where we are a party and call upon other countries to do the same.

Need to change WTO rule requiring panel sessions to be closed, and in the interim, parties to dispute should agree to waive that rule.

Benefit: No reason dispute settlement panels should be closed to ordinary people. The more the WTO seen as secretive body, less it will earn confidence of public. WTO cannot do it all alone. Need to build consensus for trade policy in small towns, schools neighborhoods as well as capitals. If fail to do so, forces of protectionism will advance, and prospects for prosperity recede. Establish formal channels for meaningful input by NGOs.

Participation of Environment, Labor and Other Stakeholders (NEEDS MORE HERE)

- Goal: Meaningful integration of labor and environmental concerns in WTO.
- Initiative:
  - ~~Call again on WTO to create Committee on Trade and Labor and challenge Committee on Trade and Environment to undertake concrete agenda.~~
  - Call for creation of consultative forum as formal channel for meaningful input by stakeholders.

Call for: • High level meeting • Separate N&E environment already in more than labor now... but they should have equal attention

Depts. in attachment 1

Don't attack OTE but focus

Good Governance -- Cooperation and Monitoring

- Goal: Recent developments in Asia reinforce importance of good governance for robustness and stability of economy. WTO should help advance principles of good governance.
- Initiative: Call for completion of and full participation in WTO Government Procurement

- coordination w/ IFI's → per mandate to enhance coherence of international econ policy making
- locking in IFI commitments where relevant to WTO provisions

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Transparency Agreement by 1999 ministerial.

- U.S. Benefit: U.S. exports associated with foreign government contracts in 1996 totaled $200 billion in a world market of $600 billion, supporting 2.4 million jobs.

III. Launch New Type of Trade Negotiations Next Year in the United States

- Goal: Pioneer a more flexible negotiating approach, suited to the short product life cycles of the 21st century, in order to advance the preceding goals and to achieve concrete results more rapidly. The idea would be to start with sufficient breadth to permit tradeoffs, but allow individual issues or groups of issues to be finalized and implemented on their own timetables, in order to produce results more rapidly.

- New Initiative: Call for launch of negotiations next year and offer to host launch.

- Rationale: Vision that fits times. Cannot afford to wait decade or more between rounds when product cycles measured in months. Keep pace with technological change, yielding early agreements where possible. Negotiations of sufficient breadth to allow tradeoffs.

just offer to host 1999 Ministerial; premature to suggest specific approach ⇒ approach described should be more general; this suggests it has to be personal.

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POLICY PROPOSALS FOR WTO 50TH SPEECH

I. Creating a Trading System for the 21st Century Economy

Agriculture

- Goals:
  - Substantially reduce agricultural subsidies and tariffs in WTO talks to begin in late 1999.
  - Develop new trade rules covering new agricultural products to ensure that regulatory regimes governing trade in agriculture protect health and safety of U.S. citizens ~~and~~ but are based on ~~sound~~ science and not disguised trade barriers

Not sure we pause position is agreed, interagency

- New Initiative: No pause on reform; U.S. is prepared to continue reducing tariffs and export subsidies while negotiations on additional reductions are ongoing and challenge other WTO members to do the same.
- U.S. Benefit: One out of three acres of America's farms dedicated to exports, supporting nearly one million jobs. U.S. is largest agriculture exporting country. Agriculture trade faces some of highest tariffs and most trade distorting government subsidy practices of any sector. For example, EU budget for export subsidies was $6.1 billion, as compared to the U.S. budget of $0.12 billion in FY 98. Regulatory restrictions cost U.S. exporters $5 billion annually.

Services

provide new commercial opportunities

- Goal: Launch new negotiations to ~~further reduce barriers~~ in the dynamic services sectors, including in distribution, ~~telecommunications~~, audio visual, ~~multimedia~~ and professional services, express delivery, energy, environmental services
- New Initiative: Call for wide-ranging launch of services negotiations to ensure that WTO rules extend to every significant services sector in emerging and other important markets.
- U.S. Benefit: U.S. is the world's largest services exporter, with global market share of 20 %. U.S. exports more than doubled over past ten years, totaling $254 billion in 1997 (against imports of $169 billion), supporting an estimated 4 million U.S. jobs. World trade in services totaled $1.3 trillion. Yet the preponderance of global services trade is not yet subject to WTO rules.

STET

Industrial Tariffs

- Goal: Broad based, significant reduction in industrial tariffs.
- New Initiative:

and to provide the global infrastructure that will get US industrial and agricultural goods to market

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- Call for inclusion of industrial tariff reductions in next set of WTO negotiations (with Quad support), starting with WTO agreement on APEC sectoral liberalization initiative and pharmaceutical expansion in 1999.

- Call for successful completion of ITA II in June.

- U.S. Benefit: The Uruguay Round cut foreign tariffs on manufactured products by a third, largest in history. More work remains to create a level playing field. The U.S. maintains one of the lowest industrial tariff rates in the world (2.8% post Uruguay Round), while many of our trading partners in Asia (e.g. India 30.9%, Thailand 26%, Indonesia 10.7%, Korea 7.7%), Latin America (e.g., Brazil 11.7%, Argentina 14.6%) and the developing world maintain much higher tariffs.

Electronic Commerce

- Goal: Promote development of key infrastructure of the 21st century economy through principle that private sector should lead, government role should be to ensure regular, consistent legal framework.

- New Initiative: ~~Call~~ Welcome and establishment of work plan. ~~WTO ministerial to reach~~ agreement to refrain from imposing duties on electronic commerce. Call for development of broader framework of rules for electronic commerce in appropriate multilateral fora, building on bilateral agreement reached with Japan at Birmingham.

- U.S. Benefit: By 2002, electronic commerce will grow from about $8 billion to over $300 billion in the U.S. alone. Sound trade policy, beginning with decision to keep Internet duty free and moving on to ensure open trade in new technologies as they emerge in other fields, will help set ground rules that provide incentives for development of new technologies, ease their transmission from the laboratory to the market, and help people lead healthier and safer lives.

Add section on IPR (see Attachment 2)

Integrating Transition Economies

- Goal: Bringing transition economies into rules-based trading system.

- Initiative:

- Benefit: 132 nations are members of the WTO, yet a quarter of the world population -- including Russia and the other former Soviet Republics, China, and Indochina -- remain outside the WTO. 31 countries have applied for accession to the WTO. The admission of these nations, on commercially meaningful grounds, is a chance to commit virtually the entire world to the principles of the market and the rule of law. Will mean vast new markets for the world, full participation in world economy for Russians, Chinese, Vietnamese, Ukranians and others. Integrating China and Russia into world of free

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markets based on rule of law will help complete larger task of laying permanent foundation of peace among nations. Open markets help lead to more open societies.

Be careful NOT to suggest a special standard.

II. Opening the WTO and Advancing Good Governance

Opening Up the WTO Process

participation

- Goal: Open WTO processes and dispute settlement system to public ~~scrutiny~~
- New Initiative:
  - Call for transparency and accessibility of dispute settlement system, including by public dissemination of panel decisions, permitting outside ~~groups~~ parties to file amicus briefs and observe proceedings. more timely
  - Starting today, U.S. will urge all panels and other disputing parties to open to public any dispute panels involving cases where we are a party and call upon other countries to do the same.

Need to change WTO rule requiring panel sessions to be closed, will in this instance, parties to dispute should agree to waive that rule.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Phil Caplan to John Podesta, et al.; RE: Fast Track (1 page)	02/11/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
WTO [World Trade Organization]: Daschle - Fast Track

2006-0469-F
db3403

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]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1998

TO: John Podesta
Gene Sperling
Secretary Rubin
Larry Stein

FR: Phil Caplan

Attached is a "white paper" outlining several Administration initiatives relating to fast track. It's my understanding from Dan Tarullo and Bob Kyl that, in order to fulfill a commitment made to Sen. Daschle last fall, we committed to having the President send the paper to the Cabinet whether fast track passed or not.

Erskine asked me to ask you specifically to read through the paper to see if you're comfortable with everything in it -- it is several months old now. That is, has anything changed that would prevent this from being sent? Bob Kyl tells me it cleared an interagency process in the fall.

I'll wait to hear from you. Thanks.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Tribute to Franklin Roosevelt Time Magazine 75th Anniversary (17 pages)	03/03/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
Time Mag. [Magazine] 75 B-Day [Birthday] FDR [Franklin D. Roosevelt] 3/3/1998

2006-0469-F
db3404

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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cc:
Paul Tuchmann

Final

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

TRIBUTE TO FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

TIME MAGAZINE 75th ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK, NY

March 3, 1998

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-3-98

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Don Logan, Chairman/CEO Bruce Hallett, Pres, Magazine

Acknowledgments: Gerald Levin, Norman Perlstine, (Editor in Chief)
Walter Isaacson, President Gorbachev, other speakers and (Managing Editor)
guests who have played such a key role in the history of our time.

Tonight, Time magazine has paid tribute to the time it not only observed, but helped to shape -- the ~~100 stunning~~ years ~~that~~ your founder Henry Luce so unforgettably called the American Century. All ~~those honored tonight~~ richly ~~deserve the tributes they have been~~ given.

~~By my lights, there~~ is one man, above all others, ~~who~~ should be remembered as the personification of the American Century: Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

That choice might have pained Henry Luce, but it would not have surprised him!

3-3-98

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3-3-98

The story of this century is many stories: of the ascendance of science and technology, of the rise of big government and the mass media, of the dynamic growth and disruptive force of the industrial age.

But when our children and our children's children look back, ~~I believe that above all else~~, they will ~~know~~ ~~that~~ the story of the 20th Century is the story of the triumph of freedom.

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~~In truth, this has always been the story of America.~~

~~But rarely have the values of one nation been so imprinted~~

~~on one century~~. Freedom: The victory of democracy over totalitarianism, tolerance over ignorance, free enterprise over ~~the iron hand of ideology~~, ~~at home and around the world~~. The advance of freedom has made this the American Century. For in this century, America has made freedom ring.

The embodiment of this triumph -- and the driving force behind it -- was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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Today, with the happy outcome known to all, it is tempting to look back and say the victory of freedom was inevitable; it wasn't. In the face of the 20th Century's greatest crisis, decisively and irrevocably, President Roosevelt committed America to ~~lead the world toward~~ is fight for freedom. ~~And~~ B ecause of that commitment, and its embrace by every American leader since FDR, today, for the first time in human history, ~~the~~ a majority of the world's people live in freedom.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history."

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7-3-98

He was born to privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. Polio put him in a wheelchair, but he lifted our troubled nation to its feet, and got us moving again. He was the patrician who happily addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution as "my fellow immigrants." His ~~was an open, American spirit with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership~~. He was a master politician, and a magnificent Commander-in-Chief.

His life had its fair share of disappointments and failures, but they never broke his spirit or his faith in God or his fellow citizens. Because he always rose to the occasion, so did we.

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3-3-98

FDR was guided not by the iron dictates ~~of doctrine~~ – ~~not by a rigid and restrictive~~ ideology – but by the pragmatism of "bold, persistent experimentation." If one thing does not work, he said, try another thing – "but above all, try something." It drove his critics crazy, but it worked. ~~He made of American democracy a joyous and noble exercise.~~

He brought joyful mobility to public service as ~~And~~ he completed the mission of his kinsman, Theodore Roosevelt, forging a progressive government ~~that~~ tamed the savage cycle of boom and bust, ~~built~~ a ~~modern economy~~, and ~~gave~~ our citizens the economic security and skills they needed to become the great American middle class.

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3-3-98

In this century's struggle for freedom, Franklin Roosevelt won two great victories.

By confronting the gravest threat capitalism had ever faced, the Great Depression, he strengthened economic liberty for all time. ~~He carved out a role for government~~ in which individual initiative and the call of community are not at odds, but woven together in one seamless social fabric. ~~Franklin Roosevelt~~ He taught us that free markets require an effective government, ~~responsive to its people~~ me and ~~to opportunity for all.~~

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3-3-98

By confronting the gravest threat to personal and political liberty the world had ever faced, ~~mobilizing America's military and moral might to stand with our allies and defeat the forces of fascism~~, he forever committed ~~our nation~~ to the front lines of the struggle for freedom. He taught us that even the expanses of two great oceans could not shield our nation from danger -- or absolve us from responsibility; ~~From his day forward,~~ we ~~have understood~~ that our destiny is forever linked to the destiny of the world; ~~that we cannot be truly free until~~ all ~~the world is free~~; that humanity's cause must be America's cause.

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3-3-98

We know what came of the Roosevelt generation's "rendezvous with destiny." What will come of ours? To ~~our generation, the~~ this generation of the millennium, "much has been given." But also, "much is asked."

When Roosevelt ran for President in 1932, he said, "New times demand new responses from government." He saved capitalism from its own excesses, so it could ~~again~~ once be a ~~progressive~~ progress force for freedom ~~in a new era~~. Now, we work to modernize government, ~~to save~~ saving it from its ~~worst~~ excesses of debt, so that it is again a ~~progressive~~ progress force for freedom in ~~the next~~ a new era. Just as FDR gave Americans security in the Industrial Age, now we work to give them opportunity in an Information Age.

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3-3-98

Just as FDR asked us to meet the crushing burden of the Depression with "bold, persistent experimentation," now we must bring bold persistent experimentation to the challenges and unrivaled opportunities of this age -- to our schools and streets and poor neighborhoods, to the fight against disease, ~~and~~ the exploration of space,

Just as FDR established that security and opportunity for ordinary Americans required our leadership and cooperation with like-minded people throughout the world, now we must commit ourselves to the common struggle against new threats ~~to our progress and~~ to the security and prosperity of ordinary people everywhere. For even more than in FDR's time, our prospects are bound to the world's progress.

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Like FDR, we look around us and see a world that is not yet fully free. The advance of democracy is steady, but it is not irreversible.

For our generation freedom must mean the long-delayed achievement of FDR's dream of a

~~When Franklin Roosevelt died, fascism was crumbling – but Europe was divided. Today, we have it within our power to end that division and to extend the alliance that brought half a century of peace.~~

~~When Franklin Roosevelt died, he had already begun to build the alliances and institutions that waged and won a half century's struggle for freedom.~~ Now for our generation, "freedom from fear" must mean freedom from nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and the rogue states ~~prepared to use them or provide them to others.~~

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3-3-98

And for our generation, "freedom from fear" -- and "freedom from want" -- must mean a fair chance for people in every land to develop their minds, find reward in honest labor, and raise their children in peace and according to the dictates of their conscience.

America must work to
To secure that freedom, ~~we will lead and we will act~~ meet

-- with our allies and friends when possible, alone when necessary. That is what we are doing through the United Nations, which FDR named and helped to create. I salute its distinguished Secretary General Koffi Annan, here with us tonight.

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Backed by the credible threat of force, bearing an unequivocal message from the international community, the Secretary General obtained Iraq's agreement to honor the UN resolutions on weapons inspections. The United Nations Security Council clearly and unanimously reiterated ~~that demand~~ last night. ~~Now,~~ Iraq must match its words with deeds, ~~its commitment with compliance~~. In the tradition of FDR, America and its partners must make sure that it does.

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3-3-98

In the darkest days of the Second World War, Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed: "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war."

~~Tonight, with barely 700 days before the new century and the new millennium, it falls to us in this generation to carry on America's mission.~~

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20th c 3-3-98

More than any other American, FDR fulfilled the mandate of our Founders. He pledged, ~~in the darkest hour~~, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor, to the preservation of liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the creation of a more perfect union.

Yes, the next century will be many things. A time of stunning leaps of science ~~and knowledge~~. A century of technology. A digital century. An era when the very face of America will change.

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yet 3-3-98

In all the newness, what is required of us is still to follow ~~his~~ FDR's lead: to strengthen the bonds of our union, widen the circle of opportunity, and deepen the reach of freedom. God willing, we will.

We can make
~~Then~~ the 21st Century will be the next American Century.

# # #

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: A New Social Compact for A New Economy (25 pages)	10/26/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
DLC [Democratic Leadership Council] 10/27/1997

2006-0469-F
db3405

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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w/ POTUS discussion

Draft 10/26/97 7:30pm

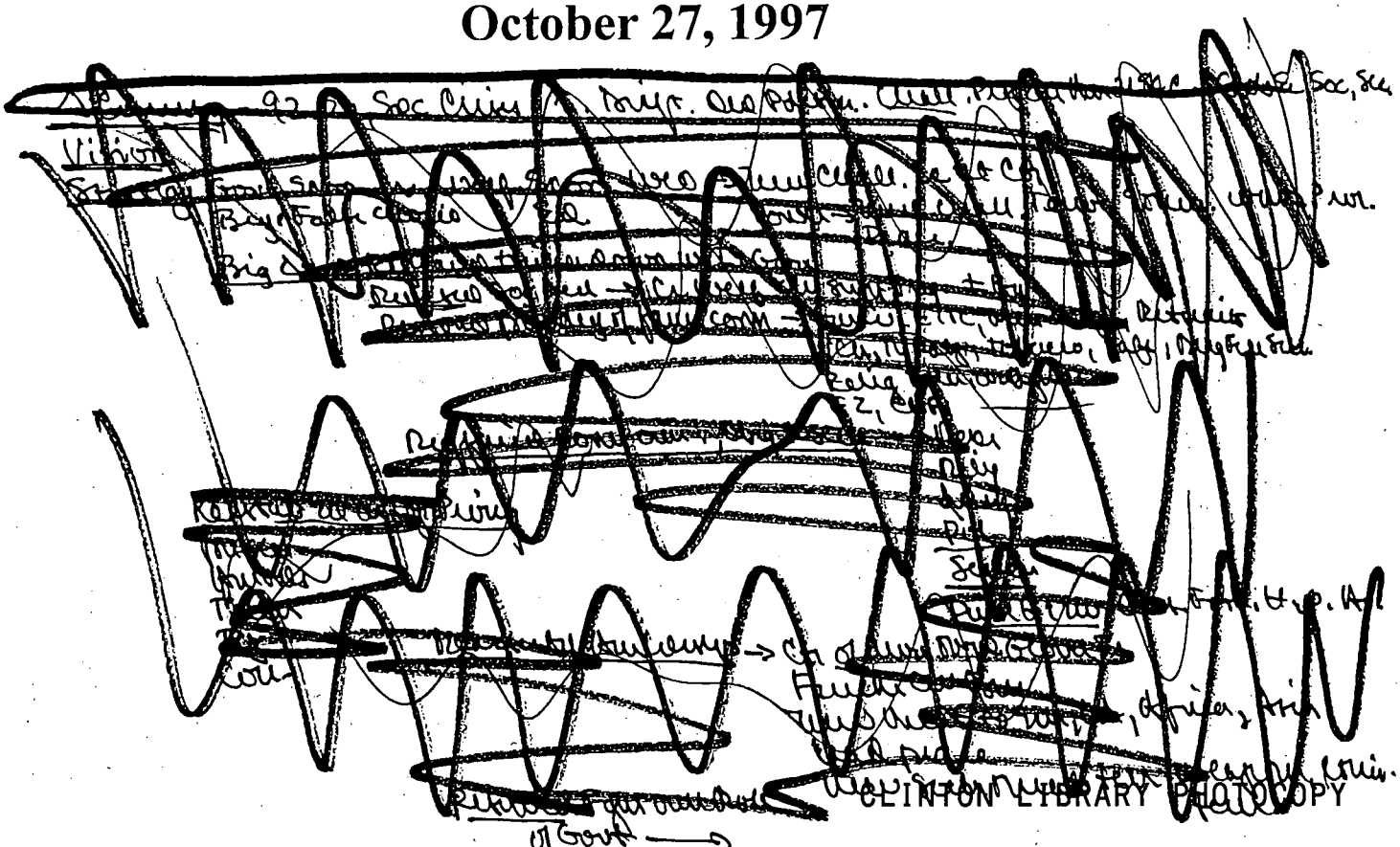
PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

"A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR A NEW ECONOMY"

REMARKS TO THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, DC

October 27, 1997



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It is hard for me to believe that it is now 7 years since Al From, in his ... gentle, demure way, persuaded me to become chairman of this organization. And it is now six years since I declared my candidacy for President, ~~on~~ ~~to [illegible] brandishing our principles on a mission to move this country forward. I said then that America had a vital goal for the 21st Century~~ For many yrs now, we have worked together to prepare Amer for the 21st Century, driven by a vision simple but profound. -- to keep the American Dream alive for every person responsible enough to work for it, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, and to bring our people together across all the lines that divide us into one America:

~~America's oldest, most incandescent ideals~~ -- opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all ~~[illegible]~~ Mint by our borders.

~~to illuminate our path as we address the challenges of a new era.~~ From the beginning, we have worked to implement a strategy that owes much to the work the DLC and its progressive leaders did in the 1980s and early 90s. Even tho' we ~~[illegible]~~ worked hard to make it clear that we stood for traditional Democratic values, especially our determination to go beyond the outdated categories and false choices that dominated Washington politics, we also often found ourselves [illegible]

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(1A)

Then we had to go beyond the old left/right axis/or direction of policy that were dividing us and holding us back.

On the economy, we replaced trickle down economics & deficits w/ an investor grow strategy aimed at cutting the deficit and investing more in our people.

On crime, we replaced tough talk w/ tough action, with a strategy of punishment, police, and prevention.

On welfare, we went beyond condemnation & complacency, with a strategy of being tough on work but good for children.

On education, we went beyond the old debate of abandoning public education or throwing more money at the status quo with a strategy of standards, reform, and investment.

On [redacted], we rejected the idea that protecting them had to hurt the economy and instead embraced a strategy designed to preserve & enhance the environment and public health in a growing economy.

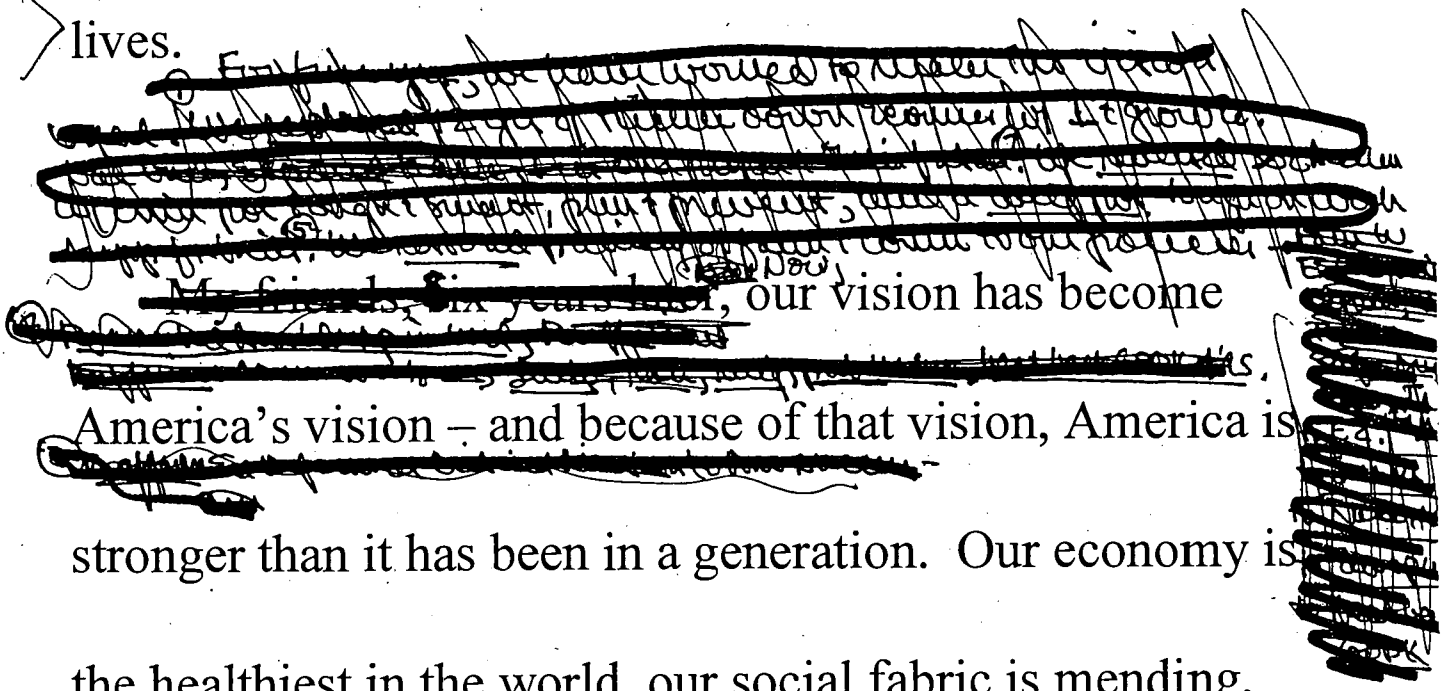
We also renewed America's leadership in the world in terms relevant to the threats & opportunities of the future, and we restored the primacy of family & community to our politics, with a whole host of policies, from FMLA to EITC to Min Wage Increase to Pell, Direct Lending to Expanded Coverage for Children to AmeriCorps to initiatives to help us reconcile the religious & racial differences.

Finally, we soundly defeated the GOP's 1995 K...

After the wave of a new kind of opportunity, reform, & community as guideposts to preparing America for the 21st century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we persevered in our new strategy — First, we had to resolve the argument over ~~We were determined to build a new government, not~~ the role of government — to go beyond those who said the govt had do nothing ~~intent on doing everything, but not content to do nothing~~; and those who felt it was necessary to build a govt that a ~~instead a progressive government committed to~~ giving smaller, more effective, focused on people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.



~~My friends, six years ago~~, our vision has become America's vision – and because of that vision, America is stronger than it has been in a generation. Our economy is the healthiest in the world, our social fabric is mending, our international leadership is unchallenged. We have 13 million new jobs; unemployment remains below 5%; inflation is the lowest since the 1960s; homeownership is at an all-time high.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Crime is down, for five years in a row. And millions of people have moved from the dependency of a welfare check to the dignity of a paycheck. We can say with pride ~~in everything we have accomplished~~: we are preparing our nation for the challenges of the 21st Century.

~~Perhaps most~~ Fundamentally, we are steering the vast changes underway today in technology, trade and our social makeup ~~the very changes that once produced so much doubt and unease in ways that will ensure that they will become~~ powerful forces for good. ~~Slowly, but with increasing confidence, the American people are coming to believe this, too. Our nation, forever young,~~ forever questing, ~~once again is finding its faith in~~ progress.

3

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today, the challenge for the DLC – for all Democrats – and for all Americans -- is this: ~~Will we keep moving forward, taking the steps we need to prepare America for the 21st Century? Will we retreat from the world, with all its challenges, or face it squarely so the world economy works for our working people? Will we forge a new social compact for the new economy, a new social compact that will secure our values in the 21st Century?~~

Can we seize the benefits of the new era, in a way that benefits all our people? Can we embrace, not retreat from all the new developments in trade, technology and forge a new social compact at the same time. that keeps us moving forward together?

To date, no nation has fully succeeded in ~~repeat~~ reaping the new economy's rewards and preserving the social compact from disruptions in workers's lives or environmental conditions.

We can do that, but only if we are prepared to lead the global march toward the new economy

The new economy

~~For we must all recognize that we are not merely riding the crest of the latest rise in the economic cycle. Americans of this generation are forging and leading a new economy – a new economy that can lift our families, if we are ready for it.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(2) Today, a larger proportion of Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at the height of the 1950s. (1) In the ~~cutting edge~~ cutting edge industries of the future -- computers, biotech, aerospace -- America leads the world. (3) ~~And as new industries are born, old industries are transformed and revived~~: yes also We lead the world again, for the first time since the 1970s, in automobile production and sales. as Ever stronger links of commerce and communications span the globe. ~~And where once the wealth of a nation grew from the gold in the ground or the abundance of our farmland or the power of our factories~~, now it will come from the capacity of our people and the power of our imagination.

(4) Today, knowledge, and

increasingly, information technology are leading the transformation

be backed up by strong economic and trade policies

and a commitment to the environment and to giving

all workers the chance to succeed. This too cannot be an

either/or choice — we must embrace both the global

economy & social compact of mutual responsibility

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~In the new economy, we can no longer create growth by priming the pump -- we can only create growth by priming our people with skills and education.~~

~~To be sure, in this new economy there still will be ups and downs; they will demand action. But we can better control these cycles if we understand that our economy has fundamentally changed. And our response to it must fundamentally change, as well.~~

In the industrial age, the Progressive movement and the New Deal forged a social compact in which the success of the economy was premised on the security of working people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This 20th Century social compact served our people and preserved our values in a mature industrial economy. It helped set the stage for the blossoming of American enterprise and the embodiment of the American dream. But the old arrangement ~~was a source of pride and strength. But it has been overtaken by~~ the boisterous energy of the information economy ~~now being born~~. It is up to us, the generation of the computer revolution, to craft a new social compact for the new economy – a new understanding of the responsibilities government, business, and every one of us has to one another. It is up to us to make sure that our people have the strength, the skills, the security, the flexibility we need to be the pathfinders and reap the rewards of the 21st Century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

OUR ECONOMIC STRATEGY

When I took office in 1993, the new economy was within reach, but our policies were mired in the past. We put in place a bold new economic strategy to remove the impediments that restrained the American people, and to give them the tools and training to help them race ahead.

In the new economy, no nation can any longer create prosperity through deficits [redacted]. No nation can hide from the rigorous discipline of financial markets around the world, [redacted] so the first thing we did was to reduce the nation's massive deficits, to free our people of the dead weight that had slowed their every step in the 1980s.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In 1993, with your strong support, we put in place a deficit reduction plan -- supported only by Democrats, enacted int he face of withering partisan criticism and real political risk. This approach has been [redacted], dramatically successful.

On the day I took office, the federal budget deficit was $290 billion. Today, I am pleased to announce that budget deficit this past year was $23 billion – $23 billion -- a cut of $267 billion, well over 90%, in five years, even before the balanced budget law takes effect. Today, America has the smallest deficit proportionally of any major economy. For the first time, in decades, our economy has been growing while deficits are shrinking – an expansion fueled by investment, not debt.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, the balanced budget I have signed into law will complete this process and give us the first balanced budget in a generation. ~~The decades of deficits~~ Trillion dollar big deficit, ~~dominating our politics and crippling our ability to meet our challenges, are~~ economies our a thing of the past.

The second element of our strategy recognized that for America to grow, America must expand exports. ~~Here is~~ the arithmetic of the new economy: We have 4% of the world's population; 96% of the world's consumers live beyond our borders. We must sell to that 96% -- and we are doing so. America is the world's number one exporter. Our exports are at an all time high. Export-related jobs pay significantly more than other jobs.

to supply
+2020 of the customers.
To maintain our customers

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And fully one third of our economic growth over the past four years came from trade.

This has happened, in large part, because we have negotiated tough trade agreements to level the playing field with our competitors. America's markets have been open to the world for decades; the core of our international economic strategy has been to open the world's markets to us. We have negotiated over 200 tough trade agreements to do that -- every single one of them tearing down barriers including tariffs that are higher, sometimes far higher, than ours. Every single one recognizing that our workers are the best in the world, and when given a fair chance, we can outcompete anyone.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

When I have had the authority to make broad agreements, I have used it for America's interest. That is why it is critically important that I be given the same fast track authority to negotiate trade agreements and submit them to Congress that every other President of either party has had since Gerald Ford. This is nothing more, and nothing less, than the ability to create open and fair trade for our businesses and working people. And it is essential to our prosperity.

~~We have seen in the past year what a strong trade agreement can do for our people and our businesses.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

for example,

The information technology agreement that we reached with 37 other nations a year ago will eliminate tariffs and unshackle trade on $500 billion of trade in computers, semiconductors, and telecommunications. This amounts to a $5 billion cut in tariffs on American products exported to other nations. It can lead to hundreds of thousands of high-wage jobs for Americans.

Now if Congress grants this authority, we can use it to open trade in areas where American firms are leading, such as computer software, medical equipment, environmental technology. America can use it to open foreign markets to our agricultural products. America can use it to open the markets of Chile and other Latin American nations to our goods and services. esp might since developing nations grow 3x rate of devel ctry mkt

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

If we don't seize these opportunities, our competitors surely will. Last year, for the first time [redacted], Latin American nations had more trade with Europe than the United States. Now that Canada has negotiated a trade agreement with Chile, every major economy in this hemisphere has duty-free access to Chilean markets -- every major economy but one -- ours. That's a bad deal for our businesses and workers. It's "America Last" – and it's unacceptable.

Aggressive trade and expanded exports are a critical part of America's economic strategy. This strategy is working.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Every time there is a trade agreement, we hear dire predictions of the consequences. Remember the "giant sucking sound"? Well, the only sound I hear is the sound of 13 million jobs being created. More jobs in just two months than even the gloomiest estimate claims has been lost due to NAFTA over four years. We must not allow our nation to turn back, to shrink from the promise of the new economy, to leave world leadership to others. I thank you for your support of fast track, and I urge you to press even harder in the days ahead.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~We have created the conditions for growth.~~ We ~~have expanded exports through tough trade agreements.~~ But it is up to all of us who support open trade to make the case with equal fervor for the third element of our economic strategy: investing in the skills of our people. For the core of the new social compact must be that all Americans can reap the rewards of economic change.

We ~~must be honest~~: the risks and rewards of the new economy do not fall evenly. The new economy rewards those who are more educated; those who are flexible; who have the skills and confidence to move on to new jobs and seize new opportunities.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Two decades ago the typical worker with a college degree made 38% more than a worker with a high school diploma; today that college graduate earns 73% more.~~ If ~~in the 19th Century opportunity came from access to a land grant, in the 21st Century opportunity will come from access to a Pell grant~~.

~~In forging the new social compact~~

~~You and I know that~~ Education must be our nation's most important ~~mission. So we have worked to make sure that~~ every 8 year old can read, every 12 year old can log on to the Internet, every 18 year old can go to college.

~~every adult can learn for a lifetime~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our strategy is rooted in 3 principles: I, Structure, & Reform.

We have opened the doors of college with the largest

investment in higher education since the GI Bill a half

century ago... with a college opportunity agenda from

~~low-income scholarships to~~ the Hope Scholarship ~~for~~

~~every family. We have made~~ it possible for every young

person and working person to get 2 years of college,

We are moving forward to renew our public schools,

connecting every classroom and raising standards so that

every child can master the basics. Today I expect to sign

into law full funding for the America Reads challenge,

which will significantly increase support for AmeriCorps

-- a legacy of the DLC - to harness the energy of ~~citizen~~

~~service~~ to meet the challenge of teaching every child to

read.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are helping create opportunity for working people in many ways, from our initiative to secure the pensions of 40 million Americans ... to the $24 billion investment in children's health care, mostly for the children of working people, that I signed into law ... to the Kassebaum-Kennedy law that lets workers take their health care with them from job to job.

~~These investments in our people, especially education, are the most important things we can do to make our people winners in the new economy. That's what the new social compact means. But we must focus additional attention on those who do not yet benefit from open markets.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Spec Oblig to those who may be displaced or who have yet benefits fr. global econ—

This week, working with Members of Congress, my administration will announce new initiatives to bring more Americans into the winners' circle on trade.

We must increase our investment in workers who do lose their jobs -- whether due to a trade agreement, technology, or for any other reason.

We must increase our investment in communities that suffer from the dislocation that can come with expanded trade. Learning from our experience with military base closings, my administration will step up involvement when a factory closes because of trade.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And we must do more to tap the potential of our inner cities and poor rural communities -- for they are America's most important source of new economic growth, and we must lift them up so they share in our prosperity and join our growing middle class.

Balancing the budget. Expanding exports through tough trade agreements. Investing in our people through education and training: This is America's strategy to create a vital new economy. This is the strategy, advanced and hammered into place by the Democratic Party, that has revitalized our economy and expanded opportunity for millions of Americans.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our nation must not turn back; our party must not turn back. We need an economy for the 21st Century, and we need a Democratic Party for the 21st Century. We must move forward, with confidence in ourselves, our people and our nation, to build a new economy and forge a new social compact that will include every American.

To every generation of Americans come great challenges that have never been met before. But every generation, raising itself to the test, has mastered it. At each critical juncture, we have made a compact among ourselves, pledging our responsibility to the progress of the American experiment.

We have preserved our uniqueness and progress in no small measure because we have changed & reaffirmed our interdependence.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The first American social compact was forged by the Pilgrims as they began a new society in a new land. Their leader, John Winthrop, told his shipmates gathered in the hold of the Mayflower that in America, "We must be knit together in this work as one man. ... Rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together; always having before our eyes our … community in the work, our community as members of one body." At the dawn of the new century, we must write a new social compact. We must be the authors of our time. We must master the new economy as One America. This is our challenge. This is our responsibility.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "Back to Work " Speech American University (3 pages)	09/08/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
Back to Work A [American] Univ [University] September 9, 1997

2006-0469-F
db3406

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(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 9/8/97 7pm

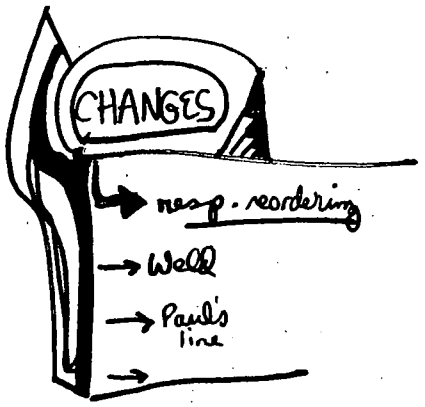
PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

"BACK TO WORK" SPEECH

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, DC

September 9, 1997



pursuant to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 9/8/97 11:30am -- slightly revised for speech prep

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"BACK TO WORK" SPEECH
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC
September 9, 1997

[*Acknowledgments*] You have come back to school. I have just come back from vacation. And this is a time when all America -- and those of us here in Washington -- are going back to work. It is a moment of genuine hope for our country -- a time of earned optimism for America. I wanted to talk to you, and to the country, about what we must do in the coming months to make the most of this opportunity, to prepare our nation for the world of the 21st Century.

It is now almost six years since I first sought the office of the Presidency. It was a time a time when America seemed to be moving toward the new century with uncertain steps. Dramatic changes in the way we live and work threatened the values by which we live our lives. And from that first day I declared my candidacy, I said that our mission must be to keep the American dream alive for all who would work for it; to keep America the world's strongest force for peace, freedom, and prosperity; to bring our people together, across all the lines that divide us, as one America. To keep America's oldest and most enduring values -- opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all -- strong and vibrant in a new and different time.

Renewing our values and using them to create new times -- that is the wellspring of America's greatness, the way our nation has remained young and strong for over 220 years. Our nation was not founded on religion or race or geography, but on a set of incandescent ideals. At every moment of challenge and change, we Americans have found a way to keep them not musty

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

words scratched on parchment, but living guideposts for each new era.

For 4 ½ years, ~~American has~~ worked to make this time of change work for our generation. We set a bold new economic course, reducing the deficit by over 80% even before the budget agreement, expanding exports through over 200 tough trade agreements, and investing in our people. We set about establishing American credibility in the post-Cold War world, forging new alliances and standing up for our values from Bosnia to Haiti. And we addressed a generation's accumulation of social problems, bringing work and responsibility to bear on the challenge of welfare and crime. We began to build a new government -- a government neither intent on doing everything, nor content to do nothing, but a government ~~that gives~~ people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

Today, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains below 5%. We have created nearly 13 million jobs since 1993. Inflation remains stable. Investment growth and consumer confidence are at their highest levels in a generation. And after decades when they remained flat, at last family incomes are beginning to rise again.

Now, America has reached a new pinnacle of progress. In late July, I signed into law the first balanced budget in a generation. This was about more than numbers on a ledger. It embodies the single biggest increase in higher education since the GI Bill a half century ago; the single largest investment in health care since the passage of Medicaid in 1965; the restoration of benefits for legal immigrants and ~~millions~~ of dollars to help move people from welfare to work.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Eulogy for Justice William J. Brennan (8 pages)	07/28/1997	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Climate Change Event [pages 2-5] (4 pages)	07/24/1997	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Eulogy for Justice William J. Brennan (1 page)	07/28/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14455

FOLDER TITLE:
Brennan Eulogy: [Drafts/Mark-Ups]

2006-0469-F
db3407

RESTRICTION CODES

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Draft 7/28/97 3:30pm

97 JUL 28 PM 5:24

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

EULOGY FOR JUSTICE WILLIAM J. BRENNAN

ST. MATTHEWS CATHEDRAL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 29, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

cc Laura Capps

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MrB

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

Members of the Brennan family, Justices of the Supreme Court, Father O'Hara, Father Jordan: Morning Jamoyn.

MCs, Ann

Throughout American history ~~there are few~~ a few powerful ideals ~~so singularly powerful that they can~~ have transformed the lives of our people. There have been a few individuals so devoted to those ideals that they could hammer them on the anvil of history to reshape our land. Often when our nation ~~There have been few times~~ could have fractured, a few citizens have stepped into the breach, ~~that have demanded such extraordinary leadership, when~~ a bringing us together, moving us forward. ~~nation that could have fractured was brought together.~~

Justice Brennan found those ideals in the Constitution. ~~These ideals~~ ~~were written in our Constitution; the time~~ time and time again he stepped into the breach to ~~was our own; and that rare individual was the man we~~ hammer them on the anvil of our history, saving for our nation ~~remember today -- William Joseph Brennan, Jr.~~ unfinished pushing us always together, always forward.

We thank God for his life and work.

Burning

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-29-93

America at its best is Justice Brennan's America.

Today we recall his shining decency and grace; ~~which~~ made ~~of his~~ out of his philosophical foes some of his closest personal friends. We recall his humility, ~~his warm smile, his devotion to his family~~, his pride in his heritage, the stunning ~~and~~ almost inexplicable empathy that let him walk in the shoes of those whose lives were so different from his.

We recall the legal giant, the "balance wheel" whose ~~intellect and civility~~ molded the Supreme Court into an instrument of liberty and equality during tumultuous times.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

~~The man Justice Brennan was, and the work Justice Brennan did, were one and the same. It was his deep love of humanity, his respect for the dignity of his fellow men and women, that impelled his love of the Constitution.~~

For Justice Brennan, the phrases of ~~that document~~ the Constitution were not archaic abstractions, ~~they were~~ he living, vibrant guarantees of the freedom ~~that~~ equality God gave us. ~~And~~ It because of him, those ~~faded~~ old words came alive in our lives as well.

Today, the votes of all Americans have equal weight – because of Justice Brennan. The press can "freely and robustly" debate the great issues of the day, ~~without fear~~ – because of Justice Brennan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

Women can break down barriers of discrimination ~~to make the most of their potential~~ in the workplace – because of Justice Brennan. And ~~we now recognize that our basic charter of freedom~~ the Bill of Rights, ~~applies~~ to every state in America, ~~and that~~ giving ordinary citizens ~~can seek~~ redress when their rights have been violated by government – because of Justice Brennan ~~and what he did~~.

Lives were lifted up and America was summoned to live up to its highest ideals – because of Justice Brennan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

As a young man coming of age in the South, I ~~saw~~ lived

the shame of segregation. I know what it meant when the

Supreme Court unanimously spoke and said Little Rock

Central High School must open its doors to all. ~~That flash~~

~~of lightening lit our community and changed it forever~~.

And I know now that this transformation was written into

our law by Justice Brennan. ~~He was then, as he remains~~

~~today, one of my heroes~~ – a model for law in service of

~~principle~~, a reason Hillary and I chose the path we have

chosen.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

Freedom can be a difficult business, bringing new discomforts and new demands in its wake. Our understanding of the Constitution will change, as it must change, along with our times; that is its genius.

But this much is clear: the rights for which Justice William Brennan fought for four decades – his understanding that the framers intended the Constitution to serve each new generation as a dynamic charter of freedom – his unshakable commitment to the dignity of every individual – these are his gifts to the next generation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-29-97

In ~~a few hours, Justice Brennan will be laid to rest at~~ Arlington ~~National Cemetery, the place where Amer~~ica ~~buries her heroes and patriots~~. Tonight, the sun will set over those hills, but the light Justice Brennan lit will never be extinguished, and the life he breathed into our most cherished ideals will never die. ~~No one ever~~ loved his country ~~more~~ fiercely; ~~no one ever~~ gave himself ~~to it more~~ fully; ~~no one ever~~ strengthened it ~~more~~ profoundly ~~than~~ ~~Bill Brennan. We will miss~~ him.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~I am determined that we will lead -- responsibly, flexibly, making sure that we promote prosperity as we protect the environment. We have no choice --~~ and the scientists gathered here today will explain why.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-97

Years ago, scientists could not be sure that human activities would influence our climate. But today, the evidence is in, the science is solid, and what was once theory is now fact: Global warming is for real. On this fundamental issue, the scientific debate is over.

The world's scientists believe that if we do not cut our emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt the global climate. In fact, the overwhelming majority of scientists take their conclusions one step further.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

They believe there is ample evidence that human activities are disrupting the global climate already today.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-97

~~Our scientists are issuing clear warnings about what will result if we stick our heads in the sand and refuse to act.~~ And that If we stay on our current course, average global temperatures may rise 2 to 6 degrees Fahrenheit in next century. To put this in sobering context, the difference in average temperature between the last Ice Age and today is only 9 degrees Fahrenheit.

10-12,000 yrs ago

If we fail to act, scientists expect that our seas will rise 1½ feet or more over the next century, and thousands of square miles of Florida, Louisiana, and other coastal areas will be flooded.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Infectious diseases will spread to new regions. Severe heat waves will claim the lives of more of our citizens. Our agriculture will suffer, and severe droughts and floods will be more common than ever.

The United States must confront this challenge head-on. As I pointed out recently at a special session of the United Nations, we have only 4 percent of the world's population, and yet we produce more than 20 percent of its greenhouse gases. For the sake of the planet and our own people, we simply must act.

In December, the nations of the world will convene in Kyoto, Japan, to come up with an agreement on how best to achieve meaningful emission reductions worldwide.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Below now to Reen

Working with the American people, this Administration will bring to the Kyoto conference a strong American commitment to realistic and binding limits on our emissions. ~~And let me be clear:~~ ~~Environmental protection and economic growth go hand in hand~~.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-97

~~In Kyoto, we will~~ emphasize flexible, market-based approaches. ~~We will~~ embrace research and development efforts that can help provide the technology to meet the new goals. And ~~we will~~ ask all nations -- industrial and developing -- to participate in a common solution.

I know that the nations of the world can work together to defuse the threat of global climate change.

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Draft 7/28/97 3:30pm

'97 JUL 28 PM 5:42

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
EULOGY FOR JUSTICE WILLIAM J. BRENNAN
ST. MATTHEWS CATHEDRAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
July 29, 1997

Members of the Brennan family, Justices of the Supreme Court, Father O'Hara, Father Jordan:

Throughout American history there are few ideals so singularly powerful that they can transform the lives of our people. There have been few individuals so devoted to those ideals that they could hammer them on the anvil of history to reshape our land. There have been few times that have demanded such extraordinary leadership, when a nation that could have fractured was brought together. These ideals were written in our Constitution; the time was our own; and that rare individual was the man we remember today -- William Joseph Brennan, Jr.

America at its best is Justice Brennan's America. Today we recall his shining decency and grace, which made philosophical foes some of his closest personal friends. We recall his humility: his warm smile, his devotion to his family, his pride in his heritage, the stunning and almost inexplicable empathy that let him walk in the shoes of those whose lives were so different from his.

We recall the legal giant, the "balance wheel" whose intellect and civility molded the Supreme Court into an instrument of liberty and equality during tumultuous times.

The man Justice Brennan was, and the work Justice Brennan did, were one and the same. It was his deep love of humanity, his respect for the dignity of his fellow men and women, that impelled his love of the Constitution. For Justice Brennan, the phrases of that document were not archaic abstractions, they were living, vibrant guarantees of the freedom that God gave us. And because of him, those faded words came alive in our lives as well.

Today, the votes of all Americans have equal weight – because of Justice Brennan. The press can "freely and robustly" debate the great issues of the day, without fear – because of Justice Brennan. Women can break down barriers of discrimination to make the most of their potential in the workplace – because of Justice Brennan. And we now recognize that our basic charter of freedom, the Bill of Rights, applies to every state in America, and that ordinary citizens can seek redress when their rights have been violated by government – because of Justice Brennan and what he did. Lives were lifted up and America was summoned to live up to its highest ideals – because of Justice Brennan.

As a young man coming of age in the South, I saw the shame of segregation. I know what it meant when the Supreme Court unanimously spoke and said Little Rock Central High School must open its doors to all. That flash of lightening lit our community and changed it forever. And I know now that this transformation was written into our law by Justice Brennan.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks of Dedication Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial (3 pages)	05/01/1997	P5
003. paper	RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14456

FOLDER TITLE:
[Roosevelt Information]: [Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial]

2006-0469-F
db1923

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

Draft 5/1/97 8am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS OF DEDICATION
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
May 2, 1997

Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield, Your Highness, David Roosevelt, Mr. Vice President, members of the Roosevelt family, my fellow Americans:

These are the acres of our greatness. Today, in this place of beauty and reverence, we honor Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States of America and the greatest president of this, the American century.

FDR wanted no memorial. And for years, none seemed necessary. It was often said that the America he built was his memorial: from the Golden Gate Bridge to the Lincoln Tunnel, from Social Security to honest financial markets, from the Orange Bowl to the Grand Coulee Damn. Though most of us never lived under his leadership, we have heard about it so often, from parents, or grandparents, that he seems as if he is still vital, still alive – as if that era of sacrifice and drama was just yesterday.

But children grow old; the world turns; and now, a half century after he left us, it is fitting and appropriate that we dedicate this memorial, to pay tribute to to FDR his remarkable wife Eleanor, and the heroic generation that changed America. This memorial will stand in our nation's most revered space and answer Franklin Roosevelt, who said: "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the twentieth century, there came a time when men of good will found a way to unite, and produce, and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, and intolerance, and slavery, and war."

As we stand at the end of that century, at the dawn of a bright new one, let this memorial also remind us of fundamental truth. Whenever America has acted with confidence and conviction and hope -- when we have acted with certitude of purpose yet flexibility of mind -- we have always been equal to the challenges of each new time. Let this memorial remind us of who we are, and what we can be.

We must always remember how deeply the Depression had sapped that native American confdidence. On the day he took office, bread lines snaked through the streets of our great cities; farms were abandoned to an advancing army of dust; fully one third of the nation was out of work. New and dangerous dictators around the world proclaimed themselves the future. And here at home, there were many who wondered if the democracy bequeathed us by Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln was too shopworn for the task of a new and different time.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life "must be regarded as one of the commanding events in human destiny." He came from privilege, yet he understood the

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aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. He electrified the farms, but more important, he electrified the nation, instilling confidence with every tilt of his head and boom of his laugh.

At our moment of supreme peril, he declared simply that his goal was to revive the fundamental virtues proclaimed by the founders. He sought to make opportunity as real in a time of big institutions and mass production as it had been when Jefferson wrote and Lincoln strived.

He declared his creed when he ran for President in 1932. "Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of an old social contract. . . . The task of statesmanship has always been the redefinition of theses rights in terms of a changing and growing social order. . . . New conditions impose new requirements upon government, and upon those who conduct government."

We saw his confidence in that creed when he set in place a strong and unapologetic government, one able to meet those national challenges that would overwhelm the efforts of individuals and communities; when he defied economic orthodoxy to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust; when he banished the poverty of our parents from our shores; when he helped millions of Americans keep their farm, own their home, send their children to college.

We saw his confidence in that creed when he committed our nation to lead the world – first as the arsenal of democracy, then at the head of a great crusade to free the world from totalitarian tyranny; when he set the foundations for the future even before the war began – for alone among victorious powers in the world's history, our goal was not domination but a dominion of freedom and a world of peace.

We saw it when he inspired millions of ordinary Americans to take responsibility for one another, "doing their part" through the NRA, reclaiming nature through the CCC, gathering scrap and nylons, storming the beaches at Normandy and Okinawa and Anzio.

We saw it when -- in the face of terrible personal adversity -- he guided his country from his wheelchair, and never, never gave up.

Through all this, FDR presided, and always, always, with a smile, with savvy and guile, with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership -- an open American spirit.

Today, we stand at the edge of a new century. The strong foundation that Roosevelt built has lasted until this day; our prosperity and power are unrivaled in the world. Today, at this sunlit moment at the edge of a new century, we hear no alarm bells in the night. But though our challenges are not heralded by the crash of a stock market or the roar of bombs, we face quiet crises of our own that tax our creativity and test our spirit.

For we, too, live in a time of extraordinary change -- a time of onrushing technology, a

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time when new livelihoods demand new skills, a time when when we struggle to make our rich racial and ethnic diversity a source of strength. We know that those same powerful forces of progress that offer so much hope threaten to pull us apart, breaking our communities into isolated atoms of individualism, prompting more and more of us isolate ourselves behind walls of indifference. We look at the sense of sacrifice and fellow-feeling on display in this memorial, and wonder if we will ever feel that again.

How can we hold to our deepest obligations in this new time? How can we make the dream of opportunity real in a world where education matters more than ever before? How can we hold high the flag of freedom in a world of new and changing threats? How can we address the stubborn problems of poverty and race, when we see that too many of our fellow citizens are still ill clothed, ill housed ill fed?

My fellow Americans, the lesson of Franklin Roosevelt and his brave generation must be this: At every moment of testing in our history, the American people have responded as one nation to reclaim those values upon which we were founded. With flexibility of program but certitude of principal, we must have the creativity of purpose to meet the challenges of our moment. If opportunity is to remain real for those who will work for it, if we are to join in a true community, we must summon the same confidence, vigor and dedication as we seek to master the challenges of our times. For the true legacy of Franklin Roosevelt is not a set of programs but a set of commitments – the duty that we owe to one another, and to America.

As you walk today through this magnificent memorial, as you look at the sculptures and contemplate the waterfalls, I want you to think not only about the stirring images of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. Turn around, And look out at the stunning vista before you – the monuments to Jefferson, and Washington, and Lincoln. These are our guiding stars.

Today, as we gather beneath the holly trees, in sight of the great monuments of our democracy, let us declare: The true monument to Franklin Roosevelt -- and to those generations who came before him -- must be to continue their journey. Our history will not stop here, at the edge of the Potomac, at the end of this century. We cannot know what challenges, what crises, the future will bring. Today our mission must be to prepare America for its history to come -- to prepare our people to be the heroes of their own time. Today, we must write our own history, build our own living monuments for the Americans of the next century.

Let us take heart from the last words Franklin Roosevelt ever wrote. In a speech he never gave: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Todd Stern to Don Baer, Michael Waldman; RE: State of the Union draft (1 page)	01/17/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "America's Challenge" State of the Union Address [pages 2,3,5,7,8,9] (6 pages)	01/16/1996	P5
003. memo	Lisa Guide, Mike Gauldin to Don Baer; RE: Secretary Babbitt's recommendations on environmental element to the President's State of the Union Speech (2 pages)	01/19/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Alfalfa (2 pages)	01/25/1996	P5
005. memo	John Sawhill to Bruce Babbitt; RE: Proposed Suggestion for inclusion in the State of the Union Address and Phone number (2 pages)	01/11/1996	P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] 96 Comments

2006-0469-F
db1924

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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To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union -- 1-16 draft
Da: January 17, 1996

I think you guys have done a very good draft. A couple points:

- First, I'd do the stuff about preparing the nation to meet the economic challenges of the 21st century before crime and drugs. To me, it makes more structural sense and gives the thing less of an arbitrary feel. You start with the world, move down to the big economic stuff, then crime and drugs and common ground stuff.

- Second, I think the fourth challenge is a little weak. 'Giving people the tools they need' isn't nearly as strong as saying "I know your incomes haven't gone up enough in the last 20 years, we have to do everything we can to make sure ordinary Americans get the fair shake they deserve and share in this nation's wealth." Also, I would do the "education/21st century" challenge before the fourth, probably using the "These are good times for America" paragraph as the opener for the education/21st century challenge. So the flow would be: "we're doing great; this is what we need to keep America on top in the new century; and ordinary hard-working Americans must get a fair share.

- Third, given that our budget mantra includes the environment as one of our four central pillars, we've given it pretty short shrift -- a single paragraph not very convincingly added to the fourth challenge. Not only that, but the thrust of even that one paragraph is that 'the environment doesn't have to slow economic growth and we'll be flexible with business.' It's fairly defensive. Since this issue is a winner for us as compared to the Republican right, I'd turn the rhetoric up loud and proud.

I've also made a handful of interlineal comments, most significant of which is that, in bolded introduction to personal responsibility section, it'd be better to challenge people to *take personal responsibility* for whatever (building better community, better country, better world) than to ask people to *reach within themselves to find a new sense of responsibility*, because latter formulation makes it sound as though people are deficient, and lots of people think their sense of responsibility is just fine. Phrased slightly differently (in the way I have suggested or in some analogous way), I think it's fine.

Anyhow, good work and hang in there. If I can help in any way, just let me know.

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great ideals: First, our belief in progress -- that every American can dream of a better future, and that hard work can make those dreams come true. Second, our love of liberty. And third, our ~~constant struggle~~ to find common ground.

Now, at another moment of great change, our challenge -- America's Challenge -- is to find a way to preserve these old American ideals in new times. America's Challenge is to call on citizens in all walks of life to join together ... to win the war on crime, to renew our public schools for a new century, to give Americans health care and economic independence so they can be the winners of change.

The answers will not come from here in Washington alone, or from individuals acting alone. They will come from all of us, acting together -- in our communities, our churches, our businesses, our homes, our neighborhoods, and, when necessary, through our government. We must ask more of ourselves, and expect more from one another.

We will only rise to our challenges by speaking honestly about the duties we owe one another and the possibilities of what we as a nation can do together. So tonight, I want to speak directly about eight great challenges that America must meet as we move into the next century. For America was built on challenges, not promises.

America's first great challenge lies with all of us here tonight: to put our partisan differences aside and balance the budget.

It is wrong to leave our children a legacy of debt. I am proud that my administration cut the deficit nearly in half in 3 years. The federal government is now the smallest it has been since 1965. Now we must finish the job.

Earlier this month, I presented to the Congress a balanced budget with tough cuts in wasteful spending. According to the Congress' own economists -- the Congressional Budget Office -- my plan makes real cuts and balances the budget in seven years.

And it balances the budget in a way that reflects our values.

We have a duty to honor our parents. And we can balance the budget without devastating Medicare or Medicaid. To anyone who would undercut Medicare, let me make myself clear: I will not let it happen.

We have a duty to our children, and to future generations. And we can balance the budget without cutting education or the ~~gutting~~ harming the environment.

We believe in work and responsibility. And we can balance the budget while ending welfare as we know it.

We believe in helping families who are trying to raise their children. We can balance

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the budget while still providing a modest tax cut. And certainly without raising taxes on working families.

That's the right way to balance the budget. And if this Congress gives me the line-item veto, as you have pledged to do, I pledge tonight that I will balance the budget.

In recent weeks, I have spent many hours negotiating in good faith with the Republican and Democratic leaders of Congress. Already, we have agreed to more than enough spending cuts to balance the budget, with enough left over for a modest tax cut.

~~In his 1862 State of the Union message,~~ President Lincoln said to another Congress: "We cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered -- in spite of ourselves." We, too, will be remembered. So I say tonight to you, Mr. Speaker, to you Mr. Majority Leader, to all the leaders of this Congress: Let us not be remembered for partisan bickering. Let us be remembered for seizing this moment of national unity. For the sake of our children, for the sake of the country, let us balance the budget -- and do it now.

And finally, let me say this: America is the greatest nation on earth -- we are its leaders, and we must behave responsibly. No public servant should ever threaten the full faith and credit of the United States. And no public servant should ever -- ever -- shut down the government again.

Balancing the budget is the beginning of our challenges, not the end. Our second great challenge is to make sure that America faces up to our responsibility to lead the way to peace in the world.

This century -- the American century -- our country has led the fight for freedom and peace -- and won. Because we did, more people than ever before live free, more nations enjoy peace -- and our own people have had half a century of prosperity and security.

But as the Cold War fades, the voices of indifference and fear grow louder. They say America should retreat from the hard work of leadership. I say they are wrong. All over the world, people look up to America not only because we are strong -- but because of what we stand for -- and what we stand against. And though it imposes extra burdens on us, they trust us to help them seek the blessings of peace and freedom.

Because of our leadership, tonight, there are no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or citizens. More Americans have jobs here at home because we're working to open markets abroad. In Haiti, the dictators are gone, the democrats are back and the flow of refugees to our shores has ended. In Northern Ireland, girls and boys can now dream of the simple blessings of a normal life.

In the Middle East, Arabs and Jews are learning to live side-by-side. The American

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to its first responsibility, to keep its citizens safe . . . and citizens are living up to their responsibility, by coming out from behind closed doors and shuttered windows to help one another. Tonight, for the first time in decades, we can say that America is winning the battle against crime.

But we have not yet won the war. We still face the challenge to make the defense of our streets as important as the defense of our shores.

That means keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. Under the Brady Bill, already 45,000 criminals have been stopped from buying guns. And that is why, if anyone tries to repeal the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, I will ~~veto it.~~ Stop them.

That means putting more police on the street through community policing -- walking the beat, working with neighbors, catching criminals and stopping crime before it happens. And if ~~Congress~~ anyone tries to gut the law that will put 100,000 more police on the street, I will ~~veto it.~~ stop them.

In the days after the Oklahoma City bombing, Americans wore T-shirts with a simple slogan: "A society that makes war against its police officers had better learn to make friends with its criminals." Those officers put their lives on the line to protect us, every day. We owe them our help, our support, our gratitude, and most of all, our undying respect.

We can cheer the drop in crime. We cannot begin to meet our other challenges until we break the culture of crime that engulfs our young people. Crime among juveniles is the one kind of crime that continues to rise. A few years ago, I spoke to grade school children in South Central Los Angeles. They told me that their biggest fear was getting shot on the way to school -- and their second biggest fear was being forced to join a gang when they turn 12.

We need more efforts like the boys and girls clubs in Chicago to steer young people away from drugs and crime.

People who live in public housing should live decent lives without being terrorized by gangs. Tonight I am asking every housing authority to take all steps necessary to drive gangs from public housing. From now on, for public housing residents involved in drugs and crime, the rule will be: One strike and you're out. I am directing our nation's prosecutors to prosecute violent juveniles as adults. And I am directing the FBI and other enforcement agencies to target gangs that involve juveniles in violent crime. It is time to break the gangs the way we broke the mob.

We must stop the scourge of illegal drugs among young people. Tomorrow, I will nominate General Brian McCaffrey -- a four star general and an architect of our victory in the Persian Gulf -- as my new Drug Czar. Today, he commands our military's campaign against drug kingpins in Latin America. Soon, I hope he will command a campaign to teach our nation's youth that drugs are wrong, deadly, and against the law. Thank you, General

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provide pensions for their employees, so that every American can share the responsibility of saving for retirement. I propose that every American be allowed to join the federal workers retirement system. If it is good enough for federal workers, it should be good enough for employees of small businesses across the country.

I assume this is being carefully vetted

Economic growth and environmental protection go hand in hand. We should say to business: if you can meet tough pollution goals, we will let you figure out how to do it in the cheapest, most efficient way. We will give communities the right-to-know what toxic chemicals are being released into their neighborhood, by expanding our pollution disclosure order. And we will launch a "brownfields initiative" to waive the rules and call off the lawyers for businesses that develop abandoned industrial sites.

What? I don't get this. What does it mean?

And if we honor work, then work must pay. Two and a half million Americans -- many of them women with children -- earn the minimum wage, and it is at a 40 year low. A year ago, I called on Congress to raise the minimum wage. Since then, the value of the minimum wage has dropped $250 -- while Congress' pay has gone up [x]. That's wrong. Congress should increase the minimum wage.

We will all be stronger the more our companies invest in the long term and treat their workers like their most valuable asset. Last month, the Malden Mills factory in Massachusetts burned to the ground, taking 2400 jobs with it. The mill's owner could have cut his losses and left his workers behind. That's not what he did. Here's what he said at the time -- quote: "I don't consider the workers an expense that can be cut. I know in the long run that what I'm doing today will come back tenfold." His name is Aaron Fuerstein, and he is with us tonight. We salute him; and pledge to learn from his example. [*Mr Fuerstein will be in the First Lady's box.*]

Fifth, to renew the American dream of opportunity for all, I challenge parents, teachers and students -- and business and community leaders -- to join a national mission to renew our public schools for the challenges of the 21st century.

Our best economic strategy is also our best opportunity strategy.

America was the first nation to believe that every child deserves an education. For two hundred years, the public schools raised up generation after generation, and taught us what it meant to be an American. They have opened the world of math and science and poetry and history to the sons of farmers and the daughters of factory workers. Next year there will be more young Americans in school than ever before. Yet today, our schools are not ready for the new era. Our schools have low standards, dilapidated and crowded classrooms, and only chalkboards in the age of the microchip.

To make our school succeed at this moment of change, tonight I propose a four-part challenge to renew every level of education in America for the new century.

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[When you say "4-part challenge" you must follow with "1st", "2d", "3rd", "4th" or people will get hopelessly lost. I couldn't figure out what the 4 parts were 'til the end]

First, We must raise our sights. We should insist that every teacher meet basic competency standards . . . that every student meet national standards of excellence . . . that every parent take responsibility for their children . . . and that every school be held accountable for results.

Second, Every state should give parents the right to choose their child's public school. And if the idea of choice in public schools is to be real, we must give parents and teachers the right to start better public schools -- charter schools -- if the current ones do not work.

Third, We must recognize that technological literacy is now as important as learning to read, write, and do math. Our goal is clear: when we walk into any school in the 21st century -- five years from now -- we should see every classroom connected to the outside world . . . a cutting-edge computer accessible to every student . . . and teachers with the skills and the software to make technology as exciting in the classroom as it is in the video arcade. Tens of millions of parents have watched their children play every video game from Mortal Kombat to Killer Instinct. From now on, the most important computer game in America must be learning.

Tonight I challenge educators, scientists and business leaders to join in connecting the schools and prepare our people for the future. If a company or community is willing to donate money to put new computers in the schools, we will match that donation dollar for dollar. (*policy decision needs to be made*)

Fourth, It is not enough to make our public schools the best in the world. We must make it easier for deserving Americans to go to college. We have already made it easier for people to pay back their college loans.

And last year, I asked the Congress to make $10,000 of college tuition costs tax deductible. If businesses can deduct the cost of their equipment, then families should be able to deduct the cost of a college education.

Tonight, I propose two more steps to open the doors of college for people who are willing to work hard and excel. First, a $2000 merit scholarship for the top 2% of graduating students in every secondary school in America. Second, a dramatic expansion of college work-study, so that 1 million young Americans will be working their way through college by the Year 2000. (ck)

Higher standards. Public school choice. Technology in the classroom. And an aggressive strategy to open wider the doors of college. That is my education challenge. Because when our schools succeed, America succeeds.

To take personal responsibility for building a better community, a better country, a better world,

America's ~~eighth~~ sixth and perhaps most important, challenge is this: to live up to our values, and restore a sense of right and wrong, in our daily lives. I challenge Americans in all walks of life to reach within themselves and find a new sense of personal responsibility.

Responsibility, I may not appreciate President implying that there is.

I don't like sound of this -- "reaching within themselves for personal responsibility." Everyone might respond to a call to come together, give of themselves to their community etc. But the way you have it will rub many people wrong I think. An awful lot of ordinary people won't, at all, think there's anything [illegible] their current sense of

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As Americans, we more than any people on earth should recognize the truth of the Gospel: "To whom much is given, from them much is required." We need a rebirth of ethics, of values, of the moral code that this country was built on. Only if we share a community of values, can we value community.

Throughout our history, Americans have always joined together as neighbors and citizens to build strong communities and a strong country. We need that spirit more than ever today.

That means:

- We in this chamber should give the government back to the people. In the past year, we have already applied to Congress the laws that apply to America, banned gifts and meals from lobbyists to lawmakers, and forced the lobbyists to fully disclose who they are working for, what they are spending, and what bills they are trying to pass or kill. But we all know that special interests give too much money in political campaigns. And we should all take personal responsibility for changing it. There is a strong, bipartisan campaign finance reform bill, waiting for action. Let's pass it without delay.

- We must challenge our young people not to get pregnant or father a child until they are ready. Tonight, I am pleased to announce that a group of prominent Americans have answered this call, and are forming a new national organization to enlist the media, business and communities to help our young people do the right thing.

that abortion should be rare -- but that it is

- I believe in a woman's right to choose ~~an abortion~~. Some people deeply disagree. But I challenge people on both sides of the abortion divide to find common ground. At the very least, let us do what we can to encourage adoption, and unite the hundreds of thousands of eligible parents who want a child with the thousands (ck) of babies who need a loving home.

-- not the government's right --

- We must challenge every father to take responsibility for his children. Spend time with your child, love your child, and take an interest in your child's daily life. And if you owe child support, pay it. Your child needs you. You cannot walk away.

- We must challenge those who produce and market cigarettes to take responsibility for your actions. ~~Sell your products to adults, if you wish. But draw the line on children.~~

Why don't we concede this. Weak & unnecessary.

- All of us working together must find a way to do something about violence and sex on TV. We must challenge the media to put more education and less sex and violence on TV. And challenge parents to turn off the set if they don't.

- We must challenge every citizen to give something back to their community through service. I am proud of what the national service program, AmeriCorps, has done to put 25,000 young people to work in communities -- raising reading scores, pulling

9 It is wrong to try to attract children to smoking. Don't do it.

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MEMORANDUM

1/19/96

TO: **Don Baer,** White House Director of Communications

FROM: **Lisa Guide,** deputy director of communications
Mike Gauldin, director of communications
U.S. Department of the Interior

Re: Secretary Babbitt's recommendation on environmental element to the President's State of the Union speech.

This follows up on Secretary Babbitt's memo to the President last week concerning the State of the Union Address.

In order for the environment to become a positive issue in the next election, it needs to be a visible issue. For that to happen, the President needs to take aggressive steps to inject the topic into the public debate. The GOP now know they can't give us a Clean Water Act or Endangered Species Act to veto -- it would play into our hands. They know they should not do anything more to make this a major issue. They know, as we do, that if the environment is an issue, the only person who can benefit is the President.

Without a major initiative by our Administration, and by the President personally, the environment likely won't factor in decisions by voters. It won't hurt the President. But it won't help him, either.. The topic must be made newsworthy; President Clinton can do that, while at the same time enhancing his themes of common ground and community.

Secretary Babbitt suggests this theme for the State of the Union Address:

* * *

"Part of building community requires protecting the land and water that we all use and depend on for eating, drinking and enjoying life.

"But for much of the last century, we allowed our once-great bodies of water to become polluted, many of them to the point where they could no longer support the life of a community. But that is no longer the case. This is one area where success is undeniable.

"For the past 30 years, Americans have used such environmental laws as the Clean Water Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act to improve the quality of the landscape around and within their home towns; to improve the quality of their lives. We have cleaned up mighty rivers and small ponds. We have restored our natural resources so that today we have cleaner air and purer water than at any time in this half century.

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"As our waters have been renewed, many of our older industrial cities have seen an economic rebirth, spurred by the restorative powers of a cleaner, healthier waterfront. In Cleveland some 30 years ago, the Cuyahoga River burned and Lake Erie was pronounced dead. But today, a site that was once a symbol of national shame and embarrassment is a symbol of hope and restoration. And so it must be for the rest of this nation.

"When the Clean Water Act was written in 1972, its goal was to make every river, lake and stream in America swimmable and fishable.

"But now a small minority in this Congress wants to roll back the very laws that have resulted in this progress. Tonight, I say once again, that I will not allow laws which protects our communities, our health, and our spirit to be ripped apart.

"Rather than giving up a war we're winning, we must redouble our efforts. Despite the great improvement in water quality, many American still have reason to doubt the purity of their drinking water supply. There are places in this country where a child still can't enjoy the simple pleasure of walking down to the local stream, throwing in a line and catching a fish the family can eat for dinner. Places where farmers can't drink water from the well on their land. That is not right, and we can do better.

"We will not weaken the Clean Water Act. We shall strengthen it. We will find more ways to help communities restore their waterfronts and their drinking water. The American people will be given what they want and what they've been working toward for 30 years: A Nation in which, once again, every river and stream is safe and clear and pure. We will accept nothing less."

-30-

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POTUS Alfalfa
1/25/96 6:22 PM
draft

Good evening President Powell, President Bush, Senator Johnston, distinguished guests and the ladies and gentlemen of the Alfalfa Club. I know it's getting late so I'll try to be brief. The CBO estimates that tonight's dinner won't finish till one in the morning. And according to the OMB, we've been home in bed for two hours.

I'd like to thank the Alfalfa Club for inviting me here this evening.....I bet some of you think I raised your taxes too much.

I do have one announcement before I continue: Secretary Rubin has asked that we all refrain from the dessert served by the Alfalfa Club because the Treasury Department is holding a bake sale in the lobby.

For those of you who've come in from out I town, you should know that everyone in Washington is talking about this mysterious new novel, Primary Colors. Well, I'm halfway through it and I can't figure out which character is supposed to be me.
.....There is a "ragin' cajun" in it. He seems an awful lot like George Stephanopoulos.

I'd like to congratulate the Alfalfa Club for standing up to the right wing of the Republican party and nominating Colin Powell to be your president.

I recall reading an article in the paper that General Powell was at one time considering running for president. I remember thinking that during the x months he served me as Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, Colin never said anything to indicate he

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was interested in running for my job. Although frequently during meetings in the Oval Office, he mistakenly sat in the wrong chair.....

Although, something I read about his book tour made me think he was interested in the job. He was not only signing his book but vetoing copies of Newt Gingrich's.

But then came his dual announcement that he was a Republican but not a Republican candidate. What he didn't answer was: was he a Republican before his six million dollar book deal?

It's a pleasure to see General Powell and President Bush on the same dais in the month that we celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Persian Gulf War. Five years ago, we were all glued to CNN as we brought Iraq to its knees. And today we watch C-Span as the American government brings the American government to its knees.

I see Senator Lugar is here tonight. I know that he is campaigning for my job. And I understand why. If I were a thoughtful, moderate Republican in this Senate, I'd be thinking about another line of work too.

As you know, I had a long talk with Senator Lugar and his colleagues on Capitol Hill this week during my State of the Union Address. In the speech, I issued seven major challenges for the American people and our government. Last year, word got back to me that I went on a little too long. So I tried my hardest to keep it brief. I thought that tonight, I'd read from an early draft of the speech and share with the Alfalfa Club some of the challenges that ultimately got cut in the interest of time:

- I challenge all of Dick Morris' clients to find common ground.

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The Nature Conservancy

John C. Sawhill
President & Chief Executive Officer

International Headquarters
1815 North Lynn Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209
TEL 703 841-5300
FAX 703 841-1283

TO: Bruce Babbitt

FROM: John Sawhill

January 11, 1996

PROPOSED SUGGESTION FOR INCLUSION

IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Proposal:

The Federal Government Should Provide Incentives for Private Landowners to Help Achieve Our Nation's Environmental Goals.

Discussion:

This proposal hits on the President's themes of protecting the environment from a hostile Congress, of finding ways to do this that are viewed positively by private landowners, and of devolution of authority and responsibility to local organizations and individuals. It parallels many of the proposals the Secretary has talked about for better implementing the Endangered Species Act, and could be targeted to help further Clean Water Act and Safe Drinking Water Act goals as well. The cooperation and initiative of private landowners is absolutely essential to meeting the nation's conservation goals, and this initiative speaks directly to those landowners.

Specifics:

1. Provide Estate Tax relief for landowners who donate conservation easements on their lands to national, state or local conservation groups.

   Such relief is very important to the protection of wildlife habitats and high-quality watersheds from subdivision and development caused by the need of successors to pay large estate taxes. Senators Dole and Chafee have included a version of such estate tax relief in the rescission bill, but support for it is hampered by poor targeting mechanisms. These could be improved by introducing science tests.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Chris Jennings, Jennifer Klein to Michael Waldman, Gene Sperling; RE: State of the Union (3 pages)	01/18/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] Memos, Materials, etc. 1996

2006-0469-F
db3408

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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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]

TO: Michael Waldman
Gene Sperling
FROM: Chris Jennings
Jennifer Klein JK
DATE: 1/18/96
RE: State of the Union

Assuming you want them, attached please find a few comments on the health care section of yesterday's draft of the State of the Union.

If you need language about what should be done to prevent fraud and abuse, how about: "I challenge the Congress to pass tough legislation to give our law enforcement agents more tools and guaranteed funding to investigate and prosecute fraud and abuse in Medicare and Medicaid." (Keep in mind that there is bipartisan agreement on the new guaranteed funding to fight fraud and abuse. However, the Republicans create exceptions to anti-kickback rules, limit prohibitions on physician referrals to laboratories in which they have a financial interest, and put new obstacles in the way of enforcing fraud and abuse.) The President can also talk about creative ways the Administration is fighting fraud. For example, we are about to begin a demonstration project that will reprogram the Los Alamos nuclear detection computer to detect fraud in Medicare. (If you are interested, we are getting the specifics.)

In addition, I have a few general thoughts. The health care section seems out of context. I think it's worth referring to the budget fight again for two reasons. First, because all of the things you talk about in the section after insurance reform have nothing to do with the challenge. If you start with a nod to the budget, the discussion of fraud and abuse and protecting the guarantee under Medicaid make more sense. Second, because it helps explain why the President is taking only a few small steps toward reform (albeit things that people really care about, like portability). You can remind people that the President is still committed to reform but that this year we are fighting hard to make sure we don't take steps backward -- so that people don't lose the critical services they get today from Medicare and Medicaid.

Please feel free to call if you need anything.

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America. Second, a dramatic expansion of college work-study. I want to make it possible for 1 million young Americans to be working their way through college by the Year 2000.

And tonight I ask colleges and universities to make a promise to those hard-working students -- don't let the cost of college rise faster than Americans' incomes.

We owe our children something else as well. We must stand up together as adults to protect our children from the glorification of violence and degradation of values that assault them every day.

We must say to those in the entertainment industry: create TV shows as if your own children were going to watch them. And parents, if you don't like what your children are watching, turn the thing off.

To those who produce and market cigarettes, we must say: take responsibility for your actions. Sell your products to adults, if you wish. But draw the line on children.

We must challenge our schools to teach ethics and values. And if it will stop children from shooting children for designer shoes, then schools should be able to require student uniforms.

We must challenge our young people not to get pregnant or father a child until they are married. Tonight, I am pleased to say that a group of prominent media, business and civic leaders have answered my call for a new national campaign against teen pregnancy.

Higher standards. Technology in the classroom. An aggressive strategy to open wider the doors of college. Teaching our children right from wrong. That is the duty we owe our children.

America's third challenge is this: we must change the ~~rules so people can take~~ health insurance from job to job.

NOTE: None of the proposals being discussed would prevent this.]

It is wrong that insurance companies compete by cutting off coverage to sick people. It is wrong that Congress has not passed a law to change that. We should enact reforms to stop insurance companies from denying you coverage ~~or raising rates~~ when you ~~are~~ changing jobs, because you or a member of your family have a preexisting condition. Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum and Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy have introduced a bill to make the rules fair. ~~It is bipartisan, and it is strong.~~ Send it to me, and I will sign it.

[It is not strong.]

We should help give small businesses the same purchasing power to buy health care as big businesses, and find a way to ensure that if you lose your job, you ~~don't lose~~ your health care.

We need to crack down on Medicare fraud, which costs [x billion] every year. But

5

[NOTE: Our proposal and Kennedy-Kassebaum do allow insurance companies to impose [illegible] for a period of time.]

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government should not have to do it alone. I challenge the American Medical Association to stop standing in the way of tougher prosecutions, and take responsibility for policing your own.

This is really unfair. They have never stood in the way. And the vast majority of doctors are honest. They don't need to be "policed."

people with disabilities

And I challenge Congress: It is one of the great strengths of our country that poor children, and ~~the disabled~~ have a guarantee of quality health care. It is a good thing that older Americans ~~know~~ they will receive quality care, so they can live out their lives in dignity. As long as I am President, I will stand up for these basic values.

people will notice that he's left out pregnant women. Is this intentional?

have a guarantee that

My fourth challenge is this: government and businesses must join to give our people the tools they need to become winners of economic change.

America's economy is growing, steady and strong. Over the last three years, we have had the strongest growth of any major economy. The combined rate of inflation and unemployment is the lowest in 27 years. Home ownership is at its highest rate in 15 years. Businesses have created over 7 million American jobs. Businesses owned by women employ more people than the Fortune 500 combined. Three years ago, we were losing jobs in construction; today, we have gained nearly 800,000. A decade ago, the auto industry was on its back. Today, Detroit is beating Japan for the first time since the 1970s.

Also, if you don't say older people have a guarantee, it will be viewed as a signal that he is backing off the guarantee for the elderly.

Thanks in no small measure to the work of Vice-President Gore, the federal workforce is the smallest in 30 years, and getting smaller every day. We have cut 16,000 pages of unnecessary rules and regulations. Government works better, costs less, and produces results, not red tape.

Today's economy offers real opportunity for our people; our challenge is to ensure that all Americans reap the rewards.

That is why I challenge Congress to pass my GI Bill for workers. It would consolidate 70 overlapping job training programs, and give the money directly to American workers to pay for tuition at a community college or training at their next job. People who need new skills shouldn't have to waste their time waiting in line at a government office.

We should make it easier for small businesses to start pension plans, and easier for Americans to save for their retirement.

And businesses have a responsibility to make sure that pensions are secure. If Congress sends me legislation that lets big companies raid their workers' pensions, I will veto it.

And we all have a responsibility to honor work and make work pay. Millions of Americans -- many of them women with children -- earn the minimum wage, now at a 40 year low. A year ago, I called on Congress to raise the minimum wage. Since then, its value has dropped $250 -- while Congress' pay has gone up [x]. That's wrong.

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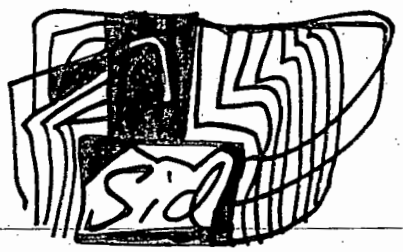
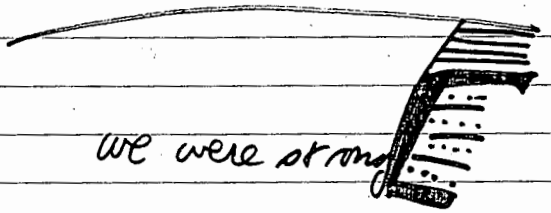


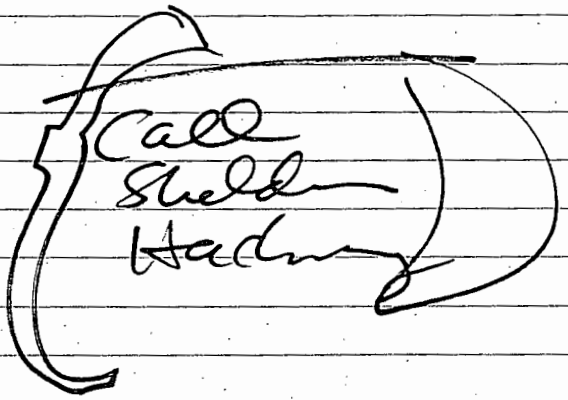
Blum talked to him

avoid: AOP. Tony Blair. → his Blackpool speech

// Sid-letter



if we had failed to transform



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Robert Rubin to the President; RE: State of the Union Address (6 pages)	01/16/1996	P5
002. memo	Al From to the President; RE: State of the Union Themes (5 pages)	12/26/1995	P5
003. memo	Jonathan Sallet, et al. to Laura Tyson, et al.; RE: Pursuing the President's Educational Tehcnology Initiative in 1996 (8 pages)	01/09/1996	P5
004. memo	Robert Rubin to the President; RE: State of the Union Address (5 pages)	01/15/1996	P5
005. memo	Ronald Brown to the President; RE: 1996 State of the Union Address (3 pages)	12/26/1995	P5
006. memo	Fredrico Pena to Kitty Higgins, Don Baer; RE: Themes and Messages fro the State of the Union Address (1 page)	12/21/1995	P5
007. memo	Dan Porterfield to Kitty Higgin, Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Speech (2 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
008. memo	Roger Johnson to Kitty Higgins, Donald Baer; RE: Call for Suggestions for State of the Union Address (1 page)	12/21/1995	P5
009. paper	RE: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	12/28/1995	P5
010. memo	Chief of Staff to Kitty Higgins, Don Baer; RE: State of the Un ion Themes and Messages (5 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
011. memo	Duplicate of 004 (3 pages)	12/26/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
Cabinet Memos - SOTU [State of the Union]

2006-0469-F
db3331

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. memo	Frederico Pena to Kitty Higgins, Don Baer; RE: Themes and Messages for the State of the Union Address (1 page)	12/21/1995	P5
013. memo	Dan Porterfield to Kitty Higgins, Don Baer; RE: State of the Union speech (2 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
014. memo	Roger Johnson to Kitty Higgins, Donald Baer; RE: Call for Suggestions for State of the Union Address (1 page)	12/21/1995	P5
015. memo	Todd Stern and Helen Howell to the President; RE: Recent Information Items (1 page)	12/22/1995	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
Cabinet Memos - SOTU [State of the Union]

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MEMORANDUM FOR Laura Tyson
Don Baer
Gene Sperling
Bruce Reed
Greg Simon

FROM: Jonathan Sallet
Paul Dimond
Mike Schmidt

SUBJECT: Pursuing the President's Educational Technology Initiative in 1996

DATE: January 9, 1996

The first half of 1996 offers an opportunity for the President to present a compelling vision to the nation of students across America using technology as a tool to expand their education and their opportunities. That vision can be summed up in the challenge already announced by the President -- to ensure that all of K-12 students are technologically literate by the dawn of the 21st century. The goal of technological literacy means more than simply teaching children how to operate a computer: it is the capstone of the four pillars -- computers, connections, teacher development & educational software -- that the President has announced and, with those pillars, it serves as the fulcrum from which our children can use the lever of their new skills to move the world in the next Century.

We suggest that the President and Vice President announce the creation of a **National Report Card on Education and Technology** that would be issued at the end of each school year for the next five years by stakeholders representing all of the involved communities, including state/local governments, educators, teachers, businesses, students and parents at a national summit to be convened by the federal government. The National Report Card would tell the nation how well we are advancing on the critical goals outlined by the President:

-- The number of modern, multimedia computers available to each student in each classroom;

-- The percentage of classrooms connected to each other and the outside world;

-- The percentage of teachers who are ready to use technology in their teaching; and

-- The extent to which educational software and similar materials are available to students for use in their classrooms.

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The meeting at which the Report Card is issued would also provide an opportunity for stakeholders to announce further actions to achieve each one of these goals.

At the end of January (hopefully in the State of the Union and at the stand-alone event discussed below), the President would announce that, at the end of this school year, he would convene the first such conference to issue the first such assessment and forge a consensus on what must be done. In order to demonstrate the kind of actions that are necessary to ensure that the national grade keeps going up and up, the President would, at the same time, announce actions, directed at each of the four goals, that can now be taken by the federal government, businesses and educators. Indeed, at the initial roll-out the President could stand next to a large blank, or interim, report card in order to help demonstrate what needs to be done.

This memorandum will discuss the background of the President's educational technology initiative and suggest how the National Report Card can be launched.

I. Background

Almost two years ago, the Vice President challenged America's business to connect every classroom (along with libraries, hospitals and clinics) to the Information Superhighway by the year 2000. He emphasized the importance of ensuring that our students are not left out of the Information Society and of guaranteeing that our society is not divided between information "haves" and information "have nots". A few weeks later, the President repeated this challenge in his State of the Union Address. In the first part of 1995, the Vice President built on that vision when he launched the Department of Education's Technology Learning Challenge Grants.

This fall, the President -- in San Francisco and Washington -- voiced his desire to ensure that all American children are technologically literate by the dawn of the 21 st Century. He pledged that the Administration would soon unveil a national vision detailing how the nation would fulfill this goal through the accomplishment of four principles:

-- making computers available to every K-12 student,

-- connecting those computers to each other and the outside world,

-- ensuring that teachers are able to develop their technological skills so that they are able to use technology effectively in the classroom, and

-- stimulating the supply of educational software and associated materials that will form a critical part of each student's learning experience.

The essence of the President's vision is, of course, larger than just these four goals. The greater purpose is to prepare our children for the revolutionary changes that they will face as the opportunities of the Information Age unfold. Equipping our schoolrooms with computers and

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associated technologies will ensure that children learn more and learn better and that they are better prepared for a workplace that increasingly demands technological skills as the price of admission. Use of educational technology also will help parents be better connected to schools and their children' teachers and will help teachers be better prepared to help students learn..

We will promote people, not just technology. That is why we must energize a national effort that, through combined private and public actions, will demonstrate concretely to Americans why their children will be advantaged when the President's vision is realized and will demonstrate that a critical mass of resources is available to get the job underway. That work should feature American's biggest corporate names, teachers, parents and, of course, students themselves.

The President and the Vice President have already laid the foundation for that effort by meeting with top CEO's, including Michael Eisner, Gerald Levin and George Lucas, in September and October. Since then Administration officials have met with parents' groups, educators and businesses; talked with teachers; and, at the beginning of December, convened day-long sessions with stakeholders. From this intensive outreach effort, several conclusions have appeared:

First, leadership by the President and the Vice President is absolutely essential. Unlike many great national missions of the past, the pursuit of the President's vision will not be run and financed by the federal government. Rather, citizens at every level of government must come to believe that the goal is important and their contributions are vital. Only the bully pulpit of the Presidency can issue a challenge that reaches to every living room, classroom, school board and teachers' lounge.

Second, a considerable consensus already exists that the President's principles accurately grasp the essence of the agenda that must be accomplished. Thus, there is less demand for the creation of the details of policy execution and more demand for the overarching vision that only the President can provide.

Third, a great deal of effort is underway already -- but it tends not to be widely known and information about current resources can be hard to come by. That means that a good deal can be accomplished through non-federal efforts that explain the importance of educational technology to American citizens and that make information about existing activities more accessible -- if those efforts are connected to the message from the President and Vice President.

Fourth, considerable enthusiasm exists for further efforts -- from businesses, educators and parents. Many high-technology businesses have included educational technology in their business plans because they see a growing market for technology hardware and educational materials. Some of those, and some others, are willing to pledge public-service activities around the nation, such as the NetDay 96 effort (announced by the

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President in September) that will connect 20% of California classrooms by the end of the school year. Educational associations, local school officials and teachers' groups are also ready to do more along the lines of what the President already announced -- the creation of the U.S. Technology Corps and the American Technology Honor Society. And, of course, the federal government's actions will catalyze other efforts. But -- and this is an important point -- we cannot expect to assemble on a single day in a single place all of the resources necessary to do the whole job. The goal should be to assemble a critical mass of resources that, with the President's leadership and energy, will set off a chain reaction that propels the nation forward. And to establish the framework in which, as new actions are announced and implemented, they are seen as additional steps in implementing the President's overarching vision.

The opportunity is, therefore, ripe for the President to unveil his national vision as the launching pad for a national effort that will combine Presidential leadership with implementation in every community. Where, in the last century, neighbors came together to build a schoolhouse or raise a barn, Americans now can raise their schools to the technological level demanded by the next century.

II. Launching the National Report Card

The President's challenge to the nation -- that every student be technologically literate by the dawn of the 21 st Century -- provides the opportunity for the Administration to launch a national effort through a new kind of national mission -- one that is based on Presidential leadership and shared resources.

The greatest obstacle to the implementation of the President's four pillars for educational technology (computers, connections, teacher development and educational content) is neither technological or pedagogical. It comes from the need to answer one question that will be posed by taxpayers, parents, teachers and students in every community: "Why in a time of limited resources and numerous demands, should we make the special effort to ensure that our children can use technology to be better educated and to work and thrive in the 21st Century??"

Every time we answer this question, we should picture the President sitting at a table in a local school-board meeting room with a dozen parents, or in a teachers' lounge with overburdened teachers or in a classroom with students.

The President's answer should be communicated in multiple ways:

-- Directly, with the bully pulpit of the Presidency,

-- By example, through the development of critical pathways that demonstrate to these parents the concrete benefits that will flow to their children (including national recognition of educators, teachers and students who are outstanding in

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their effort to bring technology into their schools, federal programs that fight against informational apartheid and stimulate new, creative activities in local communities; and better sharing of information about current efforts.)

-- Through the marshaling of private actions that will validate the President's direct message and demonstrate to communities that the President's goals are achievable.

The National Report Card will demonstrate a shared commitment to progress, as the grades get higher every year through efforts of all kinds. It will symbolize the neighborly pursuit of a shared responsibility .

III. Action Items for the Launch of the National Report Card

Each of these goals can be realized in January and extended in the coming months. (Attached is a tentative schedule of possible, major Presidential and Vice-Presidential events through May. We would anticipate, of course, that additional actions and events would be available throughout the year in all part of the nation).

January 8-15: Videotaping the President and/or Vice President. The President's National Information Infrastructure Advisory Council will be releasing a 10-minute videotape (jointly produced by AT&T and Disney) explaining the benefits of the information highway that would be distributed nationally. It is possible, for example, that it will be made available to video stores across the nation for free "rentals" by the parents and that it be broadcast on cable television. We have been invited to contribute a 60-90 second statement from the President and/or Vice President that would close the videotape. This is an extremely good opportunity.

January 29-31: National Report Card. The Advisory Council is meeting in Washington to conclude its operations and issue its final report (which is generally supportive of the Administration's initiatives, although in some areas, particularly encryption, will ask the Administration to change its policies). The Council is likely to take further action, as well, on its "Kickstart" initiatives, which are designed to boost citizen involvement in educational and other public-use technologies. The Advisory Council is itself a very distinguished and diverse group (co-chaired by Ed McCracken of Silicon Graphics and Del Lewis of National Public Radio) with which the President should meet.

Meeting with the Council also offers the opportunity for the President to create the National Report Card, to demonstrate great private-sector support beyond that of the Council for his national effort, and to issue his national vision (which is now being prepared.). The public and private initiatives that are being worked on now for possible inclusion support each of the President's four principles:

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Content:

-- A Presidential instruction to governmental agencies to provide their electronic information in a manner that is easily available and easily used by schoolchildren,

-- Create a model for the procurement of educational software through the joint efforts of the Department-of-Defense schools and the Council of Chief State Officers,

-- Introduce a White House educational software Olympics at the end of the summer in which students could compete using software systems developed over the summer by high-school students working with university teams,

-- Announce a private-sector initiative to create new inter-active components that could be used by software developers, teachers and students to create new curricula, like an intelligent periodic table of elements,

Teacher Development

fed/business match – $ for $

-- A new federal matching program would assist school districts to raise the funds needed to train teachers, as well as to purchase new, multi-media computers,

$

-- National teacher, school board and parents' associations will create the nation's first "Teacher Corps", which will recognize and assist those teachers (and perhaps parents) who have, by developing their own technology skills, become a critical resource for the 90% of teachers who have not,

every business adopt a teacher

-- AT&T is working to create a "Teacher and Technology" Summit that will bring together major companies that have launched teacher-training initiatives (such as Microsoft and U.S. West) with educators to discuss the future of private-public collaboration (perhaps in collaboration with a national teachers' summit being planned by the Department of Education),

-- New accreditation and certification standards will be established by national organizations in order to ensure that teachers are technologically prepared,

Connections

-- A new private-public effort, led by the Vice President, will connect every K-12 school in every empowerment zone,

-- Progress towards the successful implementation of California NetDay and the call to launch NetDays in other states,

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Computers

-- A new federal matching program to support computer purchases by local school districts (described above)

-- The federal government will donate, and will encourage private business to donate, millions of dollars worth of excess and new computer equipment to schools. Wherever possible, we must arrange for the upgrading of these computers to ensure that they have modern, multi-media capabilities. Voluntary private incentives might be created to encourage similar donations by businesses or consumers.

Tax credit?

Each of these, and others, are in the process of being vetted and developed by the inter-agency working group on education technology.

Finally, the national roll-out could serve as the launching for a series of national communications efforts. That could include the publication by a number of national leaders of a "statement of principles" in support of the President's vision and plans for specific materials including: the AT&T/Disney videotape, a CD-ROM developed to display the President's vision, new cable programming and an instructional kit from the Software Publishers Association.

The purpose is not, of course, to simply announce a lot of activity. Rather, the release of the President's vision, supported by a statement of principles supporting the President's goals and concrete actions demonstrating how each of the four principles can be achieved, will demonstrate to the nation both the power of and the path towards the goal of technological literacy for all students.

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Attachment 1 -- Proposed 1996 Schedule

January 23:	State of the Union -- reiteration of the President's challenge.
January 30(?):	National Report Card with President and Vice President
February 17(?):	Empowerment Zone conference at which the Vice President announces the voluntary, private effort that will connect every K-12 school in an empowerment zone, thus demonstrating the importance of preventing informational apartheid.
March 9:	The President, Vice President and senior Administration officials work with volunteers in schools in California on "NetDay 96" -- the fulfillment of the President's pledge of September 21, 1995, to connect 20% of California classrooms -- and engage in related activities to demonstrate the full scope of the President's vision.
Mid-March:	The President gives the keynote address at the conference of Nation's Governors organized by IBM and announces how the model of NetDay, along with the other private and public efforts he has announced, can transform the nation's schools, possible with the announcement of other state NetDays,
May:	The President and Vice President appear at the first "National Report Card" conference at which educators, teachers, parents, businesses -- and students -- assess the progress made by the end of the 1995-96 school year and announce further efforts at meeting the President's goals in conjunction with a technology fair that features leading uses of educational technology from around the nation.

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THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kitty Higgins
Don Baer

FROM: Federico Peña

RE: Themes and Messages for the State-of-the-Union Address

You asked for my recommendations concerning potential themes and messages for the President's upcoming State-of-the-Union address.

The four-prong message the White House has been using (Leadership/Family/Opportunity/Common Ground) has proven very effective indeed. I believe the element of Family -- particularly the view of broader family or community typified by Americans' support for victims of Oklahoma City and the many natural disasters that have occurred in recent years -- should particularly be emphasized.

Within each of these overall themes, however, we believe the State-of-the-Union should highlight another aspect of Administration policy -- "Keeping Promises." At base, voters are dissatisfied because they see a disconnect between the promises of political candidates and campaigns and the actual execution of government policy. It is particularly important to address this concern as we move into this next year. And we have a terrific story to tell -- promises kept that don't receive much attention in the conflict-focused national media. (An effective variation on this theme is to contrast talk -- especially from members of Congress and the rest of the Washington establishment -- with real change-oriented action.)

The revitalization of America's economy was the central theme of the President's 1992 campaign, and the results are plain. As part of this core message, the President also emphasized the importance of "Rebuilding America" to compete economically. Here, too, we have some real achievements worth highlighting. Several from the transportation world are outlined below, using speech-style rhetoric to illustrate how it might work.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary

Washington, D.C. 20201

MEMORANDUM

To: Kitty Higgins, Don Baer

From: Dan Porterfield, DAS for Public Affairs, HHS

Subject: State of the Union speech

Date: 12/21/95

Secretary Shalala mentioned two themes for the speech.

First, and most important, she believes the speech should be bold and visionary. The President should speak to the American people as citizens, and not simply as taxpayers. The speech should be about the future of our country, and about our obligation as Americans to protect the hard-won legacy of the 20th century while having the courage to address the new challenges of tomorrow.

This century we won two world wars and the Cold War. We met the challenge of Sputnik. We integrated our society and shattered glass ceilings. We built a strong safety net for children and transformed the experience of growing old.

How did this happen? At our best, we committed ourselves to bold and relentless progress. We put the common good and common ground first. And we moved forward in a true spirit of partnership -- with citizens, families, communities, and states all doing their part, and the national government helping and sometimes leading.

Today, this tradition has been placed under seige. There are some politicians and special interests who, under the misleading mantle of federalism, are really trying to abolish the partnership between the national government and its people. That may be an opportunistic campaign theme -- but it's be bad for the country. We need limited government -- not absent government.

Because we do have a national interest in ensuring that work pays in this country. In guaranteeing a quality education to every child. In making sure that seniors can see a doctor and poor children are able to eat. In keeping tobacco out of the hands of children and guns out of the hands of criminals. In preserving the freedom of parents to raise their children as they want. In opening new international markets for our products and preventing international anarchy when we can.

These are American values that define us as a nation -- and preserving and achieving them requires federal leadership. We have shown that leadership for three years. We have achieved truly national goals for all our people -- everything from lowering the homicide rate to lowering the welfare rolls; from

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collecting record levels of unpaid child support to helping states increase the number of their citizens with health insurance; and from achieving the highest immunization rates in history to funding breakthrough discoveries against breast cancer and AIDS. This is good government, responsible government, limited government. We ought not give up on it.

Second, Secretary Shalala recommends that the President discuss the importance of a truly national partnership to help parents in the most important role any of us will ever: raising children.

The fact is, millions of parents are worried about the things their children are exposed to when they are outside the home: Alcohol. Tobacco. Drugs. Teen pregnancy. AIDS. Violence. As one parent said in The Washington Post, "I went from wanting my son to win the Nobel Prize to wanting him to survive."

Even as they worry about their children, parents are frustrated that they have less control than they would like. Many parents are working longer hours with less job security. They have less time to spend with their children. They're finding it harder to pay today's grocery bills while saving for tomorrow's college bills.

There are more families in which both parents are working. There are more single-parent families. There are fewer families that feel connected to strong, supportive communities. And there is more competition for their children's attention -- too often from influences like tobacco ads or glamorized images of drug use.

Secretary Shalala recommends that the President speak directly to the hopes, dreams and fears of these parents. As parents of a teenager, he and Mrs. Clinton deeply understand these concerns.

The President should tell America's parents that he stands with them. That's why he has taken on powerful interests -- the NRA, the media/entertainment industry, and the tobacco industry -- to put power back in the hands of parents. That's why he and his Cabinet have sent a clear and consistent message that it is illegal, dangerous, and wrong from children and teenagers to use drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. That's why he has led the fight for a private sector campaign to reduce teen pregnancy and lent his voice to the cause of AIDS prevention. That's why he has fought for young people in the budget battles -- gaining victories to ensure that summer jobs, drug free schools, and college loans are always there to give young people real options to say "yes" to. And that's why he has reached out to young people himself with a message of opportunity and responsibility.

Teenagers aren't just our national future -- they are our national present. They deserve safe passages, and we all must help them.

Thank you.

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Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

December 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR KITTY HIGGINS
Secretary, White House Office of Cabinet Affairs
DONALD BAER
Director, White House Office of Communications

FROM: ROGER W. JOHNSON
Administrator, U.S. General Services Administration

SUBJECT: Call for Suggestions for State of the Union Address

Thank you for the opportunity to share with you my ideas for themes and ideas for inclusion in the President's 1996 State of the Union address.

Domestic Policy

The President is perhaps never stronger than when he appeals to the American people's higher self and better nature. The President can rise above the nasty noise level of present-day ideologues by elevating his discussion with the Congress and the American people to a broader theme of what is needed in our political system to move the country forward and meet the challenges of the next century.

Much as he did in 1992 and since -- although the message has been grossly distorted -- the President can speak to the fact that old ideologies, as well as the newer, harsher mix of populist-libertarianism couched as conservatism, will not provide the solutions to new challenges brought on by economic and cultural transformations. He can recognize that old so-called liberal solutions will not meet the challenges, while pointing out the fact that the calls to dismantle the federal government by "devolving" federal programs to the states without measurements or standards of accountability is nothing more than an abdication of responsibility. There is a need for a strong federal government, but one that works in partnership with state and local governments and the private sector, and one that is flexible and more responsive to changing needs. Then the President can easily transition into his accomplishments under the National Performance Review framing them into language to which working Americans can relate (see attached letter to the Vice President, Columbus Dispatch article and *GSA Message from the Administrator* as examples).

Foreign Policy

In explaining why American involvement is needed in Bosnia and other foreign trouble spots, the President's speech before the British Parliament last month, which called for fighting the "forces of destruction," was again an appeal to our higher and better nature as Americans (see "Clinton Calls for a War on 'Forces of Destruction,'" L.A. Times, November 30, 1995). It was a concise message that best explained why America cannot retreat from its leadership role in foreign affairs. In fact, the President should repeat this message constantly until it becomes known as the Clinton Doctrine.

If you would like to discuss these issues in greater detail, please do not hesitate to call.

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Les Gelb

Dec. 28, 1995

It's a pretty good idea to ask people for their foreign policy ideas, because nobody has what they all say you don't have, namely, a policy. I don't have one of those things either because I'm now mainly a leader and a fundraiser. Who does that remind you of, a leader and a fundraiser without ideas? Give me a few more years to think about U.S. foreign policy. Meantime, I offer you some idle thoughts that might be useful in constructing a Presidential statement on that subject at this time.

What kind of statement do we (I mean the people, not excluding the attentive public) need now? Not one that has a finished policy and all the answers. Such a speech would be transparently too pat, and yet, full of holes. The speech, rather, should provide a sense of direction. Nor do we need another statement of goals. Everyone is more or less content with democracy and freer markets, whatever they mean by those words. Nor do we need a presidential analysis. Those who can, do; those who can't, analyze.

What we the people what to know, need to know, is where the President is trying to take us. We don't expect him to have all the answers to a new world we still barely understand. But precisely because the rules and rhythms of this new world remain so cloudy, we need to know how the President proposes to deal with the situation.

We Americans want to be in command of our own destiny. And to a large extent, we can be in command of our own destiny even in foreign affairs. Even where our resources now are so clearly limited, our resources exceed all others. Even where power is so dispersed and where our leadership is resisted, we can exercise leadership. Even where nations tug in all different directions, we can set the international agenda. Even when we so badly want to focus on our own internal problems, Americans instinctively understand the need for American leadership and sacrifice -- if the President explains clearly why leadership and sacrifice are important. Given the know-nothing and selfish mood that often seems to prevail in Americal these days, it is nothing short of amazing that we sent troops to Somalia, Haiti and now Bosnia, that we continue to spend $260 billion on defense, that we still station tens of thousands of troops abroad.

The President should praise the public's willingness to bear these burdens after 50 years of heavy burden bearing during the cold war. The continued carrying of this load bears testimony to the instinctive understanding of Americans that their future continues to be bound, intimately, to the world.

Never have Americans been so involved in the world from jobs to environment to security. And Americans know this. They will never return to isolationism. But Americans will also kick and scream and resist international action unless the President tells them why it's important and where it's all leading to.

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President Truman's message to Congress on aid to Greece and Turkey is a model of a leadership document. In its essentials, it tells Americans what's important, what threatens them and what the President intends to do about those threats and problems.

The Soviet threat was the problem then. Today, there are dozens of problems, each too small to center a policy on; all so numerous and overwhelming, people hardly know where to begin. The President has to help sort out the bigger ones from the smaller ones.

Security, physical and economic, is the heart of the matter. The stakes are that large. On the spread of weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery, the cancer of terroism, the growth and openness of markets, does our security stil hinge. As these matters go, so we will surivive and thrive, or not.

The world also threatens who we are. Thus, Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia. A world where people are slaughtered and nothing done about it, threatens America. If our leaders fail to give the victims a chance to save themselves, Americans will get the message: nothing matters. Such cynicism would destroy American democracy.

What can the United States do about all these threats and problems? How can we command our own destiny in such a world? There are two ways. First, we can and must lead where only we can lead. Lead means lead, not act alone, except in the rarest of circumstances. Second, we can and must build international and regional organizations, responsible and capable, to tackle othe problems and threats. If we fail to develop such organization, we will be condemned to live in a world where everyone's problem is our problem.

The President has to provide this overall sense of direction and leadership. In that context, he should also challenge America's foreign policy thinkers and leaders to fashion answers to particular problems (i.e. NATO expansion, global warming, etc.), solutions compatible with limited American resources. Pundits and experts should be reminded of the pitfalls of easy answers, for one day, they might be called upon to lead themselves. They also need to be reminded that no foreign policy can be sustainable if borne on the backs of needy Americans. Environmentalists should be challenged to make affordable solutions to their problems. Businessmen can be challenged to back freer trade in the public arena as well as the boardrooms, and to fathom the ultimate connection between rights and their rights. Proponents of missile defense can be challenged to square their demands for hundreds of billions with other security demands.

Well, this missive probably falls very short of what you wanted. But it's all that's in me. May President Clinton's speech far exceed my own offerings. Allbest.

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Penn Kemble

Friday, December 22, 1995

Today at last I got to think two grand thoughts for you on foreign affairs for 1996. (I also got to type them up myself.)

1. The world -- and, especialy, the United States -- is in a period of impressive economic expansion sustained by the realization that today there is no major threat to world peace. (Michael Steinhardt, a supporter of the President's, had a good "Outlook" piece on this in The Post a month or so back.)

It is not just that the Cold War has ended -- it could, after all, have given way to other forms of conflict. Nor should we think that the great surges in technology, investment and world trade just happened, all by themselves. These are all responses to a widespread perception that for the forseeable future the world can turn its attentions to the peaceful development of economic potential that until recently was either closed off or too uncertain a risk.

It is not unrealistic to think about the prospect of a long-term, global economic boom. Such hopes rest, however, on the ability of the world's democratic and social market economies to hold themselves together and to prevent conflict and disorder from threatening the general peace. Given the pace at which events move today, the potential of modern weapons, and the array of malevolent creatures that have crept out from under the melting ice cap of the Cold War, this will take no small effort. It will require the steady exertion of American military, diplomatic and economic leadership. It will require us to sustain the global movement toward democracy and the open economy that brought the Cold War to such a promising close.

Some may have expected that a "peace dividend" in the form of a huge shift of resources to domestic spending from our defense and foreign affairs budgets would come available at the end of the Cold War. We now can see it will be both more wise and more profitable to secure this dividend not by cashing out our investment in world leadership, but by maintaining our leadership at prudent levels -- and reaping the far more substantial rewards of a growing U.S. and global economy.

In sum, the growing global economy is the peace dividend. We need to keep the peace to sustain the prosperity. (We also

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need to sustain domestic policies that spread the benefits of the global economy beyond the elites of wealth and knowledge.)

2. The Administration needs to explain to the public at some point why it is important for the United States sometimes to act abroad against assaults on core moral and political principles, even when our physical security may not yet be threatened.

Over and over one reads that there is nothing going on in Bosnia that poses any threat to vital U.S. interests. This requires a very constrained definition of our national interests, rests upon archaic geo-political (as contrasted to information age) thinking, and flies in the face of the great lessons of Twentieth Century history.

The reality -- yes, reality -- is that beliefs and attitudes that ignite in one part of the world send up sparks that can sometimes catch fire in others. The demagogic ethnic hatred and contempt for the civilized world we have seen in the former Yugoslavia may not necessarily spread next door to Hungary or Romania. But the example set by the thugs and ranters of former Yugoslavia could inflame dark minds in many other places in the world that we can easily imagine. Both Fascism and Communism were contagious ideologies and political movements whose appeal leapt across geographic and even cultural borders.

In a world tangled together through electronic communications and the mobility of people, where destructive weapons are too easily available, statesmanship is more and more a matter of gauging which challenges to our values and ideas could grow into threats to our physical security, and how best we should respond to those that might. In Admiral Mahan's time, we were right to think hard about defending the sea lanes. Today we also have to think about the risks that can arrive through other channels.

I hope you and all at the NSC have a very satisfying holiday.

Best,

Penn Kemble

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Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

Michael O'Neil

21 December 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: Kitty Higgins
Don Baer
Cabinet Affairs Office
The White House

FROM: Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: State-of-the-Union Themes and Messages

1. When the President turns to world affairs, he will have another opportunity to underline the need for US engagement and leadership in an increasingly complex post-Cold War world. To meet the challenges of that world, we will need all three legs of national security working more effectively --and more closely together--than ever before. **We will need diplomacy that is engaged, military power that is strong, and intelligence that is alert.** As the President said during his visit to Langley in July: "The intelligence I receive informs just about every foreign policy decision we make. It's easy to take it for granted. But we couldn't do without it." Let me elaborate on how we see intelligence fitting into the current national security picture.

2. The Old and the New. In talking about the "post Cold War world", we assume that this new world can be defined by the era that preceded it. In fact this new world is still in a state of becoming, not yet of being. I believe that history will record the mid-1990s not as a post-war period but as the mid-point of an era of revolutionary upheaval. Even though the single greatest threat to world peace is gone, the nations of the globe still look to us in building a new world. But opportunity still co-exists with uncertainty. Because **unpredictability and surprise are the great dangers** of this new era, the work of diplomats, soldiers--and spies--has never been harder. **All of this accentuates the classic mission of intelligence: to serve as the nation's first line of defense.**

3. Traditional Threats Persist. Although the Soviet threat has passed from the global stage and into museums, intelligence must still worry about traditional aggression that can damage US interests. With rogue states like Iraq and North Korea continuing to threaten our friends and allies, Intelligence Community tip-offs--such as **the warning we provided on Saddam's movement South in 1994**--are needed to help the President head off aggression, as he successfully did on that occasion. With regard to North Korea, **the**

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Intelligence Community's detective work on P'yongyang's nuclear ambitions was a pivotal part of our success in halting a program that would have destabilized a region vital to US interests. Our intelligence officers must also continue to provide comprehensive assessments that help policymakers support positive change in places like Russia and throughout the Former Soviet Union and to encourage peace in areas such as the Middle East.

4. Unconventional New Challenges. At the same time, we are dealing with dangerous new phenomena, that in many cases **respect no borders and begin to blur the distinctions between protecting our interests abroad and our citizens at home.**

- At least twenty countries already have or are developing weapons of mass destruction--nuclear, chemical and biological--or missile delivery systems. Others are selling or transferring the technology to do this. **Intelligence has successfully uncovered many of these programs in hostile countries such as Libya, Iran, and Iraq.**

- Terrorist groups around the globe, including those attempting to operate within the United States, are showing increasing interest in these capabilities--**a trend that obliges intelligence to target a wide range of capabilities--from satellites to spies--on this most difficult of targets.**

- These problems, meanwhile, are becoming entwined with the activities of international organized crime, whose annual profits from narcotics and other sources now dwarf the GNP of all but a handful of countries. The successes intelligence has scored in this arena--against the Cali cartel and some very notorious terrorists--are the **by product of unprecedented close cooperation between the intelligence community and law enforcement authorities.**

- Murderous ethnic conflict, which has spanned three continents, and humanitarian emergencies now demand our urgent attention, with Bosnia being the most obvious case in point. **From deploying troops into Bosnia to delivering humanitarian aid in such places as Rwanda, our soldiers and our diplomats must be able to draw on intelligence support critical to saving American lives and defending American interests.**

This list obviously could go on, but the basic point is that the challenges to vital US interests are more complex than ever. Warning time may be short, and the consequences severe.

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5. Looking Beyond the Immediate. Intelligence is not just about telling officials--from the President in the Oval Office to the soldier in the field--what they can expect the next day, it's about telling them what they can expect over the next decade. The evolution in the global economy, the continued transformation in China, the information revolution, and the demands to tend to our environment all have implications for future generations. **Our intelligence officers must ensure that as we tend to the day-to-day demands to protect our nation and our interests, we never lose sight of the opportunities, challenges, and dangers that await us.**

6. A Final Thought. It seems to me that the President, more than anyone else, has recognized the need to revitalize the Intelligence Community. He has instituted a first-ever system to prioritize intelligence requirements for the nation. He has supported strong new leadership. He has supported the need for reform and the actions of Intelligence Community leaders determined to carry it out. As the President prepares to sum up the State of the Union, I believe he can be confident that the Intelligence Community is on the right path and that it will be effectively doing its part to guarantee America's security.

Michael O'Neil

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William H. Taft

27 December, 1995

I have been considering what points the President might most usefully touch on in addressing foreign policy issues during the course of the next month. Frankly, my sense is that recently the Administration's twin themes of leadership and international engagement in support of peace and freedom have been well-founded and are just beginning to pay some dividends; I would not seek to replace or significantly revise them. Indeed, inasmuch as there remains both at home and abroad considerable doubt about the Administration's steadiness, even small adjustments and initiatives should be introduced in relative quiet. The main task is to continue to strengthen America's capacity to lead. Only consistent policy and rhetoric can do this, whether we are considering either the domestic or the foreign elements of the problem. The temptation to revive rhetorical trade wars in an election year must be resisted.

Substantively, NATO is providing excellent material for the leadership theme currently, and the Administration should take advantage of this. Traditionally the least suspect of our foreign engagements at home, references to it should run through all our discussions with the Europeans as well. We should make sure both Brussels and Moscow (and Washington) know that we will be pursuing our foreign and security policy regarding them always in the context of the Washington Treaty.

U.S. relations with the Asian-Pacific countries, particularly Japan and China, are in very bad shape and drifting dangerously from one incident to the next. A strong speech by the President soon setting out America's approach and commitment to the region is essential. Nor should this be dominated by commercial issues. Before the Taiwanese election, the Administration needs to have settled with Beijing what will happen next. A policy and a major speech are the way to start.

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It would be nice to give a stronger boost to development and humanitarian assistance programs. My guess is, however, that the rhetoric on development, at least, will have to wait for the most part. The difficulty is the partisan atmosphere this subject creates. Both the Administration and Senator Helms evidently see more advantage in arguing with each other than reaching agreement on any policy. Bi-partisanship is absolutely essential if our policies in Europe, the Middle East and Asia are going to succeed. Unfortunately, it is simply not possible to maintain a bi-partisan consensus on the key parts of foreign policy if a partisan battle royal is running on another aspect. That's the real danger in the inevitably sterile discussion about development; it will take some important hostages down with it. Humanitarian relief will, sadly, sound its own cue; the President evidently knows well how to respond to that one and needs no advice from me.

WHT

William H. Taft, IV

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THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kitty Higgins
Don Baer

FROM: Federico Peña

RE: Themes and Messages for the State-of-the-Union Address

You asked for my recommendations concerning potential themes and messages for the President's upcoming State-of-the-Union address.

The four-prong message the White House has been using (Leadership/Family/Opportunity/ Common Ground) has proven very effective indeed. I believe the element of Family -- particularly the view of broader family or community typified by Americans' support for victims of Oklahoma City and the many natural disasters that have occurred in recent years -- should particularly be emphasized.

Within each of these overall themes, however, we believe the State-of-the-Union should highlight another aspect of Administration policy -- "Keeping Promises." At base, voters are dissatisfied because they see a disconnect between the promises of political candidates and campaigns and the actual execution of government policy. It is particularly important to address this concern as we move into this next year. And we have a terrific story to tell -- promises kept that don't receive much attention in the conflict-focused national media. (An effective variation on this theme is to contrast talk -- especially from members of Congress and the rest of the Washington establishment -- with real change-oriented action.)

The revitalization of America's economy was the central theme of the President's 1992 campaign, and the results are plain. As part of this core message, the President also emphasized the importance of "Rebuilding America" to compete economically. Here, too, we have some real achievements worth highlighting. Several from the transportation world are outlined below, using speech-style rhetoric to illustrate how it might work.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary

Washington, D.C. 20201

MEMORANDUM

To: Kitty Higgins, Don Baer

From: Dan Porterfield, DAS for Public Affairs, HHS

Subject: State of the Union speech

Date: 12/21/95

Secretary Shalala mentioned two themes for the speech.

First, and most important, she believes the speech should be bold and visionary. The President should speak to the American people as citizens, and not simply as taxpayers. The speech should be about the future of our country, and about our obligation as Americans to protect the hard-won legacy of the 20th century while having the courage to address the new challenges of tomorrow.

This century we won two world wars and the Cold War. We met the challenge of Sputnik. We integrated our society and shattered glass ceilings. We built a strong safety net for children and transformed the experience of growing old.

How did this happen? At our best, we committed ourselves to bold and relentless progress. We put the common good and common ground first. And we moved forward in a true spirit of partnership -- with citizens, families, communities, and states all doing their part, and the national government helping and sometimes leading.

Today, this tradition has been placed under seige. There are some politicians and special interests who, under the misleading mantle of federalism, are really trying to abolish the partnership between the national government and its people. That may be an opportunistic campaign theme -- but it's be bad for the country. We need limited government -- not absent government.

Because we do have a national interest in ensuring that work pays in this country. In guaranteeing a quality education to every child. In making sure that seniors can see a doctor and poor children are able to eat. In keeping tobacco out of the hands of children and guns out of the hands of criminals. In preserving the freedom of parents to raise their children as they want. In opening new international markets for our products and preventing international anarchy when we can.

These are American values that define us as a nation -- and preserving and achieving them requires federal leadership. We have shown that leadership for three years. We have achieved truly national goals for all our people -- everything from lowering the homicide rate to lowering the welfare rolls; from

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collecting record levels of unpaid child support to helping states increase the number of their citizens with health insurance; and from achieving the highest immunization rates in history to funding breakthrough discoveries against breast cancer and AIDS. This is good government, responsible government, limited government. We ought not give up on it.

Second, Secretary Shalala recommends that the President discuss the importance of a truly national partnership to help parents in the most important role any of us will ever: raising children.

The fact is, millions of parents are worried about the things their children are exposed to when they are outside the home: Alcohol. Tobacco. Drugs. Teen pregnancy. AIDS. Violence. As one parent said in The Washington Post, "I went from wanting my son to win the Nobel Prize to wanting him to survive."

Even as they worry about their children, parents are frustrated that they have less control than they would like. Many parents are working longer hours with less job security. They have less time to spend with their children. They're finding it harder to pay today's grocery bills while saving for tomorrow's college bills.

There are more families in which both parents are working. There are more single-parent families. There are fewer families that feel connected to strong, supportive communities. And there is more competition for their children's attention -- too often from influences like tobacco ads or glamorized images of drug use.

Secretary Shalala recommends that the President speak directly to the hopes, dreams and fears of these parents. As parents of a teenager, he and Mrs. Clinton deeply understand these concerns.

The President should tell America's parents that he stands with them. That's why he has taken on powerful interests -- the NRA, the media/entertainment industry, and the tobacco industry -- to put power back in the hands of parents. That's why he and his Cabinet have sent a clear and consistent message that it is illegal, dangerous, and wrong from children and teenagers to use drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. That's why he has led the fight for a private sector campaign to reduce teen pregnancy and lent his voice to the cause of AIDS prevention. That's why he has fought for young people in the budget battles -- gaining victories to ensure that summer jobs, drug free schools, and college loans are always there to give young people real options to say "yes" to. And that's why he has reached out to young people himself with a message of opportunity and responsibility.

Teenagers aren't just our national future -- they are our national present. They deserve safe passages, and we all must help them.

Thank you.

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Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

December 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR KITTY HIGGINS
Secretary, White House Office of Cabinet Affairs
DONALD BAER
Director, White House Office of Communications

FROM: ROGER W. JOHNSON
Administrator, U.S. General Services Administration

SUBJECT: Call for Suggestions for State of the Union Address

Thank you for the opportunity to share with you my ideas for themes and ideas for inclusion in the President's 1996 State of the Union address.

Domestic Policy

The President is perhaps never stronger than when he appeals to the American people's higher self and better nature. The President can rise above the nasty noise level of present-day ideologues by elevating his discussion with the Congress and the American people to a broader theme of what is needed in our political system to move the country forward and meet the challenges of the next century.

Much as he did in 1992 and since -- although the message has been grossly distorted -- the President can speak to the fact that old ideologies, as well as the newer, harsher mix of populist-libertarianism couched as conservatism, will not provide the solutions to new challenges brought on by economic and cultural transformations. He can recognize that old so-called liberal solutions will not meet the challenges, while pointing out the fact that the calls to dismantle the federal government by "devolving" federal programs to the states without measurements or standards of accountability is nothing more than an abdication of responsibility. There is a need for a strong federal government, but one that works in partnership with state and local governments and the private sector, and one that is flexible and more responsive to changing needs. Then the President can easily transition into his accomplishments under the National Performance Review framing them into language to which working Americans can relate (see attached letter to the Vice President, Columbus Dispatch article and *GSA Message from the Administrator* as examples).

Foreign Policy

In explaining why American involvement is needed in Bosnia and other foreign trouble spots, the President's speech before the British Parliament last month, which called for fighting the "forces of destruction," was again an appeal to our higher and better nature as Americans (see "Clinton Calls for a War on 'Forces of Destruction,'" L.A. Times, November 30, 1995). It was a concise message that best explained why America cannot retreat from its leadership role in foreign affairs. In fact, the President should repeat this message constantly until it becomes known as the Clinton Doctrine.

If you would like to discuss these issues in greater detail, please do not hesitate to call.

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001. memo	Bruce Reed to the Chief of Staff; RE: Weekly Report - New Ideas (9 pages)	12/07/1995	P5
002. memo	Todd Stern to Don Baer, Michael Waldman; RE: State of the Union (4 pages)	12/29/1995	P5
003. memo	Gene Sperling to Don Baer; RE: SOU Economic Theme [partial] (1 page)	01/17/1995	P5

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Weekly Report -- New Ideas

Here is a brief update on some of the long-term ideas under development for the State of the Union and beyond. This list is very much a work in progress: These proposals are still being vetted with policy and political advisers in the White House and around the agencies, and some may not stand up to deeper scrutiny. Meanwhile, the search for additional ideas will continue. Don Baer and I have been working on a process for the State of the Union to ensure that in preparation for the speech, we ask the Cabinet and prominent thinkers outside the Administration to submit their thoughts on what the President should say.

In the end, the State of the Union may not be the right moment to unveil our whole agenda -- either because it would be overshadowed by wherever we are in the budget talks, or because we want to keep enough new ideas in reserve so that the President can stay in the news and put forth a positive agenda while the Republican candidates are attacking us and one another throughout the spring. But we need to make sure that the State of the Union sets the tone for our new agenda, and that the FY97 budget leaves room for it.

This week's report will focus on first-tier issues: the economy, crime, education, and personal responsibility. Next week, I will say more about political reform, the environment, and other issues.

I. ECONOMY

The best way for the President to highlight his strong record of economic accomplishment is to put forward a positive, optimistic vision of economic opportunity. This is not just a matter of generating new economic ideas -- our actual policies have always been more appealing than the Republicans'. What we need is an overarching theory of economic growth as compelling and simple as their message of cutting taxes and cutting

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government. Here are two possible theories of economic growth that are consistent with the President's record:

1. Economic Reform and Self-Reliance: One way to describe what we have done and need to keep doing is the idea that there's nothing wrong with the American economy that can't be fixed by getting rid of old rules, old deals, and old arrangements. That is what reducing the deficit, lowering trade barriers, and reinventing government are all about -- stripping away laws and habits that were meant for another era and are a burden to American workers, taxpayers, and business. Now, we must unleash the full energy of individuals and the private sector by phasing out corporate welfare, reforming the tax code to reward savings and investment instead of access and privilege, reducing regulation, and continuing to make government work better and cost less. Our guiding principle would be Andrew Jackson's motto, "Equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none."

- **Phasing Out Corporate Welfare:** This would not only reduce the deficit, it would get rid of tax and spending subsidies that distort the economy and discourage innovation. It's a bigger downpayment on tax reform than the Republicans will ever offer. We don't have to wait for the State of the Union -- we could capture the issue once and for all in the budget talks right now. For example, as a good-faith effort to close the gap between our 7-year budget and theirs, we could propose paying for the tax cut through a base-closing commission on corporate welfare. We should link the size of the tax cut directly to the size of the corporate welfare cuts: if the Republicans want to go higher than $100 billion on the tax cut, they'll have to agree to an equally high number on the corporate welfare cuts. This proposal would win enormous editorial and public support, put the Republicans on the defensive on their tax cut, and establish a consensus Democratic position that if there's going to be a tax cut, it must be fully paid for. The commission could be designed with an annual trigger, so that each year it proposed enough corporate welfare cuts to pay for that year's tax cut (which would mean we would face relatively modest corporate welfare cuts in 1996).

- **Middle-Class Tax Reform:** What we can propose next year on tax reform depends largely on what is left to do after a budget deal. The Kemp Commission is likely to recommend a flax tax to Dole in January. That will leave us all kinds of running room, from narrow initiatives like tax simplification to broader proposals that encourage savings (like Lieberman's Kidsave idea to make the children's tax credit larger if parents put the money into savings). Rob Shapiro is working on a sweeping proposal that would close most loopholes but exempt personal savings and education as well as business research and development.

- **Ending Bureaucracy As We Know It:** We have never made an economic argument for reinventing government, but we should. The next generation of REGO ideas will make government smaller and more efficient, streamline regulation, and reduce fraud. For example:

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By the year 2000, no American should ever have to set foot in a government office: We can and should make every government service available by computer, telephone, or ATM card. (Already, people can pay their taxes, order stamps, and take care of their Social Security checks by phone.) That means we'll be able to close a lot of government offices -- but more important, no one will ever have to stand in line again. We may want to form a consortium with the private sector to ensure that this vision comes true.

The federal government will begin to measure performance, not red tape: If we end up with block grants in areas like welfare and training, we should make the most of it by getting out of the business of red tape and regulation and into the business of rewarding performance. We can't let federal agencies go on operating the same way as if nothing happened -- we should make a clean break. For example, we could close down the welfare office at HHS and replace it with a performance office (either at OMB or HHS) that keeps track of results but doesn't regulate or tell states what to do. We don't get enough credit for downsizing government because we never actually eliminate an office. This would be a chance to get out of the welfare business altogether (at little sacrifice, since the current bill mandates a 60+% staff cut anyway).

Common-sense regulation will promote economic growth: Paul Weinstein has been working with NEC, EPA, and Treasury on a Brownfields initiative that would provide a combination of tax incentives and liability relief to encourage cities and the private sector to develop abandoned industrial and commercial property. This proposal combines economic development and environmental cleanup in a way that appeals to suburbanites tired of seeing their "greenfields" developed as well as urban leaders who want to revitalize the inner city.

A high-tech war on illegal immigration, welfare fraud, and other criminal abuse: We now have the technology (fingerprinting, biometrics, DNA testing) to stop all kinds of abuses that drive most Americans crazy: trading food stamps for drug money, applying for welfare benefits in more than one state, dodging paternity, etc.

2. Democratic Capitalism: Another economic approach, which Bruce Babbitt championed in 1988 and we touched on in 1992, is the idea that enabling Americans to earn a bigger stake in their companies and their economic destiny will make America richer and more competitive. This is an optimistic, forward-looking answer to the wage gap: Every American should have the chance to be an owner, every company that rewards its executives should reward its employees, and every American who works hard should earn the right to take their pension, health insurance, and training with them wherever they go. In a Microsoft economy, the best way for a secretary's wages to keep pace with a star programmer's is for

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both to own stock in the same company or invest in the same mutual fund. This approach leads to market-based proposals with a populist edge:

- **Any company that gives bonuses or stock options to its executives should do the same for its employees**: Stocks and profits are soaring while wages are stagnant, but it does little good to plead with corporate leaders to "give America a raise." A policy of bonuses and options for all or none has more teeth -- companies could no longer deduct bonuses and stock options unless they're universal and company-wide. Individual ownership and workplace democracy could prove to be one of our most powerful weapons in reducing the income gap between the upper 20% and everyone else. Consider this: Wages and incomes for the average American have been flat for 25 years, but the stock market has nearly doubled after inflation. To underscore our commitment to workplace democracy, we could also experiment with citizen-owned government -- privatizing federal agencies by giving shares directly to citizens.

- **Companies that overpay their executives shouldn't get a tax break from the government**: In 1993, we eliminated the deductibility for CEO pay of over $1 million, but Congress riddled it with loopholes. We could strengthen it by reducing the threshold to $250,000 or $500,000, and by adopting Hank Brown's proposal to apply the rules to private as well as public companies. Brown would eliminate the deductibility of high salaries unrelated to performance -- for example, utility infielders who earn $1+ million to warm the bench.

- **Pensions, health care, and training should be portable, not entirely at the mercy of the employer**: We should be pushing portability in an optimistic way -- as a new freedom that will enable people to change jobs when they want, not just as a security blanket for workers who get laid off. The NEC is working on proposals in these areas (achieving portability is not as simple as it sounds), but the basic idea is that people who work hard should earn some independence as a result. In particular, we can put forward a series of measures on pensions: cracking down on pension ripoffs; warding off Republican efforts to make raiding easier; and stop making taxpayers pick up the whole tab for congressional pensions -- members of Congress should have to set money aside like everyone else.

II. CRIME

Rahm and I are working with the Justice Department on an aggressive anti-crime agenda for the coming year and beyond. We are focusing on three targets: youth violence, drugs, and reform of the criminal justice system:

1. Youth Violence: The overall crime rate has begun to decline on our watch, but random youth violence continues to increase, and is expected to get much worse by the end of the

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decade as the number of 14-17-year-olds goes up. We are looking at a host of ideas to stem the tide:

- **Declaring war on gangs, the way Bobby Kennedy declared war on organized crime:** We would want to know how much we can actually accomplish before taking on such an ambitious challenge. But there is no question that gangs are responsible for much of the crime and drugs on our streets, and have literally destroyed childhood for millions of young Americans. A war on gangs might include:

  - More aggressive gang prosecution, including: an FBI Most Wanted List of the 10 Most Dangerous Gangs, high-profile indictments of gang leaders, and an anti-gang community policing initiative through the 100,000 cops program.
  - Banning gang members from public housing: We've asked Justice for constitutionally permissible ways to restrict gang activity. One housing authority is using a two-strikes-and-out policy to evict repeat offenders.
  - Stiffer sentences for criminals who wear bullet-proof vests.
  - Target criminals with guns: Justice is developing police gun detectors that can spot concealed weapons. These could be deployed in combination with more aggressive use of constitutionally permissible police authority to stop and frisk suspicious characters for weapons.

- **Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free:** We are working with the Justice and Education Departments to build upon our record on school safety, which includes a nationwide youth handgun ban, drug testing of school athletes, zero-tolerance for weapons in schools.

  - Put a police officer in every public high school that wants one: We have talked with Secretary Riley about using existing funds from federal drug education programs to enable communities to put police officers in every dangerous school. There are about 10,000 public high schools in America, but requiring a local match (as we do in the COPS program) would keep the demand well below that -- probably in the range of $50-200 million a year.

  - Give schools a roadmap of constitutionally permissible ways to fight crime and drugs -- ranging from drug testing and locker searches to school uniforms: The Education Department has agreed to work with Justice on a set of constitutional guidelines for fighting crime and drugs, akin to the guidelines for school prayer. The Attorney General met with school officials in Long Beach this week to announce our interest in school uniforms.

  - Promote law enforcement ROTC in the high schools: NYPD Commissioner Bratton is pushing youth police academies as a way to steer teenagers toward discipline and law enforcement at an early age.

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- **Challenge states to change the way they deal with young criminals:** Justice has drafted legislation on federal prosecution of juveniles as adults. But the real challenge will be to get states to reform their juvenile court systems to ensure that young criminals are punished. Justice has developed a Youth Violence Action Plan that includes model standards for states.

2. Drugs: We will need to maintain the offensive on drugs, which Republicans view as our weak spot. One of our most important initiatives, Drug Courts, is up for grabs in the appropriations battle. Other possible initiatives include:

- **Drug testing for parolees:** This initiative is ready to be announced at any time.

- **Zero tolerance for professional athletes:** It is time to close the revolving door for professional athletes like Darryl Strawberry, Steve Howe, and Dwight Gooden, who are repeatedly suspended for drug use, but manage to make their way back onto the field. We should challenge baseball and other professional sports to no longer tolerate drug use -- period. Imagine the message it would send to young people if athletes actually had to act like role models, and if using drugs meant the end of their professional career rather than a slap on the wrist. It should be a privilege to play in the major leagues, not a right.

- **Challenge high school coaches to adopt drug testing for athletes.**

3. Shutting the Revolving Door: Americans are fed up with the criminal justice system. We can't solve the problem on our own, since 95% of crime is state and local -- but we can ill afford to ignore it.

- **Make swift and certain justice the law of the land:** The federal system is actually a model of swift and certain justice: every defendant gets a speedy trial, every victim has certain rights, and every convicted felon serves his entire sentence. The real trouble is in the states. The Crime Bill gives states and localities billions of dollars to hire police, build prisons, and overhaul their systems. Now we should set forth a compelling vision of the national standards we expect them to meet. Every state should have a Speedy Trial Act, a Victims Bill of Rights, certainty of punishment for young offenders, drug testing for prisoners, and Truth in Sentencing for everybody. A sound three-strikes policy should be the law of the land.

- **Every victim has the right to a lawyer:** Many lawyers, if they do pro bono criminal work at all, do it on behalf of defendants on death row. There's nothing wrong with that, but why aren't we challenging the legal profession to do more to help victims and not just accused criminals? For example, we should urge the ABA membership to make a pro-bono national commitment that every victim of domestic violence who needs a lawyer can get one, free of charge. We should also find out whether we could make it easier for lawyers to do pro-bono work to assist prosecutors and police.

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III. EDUCATION

Carol and I met with Secretary Riley this week, and he agreed to come back to us next week with ambitious proposals on charter schools, school safety, work study, and technology. All these initiatives build on our achievements thus far, and contrast nicely with the Republicans' agenda.

- **Every public school in America should be accountable for results, and any parent who isn't satisfied should have the right to choose another public school for their child:** One of the best things we could do to spur reform would be to lead a national campaign for charter school and public choice laws in every state (19 states already have charter laws on the books, although some are too weak). The Education Department is also developing a bold federal initiative to provide start-up money for up to 1,000 new charter schools. Public school choice and competition should become as universal as public education. Since charter schools have to compete for customers and most school charters are tied to performance, the marketplace will eventually ensure parents can see a report card for every school.

- **Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free:** [see Crime section]

- **We should reward students who work their way through college:** Nothing symbolizes the American Dream more than the value of working one's way through school, as the President did. Yet for all the battles over student loans and national service, work-study is the form of college aid that gets the least attention. The Republican budget cuts work-study in two ways -- by cutting the EITC and by taxing adults whose education is paid for by their employers. We have asked Education to come up with options for ways to expand work-study -- for example, by getting rid of current student loan rules that penalize students for working, or by offering grants to institutions to offer work-study jobs during the summer. Eventually, we could link all college aid to work or service.

- **Parent-teacher contracts:** [See Personal Responsibility section]

IV. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

It is always tempting to offer a program for every problem. But as we move toward an era of block grants and balanced budgets, we should face up to the fact that the government no longer has the money, the public confidence, or the moral authority to try to solve all the country's problems.

There is another way to go -- a more refreshing, honest approach that might do more to put our country and our politics back on track and bring our people together. Instead of

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new promises, we could set forth new challenges, and call on individuals to take more responsibility for their own lives, families to stick together, parents to look out for their children and children to respect their parents, politicians to find common ground and civility, corporations to share their gains with their workers, and citizens to give something back to their community and country.

The last 30 years have shown Americans that they can't count on government to solve all their problems. The last 12 months have shown them that they can't count on getting rid of government to solve all their problems. Americans don't want to go back -- so where else can they turn now but inward?

The virtue of self-reliance: I believe this hunger for self-reliance is a good thing, for us and for the country. Self-reliance is America's oldest, most enduring virtue. It is not the same as the Republican ideal of every man for himself, which too often comes at the expense of everyone else. And it is a more powerful idea than our favorite buzzword, empowerment, because its ultimate goal is to figure out not simply what government can do for you, but what it will take (from family, from community, from government, and most important, from within) to make it possible for all Americans together to achieve the liberty and independence that this country was founded to secure.

A Challenge to America, not another list of promises: Many Americans are longing for a crusade to turn the country around before it's too late -- to reverse family breakdown, moral decay, and complacency, and inspire responsibility, community, and patriotism. The Million Man March is powerful evidence that Americans are willing to ask more of themselves, and want their leaders to ask more of them as citizens.

I'm not sure that a moral crusade needs an agenda, but if it did, the organizing principle could be a 5- or 10-point challenge to the American people -- instead of a Contract with America full of easy promises, a Challenge to America that sets forth honest expectations and demands responsibility from Americans in all walks of life. For example:

Challenge families to stay together: Restoring the family will do more to solve our economic and social problems than any government program. Incomes have gone up over the past 25 years for two-parent families; it's the rising number of single-parent families that holds household incomes down. The President should repeat his challenge to every man in America never to raise his hand to a woman.

Challenge parents to get more involved in their child's learning: Under Tony Blair, the Labour Party has begun pushing parent-school contracts that spell out responsibilities for parents (to help their children study, stay off drugs, and

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show up for school) and schools (to challenge children and provide a safe, disciplined environment). Many charter schools in the U.S. have begun to enter into these contracts as well.

- Challenge young people to stay in school or lose their driver's license if they drop out for no good reason: This shouldn't be a federal mandate, but it's a good example of the personal responsibility agenda the President pushed in Arkansas and could push from the bully pulpit.

- Challenge companies to invest in their workers and in America: Companies should let workers share more of the rewards from their hard work. The next time they open a new plant, they should do it in South Boston, South Texas, or South Central instead of South America or South Korea.

- Challenge politicians to make politics more civil, and citizens to get more involved in their democracy.

- Challenge Americans to give more back to their community: Dan Coats may be right -- perhaps we should provide more incentives for charity and family, as we have done for national service.

- Challenge everyone to reach across racial lines and come together as a community.

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To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

A few unsolicited thoughts about the structure of the State of the Union.

Message

Structure and content should be driven by the implicit messages we wish to send. I'd define them as follows: (i) **President as moderate alternative** between extremes of left and right; (ii) **President as leader**; (iii) **President on the side of ordinary Americans** rather than the wealthy or special interests; (iv) **President as healer** who can help us find common ground; (v) **President having the energy and vision** to lead this country toward a new century (as Dole cannot).

Incidentally, I don't think a speech of the kind Benjamin Barber suggests, explicitly constructed around the concept of leadership, is a good idea. It would sound forced. Best way for President to appear as a leader is to talk about what he has done rather than about leadership, and to speak in strong, declarative sentences.

Structure

I would organize the speech in three basic parts: (I) introduction, starting with a nod toward troops in Bosnia, laying out a roadmap of where the speech is going, and then pausing -- briefly -- to take stock of how much we've accomplished so far; (II) a second section built around the budget confrontation. We must address this early, with President articulating what he believes is at stake -- his conception of government's role vs. GOP (and distinguished from old-fashioned liberal); and (III) a third section on where we go from here -- domestically (preparing for new century [education, technology, etc.]; increasing wages/incomes; making our streets safer; community/values) and internationally.

I'm walking this up to Goodwin + Panetta + Steph. — NOT OLC +

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I. Introduction --Nod to troops/roadmap/where we've come

Troops. I'd follow Jeremy Rosner's advice with a nod to our troops in Bosnia. His suggested language is excellent.

Roadmap. 'The past few months have been a difficult and confusing period of struggle over our budget. I want to discuss with you what that battle is/was really about, and then talk about where we're going from here both at home and abroad.' (It's a great help to the listener to say where you're going before you go there.)

Where we've come. 'But first, I want to take a brief look at where we've come. I arrived in Washington three years ago dedicated to reviving our economy and ushering in a new period of American renewal -- of economic growth, political reform, social progress and leadership around the world. We have much yet to do, but let us not lose sight of how far we have come. Economy strong with low interest rates, lowest combination of inflation and unemployment in past x years. American companies most competitive in the world. Strong in trade. Leader in technology. Federal government smallest in 30 years. Crime down. Real political reform, with last big step to reform campaign finance. America as leader and peacemaker on the world stage. A time of promise and a time of hope. No nation on earth is in better shape than the United States to meet the new century.'

II. The Budget Battle -- Role of Government

'For past several months, we have been engaged in struggle over the shape and nature of our national budget. I know it seems to many people watching from outside Washington like a confusing, perplexing debate over numbers and economic assumptions. But it is about much more than that. It is about real people. And about what we expect from our national government. Let's talk for a few moments about what's at stake in this budget fight.

Not about who wants balanced budget. 'First, let me tell you what the budget battle was/is *not* about. Not about one side wanting a balanced budget and the other opposing it. I came into office understanding how crucial it was to reduce the massive budget deficits I inherited from my predecessors. And we did that. Three straight declining budgets. ***Lowest*** budget deficit of any major industrial country. And last June, I put forward a plan to balance the budget using real numbers -- no smoke and mirrors. Numbers favored by the mainstream economists of Wall Street; even by the Wall Street Journal.

Not about who wants big government. 'Nor is the budget battle about one side wanting big government and the other opposing it. During my three years, the number of workers employed by the federal government has shrunk by nearly 200,000 workers. To a level smaller than Bush. Or Reagan. Or Carter. Ford. Nixon. Johnson. To smallest level since President Kennedy.

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Different conceptions of role of government. 'What confrontation *was/is* about is fundamentally different conceptions of role of federal government. There are three basic models of what our government should do. On one side, the old-fashioned, liberal model that searches for a government program, managed in Washington, to fix every problem. On the other side, the minimal conception favored by many in the congressional majority, which believes government should handle national defense and then, for the most part, get out of the way. My view is different. I favor a middle way -- a government wise enough to understand the challenges confronting us, vigorous enough to address those challenges effectively, but smart enough to know its own limits.

Examples. [Then give examples from Medicare/Medicaid; education; technology; the environment; crime. In each case on the pattern of: "a government dedicated to maintaining Medicare and Medicaid for our elderly, our disabled and others in need, not one that wants to slash those programs; a government committed to helping young people get a college education through Direct Lending, not one that wants to eliminate government support for education; a government that demands clean air and safe drinking water, not one that wants to let companies that pollute off the hook; a government pledged to keep taxes down for our working families, not one that wants to raise taxes on families making just $30,000 a year, while cutting them for families making over $100,000, etc."]

'That is the kind of government I believe in. Not oversized. Not believing it has the answer for every problem. But understanding that this country can only make progress, meet its challenges, preserve God's green earth, and remain true to its historic mission of fairness and justice if our national government remains *engaged.* That is what I believe in and, as long as I remain President, that is what this government will do.'

III. Where Do We Go From Here

'What then are the challenges we must meet as we go forward from this day?'

Domestic

Prepare for challenges of new era. First, prepare our nation for the economic challenges of a new century and a new era. [Talk about education, technology, conditions for investment such as low interest rates.]

Work to increase incomes of ordinary Americans. 'Second, commit ourselves to tackling one of the central dilemmas of our time -- that the incomes of ordinary, working Americans are not keeping pace with our overall economic growth. This is a bipartisan problem that has persisted for 20 years through Republican and Democratic Administrations, caused not so much by government policy as by changes in the global economy and the nature of technology. But the bottom line is that average American workers -- the men and women who work the day shifts and the night shifts, who wear blue collars and white collars -- are not sharing as they should in this nation's wealth. Therefore, having put the nation's economic house in order during the past three years, I intend to rededicate myself to increasing the wages and incomes of ordinary Americans. [Use appropriate Reed proposals.]

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'This is not an issue of labor vs. management or management vs. labor. We do best as a people and as a nation when each of us shares fairly in this nation's bounty. We are all in this together and must never forget that.'

Safety in our streets. Third, safe streets. [Any of Reed tough-on-crime proposals that work.] Press for 100,000 cops. Blast away on efforts to repeal assault weapons ban.

Community/Values. Fourth, an area beyond government programs but not beyond the scope of our national dialogue -- restoration of values and community.

Faith, discipline, hard work. First, reinvigorate the basic American values of faith, discipline [Taylor Branch's "favorite words"] and hard work. Opportunity and responsibility. Children learning that there's no something for nothing. Criticize Hollywood excess. Pro-marriage, anti-divorce (though I'd avoid calling on States to enact legislation, as Galston recommends). Making abortion rare. Fathers taking responsibility for children they bring into world. Child support enforcement. Welfare -- tough work requirements. But President couldn't sign bill that is too tough on kids and not tough enough on work. Perhaps pick up "challenge" theme from Reed memo.

Common Ground. Listen to one another. Dialogue. This nation's glory and greatness is its diversity. E Pluribus Unum. We must say no to the grisly murder of a black couple by white racists on a military base in North Carolina. We must also say no to the firebombing of a store in Harlem because the owner was white or Jewish. No to extremists on all sides. Yes to our vital center. To reason and tolerance. To understanding. To reaching out across races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities. A House Divided has never been able to stand. Let us pledge -- not through government, but through families, churches, synagogues and neighborhood organizations -- to finding common ground.

Foreign

A key section that should be strong and substantial, both because of Bosnia and as surest way to project leadership. Talk of this as a pivotal year for American leadership around the world. Bosnia, N. Korea, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Middle East. Emphasize successes, but also challenges ahead. Obviously need serious discussion of Bosnia. And position President on middle ground between isolationists and trying to solve all the world's problems. I agree with Rosner on bipartisan nod to Dole and McCain. I am in general agreement with Rosner's take on emphasizing the hard security challenges over the humanitarian, addressing the audience that we need to convince, not the one already with us.

V. **Conclusion.** Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

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GROWING APART: Failure to Grow Together -- Giving the American Value Component to Economic Growth: Our vision of economic growth is not just one where Americans have a higher standard of living, but that by growing the economic pie we make room for more Americans to share in the American dream without anyone having to be displaced. The distinctive quality of the American dream depends on economic growth. The only way we can be the land of opportunity where everyone can enter the middle class without anyone having to be displaced is to have a growing economy. If we have an agenda that helps us grow together, that is what we can accomplish. But if we fail to invest in each other and fail to create a growing economy that everyone can share in, Americans will be more likely to be susceptible to the politics of division -- because they will see other gain at their expense.

Our choice therefore is to pull together and grow together or fall prey to the politics of division that will make us as a people grow apart -- not just economically -- but grow apart as people, as a community.

UPDATE NOTE: 1/11/96

Creates Proper Prism For Public to View Republican Efforts to Politicize Affirmative Action and Immigration and Other Divisive Republican Themes: The theme also fits in well when we consider the attacks we are likely to get on affirmative action and immigration. Republicans are certainly likely to try to divide American with the politics of division and resentment. If we take these issues one at a time we will be moved on to their turf. We need to create a prism that causes the public to instantly see all such attacks as falling under the politics of division. Yet, even if we create this prism that exposes these issues as divisive, this only tears down their message without taking the issue back to our turf. What the "growing together and growing apart" theme does, is creates a prism that allows the public to see things through the perspective two contrasting paths: a positive economic growth strategy that will bring us together and a social division theme that will tear us apart.

Allows Integrated Approach for Addressing Economic and Social Theme: Furthermore, from a speechwriting point of view, we often have to segment and divide our speeches between economic and social issues. It is as if we first do economic and budget themes, and then find a clever seque to add-on social themes or simply save them for a different speech. "Growing together or growing apart," on the other hand, allows us to do speeches that weave our economic and social message into one integrated message because the whole point is to use both our economic and social message to show the contrasting directions we want to take the nation: united, stronger with room for everyone to thrive in the middle class vs. a divided nation where we grow apart and grow less economically because we are not utilizing the full strength of the nation.

Values In Economic Growth: The other point that is mentioned above but I want to emphasize is that this gives us **a value context to economic growth**: growth is not just about ensuring that Americans are doing well enough to buy VCRs and other material comforts: economic growth is a necessary ingredient to protecting the distinctive American value in the American dream: that with a growing economy we can make room for all Americans who work hard in the middle class without having do deny opportunity or wealth to anyone else.

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001. note	RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. schedule	RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	01/16/1996	P6/b(6)
003. schedule	Schedule of the Presidnet; RE: Handwritten notes (1 page)	01/16/1996	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "America's Challenge" State of the Union Address (1 page)	01/23/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] - Drafts 1/13 - 1/16 [1996]

2006-0469-F
db1928

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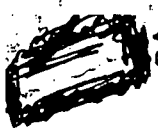

NOT a request for me → 2 ideas (1) closer (2) SPA
Read NYT article

One candidate has built his record not on partisan politics or narrow ideologies, but on finding the best ideas

Can Clinton have it both ways.
Also NOT A message for him.

Tom Hall is a former college instructor of family finances.

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1996

FINAL

Crime Crack

DRAFT

CLINTON:

Before rollout + he doesn't do.

Clinton's goal – pick up those of balanced budget w/ some balance

votes → working families → one candidate

family friendly markets

APPOINTMENT SCHEDULER: **STEPHANIE STREETT** [002]
HOME: P6/(b)(6)
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4033
CELL PHONE: P6/(b)(6)

202-456-7289

one candidate will ask us argue

one candidate is said to both sound partisan rhetoric... to find good ideas... not will increase opportunities for Oregon working families.

but we job done for Oregon

one candidate has support from both parties

PRESS DESK: **JEREMY GAINES**
HOME: P6/(b)(6)
OFFICE: 202-456-5771
WHCA PAGER: 4191

Crime ◀ Oregon issue ▶

has built his record not on partisn pol. ~~agenda~~ narrow ideologies – but only to find the best ideas

has built his record not but w/ XX

wages →

one candidate share profits to work

WEATHER: to increase opp. + get the job done for Or. working families.

Washington, DC
Mostly cloudy. Winds north to northwest at 7 to 12 knots. Low 24 to 27. High 35 to 38.

Medicare →
Protect → one candidate
MEDICARE
MEDICARE

one candidate believes to adopt lift

what's next → Prime

The Oregon challenge

→ one cand. is fighting to make hers college tax deductible

→ Oregon way of life by beating politicians.

one candidate has built moving his record on ~~today~~ past partisan politics... on working w/ people of goodwill →

– education, anytime – to increase opportunity + get the job done for Oregon ~~today~~ families.

working

one candidate has a plan to help us save Medicare.

as of January 15, 1996 2:22pm

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Draft January 13, 1996 pm - draft 1

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"AMERICA'S CHALLENGE"
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 23, 1996

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of Congress, distinguished guests:

Tonight I speak not only to those in this chamber and to the American people. Tonight I speak also to a proud and exceptional group of Americans -- our troops in Bosnia, who are listening through the Armed Forces Network. I had the privilege of visiting them ten days ago. To these warriors for peace, I say: Every one of us in this chamber and in our country is proud of you. Godspeed.

Tonight, as required by the Constitution, it is my duty to report to you on the State of the Union. Not how the government or individual Americans are doing, but on our union -- what Americans together are doing to build our national community.

I am happy to report that the State of the Union is strong -- as strong as it has ever been in our history. America is on the move. And we are better positioned to make the new century ours than any nation in the world.

Our economy is the strongest it has been in three decades. The combined rate of unemployment and inflation is the lowest in 27 years. Our auto industry, high tech industry, aerospace industries once again lead the world.

Our government is shrinking and working better. It is now the smallest since 1965.

Our values are coming back: the crime rate is down, teen pregnancy is down, even divorce is down.

And from the cobblestone streets of Northern Ireland to the sands of the Middle East to the snows of Bosnia, America remains the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world.

We know that this is also a time of great challenge and rapid change as we move into the Information Age and approach the dawn of a new century. It is a time of impassioned debate over the direction of the country, the role of government, and how best to preserve our values.

So tonight we face this time of change and this new century with the spirit that has guided this nation throughout our history.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Les Gelb; RE: State of the UnionSuggestions (2 pages)	12/28/1995	P5
002. paper	Penn Kemble; RE: State of the Union Suggestions (2 pages)	12/28/1995	P5
003. memo	Chief of Staff to Kitty Higgins, Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Themes and Messages (3 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
004. paper	William Taft; RE: State of the Union Suggestions (2 pages)	12/27/1995	P5
005. paper	Duplicate of 001 (2 pages)	12/28/1995	P5
006. paper	Duplicate of 002 (2 pages)	12/28/1995	P5
007. memo	Duplicate of 003 (3 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
008. paper	Duplicate of 004 (2 pages)	12/27/1995	P5
009. memo	Benjamin Barber to the President; RE: January 7 Meeting (2 pages)	12/21/1995	P5

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14457

FOLDER TITLE:
Outside Contributors Sug. [Suggestions] fro SOTU [State of the Union] 1996 [1]

2006-0469-F
db3332

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Les Gelb

Dec. 28, 1995

It's a pretty good idea to ask people for their foreign policy ideas, because nobody has what they all say you don't have, namely, a policy. I don't have one of those things either because I'm now mainly a leader and a fundraiser. Who does that remind you of, a leader and a fundraiser without ideas? Give me a few more years to think about U.S. foreign policy. Meantime, I offer you some idle thoughts that might be useful in constructing a Presidential statement on that subject at this time.

What kind of statement do we (I mean the people, not excluding the attentive public) need now? Not one that has a finished policy and all the answers. Such a speech would be transparently too pat, and yet, full of holes. The speech, rather, should provide a sense of direction. Nor do we need another statement of goals. Everyone is more or less content with democracy and freer markets, whatever they mean by those words. Nor do we need a presidential analysis. Those who can, do; those who can't, analyze.

What we the people what to know, need to know, is where the President is trying to take us. We don't expect him to have all the answers to a new world we still barely understand. But precisely because the rules and rhythms of this new world remain so cloudy, we need to know how the President proposes to deal with the situation.

We Americans want to be in command of our own destiny. And to a large extent, we can be in command of our own destiny even in foreign affairs. Even where our resources now are so clearly limited, our resources exceed all others. Even where power is so dispersed and where our leadership is resisted, we can exercise leadership. Even where nations tug in all different directions, we can set the international agenda. Even when we so badly want to focus on our own internal problems, Americans instinctively understand the need for American leadership and sacrifice -- if the President explains clearly why leadership and sacrifice are important. Given the know-nothing and selfish mood that often seems to prevail in Americal these days, it is nothing short of amazing that we sent troops to Somalia, Haiti and now Bosnia, that we continue to spend $260 billion on defense, that we still station tens of thousands of troops abroad.

The President should praise the public's willingness to bear these burdens after 50 years of heavy burden bearing during the cold war. The continued carrying of this load bears testimony to the instinctive understanding of Americans that their future continues to be bound, intimately, to the world.

Never have Americans been so involved in the world from jobs to environment to security. And Americans know this. They will never return to isolationism. But Americans will also kick and scream and resist international action unless the President tells them why it's important and where it's all leading to.

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President Truman's message to Congress on aid to Greece and Turkey is a model of a leadership document. In its essentials, it tells Americans what's important, what threatens them and what the President intends to do about those threats and problems.

The Soviet threat was the problem then. Today, there are dozens of problems, each too small to center a policy on; all so numerous and overwhelming, people hardly know where to begin. The President has to help sort out the bigger ones from the smaller ones.

Security, physical and economic, is the heart of the matter. The stakes are that large. On the spread of weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery, the cancer of terroism, the growth and openness of markets, does our security stil hinge. As these matters go, so we will surivive and thrive, or not.

The world also threatens who we are. Thus, Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia. A world where people are slaughtered and nothing done about it, threatens America. If our leaders fail to give the victims a chance to save themselves, Americans will get the message: nothing matters. Such cynicism would destroy American democracy.

What can the United States do about all these threats and problems? How can we command our own destiny in such a world? There are two ways. First, we can and must lead where only we can lead. Lead means lead, not act alone, except in the rarest of circumstances. Second, we can and must build international and regional organizations, responsible and capable, to tackle othe problems and threats. If we fail to develop such organization, we will be condemned to live in a world where everyone's problem is our problem.

The President has to provide this overall sense of direction and leadership. In that context, he should also challenge America's foreign policy thinkers and leaders to fashion answers to particular problems (i.e. NATO expansion, global warming, etc.), solutions compatible with limited American resources. Pundits and experts should be reminded of the pitfalls of easy answers, for one day, they might be called upon to lead themselves. They also need to be reminded that no foreign policy can be sustainable if borne on the backs of needy Americans. Environmentalists should be challenged to make affordable solutions to their problems. Businessmen can be challenged to back freer trade in the public arena as well as the boardrooms, and to fathom the ultimate connection between rights and their rights. Proponents of missile defense can be challenged to square their demands for hundreds of billions with other security demands.

Well, this missive probably falls very short of what you wanted. But it's all that's in me. May President Clinton's speech far exceed my own offerings. Allbest.

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Penn Kemble

Friday, December 22, 1995

Today at last I got to think two grand thoughts for you on foreign affairs for 1996. (I also got to type them up myself.)

1. The world -- and, especialy, the United States -- is in a period of impressive economic expansion sustained by the realization that today there is no major threat to world peace. (Michael Steinhardt, a supporter of the President's, had a good "Outlook" piece on this in The Post a month or so back.)

It is not just that the Cold War has ended -- it could, after all, have given way to other forms of conflict. Nor should we think that the great surges in technology, investment and world trade just happened, all by themselves. These are all responses to a widespread perception that for the forseeable future the world can turn its attentions to the peaceful development of economic potential that until recently was either closed off or too uncertain a risk.

* It is not unrealistic to think about the prospect of a long-term, global economic boom. Such hopes rest, however, on the ability of the world's democratic and social market economies to hold themselves together and to prevent conflict and disorder from threatening the general peace. Given the pace at which events move today, the potential of modern weapons, and the array of malevolent creatures that have crept out from under the melting ice cap of the Cold War, this will take no small effort. It will require the steady exertion of American military, diplomatic and economic leadership. It will require us to sustain the global movement toward democracy and the open economy that brought the Cold War to such a promising close.

Some may have expected that a "peace dividend" in the form of a huge shift of resources to domestic spending from our defense and foreign affairs budgets would come available at the end of the Cold War. We now can see it will be both more wise and more profitable to secure this dividend not by cashing out our investment in world leadership, but by maintaining our leadership at prudent levels -- and reaping the far more substantial rewards of a growing U.S. and global economy.

In sum, the growing global economy is the peace dividend. We need to keep the peace to sustain the prosperity. (We also

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need to sustain domestic policies that spread the benefits of the global economy beyond the elites of wealth and knowledge.)

2. The Administration needs to explain to the public at some point why it is important for the United States sometimes to act abroad against assaults on core moral and political principles, even when our physical security may not yet be threatened.

   Over and over one reads that there is nothing going on in Bosnia that poses any threat to vital U.S. interests. This requires a very constrained definition of our national interests, rests upon archaic geo-political (as contrasted to information age) thinking, and flies in the face of the great lessons of Twentieth Century history.

   The reality -- yes, reality -- is that beliefs and attitudes that ignite in one part of the world send up sparks that can sometimes catch fire in others. The demagogic ethnic hatred and contempt for the civilized world we have seen in the former Yugoslavia may not necessarily spread next door to Hungary or Romania. But the example set by the thugs and ranters of former Yugoslavia could inflame dark minds in many other places in the world that we can easily imagine. Both Fascism and Communism were contagious ideologies and political movements whose appeal leapt across geographic and even cultural borders.

   In a world tangled together through electronic communications and the mobility of people, where destructive weapons are too easily available, statesmanship is more and more a matter of gauging which challenges to our values and ideas could grow into threats to our physical security, and how best we should respond to those that might. In Admiral Mahan's time, we were right to think hard about defending the sea lanes. Today we also have to think about the risks that can arrive through other channels.

I hope you and all at the NSC have a very satisfying holiday.

Best,

Penn

Penn Kemble

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Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

21 December 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: Kitty Higgins
Don Baer
Cabinet Affairs Office
The White House

FROM: Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: State-of-the-Union Themes and Messages

1. When the President turns to world affairs, he will have another opportunity to underline the need for US engagement and leadership in an increasingly complex post-Cold War world. To meet the challenges of that world, we will need all three legs of national security working more effectively --and more closely together--than ever before. **We will need diplomacy that is engaged, military power that is strong, and intelligence that is alert.** As the President said during his visit to Langley in July: "The intelligence I receive informs just about every foreign policy decision we make. It's easy to take it for granted. But we couldn't do without it." Let me elaborate on how we see intelligence fitting into the current national security picture.

2. The Old and the New. In talking about the "post Cold War world", we assume that this new world can be defined by the era that preceded it. In fact this new world is still in a state of becoming, not yet of being. I believe that history will record the mid-1990s not as a post-war period but as the mid-point of an era of revolutionary upheaval. Even though the single greatest threat to world peace is gone, the nations of the globe still look to us in building a new world. But opportunity still co-exists with uncertainty. Because **unpredictability and surprise are the great dangers** of this new era, the work of diplomats, soldiers--and spies--has never been harder. **All of this accentuates the classic mission of intelligence: to serve as the nation's first line of defense.**

3. Traditional Threats Persist. Although the Soviet threat has passed from the global stage and into museums, intelligence must still worry about traditional aggression that can damage US interests. With rogue states like Iraq and North Korea continuing to threaten our friends and allies, Intelligence Community tip-offs--such as **the warning we provided on Saddam's movement South in 1994**--are needed to help the President head off aggression, as he successfully did on that occasion. With regard to North Korea, **the**

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SUBJECT: State-of-the-Union Themes and Messages

Intelligence Community's detective work on P'yongyang's nuclear ambitions was a pivotal part of our success in halting a program that would have destabilized a region vital to US interests. Our intelligence officers must also continue to provide comprehensive assessments that help policymakers support positive change in places like Russia and throughout the Former Soviet Union and to encourage peace in areas such as the Middle East.

4. Unconventional New Challenges. At the same time, we are dealing with dangerous new phenomena, that in many cases **respect no borders and begin to blur the distinctions between protecting our interests abroad and our citizens at home.**

- At least twenty countries already have or are developing weapons of mass destruction--nuclear, chemical and biological--or missile delivery systems. Others are selling or transferring the technology to do this. **Intelligence has successfully uncovered many of these programs in hostile countries such as Libya, Iran, and Iraq.**

- Terrorist groups around the globe, including those attempting to operate within the United States, are showing increasing interest in these capabilities--**a trend that obliges intelligence to target a wide range of capabilities--from satellites to spies--on this most difficult of targets.**

- These problems, meanwhile, are becoming entwined with the activities of international organized crime, whose annual profits from narcotics and other sources now dwarf the GNP of all but a handful of countries. The successes intelligence has scored in this arena--against the Cali cartel and some very notorious terrorists--are the **by product of unprecedented close cooperation between the intelligence community and law enforcement authorities.**

- Murderous ethnic conflict, which has spanned three continents, and humanitarian emergencies now demand our urgent attention, with Bosnia being the most obvious case in point. **From deploying troops into Bosnia to delivering humanitarian aid in such places as Rwanda, our soldiers and our diplomats must be able to draw on intelligence support critical to saving American lives and defending American interests.**

This list obviously could go on, but the basic point is that the challenges to vital US interests are more complex than ever. Warning time may be short, and the consequences severe.

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5. Looking Beyond the Immediate. Intelligence is not just about telling officials--from the President in the Oval Office to the soldier in the field--what they can expect the next day, it's about telling them what they can expect over the next decade. The evolution in the global economy, the continued transformation in China, the information revolution, and the demands to tend to our environment all have implications for future generations. **Our intelligence officers must ensure that as we tend to the day-to-day demands to protect our nation and our interests, we never lose sight of the opportunities, challenges, and dangers that await us.**

6. A Final Thought. It seems to me that the President, more than anyone else, has recognized the need to revitalize the Intelligence Community. He has instituted a first-ever system to prioritize intelligence requirements for the nation. He has supported strong new leadership. He has supported the need for reform and the actions of Intelligence Community leaders determined to carry it out. As the President prepares to sum up the State of the Union, I believe he can be confident that the Intelligence Community is on the right path and that it will be effectively doing its part to guarantee America's security.

Michael O'Neil

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

William H. Taft

27 December, 1995

I have been considering what points the President might most usefully touch on in addressing foreign policy issues during the course of the next month. Frankly, my sense is that recently the Administration's twin themes of leadership and international engagement in support of peace and freedom have been well-founded and are just beginning to pay some dividends; I would not seek to replace or significantly revise them. Indeed, inasmuch as there remains both at home and abroad considerable doubt about the Administration's steadiness, even small adjustments and initiatives should be introduced in relative quiet. The main task is to continue to strengthen America's capacity to lead. Only consistent policy and rhetoric can do this, whether we are considering either the domestic or the foreign elements of the problem. The temptation to revive rhetorical trade wars in an election year must be resisted.

Substantively, NATO is providing excellent material for the leadership theme currently, and the Administration should take advantage of this. Traditionally the least suspect of our foreign engagements at home, references to it should run through all our discussions with the Europeans as well. We should make sure both Brussels and Moscow (and Washington) know that we will be pursuing our foreign and security policy regarding them always in the context of the Washington Treaty.

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WHT

William H. Taft, IV

49377

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Les Gelb

Dec. 28, 1995

It's a pretty good idea to ask people for their foreign policy ideas, because nobody has what they all say you don't have, namely, a policy. I don't have one of those things either because I'm now mainly a leader and a fundraiser. Who does that remind you of, a leader and a fundraiser without ideas? Give me a few more years to think about U.S. foreign policy. Meantime, I offer you some idle thoughts that might be useful in constructing a Presidential statement on that subject at this time.

What kind of statement do we (I mean the people, not excluding the attentive public) need now? Not one that has a finished policy and all the answers. Such a speech would be transparently too pat, and yet, full of holes. The speech, rather, should provide a sense of direction. Nor do we need another statement of goals. Everyone is more or less content with democracy and freer markets, whatever they mean by those words. Nor do we need a presidential analysis. Those who can, do; those who can't, analyze.

What we the people what to know, need to know, is where the President is trying to take us. We don't expect him to have all the answers to a new world we still barely understand. But precisely because the rules and rhythms of this new world remain so cloudy, we need to know how the President proposes to deal with the situation.

We Americans want to be in command of our own destiny. And to a large extent, we can be in command of our own destiny even in foreign affairs. Even where our resources now are so clearly limited, our resources exceed all others. Even where power is so dispersed and where our leadership is resisted, we can exercise leadership. Even where nations tug in all different directions, we can set the international agenda. Even when we so badly want to focus on our own internal problems, Americans instinctively understand the need for American leadership and sacrifice -- if the President explains clearly why leadership and sacrifice are important. Given the know-nothing and selfish mood that often seems to prevail in Americal these days, it is nothing short of amazing that we sent troops to Somalia, Haiti and now Bosnia, that we continue to spend $260 billion on defense, that we still station tens of thousands of troops abroad.

The President should praise the public's willingness to bear these burdens after 50 years of heavy burden bearing during the cold war. The continued carrying of this load bears testimony to the instinctive understanding of Americans that their future continues to be bound, intimately, to the world.

Never have Americans been so involved in the world from jobs to environment to security. And Americans know this. They will never return to isolationism. But Americans will also kick and scream and resist international action unless the President tells them why it's important and where it's all leading to.

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President Truman's message to Congress on aid to Greece and Turkey is a model of a leadership document. In its essentials, it tells Americans what's important, what threatens them and what the President intends to do about those threats and problems.

The Soviet threat was the problem then. Today, there are dozens of problems, each too small to center a policy on; all so numerous and overwhelming, people hardly know where to begin. The President has to help sort out the bigger ones from the smaller ones.

Security, physical and economic, is the heart of the matter. The stakes are that large. On the spread of weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery, the cancer of terroism, the growth and openness of markets, does our security stil hinge. As these matters go, so we will surivive and thrive, or not.

The world also threatens who we are. Thus, Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia. A world where people are slaughtered and nothing done about it, threatens America. If our leaders fail to give the victims a chance to save themselves, Americans will get the message: nothing matters. Such cynicism would destroy American democracy.

What can the United States do about all these threats and problems? How can we command our own destiny in such a world? There are two ways. First, we can and must lead where only we can lead. Lead means lead, not act alone, except in the rarest of circumstances. Second, we can and must build international and regional organizations, responsible and capable, to tackle othe problems and threats. If we fail to develop such organization, we will be condemned to live in a world where everyone's problem is our problem.

The President has to provide this overall sense of direction and leadership. In that context, he should also challenge America's foreign policy thinkers and leaders to fashion answers to particular problems (i.e. NATO expansion, global warming, etc.), solutions compatible with limited American resources. Pundits and experts should be reminded of the pitfalls of easy answers, for one day, they might be called upon to lead themselves. They also need to be reminded that no foreign policy can be sustainable if borne on the backs of needy Americans. Environmentalists should be challenged to make affordable solutions to their problems. Businessmen can be challenged to back freer trade in the public arena as well as the boardrooms, and to fathom the ultimate connection between rights and their rights. Proponents of missile defense can be challenged to square their demands for hundreds of billions with other security demands.

Well, this missive probably falls very short of what you wanted. But it's all that's in me. May President Clinton's speech far exceed my own offerings. Allbest.

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Penn Kemble

Friday, December 22, 1995

Today at last I got to think two grand thoughts for you on foreign affairs for 1996. (I also got to type them up myself.)

1. The world -- and, especialy, the United States -- is in a period of impressive economic expansion sustained by the realization that today there is no major threat to world peace. (Michael Steinhardt, a supporter of the President's, had a good "Outlook" piece on this in The Post a month or so back.)

It is not just that the Cold War has ended -- it could, after all, have given way to other forms of conflict. Nor should we think that the great surges in technology, investment and world trade just happened, all by themselves. These are all responses to a widespread perception that for the forseeable future the world can turn its attentions to the peaceful development of economic potential that until recently was either closed off or too uncertain a risk.

It is not unrealistic to think about the prospect of a long-term, global economic boom. Such hopes rest, however, on the ability of the world's democratic and social market economies to hold themselves together and to prevent conflict and disorder from threatening the general peace. Given the pace at which events move today, the potential of modern weapons, and the array of malevolent creatures that have crept out from under the melting ice cap of the Cold War, this will take no small effort. It will require the steady exertion of American military, diplomatic and economic leadership. It will require us to sustain the global movement toward democracy and the open economy that brought the Cold War to such a promising close.

Some may have expected that a "peace dividend" in the form of a huge shift of resources to domestic spending from our defense and foreign affairs budgets would come available at the end of the Cold War. We now can see it will be both more wise and more profitable to secure this dividend not by cashing out our investment in world leadership, but by maintaining our leadership at prudent levels -- and reaping the far more substantial rewards of a growing U.S. and global economy.

In sum, the growing global economy is the peace dividend. We need to keep the peace to sustain the prosperity. (We also

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need to sustain domestic policies that spread the benefits of the global economy beyond the elites of wealth and knowledge.)

2. The Administration needs to explain to the public at some point why it is important for the United States sometimes to act abroad against assaults on core moral and political principles, even when our physical security may not yet be threatened.

Over and over one reads that there is nothing going on in Bosnia that poses any threat to vital U.S. interests. This requires a very constrained definition of our national interests, rests upon archaic geo-political (as contrasted to information age) thinking, and flies in the face of the great lessons of Twentieth Century history.

The reality -- yes, reality -- is that beliefs and attitudes that ignite in one part of the world send up sparks that can sometimes catch fire in others. The demagogic ethnic hatred and contempt for the civilized world we have seen in the former Yugoslavia may not necessarily spread next door to Hungary or Romania. But the example set by the thugs and ranters of former Yugoslavia could inflame dark minds in many other places in the world that we can easily imagine. Both Fascism and Communism were contagious ideologies and political movements whose appeal leapt across geographic and even cultural borders.

In a world tangled together through electronic communications and the mobility of people, where destructive weapons are too easily available, statesmanship is more and more a matter of gauging which challenges to our values and ideas could grow into threats to our physical security, and how best we should respond to those that might. In Admiral Mahan's time, we were right to think hard about defending the sea lanes. Today we also have to think about the risks that can arrive through other channels.

I hope you and all at the NSC have a very satisfying holiday.

Best,

Penn

Penn Kemble

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Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

Michael O'Neil

21 December 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: Kitty Higgins
Don Baer
Cabinet Affairs Office
The White House

FROM: Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: State-of-the-Union Themes and Messages

1. When the President turns to world affairs, he will have another opportunity to underline the need for US engagement and leadership in an increasingly complex post-Cold War world. To meet the challenges of that world, we will need all three legs of national security working more effectively --and more closely together--than ever before. **We will need diplomacy that is engaged, military power that is strong, and intelligence that is alert.** As the President said during his visit to Langley in July: "The intelligence I receive informs just about every foreign policy decision we make. It's easy to take it for granted. But we couldn't do without it." Let me elaborate on how we see intelligence fitting into the current national security picture.

2. The Old and the New. In talking about the "post Cold War world", we assume that this new world can be defined by the era that preceded it. In fact this new world is still in a state of becoming, not yet of being. I believe that history will record the mid-1990s not as a post-war period but as the mid-point of an era of revolutionary upheaval. Even though the single greatest threat to world peace is gone, the nations of the globe still look to us in building a new world. But opportunity still co-exists with uncertainty. Because **unpredictability and surprise are the great dangers** of this new era, the work of diplomats, soldiers--and spies--has never been harder. **All of this accentuates the classic mission of intelligence: to serve as the nation's first line of defense.**

3. Traditional Threats Persist. Although the Soviet threat has passed from the global stage and into museums, intelligence must still worry about traditional aggression that can damage US interests. With rogue states like Iraq and North Korea continuing to threaten our friends and allies, Intelligence Community tip-offs--such as **the warning we provided on Saddam's movement South in 1994**--are needed to help the President head off aggression, as he successfully did on that occasion. With regard to North Korea, **the**

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Intelligence Community's detective work on P'yongyang's nuclear ambitions was a pivotal part of our success in halting a program that would have destabilized a region vital to US interests. Our intelligence officers must also continue to provide comprehensive assessments that help policymakers support positive change in places like Russia and throughout the Former Soviet Union and to encourage peace in areas such as the Middle East.

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5. Looking Beyond the Immediate. Intelligence is not just about telling officials--from the President in the Oval Office to the soldier in the field--what they can expect the next day, it's about telling them what they can expect over the next decade. The evolution in the global economy, the continued transformation in China, the information revolution, and the demands to tend to our environment all have implications for future generations. **Our intelligence officers must ensure that as we tend to the day-to-day demands to protect our nation and our interests, we never lose sight of the opportunities, challenges, and dangers that await us.**

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WHT

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P.3

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Ackerman to Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Address and phone number (3 pages)	01/09/1996	P5, P6/b(6)
002. memo	Al From to President Clinton; RE: State of the Union Themes (4 pages)	12/26/1995	P5
003. memo	Guy Smith to Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Theme and Delivery (1 page)	12/21/1995	P5
004. memo	Guy Smith to Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Theme and Delivery (5 pages)	12/21/1995	P5
005. memo	Martin E. Marty to Don Baer; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	12/27/1995	P6/b(6)
006. memo	Bill Galston to the President; RE: State of the Union/1996 Agenda (3 pages)	01/10/1996	P5
007. memo	Bruce Ackerman to Don Baer; RE: State of the Union Address and phone number (3 pages)	n.d.	P5, P6/b(6)
008. memo	Benjamin Barber to President Clinton; RE: 1996 Blizzard Dinner and phone number (4 pages)	01/10/1996	P5, P6/b(6)
009a. fax	Dean Amy Gutmann to Don Baer; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	01/12/1996	P6/b(6)
009b. letter	Amy Gutmann to President Clinton; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	01/12/1996	P5
010. memo	Bill Galston to the President; RE: State of the Union/1996 Agenda [duplicate of 006] (3 pages)	01/10/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
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Outside Contributors Sug [Suggestions] for SOTU [State of the Union] 1996 [2]

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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)]

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

To:Don Baer, 202-456-1213

From: Bruce Ackerman
Fax: 202-357-4439
Phone: h:[redacted], o:357-1604 [001]

Re: State of the Union Address

This Address has consistently disappointed Woodrow Wilson's hopes. President after president has allowed federal departments and interest groups to lobby their favorite paragraphs into The Speech. The result has been a quasi-bureaucratic roll-call of mission-statements, interspersed with a few "City on a Hill" paragraphs. There are few better examples of the bureaucratization of charisma.

But, pace Weber, there is nothing inevitable about this. Especially this year. You have two goals. First, and foremost, the President's performance should suggest that he has now mastered the challenges of his office. This means, above all, that the Speech should be short and to the point, since everybody expects it to be too long and diffuse. Second, if you intend to move beyond a purely defensive campaign in the Fall, you should use the Speech to develop one or two -- no more -- affirmative issues for later elaboration.

The Speech should have four parts. First, a summary of accomplishments, domestic and foreign. Second, an elaboration of the basic values the President is defending in the budget controversy. Third, moving beyond the budget, to define one or two affirmatives. Fourth, upbeat conclusion (Buzzwords here:

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reasoning together, common ground, responsible reform).

As indicated at the dinner, my nominations for Part Three are the environment and campaign reform. The President's position amongst his other major constituencies is pretty solid. But he has a very weak profile amongst environmentalists, who are, of course, very numerous amongst the Northern suburban voters who are going to decide this election. In contrast to other issues, the Republicans have dug themselves into a hole on this one, and cannot defend themselves effectively if the President chooses to go on the offensive.

Environmental law is ripe for reform. Our system of command-and-control regulation is obsolete and inefficient. Instead of confronting cumbersome regulations, polluters should be required to pay for every pound of pollution they generate. This will not only yield ten (or more) billion dollars in extra revenue each year, making it easier to balance the budget or fund the environment or cut other taxes. It would also cut costs of compliance by one-third or more -- a sum that is also measured in the tens of billions annually. (If you would like support for the statements made in this paragraph, I can easily supply them).

What is more, there is broad bipartisan consensus in support of this reform. Indeed, Gingrich himself would favor it, but for the fact that his right-wingers want to gut environmental law entirely. Buzzwords for speech: " Polluters should pay. Replace

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bureaucrats with the market.""We charge companies when they want to use the airwaves, or drill for oil. We should charge them when they use our waterways or the air we breathe." "Taxing pollution is like taxing cigarettes and alcohol."

While campaign reform is also a good issue, I do not think that either Republicans or Democrats have much credibility here. I have, of course, already sent you a reform proposal in this area, but the time is not ripe to go forward with it in the context of this speech. The best you can do is to repeat the outstanding invitation to Gingrich; and say that, until we have real campaign reform, it will be much harder to make responsible reforms in the environment and other areas.

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21Dec95

MEMORANDUM

TO: Don Baer

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: State of the Union Theme and Delivery Scenario

"There is no substitute
for American leadership
anywhere in the world."

"When you are a leader
you can never not lead."

THEME

It is my recommendation that the theme for this year's State of the Union address be **leadership**.

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It is my recommendation that the theme for this year's State of the Union address be **leadership**.

Leadership is a commodity the American people expect in their President. The budget battle, as unwieldy and unpleasant as it has been, has very strongly positioned the President as standing up firmly for what he believes in. Now, he must tell the American people where is going to lead them. And in telling them, he must remind them what American leadership has meant to progress for each American and what it has meant for the security of the world.

Leadership as a theme is not trite in an era when there is so much division in our society, so much discord, so much negative. A strong expression of leadership is needed, wanted by most Americans, most particularly the core Bill Clinton supporter...the truck driver from Lubbock, the nurse from New York City, the senior from St. Petersburg, the cop from Boise.

The address should, of course, set the stage of American leadership and develop a clear road map of American leadership during the coming year. Where, and how, is Bill Clinton going to lead us?

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In the speech the President should articulate his vision of American leadership, both for foreign policy and domestic policy.

Each Administration success and proposal (only the broadest outlines) should be framed as a leadership action; each action worthy of mentioning, be it foreign or domestic, past, current, or prospective, should be framed within the leadership idea.

Examples:

Haiti...it was American leadership
The Mideast...it was American leadership
Bosnia...it is American leadership

The environment (a specific)...it is American leadership
Crime...and human services...and just a few others

This should not be a litany, but the communication of an idea...

- and that idea is that this President is a leader...
- and he is leading this nation into the next century in such a way that makes Americans believe him, support him, and trust him.
- This President makes leadership decisions based on what is the right thing to do!

PURPOSE

The American people respond to strong leadership. They respond to a leader standing firm for his core beliefs, his core values. As the election year begins, positioning the President as a strong leader with a clear idea of where he is leading the country communicates powerful and real emotions that will resonate with Americans.

Using a leadership theme permits almost all major policy ideas to be neatly wrapped into a consistent and coherent package (as contrasted to last year's address).

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The leadership theme positions the President in the strongest possible manner at what is essentially the kickoff of the reelection campaign.

Also, it will greatly aid in dispelling the lingering commentary about the President's indecisiveness (e.g. the Securities legislation veto the other day).

DELIVERY SCENARIO

The President enters the House chamber as usual, makes his way to the rostrum as usual, enjoys the usual applause...but then, as he begins, he first begins with a preamble, delivered as a preamble..."Before I begin my formal report to the Congress"-type of comments. In this preamble he then advises the audience (which will be at least half filled with GOP partisans) and the television audience, that he has some very serious, very important, he believes, ideas to share and that he would respectfully ask that the members hold their applause until he is through (the language here should be solemn, formal, solicitous, and not humorous).

No one has ever done this before.

- It will set a very serious, very Presidential tone.
- It will eliminate the cameras panning during the applause of the President's partisans and the TV shots of the Republicans sitting on their hands looking sour (which is a reminder of division, not leadership).
- It will eliminate the TV commentators' ability to count the number of times the President was interrupted by applause.
- It will eliminate the distractions to the TV audience.
- And, it will permit the messages to come through to the TV audience, and to the journalists covering the speech.

With this high level of solemnity and dignity, the TV pictures will communicate a very powerful message about this President.

- That this President is serious.

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- That this President is leading this country where I (the citizen who is watching) want it to go and I feel good about what and how he is doing it.

- That this President is, indeed, a leader, my leader.

After this preamble, the President begins, first with some meaningful and brief historical references about American leadership, both foreign and domestic.

Then he begins the foreign policy section. **At this point the President holds up an actual launcher mechanism for a Soviet SS-22.** He makes the point that because of American leadership no Soviet soldier is sitting in a silo with missiles aimed at our country. Using the actual launcher key will create a powerful picture and will vividly remind the audience (not the one in the House chamber) about exactly what kind of leadership this President is providing. This will also put the Bosnia mission into a clear perspective.

Then on to Bosnia, Haiti, the Mideast...but briefly...but **with colorful and emotional oratory.**

Then to domestic, again with the leadership theme for each area covered...and the areas covered should be very few.

- The speech should **not exceed 20 or 25 minutes**...25 minutes max!

- The speech should be **heavy with emotion, patriotism,** and reminders to Americans that they are, as a people, indeed leaders.

- The conclusion of the speech should combine the leadership theme with an articulation of the President's core beliefs that American government is an instrument of good...for every American...and for people around the world.

PRE-SPEECH BUILDUP

- Several days prior to the speech the President should **visit the troops in Bosnia...as Commander-in-Chief.**

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- The day before the speech, in the evening, the President should hold a Clinton-style town meeting in Charlottesville on the campus of the University of Virginia,

but before the town meeting...

- The President should make a visit to Monticello...ALONE.

  No aides, no gaggling press corps, no family...nobody!

  I want the entire mansion to be devoid of anybody except the President, the White House photographer, and one news photographer.

  The President goes in, sits at Thomas Jefferson's desk or chair in his library, makes some finishing touches on his State of the Union address, stands at the window and looks out, thoughtfully regards the painting of Jefferson.

Essentially, he visits Jefferson's house and draws on, and from, Jefferson...

the imagery and comparisons will be powerful.

The photograph that the White House releases, for the morning papers the day of the State of the Union, will be very, very powerful. They will create a connection between the leader Thomas Jefferson and the leader William Jefferson Clinton.

This visit, almost literally with Thomas Jefferson, and the town meeting with the American people, will set the stage for leadership for the next evening for the formal delivery of the State of the Union.

Respectfully submitted,

Guy L. Smith

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reasoning together, common ground, responsible reform).

As indicated at the dinner, my nominations for Part Three are the environment and campaign reform. The President's position amongst his other major constituencies is pretty solid. But he has a very weak profile amongst environmentalists, who are, of course, very numerous amongst the Northern suburban voters who are going to decide this election. In contrast to other issues, the Republicans have dug themselves into a hole on this one, and cannot defend themselves effectively if the President chooses to go on the offensive.

Environmental law is ripe for reform. Our system of command-and-control regulation is obsolete and inefficient. Instead of confronting cumbersome regulations, polluters should be required to pay for every pound of pollution they generate. This will not only yield ten (or more) billion dollars in extra revenue each year, making it easier to balance the budget or fund the environment or cut other taxes. It would also cut costs of compliance by one-third or more -- a sum that is also measured in the tens of billions annually. (If you would like support for the statements made in this paragraph, I can easily supply them).

What is more, there is broad bipartisan consensus in support of this reform. Indeed, Gingrich himself would favor it, but for the fact that his right-wingers want to gut environmental law entirely. Buzzwords for speech: " Polluters should pay. Replace

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bureaucrats with the market.""We charge companies when they want to use the airwaves, or drill for oil. We should charge them when they use our waterways or the air we breathe." "Taxing pollution is like taxing cigarettes and alcohol."

While campaign reform is also a good issue, I do not think that either Republicans or Democrats have much credibility here. I have, of course, already sent you a reform proposal in this area, but the time is not ripe to go forward with it in the context of this speech. The best you can do is to repeat the outstanding invitation to Gingrich; and say that, until we have real campaign reform, it will be much harder to make responsible reforms in the environment and other areas.

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January 12, 1996

President Clinton
c/o Mr. Don Baer
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

The dinner at the White House on Sunday night was a wonderful opportunity to discuss the future of American democracy, and I cannot thank you enough for that opportunity. I find your grasp of the problems and prospects of American democracy inspiring. You asked for advice on your upcoming State of the Union address. I think it is absolutely critical that you combine the message of where you stand on the budget with an overall vision of where you will lead this country in the years ahead. The two are connected in an intimate and essential way.

The greatness of American Democracy depends on a continuing commitment to RECIPROCITY. This country at its best has grown and progressed not at the expense of individuals and local communities but by supporting individuals and local communities and in turn enlisting each others' support. This requires a national effort. The Republicans are threatening to undermine this effort and the value of reciprocity when they refuse to agree on a budget that provides a REAL SAFETY NET for all citizens who have done their fair share to contribute to this great country.

Everyone agrees that the budget must be balanced. It would be a travesty of fairness to saddle our children with the burden of a big deficit. But Americans are overwhelmingly with you, not the Republicans, when you oppose balancing the budget on the backs of our senior citizens, or any other group of Americans. You must continue to stand, and show that you stand, not only for balancing the budget but also for BALANCING THE BURDEN OF BALANCING THE BUDGET.

This commitment is part of a larger vision—which combines reciprocity with real economic growth. Balancing the budget ensures growth. Balancing the burden ensures reciprocity.

There are also many issues beyond the budget that need to be integrated into this vision. In the interests of brevity, I mention only a few below.

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Beyond the budget, it is essential that the American people hear that you are committed to providing a REAL SAFETY NET for all citizens who are willing to do their fair share. No one can guarantee all citizens their current jobs. But the Republicans are trying to tear holes in the existing safety net, threatening to take away the extraordinary accomplishments of Medicaid and Medicare, which provide needed security to so many Americans. And they are doing nothing to give hard-working Americans the security they deserve.

A commitment to creating a real safety net means working to make health care and retirement benefits portable. It means working to expand education and retraining for those who are seeking new jobs. It means working to raise the minimum wage and the earned income tax credit, so that full-time work pays enough to support a family. Hardworking Americans should have the security of knowing that they can afford a college education for their children, that they will not be at the mercy of charity or public assistance if they fall sick, and that they will not lose their retirement benefits if they need to find another job.

Reciprocity also entails giving our children the fair chance that they deserve to become productive citizens of the future. We must invest in education at all levels, and in an education that imparts the skills necessary for the marketplace along with an appreciation of the responsibilities as well as the rights of American citizenship. Your administration has worked successfully to reduce crime and drug use among adults. You should convey your continuing commitment to working hard to reduce juvenile crime, drug use, and teenage pregnancy.

The country has been moving ahead at an impressive pace in the past few years—growth in GNP is up, unemployment and crime are down. But many Americans are still anxious and insecure, for reasons of which you are well aware. Your upcoming State of the Union is the perfect time to show the American people how you plan to build on these important advances with an optimistic (yet realistic) vision of the American future. It is a vision, as I conceive it, of increasing security and opportunity for all Americans. It is a vision of the United States as a leader in the world economy because it is also a leader in securing educational opportunity for all its children. This is a vision that can unite us all because it is built on our common commitment helping each other help ourselves.

I urge you to emphasize your positive and inspiring vision for future of the country, along with several (but by no means all) of the major plans you have to realize this vision. It is a vision that the vast majority of Americans share, appreciate, and will remember.

Once again, thank you for this opportunity. I hope my "two-cents-worth" is helpful.

Sincerely,

Amy Gutmann

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to David Halperin, et al.; RE: Revisions to Eulogy (3 pages)	08/11/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Remarks on Return of Nairobi Embassy Bombing Victims (4 pages)	08/13/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
U.S. Embassy Bombing in Lebanon by Reagan

2006-0469-F
db3410

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)]

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August 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID HALPERIN
RAHM EMANUEL
PAUL BEGALA
ANN LEWIS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: REVISIONS TO EULOGY

Here are some edits to the eulogy. It is significantly shorter than the first draft that I saw -- the remarks should be no longer than a page and a half single spaced -- and has a more emotional beginning. There was some reordering and some rewording as well.

I feel strongly that the beginning of the speech needs to be more like this. This is more like his other eulogies.

Also, this includes some of the material from Tony Campolo, the President's favorite evangelical, which I think works in the middle.

We are looking for a vivid quote from Ben Franklin -- America's first diplomat -- or T. Jefferson that may be worthwhile.

cc: Maria Echaveste
Sandy Berger

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REDRAFT OF BEGINNING OF EULOGY

Today, with heavy hearts, we welcome 10 of our own back to America. Though they lived and worked thousands of miles away, the men and women whom we honor here never really left America. Let no one forget that when they were cruelly murdered, they died on American soil. And they died in the highest of callings: giving ample minds, long hours, their passion, and ultimately their lives, to the service of this nation and its ideals.

On behalf of our entire nation, we grieve with you, and we thank you. Americans have learned a little bit about your loved ones this week. But we will never know them as you did -- as a brand new baby, a proud school graduate, a beaming bride or groom, a reassuring voice on the phone from across the ocean, a tired but happy traveler at the airport, bags stuffed with gifts ... and arms outstretched.

Nothing say can answer the terrible question, 'Why?' Nothing we do can fill the terrible loss you feel. But you should know that your fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters made America proud.

To represent America abroad is far more than representing just another nation. As Benjamin Franklin, our very nation's first envoy, wrote from Paris, "The cause is mankind."

[quote from Thomas Jefferson or Benjamin Franklin about what it means to represent America abroad, our two first great ambassadors.] When I travel overseas to represent our nation it is my great privilege to visit our embassies and meet with the people there. They are diplomats and doctors, bookkeepers and technicians, soldiers and sentries, a father and a son. They travel far from home, endure hardships, risk their lives. And sometimes they give their lives. They were America's face abroad, and they were the best face that we show the world.

On behalf of our nation, I thank the people of Kenya and Tanzania for the extraordinary efforts you have made in the wake of this tragedy. I extend our deep condolences to the families of the hundreds who lost their lives, many of them employed by our foreign service, and we are grateful for their friendship and service, and to those who were injured.

And to all of you here today, I say: ~~You should~~ Know as well that the criminals who struck down your loved ones this week were striking at something noble and great: the idea of America, our decency, our love of freedom, our wide and creative spirit. These are the very strengths that terrorists target with their bombs. They target America because the spirit of America is the spirit of freedom. Scripture tells us that the house built on shifting sands will be washed away by the currents of a great stream. But the house with deep foundations, built on the rock, could not be shaken. America will stand because it is built on the rock of freedom.

~~Know as well that~~ America will meet the threat of terrorism, as we have met every threat to our safety in our long history. ~~There may be a hard road ahead. I do not doubt that terrorists will continue to abuse the world's growing openness to plan more acts of brutality. But on~~ On behalf of an angry nation, I pledge to you and to all the families of those who lost loved ones: No matter what it takes, or where it takes us, we will find those responsible for these evil acts. And we will see that justice is done.

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Our words can add little to our understanding of what happened. But with our deeds, we can honor those who died on that bitter morning in Nairobi. Today, in their names, we proclaim: America must and will continue to stand strong freedom and democracy in every corner of the world. America must and will continue to work for enduring peace in lands torn by hatred and violence. America must not -- and will not -- retreat from the world and all its promise .

[People are tired of old angers, tired of bigotry and bloodshed. They want differences to be addressed openly, in the sunlight of freedom. They want their children to walk to school without fear. **[THIS IS A GREAT PARAGRAPH, BUT IT SEEMS A BIT OF A NONSEQUITOR.]]**

[perhaps instead:][They dedicated their lives to fulfilling that promise.]

Then ...

"Your loved ones represented etc. [to the end]

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draft dh 8/11/98 10:00 pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON RETURN OF NAIROBI EMBASSY BOMBING VICTIMS
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE
AUGUST 13, 1998

Secretary Albright, Secretary Cohen, and other members of the cabinet, [Speaker Gingrich, Senator Lott, Senator Daschle, Representative Gephardt] and other Members of Congress, leaders of our Armed Forces, members of the diplomatic corps, honored guests, family members:

Today, America grieves. Twelve of our citizens have sacrificed their lives to the highest of callings -- service to our nation ... and to our ideals. They served with dedication and skill and courage. They were America's proud sons and daughters:

Sergeant Jesse "Nathan" Aliganga [Ah-lee-GANG-uh];

Jay Bartley;

Julian Bartley, Sr.;

Jean Dalizu [gene dah-LEE-zoo];

Molly Huckaby Hardy;

Sergeant Kenneth Hobson;

Prabhi Guptara Kavaler [PRAH-vi GOOP-tah-ra CAH-vah-lair];

Arlene Kirk;

Dr. Mary Louise Martin;

Michelle O'Connor;

Senior Master Sergeant Sherry Lynn Olds;

Uttamlal [OO-tom-lall] "Tom" Shah.

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~~As Secretary Albright noted,~~ Ours is a shared tragedy, ~~for~~ many citizens of Kenya and Tanzania also perished ~~when terrorist explosions shattered the morning calm last Friday.~~ last Friday, and We grieve for them, ~~too.~~ as well. Many served alongside Americans in our embassies, ~~making vital~~ Their were vital. They contributions. ~~We are grateful to the people of Kenya and Tanzania for their extraordinary efforts in the wake of this tragedy. We are proud of the strong bonds between our nations.~~ strengthened the bonds between our nations. We pray for the speedy recovery of the injured, Africans and Americans.

This week, in the wake of this tragedy, we have seen how very strong those bonds have become: The joint efforts of the people of K. + T. have been extraordinary, + the people of America are truly grateful for that.

To the families and friends of the Americans who lost their lives, no words can make sense of the senseless or bring your loved ones back. But neither can anyone erase the lives they led or the difference they made ... the pride they found in their calling ... the joy they brought to their families ... their strength and their decency. May you find some measure of peace in the bright legacy of their lives.

flows below above

The men and women who serve in our embassies do the hard work -- not always fully appreciated -- of protecting America's interests, promoting our values abroad. When I travel overseas, I make it a point to meet with them. They are diplomats and doctors and drivers, bookkeepers and technicians and military guards. They are far from home; they endure hardships; they risk their lives. And sometimes they *give* their lives.

The Americans we honor today came from diverse backgrounds. One once lived in the Missouri town where President Truman was born [*Lamar, Mo.*], while another grew up half a world away

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in India. But each of them had an adventurous spirit ... and a generous soul. They relished the chance to see the world. And they were committed to making the world better.

They were also devoted to their families. One had just returned to Nairobi from a vacation she spent caring for her aging parents. Another looked forward to being back home with a new grandson. A third told his father that if anything ever happened to him, he wanted his ashes scattered in the Pacific off Big Sur, because that was where he had met [his beloved wife] [the wife he loved so dearly] [*I still think the former will work better*].

There was a Marine guard, the son of proud parents. An epidemiologist working to protect children from malaria. A diplomat father and son who perished together. [tk]

Family and friends of those we bring home today, Americans have learned a little bit about your loved ones this week. But they will never know them as you did, or remember them as you will -- as a brand new baby, a proud school graduate, a beaming bride or groom, a reassuring voice on the phone from across the ocean, a tired but happy traveler at the airport, bags stuffed with gifts ... and arms outstretched.

America's great blessings are not the bounty of fortune, but the fruit of our leadership, our determination, and our fundamental optimism. It is these very strengths that terrorists target with their bombs. They target America because ours is the most open, tolerant society on earth ... because we act for peace and democracy ... because our spirit is the very spirit of freedom.

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There may be more hard road ahead. But we cannot, we must not, we will not allow murderers ~~to set the agenda~~. We ~~must~~ will honor the memory of those we have lost by upholding the ideals for which they lived.

Let it be known: No matter what it takes or where it takes us, we will find those responsible for these evil acts. And we will see that justice is done.

We will continue to improve the protection of our citizens from terrorism. And we will *strengthen* our engagement around the world, because that is what will make us safer.

With America's involvement, there is now hope for peace in many regions long torn by hatred and violence. People are tired of old angers, tired of bigotry and bloodshed. They [want to look to the future with optimism] [look to the future with greater optimism] [*recommend latter*]. And they look to America with hope. The Americans we honor today gave of themselves -- their labors, and now, their lives -- to fulfill all our hopes for a better world.

Let us praise ~~and~~ always remember these heroic Americans. As it is written: "Their righteous deeds have not been forgotten ... Their glory will not be blotted out ... Their bodies were buried in peace... But their names shall live forever." [*Sirach 44:10, from the Apocrypha*]

*

May they find peace in the warm embrace of God. May God bless those who loved them. And may God bless America.

* names

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: State of the Union Meeting (4 pages)	12/07/1997	P5
002. memo	Jordan Tamagni to Erskine Bowles, et al.; RE: State of the Union Logistics (4 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
003. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: State of the Union Meeting [duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	12/07/1997	P5
004. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: State of the Union Meeting [duplicate of 001] (4 pages)	12/07/1997	P5
005. memo	Michael Waldman to Sylvia Mathews; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	11/18/1997	P5
006. memo	Michael Waldman, Ann Lewis to Sylvia Mathews; RE: State of the Union Planning Process (3 pages)	10/22/1997	P5
007. memo	Michael Waldman, Ann Lewis to Sylvia Mathews; RE: State of the Union Planning Process (3 pages)	10/22/1997	P5
008. memo	Michael Waldman to the President; RE: Strategic Plan (2 pages)	09/02/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
KS: MW [Michael Waldman] SOTU [State of the Union] Memos

2006-0469-F
db3333

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

January 20, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR
ERSKINE BOWLES
SYLVIA MATHEWS
ANN LEWIS
STEPHANIE STREETT
CAPRICIA MARSHALL
VIRGINIA APUZZO
COLONEL SIMMONS

CC:
AMY WEISS TOBE
JENNIFER PALMIERI
MIKE MALONE
LAURA SCHWARTZ
KIM WIDDESS
PEGGY SUNTUM

THROUGH: MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: JORDAN TAMAGNI

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION LOGISTICS

I. STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH PREPARATION AND REHEARSAL

As in years past, the President will use the Family Theater for final State of the Union speech preparation meetings and rehearsals. This year, we may also use the Map Room, and possibly the Laurel Lounge at Camp David, for these meetings. As you already know, this involves equipping the sites with computers, a teleprompter, and a video camera and monitor to enable the President to read through his speech on a teleprompter, and make final changes to his remarks, assisted by Michael Waldman and other Senior Staff members.

The Chief of Staff's Office provides the manifest for these meetings, and attendance is highly restricted.

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To make best use of the President's time during final speech preparation -- and to make sure that we minimize potential snags in the process -- the Office of Speechwriting will work closely with the Social Office, the Usher's Office, WHCA, and the Office of Administration. I have outlined below the most important elements of this process.

I understand that much, if not all, of this has already been accomplished by your respective offices. In that event, this memo will serve as a check list.

A. Family Theater:

1. **Use of the Family Theater**: The Social Office must approve use of the Family Theater, after consulting with the Ushers' Office to make sure that no other use was planned for the dates in question (1/23 Friday AM through 1/27 Tuesday PM; exact times to follow). In the event that other activities have been planned and cannot be accommodated in any other way (for instance, if a member of the First Family wants to watch a movie), the Social Office must approve the use of the Map Room for speech prep; WHCA will be responsible for moving all equipment, including computers.

2. **Equipping the Family Theater**:

   a. **Computers**: The Office of Administration needs to approve requisition of the following computer and other equipment:

      -- Two desktop computers (preferably Gateway 2000s)
      -- One printer (HP4 plus or better) (with a backup on site, if not installed)
      -- Four dry ink printer cartridges
      -- one or two long tables
      -- five chairs of proper height to use computer equipment on long table(s)

      The Office of Administration will work with the Usher's Office and WHCA to install this equipment **without altering the Family Theater's configuration.**

      The Office of Speechwriting will supply paper, bond paper, and other office supplies.

   b. **Video Equipment**: WHCA will install a video camera and monitor, as well as blank video tapes.

   c. **Copiers**: Copiers will not be installed in the Family Theater. Instead, existing copiers in the East Wing offices of Legislative Affairs will be used.

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To that end, after hours access to Legislative Affairs must be arranged by the Office of Speechwriting.

d. **Stenography**: The Press Office needs to approve use of the Stenographers Office staff to transcribe the President's comments in State of the Union speech preparation and rehearsal. If desired, WHCA will arrange for a secure audio feed to the OEOB so the Stenographers can simultaneously transcribe the President's Comments.

3. **Security in the Family Theater**: When not in use by the President and Senior Staff, the Family Theater will remain locked. Access will be granted by the Ushers' Office to a limited list of staff members (to be provided).

4. **Maintaining the Family Theater**: The Office of Speechwriting is primarily responsible for maintaining the Family Theater while it is being used for State of the Union preparation. WHCA and the Office of Administration are responsible for removing equipment and helping the Ushers Office return the room to its original condition.

B. CAMP DAVID:

In the event that the President and Mrs. Clinton travel to Camp David for the weekend, the Laurel Lodge needs to be equipped in the same way as the Family Theater. The Office of Speechwriting, the Office of Administration, and WHCA will have the same responsibilities for accomplishing this (e.g., approvals, requisitions and installation of equipment). The Camp David staff must be informed and appropriate steps taken to obtain proper permissions. The only outstanding issue is whether traveling staff will include representatives of the Stenographers Office, to transcribe the President's comments. WHCA could arrange for an audio feed directly to the OEOB, but such a feed would not be secure.

II. DELIVERY OF THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Once it is completed, the text of the President's State of the Union address is transferred from a standard computer with Word Perfect 6.1 to a teleprompter with a very different program. This process has caused near-disasters in the past, as happened last year when the transfer erased all the carriage returns in the President's text, forcing us to go through every line of the address to replace them only moments before the President began his speech.

To minimize the risk of such a problem, I met with representatives of WHCA, who have upgraded their software since last year. We tested the transfer procedure with a Word Perfect file and encountered no difficulties. However, to further rule out the possibility of a transfer problem, we will follow the plan laid out below.

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A. Surveying the Site

I will travel to the Capitol on Monday with a representative from WHCA to survey the site, specifically, the Staff Hold, the President's Hold, the route from the hold to the House Floor, and the teleprompter site. WHCA is responsible for setting up the Staff Hold with a laptop computer loaded with identical software as that used by the Office of Speechwriting in preparing the President's remarks [Word Perfect 6.1 for Windows], and a printer [HP Laser Jet 4 Plus or better]. As in previous years, the teleprompter will be set up in the Speaker's Lounge.

B. Transporting the President's Remarks to the Capitol

On the evening of the State of the Union address, I will travel to the Capitol in advance of the President's motorcade with the final version of the address on disk (two copies, original and back-up) to make sure that it is properly transferred and reads properly.

Michael Waldman, who will travel in the motorcade to the Capitol, will bring with him any last minute changes to President's remarks (made in the Family Theater after I leave the White House, or in the President's limousine on his way to the Capitol).

Please don't hesitate to call me at 65701 to discuss any element of this outline. I look forward to working to make this year's State of the Union address the most problem-free yet.

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November 18, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE-OF-THE-UNION –
STEPS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS YEAR

Though the leaves are still falling off the trees, we are now getting closer than it seems to the State-of-the-Union. As I mentioned, I believe there is a value in setting some deadlines and markers along the way.

November week 3 (11/16-22)

- I will draft a themes memo for circulation to a small group (you, John, Rahm, Paul, Sid, Bruce, Gene, Ron), for discussion.

- I will continue to meet with the policy shop heads to get a better sense of the policies they have in store.

November week 4 (11/23-29)

- Preliminary State of the Union memo and first binder for the President – A memo should go to the President for his Thanksgiving reading that a) describes the ongoing process; b) sets forth proposed theme; and c) includes some reading (articles, essays, book chapters, etc.) on some of the possible topics, including the new economy. This would be different from, and prior to, the usual notebook we do for him of submissions by outsiders and cabinet members. This binder would be prepared by speechwriting, with input from others.

- Policy councils should provide a preliminary memorandum on possible items for inclusion, for limited staff consideration (not yet to the President)

- Solicitation of contributions from outsiders, to be included in State-of-the-Union binder (below). This raises a question of whether we look like we are casting about for ideas. However, we do this every year, and while it always gets a little press, it's usually harmless. McCurry can put out the names of some of the people whom we are sending us material.

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December week 1 (11/31-12/1-6)

- Budget briefing 12/1

- A State-of-the-Union themes and overall policy meeting take place with the President (1 hour). For this meeting, the Policy Councils should provide a comprehensive menu of possible items for inclusion, ranging from legislative initiatives to executive actions, appointments, and bully pulpit items.

- Work and Family" dinner has been proposed – I'm not particularly against this, but I wonder why this topic, as opposed to "the new economy" or any other broader part of the agenda has been chosen.

December week 2 (12/7-13)

- Preparation of State-of-the-Union binder – This would be the binder we usually send that includes contributions (memos, essays, draft language) from outside advisers, scholars, writers. (I want to get this done earlier than usual this year because my 3rd child is due around Christmastime.)

December week 3 (12/14-20)

December week 4 (12/21-27)

December week 5 (12-28-1/3)

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1) Copy Ann Lewis
Michael Waldman
SMAT
JDP
2) Copy back to EBB.

SOTU PROCESS

Please copy for EB JP 10/24/97

Erskine / John
Let's catch up on this Monday

October 22, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM: ANN LEWIS
MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION PLANNING PROCESS

Ann - SMAT
But as we define success don't do so will legislate accordingly. Do so with executive men - Pres can't be seen as running away

This State of the Union -- the President's sixth -- comes at a critical time in the Presidency. It will be the President's first major statement of purpose to the country since the completion of the balanced budget; it be an opportunity to frame the issues that can dominate the 1998 elections; it will enable him to set large national goals -- perhaps on a par with the 1993 economic plan, the budget, and the fight with the GOP Congress that sequentially dominated the political landscape over the past 5 years.

We can also expect that it will come at a time when the very success of the President's past year will give rise to chatter that the administration is "out of ideas." This is a far from unique situation: even LBJ, in 1966, was seen as "out of ideas" because Medicare and Civil Rights had passed the year before! So our overarching goal must be to surprise the Congress, public and pundits with an aggressive policy agenda that sets the national agenda. We have that opportunity, but we have to start working at it now.

The most fundamental thing to recognize about this State-of-the-Union is that, far more than any other given by this president during his term in office, we lack an obvious, mutually agreed-upon set of major initiatives to discuss. Therefore, in a manner that is quite common for second States-of-the-Union for second term presidencies, the most immediate initial goal must be to develop and hone a set of policies for discussion and announcement.

I. DEVELOPING THEMES AND POLICIES

"Pillars" group. As discussed, you are planning to convene the pillars group to begin the process of culling ideas for policy.

State-of-the-Union retreat. Even if you do convene the "pillars" group, we recommend that – very soon – a small group of relevant policy and communications staff leave the office, or gather on a Saturday, for a focused discussion of the State of the Union. This will provide feedback for the message, and just as important, give impetus to the policy development process. It will follow upon the yeastiest discussions that occurred during the discussions of the "pillars."

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State of the Union themes memorandum. The attendees will have the opportunity to react to a draft themes memorandum. This will then go to the President for an early reaction. Internally, this process will involve us as well as Paul Begala, Sid Blumenthal, Rahm Emanuel and others.

Policy development. The most critical next step is policy development. One approach would be to designate one single individual to scour the agencies, academia, and work with the policy councils. Or, alternately, Bruce Reed, Gene Sperling and Sandy Berger could form a working group.

Outside advisors. Speechwriting will prepare for the President, as we have every other year, a book – of previous speeches, submissions by outside advisors, and members of the administration. This process has already begun: At your request, Michael has already begun soliciting state of the union thematic suggestions – and policy suggestions – from a limited and trusted group of outsiders. (They have been asked for thoughts on this State of the Union, but also for thoughts on how it would mesh with what the President has done thus far, and should do for the remained of his term.) We reccomend two scholars dinners, as were organized in years past by Diane Blair (political scientists) and Bill Galston (general). These helped spur the President's thinking -- and draw in the involvement of many possible validators.

Public opinion research. As has been the case in other years, appropriate opinion research will be conducted to help frame issues and assess the public mood and strategic setting.

Drafting. As in previous years, drafting will be done by Speechwriting, with the active involvement of others inside and outside the White House (especially including Sid and Paul). We should involve Bob Shrum early, his time permitting.

Roll-up and roll-out. The Communications Department, along with Cabinet Affairs, OPL, and Political, will coordinate the effort during the week before and after the address that will preview and then support his message.

II. SCHEDULE

Here is a recommended schedule for the State of the Union drafting and policy process. It assumes a speech date in late January.

October

Week 3 - Gathering first "outside" memos (as part of pillars project)

Week 4 - "Pillars" meeting
Very first cut of "themes" memo
State of the Union "retreat"

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November

Meeting with President - 1 hour - initial discussion of goals and themes

Policy development – canvassing agencies, advocates, experts

December

Weeks 1/ 2 - Policy development continued
Two meetings with President 1 hour each -- to discuss policy issues
End of the year interviews previewing themes

Week 3 - Outline circulated

Week 4 - Outline submitted to President

January

Week 1 - Outline submitted
Academic dinners

Week 2 - First draft in to President

Week 3 6 hours of speech prep needed

Week 4 State-of-the-Union

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
SOTU pieces

October 22, 1997

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FROM: ANN LEWIS
MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION PLANNING PROCESS

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Dani Rodrik to President Bill Clinton; RE: State of the Union Suggestions (4 pages)	01/14/1998	P5
002. letter	Michael Lind to President Clinton; RE: Address and phone number [partial] (1 page)	01/11/1998	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
KS: Follow Up From Thinkers [2]

2006-0469-F
db1932

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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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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79 JOHN F. KENNEDY STREET
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DANI RODRIK
Rafiq Hariri Professor of
International Political Economy

Tel: (617) 495-9454
Fax: (617) 496-5747
dani_rodrik@harvard.edu

January 14, 1998

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to thank you for your invitation to the White House last Wednesday. It was a great honor and pleasure to meet you and have a chance to engage in a wide-ranging discussion on some of the most pressing issues of our day. I left the meeting somewhat daunted by the magnitude of the challenges that confront you during the remainder of your term, but also thoroughly impressed with your determination to overcome them.

You asked us to communicate to you any further thoughts that we had related to our conversation. I would like to elaborate on one issue in particular, as I know it is close to your own heart.

I believe, as I think you do too, that it will be tremendously important in your upcoming speech to provide a satisfactory answer to globalization's critics. This is essential both to reunite the Democrats on this divisive issue and to lay out a vision that informs future policy. The right approach, it seems to me, is to make it clear that your strategy combines the pursuit of an open trade regime with an ambitious set of domestic initiatives in the areas of education, training, and social safety nets. The social compact you are proposing to the American people is a simple and attractive one: we will fully partake of the economic opportunities created by global markets; but we will also do our best to ensure that the benefits of trade are not spread unevenly.

Globalization engenders a certain degree of social trauma because it quickens the pace of change experienced by individuals and families in their work place, marketplace, and community. The attendant sense of loss of control underlies the anxieties that attach to international trade. Educational opportunities and social insurance equalize the playing field for the less fortunate among us, and can help restore a sense of control over one's destiny. To critics of "big government," you can respond that that the government's role in this is not an intrusive one, but an enabling one.

During the last couple of weeks alone, you have come forward with excellent programs in the areas of Medicare, child care, and training. These reforms are worthy in their own right of course, but they also constitute the type of complementary measures needed as the domestic leg of a globalization strategy. What I think has been missing in your public statements on these programs has been the critical linkage with the trade side. (Similarly, I believe fast track got

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nowhere because it was perceived as lacking a strong domestic component in terms of compensation and adjustment assistance.) This separation between the two legs of your strategy denies you of a powerful argument to counter globalization's critics. You now have an important opportunity to articulate the interconnectedness of your foreign and domestic initiatives.

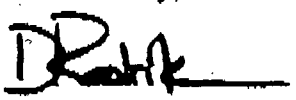
You understand the complementary nature of trade and domestic programs very well, but I do not think the public at large does. Neither do many people in Congress. You would gain much by making this explicit and by demonstrating that you are actually getting on with this agenda. This will allow you to confront frontally and decisively the protectionists in Congress and elsewhere.

The recent events in Asia have increased the salience of these issues and the importance of making a credible case to the American public on behalf of open economic borders. Recovery in Asia will require that countries in the region export their way out of trouble. This will increase the U.S trade deficit. The problem is likely to be aggravated by the process of currency unification in Europe, which I expect will contribute further to the reduction in global demand. A serious political backlash against a growing external trade imbalance would risk not only an outbreak of protectionism here but a slide into depression worldwide. Guarding against this doomsday scenario is yet another reason for making a forthright case for trade backed up by solid domestic programs.

I am told by your aides that you have read my book *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* and enjoyed it. Let me close by saying how gratified I am that you may have found the book of some value.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



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001. letter	Michael Lind to President Clinton; RE: Address and phone number [partial] (1 page)	01/11/1998	P6/b(6)
002. letter	Dani Rodrik to the President; RE: Stae of the Union Suggestions (2 pages)	01/14/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
KS: Follow Up From Thinkers [3]

2006-0469-F
db1933

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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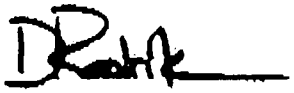

Dani Rodrik

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Henry Cisneros to President Clinton; RE: Idea's for the State of the Union Address (3 pages)	12/19/1997	P5
002. list	List of Outside Contacts for the SOTU; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (4 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
003. list	MW Call List; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004. fax	Bill Galston to Sidney Blumenthal, Michael Waldman; RE: List of speech ideas (5 pages)	01/08/1996	P5
005. memo	Howard Waddell to Deputy Secretary; RE: Personal (3 pages)	01/23/1998	P6/b(6)
006. memo	Will Marshall to John Hilley, et al.; RE: State of the Union Address (5 pages)	01/06/1998	P5
007. memo	Al From to the President; RE: 1998 Politics and the State of the Union (5 pages)	01/16/1998	P5
008. memo	Al From to the President; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	01/26/1998	P5
009. memo	Henry Cicneros to the President; RE: List of Possible Reciprocal Actions: Next Steps (1 page)	01/21/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
KS: Memo from Experts [2]

2006-0469-F
db1935

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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Sandy/Secs
↳ we need to discuss this sometime
BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-5-98

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Bowles
Smith
Waldman

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Memo

To: John Hilley, Bruce Reed, Paul Begala
From: Will Marshall
Re: State of the Union Address
Date: January 6, 1998

Per John's request, here are some thoughts about the speech. I think the President has a striking opportunity to introduce a big idea that can do three things: 1) recast his key accomplishments as integral parts of an overall strategy for renewing American democracy for the information age; 2) help the White House regain the political initiative; and, 3) offer the party a potent (and unifying) theme for the midterm elections.

My candidate for that idea -- and organizing theme for the SOTU address -- is this: A new bargain for a new economy. That bargain asks working Americans to brave the risks of economic change in return for a new public commitment to make sure they share in the gains. Such a deal would powerfully reinforce the President's key themes of responsibility and opportunity while filling a big vacuum in the New Democrat agenda for political/policy modernization.

For both substantive and political reasons, he urgently needs a domestic counterpart to his highly successful (but controversial) agenda for expanding trade and opening foreign markets. The substantive reason: our ability to achieve and sustain higher growth rates depends on equipping more U.S. workers with the skills and tools they need to get high-wage jobs and manage their own economic security. The political reason: to sustain public support for the policies that have contributed to today's strong economy, the White House needs a plausible strategy for reducing the insecurity and inequality that are the flip side of the new economy. Otherwise, you leave the field clear for the labor-left, which is beginning to make some headway in charging that New Democrat economic policy is more responsive to global markets than the plight of average working families.

As a purely political matter, the White House must create a context in which more Democrats can buck labor and vote for renewing fast-track authority. But the new bargain isn't just a tactic to provide cover for a single vote. It creates a strategic opportunity to outflank the left – by offering them a deal they can hardly refuse – while at the same time reinforcing the GOP's well-earned reputation for being so pathologically anti-government that they are willing to leave working Americans to fend for themselves in these uncertain times.

This approach would also plug the public investment gap, but not by spending more on traditional infrastructure and social programs as the left would like. Instead, it would allow the President to say to U.S. workers: our country is winning in the world economy, and now we're

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FROM : Panasonic ANS/FAX PHONE NO. : Dec. 13 1995 02:22AM P02

going to help you move into the winners' circle -- by enabling you to share in the gains of growth and take control of your own careers and financial security. If the first part of the Clinton presidency was about restoring economic growth and preparing America to win in the new economy, the second phase is about *securing and sharing the gains.*

This framework allows the President to do what he does so well: help people understand the economic transformation we're going through and to relate his achievements and initiatives to the historic challenge of managing that transition in the interests of all Americans. Restoring fiscal discipline, opening foreign markets, raising educational standards, and empowering workers through a GI bill and other innovations (see ideas listed below) all are part of a grand strategy for equipping Americans to play as dominant a role in the new economy as our country played in the industrial era.

I think that is inherently a very powerful (and classically Democratic) message, and one the President and the Veep must send if they are to offer working families an alternative to the left's economic pessimism and fear-mongering. Moving more Americans into the economic winners' circle could also prove a potent counter to what still may be the GOP's dominant 1998 theme: directly putting money in peoples' pockets through tax cuts.

The President's intention to submit a balanced budget may well blunt the GOP drive for tax cuts. But as long as you all are going to propose a bunch of new spending initiatives anyway, why not bundle them up in a package that looks more substantial and sends a big political message that Democrats are committed to cutting everybody in on today's prosperity?

What might such a package consist of? Here are some ideas that have emerged from our previous work and several recent brainstorming sessions at PPI. Note that several of them take existing Clinton initiatives and try to magnify them. Others are more speculative and point to a more radical revamping of our training and labor market systems.

The ideas fall under four basic headings: 1) wage insurance for workers at immediate risk of economic loss; 2) turning workers into stakeholders and owners; 3) lifetime learning for all workers; and, 4) a universal reemployment system.

Wage Insurance

I think you already have Bill Galston's proposal for an "underemployment system" that replaces part of the wages workers lose when they move from a relatively well-paying job to one that pays much less. This is an intriguing concept, since it's targeted at those older (and often unionized) workers for whom more education and training really isn't the answer. Rather than raise the payroll tax, however, I'd look to shift spending from old programs of dubious worth (like TAA) to this new way of underpinning the economic security of workers.

Here's a variation on the theme of wage insurance: Income averaging to provide tax relief for workers who experience a sharp drop in wages. We used to do this for taxpayers who have windfall gains; why not introduce income averaging for workers who experience sudden big

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FROM : Panasonic HNS/FAX PHONE NO. : DEC. 13 1995 02:22PM P03

drops in wages? By allowing them to average their income over, say, the previous two years, they'd owe less in taxes and would thus qualify for a timely rebate.

Workers as Owners and Stakeholders

The heart of a new bargain with working Americans ought to be individual control and ownership. The President should elaborate a new vision of democratic capitalism in his SOTU address. In the old industrial bargain, workers relied on a benevolent government and collective action through unions to assure their economic security. In the new bargain, they'll be given the tools to take personal control of their own careers and security. They'll also be given new opportunities to become capital owners as well as wage-earners, for real economic power comes from individual ownership, not government largess.

Specifically, the President could propose to reform the tax code so that, like health insurance and pension benefits, any firm that provides tax-free training to its executives and professionals must also offer it to its other employees—and employees who accept these opportunities should be obliged to not leave for a new job for a reasonable period.

This nondiscriminating principle should also be extended to bonus compensation and equity-sharing. When a firm provides tax-favored, performance-based bonuses to executives, all employees should be eligible to earn such compensation. Through these fairly simple, easy-to-grasp changes, the President could give powerful expression to the progressive idea that all workers should have the same control over their career choices and security that executives have.

Lifetime Learning System

The key proposal here is to revive and expand the President's G.I. Bill for American workers. As you know, related proposals are languishing in Congress, despite considerable bipartisan support. The President could reintroduce and enlarge upon his original concept, describing the GI bill as a first step toward creating a comprehensive learning system that gives all workers access to the resources they need to continuously hone their skills -- the chief source of their economic security in the new economy.

Such a system would have three elements:

1) An expanded G.I. Bill proposal. In 1997, bills were introduced by Rep. McKeown (R.A.) and Sen. DeWine (R-OH), each with bipartisan support. They would consolidate 60 training and adult education programs into three block grants (four in the Senate), require states to establish one-stop career centers, issue vouchers to both dislocated and disadvantaged workers, and that providers of employment services meet certain standards. In FY1998, $5 billion was appropriated for JTPA programs; CBO estimates that in 1999, the House reform bill will cost $5.2 billion. CBO has not estimated the Senate bill's cost.

The bills also restructure how local governments administer and deliver training and other employment services. The House bill passed by an overwhelming margin and Senate Labor

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Committee approved a bill with bipartisan support. But, the initial bipartisan support in the Senate is waning. Education interest groups are concerned that by combining both vocational education and job training, vocational education programs will be shortchanged (the House bill separately passed vocational education reform). Also, in the Senate bill, members and interest groups are concerned about Title V, which allegedly allow governors to get around federal mandates.

The legislation is a decent start but falls short in key respects. Specifically, the President should push for a revised version that:

* Consolidates existing training programs for dislocated and disadvantaged workers related to trade, environment, defense conversion and the JTPA dislocated worker assistance program.
* Expand consumer choice by issuing true vouchers to workers worth up to $3,000 over two years ($500 for skill assessment and preliminary employment services and up to $2500 for education and training programs)
* Increase funding for infrastructure to build a strong, nationally linked system of "one-stop centers."
* Establish a system of performance benchmarks to hold training providers accountable to workers, employers and taxpayers.

2) Encourage all workers to invest in learning. We've proposed tax-preferred savings accounts—Career Opportunity Accounts—to help people set aside money to enhance their career skills. On an experimental or demonstration-project basis, these accounts would permit working people to save for their own continuing training on a tax-preferred basis. This experiment would cost approximately $350 million in FY 1999 and $2.25 billion over five years.

3) Youth apprenticeship. Again, a modest Clinton initiative that ought to be expanded in order to accelerate progress toward a comprehensive school-to-work system. Specifically, the federal government should increase support for state and local apprenticeship programs in FY 1999 by $400 million and continue to expand this commitment to reach $3.0 billion in five years.

Universal Reemployment System

Finally, and most speculatively, we think the GI bill's vouchers and the one-stop centers point to a radical revamping of our education and training systems. We propose folding existing federal education and training programs into a single, universal reemployment system that would serve everyone: dislocated workers, those receiving unemployment insurance, welfare recipients, workers displaced by trade policies, and incumbent workers who want to upgrade their skills.

Building on the emerging network of one-stop centers, the universal reemployment system would give people easy "no wrong door" access to information about available jobs and employment and training providers in their region. The new system would be organized on the three pillars of standards, accountability and choice for workers. People who qualify for publicly

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funded services would be issued a voucher that allows them to choose among available providers of job readiness, training, placement, postemployment and related services. Providers taking public funds must agree to maintain and report information on outcomes, for example, percentage of successful placements and average annual salary. This information would be organized as a Consumer Report Card that would enable workers to make informed choices about where to seek help. Providers who fail to meet specific performance standards would not be eligible to accept vouchers.

Specifically, we'd propose new block grants—*Work Force Development Grants*—to help states develop the information systems for one-stop career centers and consumer report cards. This block grant would be budgeted at approximately $150 million in FY 1999 and $975 million over five years.

Of course, there are other Presidential initiatives that could plausibly be added to the new bargain for American workers. Here's one: use existing federal education programs as leverage to induce states to speedily adopt standards and tests in their K-12 schools. Expanding health care coverage certainly is a key component of worker security in the new economy.

The point is to engage in the programmatic equivalent of bundling, so that a spate of modest initiatives cumulates to a larger vision of a President and a party deeply committed to giving average working families the tools they need to prosper in the New Economy -- to manage the risks of economic change, get the skills they need to secure good jobs, and control the basic resources that in the New Economy confers economic security -- health care, pensions, equity, etc.

I hope this quick and dirty sketch is useful; let me know if you want to discuss further.

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FROM : PANASONIC HNS/FAX PHONE NO. : DEC. 15 1995 02:23PM P06

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001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address (75 pages)	01/19/1999	P5

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

UNITED STATES CAPITOL

January 19, 1999

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans:

[introduction is 5 minutes]

Tonight, we begin anew our work together for the people of America. Let me start by saluting the new Speaker of the House. ~~When you were sworn in~~ At your swearing-in, you asked us to work in a spirit of civility and bipartisanship. Mr. Speaker, let's do exactly that.

Tonight, I have the honor of reporting on the State of our Union.

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I stand before you to report that we have created the longest peacetime economic expansion in American history -- with wages rising at twice the rate of inflation and nearly 18 million new jobs.

I stand before you to report that homeownership is the highest in history -- ~~the~~ welfare rolls are the smallest in 29 years -- ~~and~~ the peacetime unemployment rate is the lowest it has been since 1957.

For the 1st time in 3 decades

I stand before you, the first president in three decades to report, not just that the budget is balanced, not just

but that we will have a $76 billion surplus -- the highest in American history.

(14)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And I can report that we are now on course to run a surplus year after year for the next 20 years.

I stand before you to report that violent crime is at its lowest point in a quarter century.

I stand before you to report that the environment is the cleanest in a quarter century; and that -- even as our economy has boomed -- we have cut pollution from factories in half.

I stand before you to report that America stands strong – a peacemaker in lands torn by ancient hatreds, from Northern Ireland, to Bosnia, to the Middle East.

(27)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I stand before you to report that once again our government is a progressive instrument of the common good. Thanks to the pioneering leadership of Vice President Gore, ~~America has a government for the Information Age, We have the smallest government since 1962, A flexible, creative government driven not by stale ideology, but by fresh ideas that work,~~ devoted to fiscal responsibility and determined to give the American people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. A 21st Century government for 21st Century America.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you to report that the State of our Union is strong.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The promise of our future is limitless. ~~Stunning~~ scientific discoveries; ~~remarkable advances in the health of our people; a time when cancer will be cured; when new technologies will make it easier for parents~~ to succeed both at work and at home; ~~when children will~~ acquire new knowledge in new ways -- ~~all moving us into a new time of longer, more rewarding lives~~.

Yes, America is working again. But we cannot realize our promise if we allow the hum of our prosperity to lull us into complacency. How we fare as a nation ~~far~~ into the 21st Century will depend ~~not upon~~ so or not what we enjoy today, but what we do today.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So with our budget surplus growing, our economy expanding, and our confidence rising, let's get to work.

AGING OF AMERICA [8 minutes]

Our fiscal discipline gives us an unsurpassed opportunity to address a remarkable new challenge: the aging of America.

~~We are blessed with the longest life expectancy we have ever known.~~ With the number of elderly Americans set to double by 2030, the Baby Boom will become a Senior Boom.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So first and above all, we must save Social Security. Early in this century, being old meant being poor. When President ~~Franklin~~ Roosevelt created Social Security, thousands wrote to thank him for eliminating what one woman called the "stark terror of penniless, helpless old age." Even today, without Social Security, half our nation's elderly would be forced into poverty.

Today, Social Security is strong. But by 2013, payroll taxes will not cover retirement obligations. And by 2032, the Trust Fund will be exhausted, and Social Security will be unable to pay ~~out~~ the ~~full~~ benefits older Americans have been promised.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Last year, from this podium, I said we must~~ set aside ~~the surplus until we save Social Security.~~

The best way to keep Social Security a rock-solid guarantee is not to make drastic cuts in benefits; not to raise payroll tax rates; and not to drain resources from Social Security in the name of saving it.

Instead, I propose that we make the historic decision to invest the surplus to save Social Security.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Specifically, I propose that we commit half the budget surplus for the next 15 years to Social Security. And ~~by~~ investing a small portion of the Trust Fund [*surplus?*] in the private sector -- ~~like any~~ as private ~~or~~ and state government pensions ~~would~~ do. That ~~we~~ will earn a higher return and ~~we will~~ keep Social Security sound for 50 years without benefit cuts or tax rate increases.

We need to make other changes, too: We ~~need to~~ should reduce poverty among elderly widows, ~~which is nearly twice the overall poverty rate for older Americans~~ who are twice as likely as other seniors to be poor. We ~~need to~~ should eliminate the earnings test which limits what senior citizens on Social Security can earn ~~for themselves~~.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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And we ~~need to~~ should put Social Security on a sound footing for ~~at least~~ the next 75 years. These changes will require difficult but achievable choices. They must be made on a bipartisan basis. They should be made this year. ~~It will not be easy, but we have to do it.~~ So let us commit together to save and improve Social Security for the 21st Century. Now.

18

Second, once we have set aside sufficient funds from the surplus to save Social Security, we must fulfill our obligation to save and improve Medicare. Already, we have extended the life of Medicare by 10 years -- but it should be extended for at least another decade ~~beyond that.~~

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~So~~ tonight I propose that we use one out of every five dollars in the surplus over the next 15 years to guarantee the soundness of Medicare. ~~If we do nothing more, we can secure the program~~ until at least the year 2020. ~~But if~~ ~~we do~~ But we do more, carefully reviewing the report of the panel chaired by Sen. John Breaux and Rep. Bill Thomas in March, we can ~~not only add to the life of Medicare -- we can improve the lives of our seniors~~ by covering ~~their~~ greatest growing need, affordable prescription drugs.

Third, we must help all Americans, from their first day on the job, to save, to invest, to create wealth. Today, tens of millions of people retire with little to live on other than Social Security. Americans living longer than ever must save more than ever.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1/57/27

Tonight I propose a new initiative for retirement security in the 21st Century, ~~I propose that we use~~ by using 10% of the surplus to establish Universal Savings Accounts -- USA Accounts. Americans ~~will be able to~~ who set up their own personal pension accounts, investing as they choose, ~~with the government matching~~ will receive funds to match a portion of their savings, with ~~the most~~ more help for those least able to save.

USA Accounts will give all Americans the means to save, to share in the nation's wealth, ~~and~~ to enjoy a more secure retirement.

2/62/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1/62/67

Fourth, we must invest in long-term care. ~~In my balanced budget~~, I ~~will~~ propose a tax credit of $1,000 for ~~the~~ ailing, aged or disabled, ~~and~~ those who care for ~~them~~. loved ones.

The care our families can provide at home is invaluable; let us show that we value it.

With these four measures -- saving Social Security, strengthening Medicare, establishing USA Accounts, and providing the long-term care tax credit -- we can begin to meet our historic responsibility to establish true security for 21st Century seniors.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

166/27

I was born in 1946, ~~in~~ the first year of the Baby Boom. ~~And I know that I speak for my~~ Our generation: ~~None~~ is determined ~~of us wants~~ Motto let our growing old ~~to~~ place an intolerable burden on our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. There is no better use for our surplus than lifting that burden. 8

STRONG SCHOOLS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

[9 minutes]

Today ~~there are more elderly than ever -- and~~ there are ~~also~~ more children, from more diverse backgrounds, in our public schools than at any time in our history. Their education must provide the knowledge and nurture the creativity prized by the new economy. 8

182/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Today we can say something about this future could not say six years ago: with more affordable student loans, more Pell grants for deserving students, 1 million new work-study jobs, education IRAs, and the HOPE scholarship tax cut that more than 5 million Americans will receive this year, we have opened the doors of college to all.

Nearly every state has set has set higher academic standards for public schools, and we will soon have a voluntary national test to measure the progress of our students. ~~We have supported~~ Schools are cracking down on drugs and gangs and guns and violence, many are improving learning and discipline with school uniforms, teaching values, and finding a proper place for religious faith.

We have supported these developments.

176/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

With ~~our help and~~ the leadership of Vice President Gore, ~~there are~~ we have helped 9 times as many classrooms connected to the Internet as there were six years ago. ~~And~~ This year with over one billion additional dollars ~~coming~~ ~~this year~~ to make Internet connections affordable, we can meet our goal: every classroom and every library connected to the Internet by the dawn of the new century.

We are marshalling a volunteer army of college students to teach young children to read and to mentor middle school children and prepare them for college.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last fall, we reached across party lines and began to hire 100,000 new highly-trained teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. I ask this Congress to finish our mission of hiring 100,000 new teachers.

Our children are doing better. SAT scores are up. Math scores have risen in nearly all grades ~~nationwide~~. But there is a problem: While our fourth graders outperform their peers in other developed countries in math and science, our eighth graders are around average, and our twelfth graders rank near the bottom.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must do better.

1/31/97

Each year the national government invests over $20 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, ~~We know what works~~ -- ~~we must invest in~~ to support what works ~~it~~, and stop ~~investing in~~ supporting what doesn't.

Later this year, I will send Congress a plan that for the first time holds states and school districts accountable for progress and rewards them for results. ~~I propose~~ The plan would require ~~that~~ every school district receiving federal help ~~must~~ to take the following four steps.

First, all schools must end social promotion. 1/30/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1850/27

we can't just hold students back when the system fails them

Because ~~we know students can learn what they don't know, we must help all young people to meet higher standards~~. My balanced budget triples the funding for summer school and after school programs. We can keep one million students learning ~~in the~~ hours beyond regular school ~~after regular school lets out~~, when parents work and juvenile crime soars.

12

Three years ago, under Mayor Daley's leadership, Chicago ended social promotion. Students who fail to master the basics go to summer school and get special tutoring until they do pass ~~-- and most do~~. Math and reading scores are up three years running. Some of the biggest gains have come in ~~what were some of the worst~~ schools in the toughest neighborhoods.

it's working

7

1997

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1/99/27

Second, all states and school districts must turn around their worst-performing schools or shut them down. That is the policy established by Gov. Jim Hunt in North Carolina -- ~~and last year, that state's~~ when test scores made the biggest gains in the nation last year. My budget includes $200 million to help all states adopt this policy and turn around their failing schools. We must do this, ~~can no longer tolerate schools that deny any young Americans the opportunity to learn and earn their way up~~.

9/8/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Third, all states and school districts must be held responsible for the quality of their teachers. ~~None of us would be here tonight if not for our teachers. We must lift them up, not tear them down~~. But in too many schools, teachers don't have college majors--or even minors--in the subjects they teach. ~~All new teachers must pass skills tests and~~ all teachers should be required to know the subject they are teaching.

To attract talented teachers to the toughest ~~teaching~~ assignments, I recommend a five-fold increase in scholarships for college students who commit to teach in the inner city, in isolated rural areas and on Indian reservations.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/28/97

w/ more information and more choice

Fourth, we must empower parents. In too many communities, it is easier to get information on the quality of local restaurants than the quality of local public schools. Every school district should issue report cards on every school.

and students

Parents should ~~be able to~~ have more choice in ~~We must create a public school system driven by~~ selecting public schools.
~~more information, more competition, more choice~~.

When I became President, there was one independent, public charter school in all of America. With our support, there are 900 today. My budget assures that early in the next century, there will be 3000.

2/26/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

If we do these four things -- end social promotion, turn around failing schools, demand and support qualified teachers, and promote accountability, innovation and competition -- we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to create 21st Century schools.

Let's do one more thing for our children. Today, too many of our schools are so old that they're falling apart, or so overcrowded students must learn in trailers. Last fall, Congress missed an opportunity to create a tax break to modernize or build 5000 schools. This year, for the sake of our 53 million schoolchildren, Congress must not miss that opportunity again.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BUILDING STRONG FAMILIES FOR THE 21st CENTURY [8 minutes]

We must do more to help the millions of ~~workin~~g ~~American~~ parents who give their all every day at home and at work. ~~No government can raise or love a child~~. ~~But government can empower parents to meet their most vital responsibilities~~.

The most basic tool of all is a decent income. So first, let's raise the minimum wage by one dollar over the next two years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/27/97

One of the biggest needs working parents face is quality child care. So again, I ask the Congress to make quality child care more affordable and more accessible. My balanced budget provides tax credits for working families, child care subsidies for small business, and high standards and training for child care providers. Our child care plan also includes a new tax credit for stay-at-home mothers. They need help too.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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The Family Medical Leave Act -- the first bill I signed into law -- has helped nearly 20 million Americans care for a new baby or an ailing relative without risking their jobs, at minimal cost to employers . ~~Now let's~~ We should extend ~~this to workers in smaller companies, and guarantee~~ Family Leave to 10 million more working Americans in smaller companies.

~~And~~ Parents should never face discrimination in the workplace. I will ask Congress to prohibit companies from refusing to hire or promote workers simply because they have children.

264/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/6/97

America's families deserve the world's best medical care. We must continue our cutting-edge research and pathbreaking innovation.

We have begun testing the first drugs to prevent or reduce risk of cancer. Medical researchers have introduced the first effective drugs to treat AIDS. They have made new discoveries about the process of aging itself – increasing the odds of developing new treatments to prevent or delay diseases from Parkinsons to Alzheimers to arthritis. I ask Congress keep us on track to increase the budget for the National Institutes of Health by fifty percent.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And as science advances, we cannot let our health care system lag behind.

Managed care has transformed medicine in America -- driving down costs, but threatening to drive down quality as well. ~~Let's make all Americans a promise:~~ This year, we ~~will~~ must pass a strong and enforceable patient's bill of rights ... so every American can have the right to the best care, not just the cheapest. The right to see a specialist. And the right to emergency care.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/11/27

By executive authority,
~~Within my power as President~~, I am extending these rights to the 85 million Americans served by Medicare, Medicaid, and other federal health plans. But only Congress can enact the Patients Bill of Rights for all Americans. Last year, Congress missed that opportunity. This year, for the sake of our families, Congress must not miss that opportunity again.

As more of our medical records are stored electronically, the threats to our privacy increase. If Congress does not act by this August, I have the authority to do so to protect the privacy of medical records -- and I will use it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Two years ago, we extended health insurance to up to 5 million children. Now, we should give people 55 to 65 who lose their health insurance the chance to buy in to Medicare. We should make it easier for small businesses to offer health insurance to their employees. And we should pass the historic bipartisan legislation, introduced by Senators Jeffords, Kennedy, Roth and Moynihan, to allow people with disabilities to keep Medicaid health insurance when they go to work. No one should have to choose between keeping health care and taking a job.

~~And~~ We should increase support for the community health centers providing basic care for families who lack health coverage altogether.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/20/27

~~Next,~~ We must step up our efforts to treat and prevent an illness that brings pain to millions of families -- mental illness. No American should ever be afraid to recognize and treat this disease. This year, we will host a first-ever White House Conference on Mental Health. With sensitivity and commitment, Tipper Gore ~~has led~~ is leading our efforts here -- and I thank her.

As everyone ~~in this chamber~~ knows, our children – whom the tobacco industry has called "replacement smokers" -- are targets of a massive media campaign to hook them on cigarettes. I ask this Congress to resist the tobacco lobby and pass a bipartisan bill that safeguards our children while protecting farmers.

2/4/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

For decades the tobacco industry has passed too much of the real cost of smoking -- medical care for illnesses from cancer to emphysema -- onto you, the taxpayers. It is time to recover those costs, as the states have done.

Tonight, I am directing the Department of Justice to prepare and bring a lawsuit against the tobacco companies for the costs to Medicare of tobacco-related illnesses. ~~The funds we recover should be used to strengthen Medicare.~~

In all these areas -- minimum wage, child care, health care, family leave and the safety of our children -- we can begin to meet our historic responsibility to strengthen our families for the 21st Century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A 21st CENTURY ECONOMY [10 minutes -- 6 minutes of which is international]

Next, we must build a 21st Century economy for all Americans.

Today, America is the most dynamic, competitive, job creating economy in history -- ~~because the qualities that bring success in the global economy are at the core~~ of the ~~American character~~.

But we can do better.

We must make a place for all our people in the new economy.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

302/27

Today, ~~there is not so much an~~ the income gap ~~as~~ is largely a skills gap. Last year I signed bipartisan legislation to transform our worker training system. With a simple skills grant, Americans eligible for training assistance can now choose the skills they need. Now I recommend a national campaign to increase adult literacy for one of four working people who read at less than a sixth grade level, and a commitment ~~that every~~ to provide all Americans who loses their jobs ~~will be able to get~~ the training they need.

In the last six years, we have cut the welfare rolls nearly in half.

310/24

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Two years ago, from this podium, I asked five companies to lead a national effort to hire people off the welfare rolls. Tonight, our Welfare to Work Partnership includes 10,000 companies who have hired hundreds of thousands of people. ~~And~~ My budget provides funds to help ~~move~~ more another 200,000 people from welfare to work.

We also must bring the spark of private enterprise into inner cities and remote rural areas. My balanced budget provides tax credits to create venture capital funds, supports community banks, and provides tax credits and 100,000 vouchers so people can find affordable housing.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We already have an Overseas Private Investment Corporation, to help develop untapped markets abroad. I propose an American Private Investment Corporation to develop untapped markets at home.

And we must bring prosperity back to rural America. Farmers -- the backbone of our country -- are in trouble. Dropping prices and the loss of foreign markets have led to dire economic conditions for too many of our hardworking family farmers. We need to craft a better farm safety net for rural America, with crop insurance reform and income assistance. I am ready to work with Members of Congress of both parties to get it done.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3/10/27

We must strengthen our lead in ~~the new technological~~ technology economy.

Government investment in computers led to the creation of the Internet. ~~Now~~ I propose a 30% increase in long-term computer research.

We must be ready for the 21st Century from its very first moment. ~~That means~~ by solving the "Y2K" computer bug. We have already made sure Social Security checks will keep coming on time. But every gov't department every business, every city and county, every university must be ready. ~~We all must do our part~~ so the millennium bug will be remembered as the last headache of the 21st Century, not the first crisis of the 21st.

3/8/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2/8/27

Economic growth at home also depends upon economic growth abroad.

Until recently, one third of our economic growth came from exports. But over the past year and a half, the financial turmoil ~~that began in Asia~~ abroad has put that growth at risk. Today, much of the world is in recession. Across Asia, an entire generation that worked its way into the middle class has plunged into poverty.

This is the most critical financial crisis in a half century. ~~Last September, I set out a new strategy to spur global growth, to stabilize the global economy and keep the world trading system open, free, and fair.~~

SB 2/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

To deal with this crisis, ~~Together with other nations~~, America has ~~acted~~ --

reduc~~ing~~ed interest rates, ~~meeting~~ met our obligations to the

International Monetary Fund, and ~~taking steps~~ worked w/ other nations to ~~contain~~ keep

the crisis from spreading. The turmoil is not over, but thanks to lawmakers of ~~But because of~~

both parties, we have a chance to ~~beat~~ contain it, ~~America's leadership, the world's economy and ours are~~

~~more sound than they would have been -- and our~~

~~economy continues to grow, steady and strong. I thank~~

~~lawmakers of both parties for your support.~~

Now we must build a global financial system for the

21st Century that tames the cycles of boom and bust.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3661/27

This spring, I will meet with other world leaders to lay plans for a modern world financial system -- with clean accounting books, stronger international bank regulations, an aggressive response to prevent regional problems from becoming global crises, and a strong social safety for the most vulnerable victims of financial turmoil.

To maintain prosperity in the global economy,
We must also build a freer and fairer trading system for the 21st Century -- one that spurs growth, expands opportunity for ordinary citizens, and supports basic labor and environmental standards. Trade has divided Americans for too long. We must find the common ground on which business, workers, environmentalists and government can stand together.

3558/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3S8/27

We must do more to help American manufacturers hit hard by the present crisis. I ask the Congress to provide $2 billion in new credit to promote U.S. manufacturing exports abroad. ~~Protectionism could start a chain reaction, hurting our exports and triggering a global recession~~. ~~But~~ When imports are unlawfully flood into our nation, ~~we must act~~. I have already informed the government of Japan that if Japan's sudden surge of cheap steel imports into our country is not reversed, I will respond.

We must enforce our trade laws. Free trade must be fair trade.

363/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Five times in the past half century, we have negotiated worldwide agreements that have opened markets and lifted prosperity. I will launch a new round of negotiations in the World Trade Organization to expand our exports of farm products, services and manufactures. And we will seek to expand trade with Africa, with ~~the~~ our Caribbean and Central American neighbors devastated by the recent hurricanes, and ~~by~~ with the creating ~~creating~~ a Free Trade Area of the Americas.

11/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must also press for trade that promotes the dignity of work and the rights of workers. We must insist that international trade organizations be open to public scrutiny, and ~~We must insist~~ that trade rules never be used as a pretext to destroy environmental protections. We must never let ~~vigorous~~ international competition become a race to the bottom among nations.

I ask Congress to join me in this common approach and pass legislation granting the President traditional trade authority to advance our prosperity.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3649/27

~~Also~~, We will work with the International Labor Organization on a new initiative to lift labor standards around the world. And we must act, ~~once and for all~~, to end the most exploitative trade practices of all: I will sign a new international agreement to ban child labor everywhere in the world.

If we do these things, then we can begin to meet the historic responsibility of this generation to build a 21st Century prosperity for America in a more stable and growing world economy.

3668/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A STRONG AMERICA IN A NEW WORLD [13 minutes]

No nation in history has had the opportunity and the responsibility we now have to help shape a world more secure, peaceful and free.

All Americans should be proud that our leadership helped bring peace to Northern Ireland. Now that Protestants and Catholics there have chosen peace, America will help them build it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

All Americans can be proud that our leadership has put Bosnia on the path to peace. This year, we will help that peace take deeper root – and continue to bring our troops home. In Kosovo we will work to sustain a fragile cease fire and to restore self government.

All Americans can be proud that our leadership renewed hope for a lasting peace in the Middle East. Some of you were with me in December as we watched the Palestinian National Council completely renounce its call for the destruction of Israel.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I ask the Congress to act now to provide resources to support the Wye Agreement . . . to protect Israel's security, stimulate the Palestinian economy, and support our friends in Jordan. We must not, we cannot, let them down.

As we work for peace, we must also meet threats to our nation's security – including increased dangers from outlaw nations and terrorism. The bombing of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania reminded us of the risks faced every day by those who represent America to the world. They deserve protection, recognition and support. Let's give them the resources they need so America can continue to lead.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We will defend our security wherever it is threatened -- as we did this summer when we struck at Osama bin Laden's network of terror in Afghanistan and Sudan.

~~I am proposing a 40% increase in funding to~~ keep terrorists from disrupting computer networks, ~~to~~ prepare local communities for biological and chemical emergencies, and ~~to~~ support research into vaccines and treatments.

We will work to retrain the spread of nuclear weapons, from North Korea to India and Pakistan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3/20/27

My balanced budget will expand our work with Russia, Ukraine, and the other former Soviet nations to safeguard their weapons and technology so they never fall into wrong hands.

There is another vital step Congress can take. In 1963, the Senate approved the Limited nuclear Test Ban Treaty just two months after President Kennedy signed it. It's been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. By acting now, the Senate can make it harder for new nations to develop nuclear arms, and end nuclear testing forever.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let me say something to Russia's legislature, the Duma. I ask you to promptly ratify the START II treaty, for the sake of Russia's security as well as our own. We have already agreed on a framework for START III to cut our arsenals by 80 percent from their Cold War height. Together, our nations can ~~do more than any others to~~ lift the cloud of nuclear annihilation from ~~the Earth. For~~ our children. We must do so.

For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligation to destroy its weapons of terror and the missiles to deliver ~~them.~~ them. America will continue to contain Saddam -- with diplomacy and sanctions when possible, with force when necessary. We also will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Every American should be proud of the servicemen and women who~~ last month struck at Saddam's deadly arsenal. Our troops were superb; ~~their weapons were powerful and precise~~. Their mission was so flawlessly executed that we risk taking for granted the bravery and skill it required. [x] flew [x] missions, destroying [x] that made [chemical weapons][or whatever]. He is here with us tonight. Let us all honor the 10,000 men and women of Desert Fox.

~~Republicans and Democrats worked together to streamline our military while ensuring that it remains second to none~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It is time to reverse the decline in defense spending that began in 1985.

In the last nine months, I have asked and Congress has agreed to add nearly $6 billion to maintain our readiness. My balanced budget calls for an increase of $12 billion for readiness and modernization -- ~~the start of a sustained six year reversal of the decline in defense spending that began in 1985~~. It will ensure that our troops can deploy rapidly, with the best training and weapons in the world. And it will provide for them and their families.

America's defenders stand ready at a moment's notice to go where comforts are few and dangers are many, doing what needs to be done as no one else can. They always come through for America. We must come through for them.

4/13/95

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4/3

The new century ~~also~~ demands new partnerships for peace and security.

~~Six years ago, I said NATO had an unprecedented opportunity to help build a Europe that for the first time is undivided, peaceful and free.~~ This spring, I will convene the leaders of a ~~new~~ NATO in Washington for its 50th anniversary summit, ~~We will ready NATO~~ to prepare for the missions of the next 50 years. ~~And~~ We will welcome Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as our first new allies from Central Europe. And we reaffirm our determination that Europe will never again be divided by concrete and barbed wire.

4/21/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

43 1/27

More than ever, we know that the security of America is also linked to the stability of Asia. I have worked to strengthen our relationships with our allies Japan and Korea. Last year, I also traveled to China because our relationship with ~~that~~ the world's largest country, ~~home to one in five of the world's people~~, will help determine prospects for peace and prosperity all across Asia. I spoke candidly about our shared interests as well as our differences. I said to the leaders of China -- and I will say again tonight -- that in the Information Age, stability cannot be bought at the expense of liberty.

40 1/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4040/27

But we must remember that it is important not to

~~But we must also remember~~: ~~China will not change~~

when China

~~if we isolate the Chinese people from the forces of~~

~~change~~. The more we bring China into the world, the

change and

more the world will bring freedom to China.

Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa,

still

where I saw democracy and reform rising, but ~~being~~

held back by the scars of violence and scourge of

disease. We must strive to end conflict and to fortify

African democracy, including in Nigeria. And because

trade and investment are the keys to African prosperity

-- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and

Opportunity Act.

4946/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4/6/27

In our own Hemisphere, every government but one is freely chosen by its people. Because we are determined that Cuba, too, will know the blessings of liberty, we have taken new steps to help the Cuban people without helping the ~~Castro regime~~ govt. regime.

We are strengthening ties to the Americas -- to ~~help~~ educate children, fight drug, & deepen democracy and ~~build a hemisphere of open markets, genuine justice and~~ increase shared prosperity ~~educated, healthy~~ children. In the wake of Hurricane Mitch, ~~we will continue to help.~~ & More than 5000 American troops have helped rebuild roads and homes and lives. Many are there still. I am proud of them -- and proud of the generosity of the American people to our friends and neighbors.

4/53/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In so many of these efforts I have mentioned, the United Nations plays a crucial role. Unless we want America to take all the risks and pay all the bills in solving the world's problems, we need a strong relationship with an effective UN. I want to work in this new year with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts.

21ST CENTURY COMMUNITIES [10 minutes]

At the world has changed, so have our own communities -- we must continue to strengthen them for this new time.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Strong communities are safer communities.

[Chestnut & Gibson tribute]

This year, we will reach our goal of putting 100,000 community police officers on the street -- ahead of schedule and under budget. The Brady Bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying guns. Last year, the crime rate dropped for the sixth straight year, and the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~But too many neighborhoods still are not safe~~.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century crime bill to marshall the latest technologies and tactics ~~in the fight against~~ to make our communities even safer ~~crime~~.

My budget provides funds to put up to 50,000 more police on the beat in the areas hardest hit by crime, and gives them 21st Century tools, from crime-mapping computers to digital mug shots.

Congress should restore the mandatory 5-day waiting period for buying a handgun that expired last year, and extend the Brady Bill to prevent juveniles who commit violent crimes from buying handguns for life.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4/60/27

We must break the deadly cycle of drugs and crime. My budget strengthens support for drug testing and treatment. It says to prisoners: If you stay on drugs, you must stay behind bars. And it says to those out on parole: If you want to keep your freedom, you have to keep free of drugs.

We must make our schools the safest places in our communities. Last year there were no more tragic events in America than the killings in our schools. I ask Congress to pass my plan to strengthen the Safe and Drug-Free School Act, and to hire and train 2,000 new community police and school resource officers to keep our kids safe.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

460/27

Strong communities are livable communities.

A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt defined our "great, central task" as "leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." Today, we are restoring the Florida Everglades, saving Yellowstone, preserving the red-rock canyons of Utah, protecting California's redwoods and our precious coasts.

But our most fateful new challenge is the threat of global warming. Last year's heat waves, ice storms, and floods are but a hint of what future generations may endure if we don't act now.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So tonight, I propose a clean air fund to help communities reduce both greenhouse pollution and smog; new funds for clean energy sources; tax cuts for energy-efficient cars, homes, and appliances; rewards for companies that take early voluntary action to reduce greenhouse pollution; and vigorous new diplomatic efforts to meet this global threat with a global response.

Another new challenge is ~~literally right next door in every neighborhood~~ in every neighborhood. As more citizens are buying new homes and sharing in the American Dream, our communities are losing about 7,000 acres of farms and open space every day.

4/4/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In response,

~~So tonight~~, Vice President Gore and I propose two major initiatives: first, an ~~unprecedented~~ Livability Agenda to help communities save open space, ease traffic congestion, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life; second, a historic one billion dollar Lands Legacy Initiative to preserve places of natural beauty across America -- from remote wilderness to city parks. ~~We must never forget that the most important park is the one closest to home. We must~~ preserve our heritage and ~~keep our growing communities livable and~~ green.

4/28/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

To get the most out of your community, you have to give something back to it. That's why I fought to create AmeriCorps -- our national service program that gives today's generation a chance to serve their community and earn money for college.

?
in first 4 years.

So far, 100,000 young people have built low-income homes with Habitat for Humanity ... helped churches tutor children ... worked with the American Red Cross to ease the burden of natural disasters ... and performed countless other acts of service that have made America better.

459/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Some of them are with us tonight ~~and we should thank them for their service. And~~ I ask this Congress to thank these young people as only you can: by increasing support for AmeriCorps.

As we work to strengthen our communities, we must work to renew our democracy. Last year, the House passed the bipartisan campaign finance reform legislation sponsored by Reps. Shays and Meehan and Sens. McCain and Feingold. But a partisan minority in the Senate blocked reform ~~and preserved the status quo~~. To the House I say: Pass reform again, quickly. I ask the Senate: say no to big money and yes to a strong democracy in the Year 2000.

4/98/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Finally, and most important, we must be truly One America.

Since 1997, our Initiative on Race has sought to bridge the divides between our people. In its report, issued last September, the Initiative's Advisory Board found that Americans want to bring our people together across racial lines -- but that we must do more to close the opportunity gaps that deepen the divides between the races. The economic, health care, and education initiatives in my budget will go a long way do a lot to close them.

We have more to do.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4/8/1/27

~~All citizens should have the chance to rise as far~~ as ~~their God-given talents will take them~~. Discrimination or violence because of ancestry or religion, race or gender, disability or sexual orientation, is wrong. ~~And~~ it should be illegal. Therefore I call upon the Congress to make the Employment Non-Discrimination Act and the Hate Crimes Prevention Act the law of the land.

The face of America will change immeasurably in the next century. Today, one in ten people in America was born in another country. Our newest immigrants are good for America. They are revitalizing our cities, energizing our culture, building our new economy.

4/9/24

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must make them welcome here. And they must take responsibility to learn English and to enter the mainstream of American life. ~~That is why~~ My balanced budget ~~will~~ enhances our efforts to teach immigrants English, our laws, and our system of government.

Whether our ancestors came here on the Mayflower or on slave ships, whether they landed on Ellis Island or at Los Angeles International Airport, whether they arrived yesterday or have been here thousands of years -- we can be, and we must be, one America.

SOS/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PERORATION: THE MILLENNIUM [5 minutes]

Barely more than 300 days from now, we will cross that bridge into a new millennium. This is a moment, as the First Lady has said, to honor the past and imagine the future.

I honor her -- for leading our Millennium Project -- for all she has done to represent our country at home and abroad -- and for all she has done for our children -- for her historic role in serving this nation and advancing our best ideals.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, Hillary traveled across our country to inspire more communities to work together to Save America's Treasures. I thank the Congress for its support of her efforts to restore the Star Spangled Banner and other national treasures, from Thomas Edison's laboratory to Louis Armstrong's house in Queens, ~~so that American children can better understand who we are as Americans~~.

5/5/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I call on all our cities and towns to strive to become "Millennium Communities" -- working to mark the millennium through one shared endeavor, whether by restoring historic landmarks, cleaning up a river, a coastline or a park, recruiting volunteers to help children. ~~Let us carry forward what George Washington called "the sacred fire of liberty."~~ We all must keep alive, in ways large and small, what GW called "the sacred fire of liberty".

Six years ago tomorrow, I came to office in a time of doubt for America, with our economy ~~was~~ troubled, our deficit ~~was~~ high, our people ~~were~~ divided. Some even wondered whether America's best days were behind us.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But across this nation, in a thousand neighborhoods, I had seen, even amid the pain and uncertainty of recession, ~~the strength, the idealism~~, the heart and character of America.

I had no doubt then of what we Americans could do for our country.

Tonight, as I deliver the last State of the Union message of the 20th Century, no one can doubt the enduring resolve of Americans to work for that "more perfect union" of our founders' dreams.

1/4/27

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are near the end of a century when generations of Americans answered the call to greatness, overcoming Depression, lifting up the dispossessed, bringing down barriers of racial prejudice, building up the largest middle class in history, winning two world wars, and the "long twilight struggle" of the Cold War.

Perhaps in the daily press of events, in the clash of controversy, we do not see our time for what it truly is – a new dawn for America.

A hundred years from tonight, an American President will stand in this place to report on the State of our Union. He – or she – will look back on a 21st Century shaped in so many ways by the decisions we make here and now.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let it be said of us then that we were thinking not only of our time, but of their time; that we reached as high as our ideals; that we put aside our divisions and found a new hour of healing and hopefulness; that in these next two years, with pride in our purpose and the grace of our God, we joined together to serve and strengthen the country we love.

Let us lift our eyes as one nation, and from the mountaintop of this American century, look forward to the next one.

Let us join our spirits and wills for the work ahead, and ask God's blessing on our endeavors and our beloved country.

5/15/13

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union [page 30] (1 page)	01/19/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
MW [Michael Waldman] Personal: [1999 State of the Union] [Folder 3]

2006-0469-F
db3412

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]

And we should pass the historic bipartisan legislation, introduced by Senators Jeffords, Kennedy, Roth and Moynihan, to allow people with disabilities to keep Medicaid health insurance when they go to work. No one should have to choose between keeping health care and taking a job.

Many can and working families still can't afford it. ~~And I ask the Congress to increase support for~~ We need to ~~[illegible]~~ enable community health centers and public hospitals ~~so that they better provide~~ to provide basic care for families ~~who lack coverage altogether~~ affordable w/o coverage. My budget makes a down payment ~~on that pledge~~ toward our goal.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to Erskine Bowles, et al.; RE: Suggested Language on America's Ideals (1 page)	06/26/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
Beijing U. [University] Speech

2006-0469-F
db3414

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

June 26, 1998 -- 6pm

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES
JOHN PODESTA
SANDY BERGER
TONY BLINKEN

THROUGH: SYLVIA MATHEWS
RAHM EMANUEL

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: SUGGESTED LANGUAGE ON AMERICA'S IDEALS

At the request of Sylvia Mathews and Rahm Emanuel, we have drafted some language for the Peking University speech. (I had a great deal of help, especially, from Jeff Shesol.) I have also attached the speech given by President Reagan at Moscow State University, which, as you know, is the reference point for the American press on this speech. It shows that it need not be insulting to the hosts to dwell proudly on our own philosophy. This represents what we mean when we say "representing America to China, and not China to America."

- The opening section is fine. (We have line edits, but we will get them to Tony.)

- We recommend that the speech not principally discuss areas of engagement with China, which have been amply and effectively discussed by the President in earlier appearances. As you know, press coverage of the first day of the trip focused almost exclusively on the defense of engagement. This would mean cutting out or significantly shrinking the passages from: "As you build a new China ..." on page 4 to "we remain true to our principles and give voice to our convictions" on page 8.

- Then, in place of the discussion of human rights now in the speech, here is suggested draft language that focuses on explaining America's ideals:

* * *

Over the past four days, I have seen changes that are gathering force in this vast country, powerful and hopeful changes.

As an American, when I saw those changes, in a sense, I felt at home. America, too, is changing. When I became President, few had ever heard of the World Wide Web on the Internet; today, even my cat has a home page. In our country, too, a 'new economy' is being created; in California's "Silicon Valley" 70 new high-tech businesses start every week. The very face of America is changing, and looking, in fact, more and more like your own: by 2050, one

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 4-12] (9 pages)	01/19/1999	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 10-15] (6 pages)	01/18/1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14458

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union Address 1999] [loose]

2006-0469-F
db3415

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]

USA Accounts, and supporting long-term care -- we can begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to establish true security for 21st Century seniors.

21st CENTURY SCHOOLS

There are more children, from more diverse backgrounds, in our public schools than at any time in our history. Their education must provide the knowledge and nurture the creativity that will allow our nation to thrive in the new economy.

Today we can say something we could not say six years ago: with more affordable student loans, more Pell grants and work-study jobs, education IRAs, and the new HOPE Scholarship tax cut that more than 5 million Americans will receive this year, we have opened the doors of college to all.

With our help, nearly every state has set higher academic standards for public schools, and a voluntary national test is being developed to measure the progress of our students. ~~We are marshaling a volunteer army of college students to teach young children to read, and to mentor middle school children and prepare them for college.~~

~~With the leadership of Vice President Gore, there are nine times as many classrooms connected to the Internet as there were six years ago. And with over one billion dollars in discounts available this year, we can meet our goal of connecting every classroom and library to the Internet.~~ We are on our way to connecting every classroom and library to the Internet!

SAVES 60

Last fall, you passed our proposal to start hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades. Now I call on you to finish the job.

Our children are doing better. SAT scores are up. Math scores have risen in nearly all grades. But there is a problem: While our fourth graders outperform their peers in other countries in math and science, our eighth graders are around average, and our twelfth graders rank near the bottom.

We must do better. Each year the national government invests more than $15 billion in our public schools. I believe we must change the way we invest that money, to support what works and to stop supporting what doesn't.

Later this year, I will send Congress a plan that for the first time holds states and school districts accountable for progress and rewards them for results. My Education Accountability Act will require every school district receiving federal help to take the following five steps.

First, all schools must end social promotion.

No child should graduate from high school with a diploma he or she can't read. We do our children no favors when we allow them to pass from grade to grade without mastering the

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material.

But we can't just hold students back when the system fails them. So my balanced budget triples the funding for summer school and after school programs. We can keep one million students learning beyond regular school hours, when parents work and juvenile crime soars.

If you doubt this will work, look at Chicago, which ended social promotion and made summer school mandatory for those who don't master the basics. Math and reading scores are up three years running -- with some of the biggest gains in some of the poorest neighborhoods.

Second, all states and school districts must turn around their worst performing schools -- or shut them down. That is the policy established by Gov. Jim Hunt in North Carolina, where test scores made the biggest gains in the nation last year. My budget includes $200 million to help states turn around their failing schools.

Third, all states and school districts must be held responsible for the quality of their teachers. The great majority of teachers do a fine job. But in too many schools, teachers don't have college majors -- or even minors -- in the subjects they teach.

New teachers should be required to pass performance exams. All teachers should know the subjects they are teaching. My balanced budget contains new resources to help them reach higher standards.

~~To attract talented young teachers to the toughest assignments,~~ I recommend a five-fold increase in scholarships for college students who commit to teach in the inner cities, isolated rural areas and Indian communities. ~~Let's bring excellence into every part of America.~~

Fourth, we must empower parents, with more information and more choices. In too many communities, it is easier to get information on the quality of the local restaurants than on the quality of the local schools. Every school district should issue report cards on every school.

And parents should have more choice in selecting their public schools. When I became President, there was one independent, public charter school in all of America. With our support, there are 900 today. My budget assures that early in the next century, there will be 3000.

Fifth, all states and school districts must adopt discipline policies to ensure that our classrooms are truly places of learning.

Now, let's do one more thing for our children. Today, too many of our schools are so old they're falling apart, or so overcrowded students must learn in trailers.
Last fall, Congress missed the opportunity to change that. This year, with 53 million children in our schools, Congress must not miss that opportunity again. I ask you to help our

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communities build or modernize 5000 schools.

If we do these things -- end social promotion, turn around failing schools, build modern ones, support qualified teachers, promote innovation, competition and discipline -- we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to create 21st Century schools.

21st CENTURY SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES

We must do more to help the millions of parents who give their all every day at home and at work.

The most basic tool of all is a decent income. Let's raise the minimum wage by a dollar an hour over the next two years.

And let's make sure women and men get equal pay for equal work by strengthening enforcement of equal pay laws.

Working parents also need quality child care. Again, I ask Congress to support our plan for tax credits and subsidies for working families, improved safety and quality, and expanded after-school programs. Our plan also includes a new tax credit for stay-at-home parents. They need support too.

The Family Medical Leave Act -- the first bill I signed into law -- has helped millions of Americans care for a new baby or an ailing relative without risking their jobs. We should extend Family Leave to 10 million more Americans working in smaller companies.

Parents should never face discrimination in the workplace. I will ask Congress to prohibit companies from refusing to hire or promote workers simply because they have children.

America's families deserve the world's best medical care.

Thanks to bipartisan federal support for medical research, ~~we have begun testing the first drugs to prevent cancer, and introduced the first effective drugs to treat AIDS. With new discoveries about the process of aging itself,~~ we are on the verge of new treatments to prevent or delay diseases from Parkinsons to Alzheimers to arthritis. ~~to~~ ~~مساعد~~.

72 words

As we continue our advances in medical science, we cannot let our health care system lag behind.

Managed care has transformed medicine in America -- driving down costs, but threatening to drive down quality as well. I say to every American: You should have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You should have the right to see a specialist. You should have the right to emergency care. You should have the right to continuity of care -- to keep your doctor if you have a pregnancy or chemotherapy or some other

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~~We will work to keep terrorists from disrupting computer networks, to prepare local communities for biological and chemical emergencies, and to support research into vaccines and treatments.~~

27 wdc.

We must increase our efforts to restrain the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles, from North Korea to India and Pakistan.

We must expand our work with Russia, Ukraine, and the other former Soviet nations to safeguard nuclear materials and technology so they never fall into the wrong hands. My balanced budget will increase funding for these critical efforts by 70% over the next 5 years.

With Russia, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. The START II treaty and the framework we have already agreed to for START III could cut them by 80% from their Cold War height.

It has been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't do the right thing, other nations won't either. I ask the Senate to take this vital step: Approve the Treaty now, so we can make it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms -- and end nuclear testing forever.

For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligation to destroy its weapons of terror and the missiles to deliver them. America will continue to contain Saddam -- and we will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

Last month, in our action over Iraq, our troops were superb. Their mission was so flawlessly executed, we risk taking for granted the bravery and skill it required. Captain Jeff Taliaferro [*tolliver*], a 10 year Air Force veteran, flew a B-52 over Iraq as we attacked Saddam's war machine. He is here with us tonight. Let us honor him and all the 10,000 men and women of Desert Fox.

It is time to reverse the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. Since April, together we have added nearly $6 billion to maintain our readiness. My balanced budget calls for a substantial increase in the next year for readiness and modernization, and pay and benefits for our troops, and sustained increases over the next six years.

We are the heirs of a legacy of bravery represented by millions of veterans. America's defenders today stand ready at a moment's notice to go where comforts are few and dangers are many, doing what needs to be done as no one else can. They always come through for America. We must come through for them.

The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security.

The United Nations plays a crucial role, with allies sharing burdens America might

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otherwise bear alone. America needs a strong and effective UN. I want to work with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts.

NATO has been critical to a stable, free Europe for 50 years. This spring, I will convene the leaders of NATO in Washington to prepare for the missions of the next 50 years, to welcome Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as our first new allies from Central Europe, to reaffirm our determination that Europe must never again be divided by concrete and barbed wire.

65 wds.

We must also support stability in Asia. I have worked to strengthen the bonds with our allies Japan and Korea, and to build a better relationship with China to fortify prospects for peace and security all across Asia. In China, I said to the leaders and people what I say again tonight: Stability can no longer be bought at the expense of liberty.

And I say again the American people: It is important not to isolate China. The more we bring China into the world, the more the world will bring change and freedom to China.

Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa, where I saw democracy and reform rising, but still held back by violence and disease. We must fortify African democracy and peace -- and support transitions to democracy now beginning to take hold in Nigeria.

We are strengthening our ties to the Americas -- to educate children, fight drugs, deepen democracy, ~~And to increase shared prosperity, we will work to launch a Free Trade Area of the Americas.~~

14

In this hemisphere, every government but one is freely chosen by its people. We are determined that Cuba, too, will know the blessings of liberty.

The American people have opened their arms and their hearts to our Central American and Caribbean neighbors devastated by recent hurricanes. Working with Congress, we will help them rebuild. When the First Lady visited the region, she saw thousands of American troops and volunteers. In the Dominican Republic, she helped to rededicate a hospital that had been rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans, working side by side.

With her was someone who has been very important to the relief efforts ... Sammy Sosa. He's here with her again tonight.

Sports records are made, and sooner or later, they are broken. But making other people's lives better -- and showing our chidlren the true meaning of brotherhood -- that's something that lasts forever. Sammy, for far more than baseball, you are the hero of two countries.

If we do all these things -- pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, and renew our alliances -- then we will begin to meet our generation's historic responsibility to build a stronger 21st Century America in a freer, more peaceful world.

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budget will increase funding for these critical efforts by 70% for the next 5 years.

With Russia, we must continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals. With START II, the framework we have already agreed to for a START III Treaty could cut them by 80% from their Cold War height. We must keep moving forward.

There is another vital step Congress can take. It's been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't act, other nations won't. By acting to ratify it now, the Senate can make it harder for new nations to develop nuclear arms, and we can end nuclear testing forever.

For nearly a decade, Iraq has defied its obligation to destroy its weapons of terror and the missiles to deliver them. America will continue to contain Saddam -- and we will work for the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

Last month, in our action over Iraq, our troops were superb. Their mission was so flawlessly executed risk taking for granted the bravery and skill it required. Captain Jeff Taliaferro [*tolliver*], pilot of an XX fighter, flew xx nighttime missions as we attacked Saddam's war machine. He is here with us tonight. Let us him and all the 10,000 men and women of Desert Fox.

It is time to reverse the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. Since April, together we have added nearly $6 billion to maintain our readiness. My balanced budget calls for an increase of $12 billion for readiness and modernization, and for more support for our troops and their families.

We are the heirs of a legacy of bravery represented today by millions of veterans. America's defenders today stand ready at a moment's notice to go where comforts are few and dangers are many, doing what needs to be done as no one else can. They always come through for America. We must come through for them.

The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security.

[This spring, I will convene the leaders of NATO in Washington ~~for its 50th anniversary summit~~, to prepare for ~~the missions of~~ the next 50 years, to welcome Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as our first new allies from Central Europe, and to reaffirm our determination that Europe must never again be divided by concrete and barbed wire.] [cuttable]

The United Nations plays a crucial role, ~~in so many of the areas I have mentioned tonight~~. America needs a strong ~~relationship with an~~ effective UN. I want to work in this new year with this new Congress to pay our dues and our debts.

We must also support stability in Asia. I have worked to strengthen the bonds with our allies Japan and Korea. ~~Last year,~~ I also traveled to China ~~because our relationship with the world's largest country helps determine~~ prospects for peace and security all across Asia. I said to the leaders ~~of China, and~~ I say again tonight: Stability can no longer be bought at the expense of liberty.

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And I say again the American people: it is important not to isolate China. The more we bring China into the world, the more the world will bring change and freedom to China.

Last spring, with some of you, I traveled to Africa, where I saw democracy and reform rising, but still held back by violence and disease. We must fortify African democracy, ~~and~~ peace, & development -- and support transitions to democracy, including in Nigeria. ~~And because trade and investment are the keys to African development -- we must finally pass the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.~~

We are strengthening our ties to the Americas -- to educate children, fight drugs, deepen democracy, and ~~We must~~ increase shared prosperity ~~with a Free Trade Area of the Americas and increased trade with our neighbors in Central America and the Caribbean~~.

In our own hemisphere, every government but one is freely chosen by its people. We are determined that Cuba, too, will know the blessings of liberty.

The American people have opened their arms and their hearts to our Central America and Caribbean neighbors in the wake of devastating hurricanes -- and working with Congress, we will help them rebuild. When the First Lady led a mission there, she saw thousands of American troops and volunteers. And she rededicated a hospital, rebuilt by Dominicans and Americans workign arm in arm -- and led by Sammy Sosa. Sammy ~~represents our oldest traditions and~~ the best of the new America. He has ~~been taken into~~ our hearts -- ~~and~~ he has not forgotten where he came from. Thank you, Sammy, for your remarkable example, on the field and off.

~~And~~ If we do all these things -- pursue peace, fight terrorism, increase our strength, and renew our alliances for shared progress -- then we will begin to meet the historic responsibility of our generation to build a safer and more secure 21st Century America in a freer and more peaceful world.

21ST CENTURY COMMUNITIES

As the world has changed, so have our own communities. We must make them safer, more livable, and more united.

We will soon reach our goal of putting 100,000 community police officers on the street -- ahead of schedule and under budget. The Brady Bill has stopped a quarter million felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying guns. Now, the murder rate is the lowest in 30 years, and the crime rate has dropped for six straight years.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Crime Bill to marshall the latest technologies and tactics to make our communities even safer.

My budget provides funds to put up to 50,000 more police on the beat in the areas hardest hit by crime, and equips them with new tools, from crime-mapping computers to digital mug shots.

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This is a moment, as the First Lady has said, to honor the past and imagine the future.

I honor her -- for leading our Millennium Project -- for all she has done for our children -- and for her historic role in serving our nation and advancing our best ideals at home and abroad.

Last year, I called on Congress and every citizen to mark the millennium by saving America's treasures. Hillary has traveled across the country to inspire recognition and support for saving places like Thomas Edison's Invention Factory and Harriet Tubman's Home. We must preserve our treasures in every community. I invite every American town, city, and county to become nationally recognized "Millennium Communities" by launching projects that save our history, promote the arts and humanities, and prepare our children for the 21st Century.

Already, the response has been remarkable, and I thank Congress and our private sector partners for their support. Because of you, the Star Spangled Banner will be preserved for the ages.

We are keeping alive, in ways large and small, what George Washington called "the sacred fire of liberty."

Six years ago tomorrow, I came to office in a time of doubt for America, with our economy troubled, our deficit high, our people divided. Some even wondered whether our best days were behind us. But across this nation, in a thousand neighborhoods, I had seen, even amid the pain and uncertainty of recession, the heart and character of America.

I knew then we Americans could renew our country.

Tonight, as I deliver the last State of the Union message of the 20th Century, no one can doubt the enduring resolve and boundless capacity of Americans to work toward that "more perfect union" of our founders' dreams.

We near the end of a century when generations of Americans answered the call to greatness, overcoming Depression, lifting up the dispossessed, bringing down barriers of racial prejudice, building the largest middle class in history, winning two world wars and the "long twilight struggle" of the Cold War.

Perhaps in the daily press of events, in the clash of controversy, we do not see our time for what it truly is – a new dawn for America.

A hundred years from tonight, an American President will stand in this place to report on the State of the Union. He – or she – will look back on a 21st Century shaped in so many ways by the decisions we make here and now.

Let it be said of us then that we were thinking not only of our time, but of their time; that we reached as high as our ideals; that we put aside our divisions and found a new hour of healing and hopefulness; that we joined together to serve and strengthen the country we love.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Don Gips, Jim Kohlenberger to Michael Waldman; RE: State of the Union Edits (2 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
002. email	Minyon Moore to Michael Waldman, Sidney Blumenthal; RE: SOTU Thoughts (1 page)	01/22/1998	P5
003. note	Chuck Ruff to Michael; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004. memo	Fred DuVal, Jeffrey Farrow to Michael; RE: Puerto Rico Mention in the State of the Union (2 pages)	01/20/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
Memos from WH [White House] Offices [2]

2006-0469-F
db1938

RESTRICTION CODES

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January 20, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: DON GIPS
JIM KOHLENBERGER

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION EDITS

Education -- Needs ed-tech reference:

Instead of the education paragraph on page 5 that begins: *We must do even more...*

Replace with:

They also must know that their children will be provided a true learning environment. That means they need a 21st century infrastructure. That is why my balanced budget helps repair or build thousands of new schools. That is why this month we launched a new $10 billion effort over the next 4 years to connect every classroom to the Internet and put the future at our children's fingertips.(erate) And with my budget we will ensure that every school will have an educational technology expert and teachers will have the training they need to make the most of these new technologies. And this budget will enable us to teach millions of children to read by the third grade.

Space Station -- the facts

- The draft suggests that the space station will be the "first time in human history of the world" that we build a new home in space. This is not really accurate, the Russian Mir space station has been up there for over a decade already, we also had Skylab.

- The phrase on "as much electrical power as a small city" has got to go, it is wildly off in terms of power levels.

- The phrase "inside its vast compartments" should go. While the station will be larger that the Shuttle, its too much of a strain to call the modules "vast". It will only hold 6 and that's at assembly complete.

- One other observation, can we weave in some mention of the planetary exploration side of our space program? We've gotten so much mileage out of Mars Pathfinder and the images from Hubble, plus under the Research Fund, we are looking at giving NASA an additional $677M over 5 years for space science.

- Our suggestion would be for Speechwriting to task Eric Schnure (formerly in OVP speechwwrting) at NASA's speechwriting office 358-2385 and ask him for 5 lines. He'll know what needed in terms of length, tone, etc.

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The centuries of Physics vs. Biology

This can & does cause us lots of problems.

Instead of:

If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology.

Use something like:

If the past century was built by the auto, the airplane and the atom, then the next century will be built by bytes, brains, and biology.

Or:

The past half-century has seen mankind split the atom; splice genes; create the microchip; explore the heavens. We enter the next century propelled by new and stunning developments.

Community Empowerment

Our community empowerment agenda is helping residents of our Nation's distressed urban and rural areas -- from the inner-city of Detroit to the Rio Grande Valley in Texas -- breathe new life into their neighborhoods. With initiatives from Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities to community development banks and cleaning up and redeveloping abandoned Brownfields in our cities -- we are partnering with local communities and providing people with the tools and flexibility to solve their own problems. And I want to build on this approach, with you. Today, I will be calling on Congress to provide the necessary funding for a "second round" of Empowerment Zones, along with funding for new "Education Opportunity Zones." And I will be calling on Congress to boost funding for Brownfields redevelopment, community development banks, an expanded Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and other programs that open the door to homeownership and even greater opportunity for all Americans.

FreeTV

The time is now for us to pass real bipartisan campaign reform. I am pleased that the leadership in both Houses have scheduled a vote for March. But a vote is not enough. I challenge Congress to pass real reform and send it to my desk. In the meantime, I will move the reform forward this week by calling on the Federal Communications Commission to use existing statutory authority to pass rules that would provide free broadcast time to candidates for Federal office on the public's airwaves.

Global Economy Section

In the global economy section you may want to add some language on promoting competition and deregulation, here and abroad. In particular add something on opening markets by pursuing competition in telecommunications -- providing choice and lower prices for consumers and encouraging the entrepreneurs who drive innovation.

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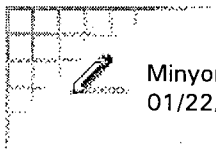

Minyon Moore
01/22/98 11:21:08 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP, Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP

cc: Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP, June G. Turner/WHO/EOP, Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP
Subject: SOTU thoughts...

Michael I will need to bring you up to speed on this: Last night I raised with Sylvia that I thought it would be important in the State of the Union, that the President was somehow able to articulate in his speech a tone that reflected restoring people's faith and trust in him and the Presidency. Sylvia spoke with the President and he did convey that he wanted us to be mindful of this tone. I have come to understand this in my own humble way as an oblique message of hope rooted in scripture, poetry and vision.

Please recognize, I am in no way suggesting that he use his speech to discuss our current situation head on, I am simply stating we cannot take his supporters for granted nor his detractors and they need to be reassured on several fronts: (1) that he's on okay; (2) he will continue to lead this nation with the passion and vigor that he has for 5 years; and (3) that he remains a great leader, still energized and a fighter for the American people. I suppose what I am suggesting is that he uses the bully pull pit of Congress to paint a picture and tell a story of hope against amazing odds throughout portions of his speech.

To that end, I am proposing the following recommendations based on a very well thought out speech as it stands to date -- while recognizing that we have a unique set of circumstances looming over the top. I am also mindful, that these suggestions will need to be evaluated in the context of what has already been developed.

Most of my recommendations can be accomplished within the current structure and will only present an artistic challenge. I only have one goal, and that is to have this speech reflect a person that has shown exemplary vision and commitment to and on behalf the American family. And, during his journey these last five years, he has been tried and tested, but through it all "we the American people" were able to accomplish great things together.

Why has he worked so hard to make our future prosperous for generations to come?
His faith in God should be strengthen and seen as the underpinning for his policy and thought process. In articulating his economic vision for example, we must combine it with the ethics of what he has tried to accomplish. His vision and his compassion for the middle class and the "least of these" has been at the cornerstone of our administration. The people based economy has not been highlighted to the degree it should. More often than not, his policies have been rooted in a sense of humane priorities with a vision towards One America----- that is his moral voice of authority. The American people must be reminded of the role he has played in charting a new course for the 21st century.

If you review the first five pages (based on my last draft 5:20 p.m. 1/21) you will note that Clinton's vision/principle doesn't really enter the picture until page 4. As we take America on this journey to the past, present and future, we must weave him into this journey in a subtle and humble way very early on in the speech. This scripture comes to mind (St. John 1:16 (New

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: Fred DuVal and Jeffrey Farrow
Co-Chairs, Interagency Group on Puerto Rico

SUBJECT: Puerto Rico Mention in the State of the Union

CC: Sylvia Mathews, John Podesta, Rahm Emanuel, Mickey Ibarra, Ann Lewis, Ron Klain

---

The President indicated yesterday that he wanted to address Puerto Rico's political status issue in the State of the Union Address (see attached). This is to suggest appropriate language.

> **1998 is the Centennial of the acquisition of Puerto Rico. Its nearly four million residents are citizens and have local self-government, but the islands are not fully a part of our country. As we are the champion of democracy around the globe, so must we be here at home. Congress should complete its work on bipartisan legislation to finally enable Puerto Ricans to choose their islands' ultimate status.**

There are several reasons for this -- in addition to the obvious historic and democracy themes:

- There is widespread hope among Puerto Ricans that the President will address this, their fundamental issue, on this anniversary of the taking of the islands during the Spanish-American War. The President has expressed the hope that a Puerto Rican status choice bill will pass by the Centennial and the Administration has testified that he hopes to be implementing a choice by the Millenium. We have had a major influence on the bill being considered but Puerto Ricans and some in Congress feel the President is not exercising enough leadership on it. Speaker Gingrich reportedly plans to bring the bill to the House Floor in March.

- It would have Hispanic appeal. It would excite the three million Puerto Ricans in the U.S. House Democrats think the opposition of some conservative Republicans to the otherwise bipartisan bill -- related to Puerto Ricans' Spanish culture -- will embarrass the GOP.

- A number of major U.S. papers have already called for enabling a status choice.

- The President has never mentioned Puerto Rico in a State of the Union Address -- as President Bush did in his first Address --- and Puerto Ricans are very conscious of this.

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- Much of the State of the Union is unlikely to apply to our citizens in Puerto Rico since the islands are not treated equally with the States or included in some major programs.

- The President has addressed issues of the District of Columbia in past Addresses.

- The U.N. has called for the end of all colonial situations by the Millenium.

- Puerto Rican leaders who might be mentioned in the context of this proposed language include: Puerto Rico Governor Pedro Rossello, Chairman of the Democratic Governors' Association; Representative Jose Serrano (D-NY); the former head of the islands' Commonwealth party who was the President's key 1992 supporter; the Independence Party leaders; and the islands' pro-statehood Congressman.

We would, of course, be happy to help you revise the language should you feel it necessary.

Further Background

Legislation that would enable Puerto Ricans to choose among three options (their 'Commonwealth' arrangement, statehood and independence) has been sponsored by Resources Committee Chairman Don Young (AK) and Ranking Democrat George Miller (CA), Reps. Serrano and Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), the Speaker (in a rare co-sponsorship of a bill) and Minority Leader Gephardt, and over 80 others in the House. A similar bill has been sponsored by a bipartisan group of 15 senators led by Sens. Craig (R-ID) and Graham (D-FL). While it was approved by the House committee 44-1, it was put off track by the opposition of Reps. Solomon (R-NY) and Rohrabacher (R-CA) to the statehood option. (The Commonwealth party's current leaders like the opposition to statehood but Puerto Ricans broadly and strongly want a resolution of the issue and a choice.) Proponents hope the House will pass the bill early in the year. Senate Energy Committee Chairman Murkowski plans quick action if the House does so.

Recent Major Statements

"I will also work . . . to establish a process that would enable the fundamental issue of Puerto Rico's political status to finally be resolved . . . This process should provide options in response to Puerto Rican aspirations and implement an option that obtains majority support. I hope that it can be underway for the centennial of the United States-Puerto Rico relationship next year."
The President's Message to Governor Rossello's inauguration, January 2, 1997

"President Clinton is dedicated to supporting the people of Puerto Rico's decision of what status their islands should have . . . Establishing a process that would enable this matter to be resolved is his highest priority regarding the islands . . . He very much hopes that such a process will be underway next year . . . the centennial of the U.S. acquisition of the islands. He looks forward to our entering the new Millenium having concluded the debate and implementing the will of the Puerto Rican people . . . Puerto Ricans have been asking the United States to act for years. H.R. 856 provides a basis from which to act."
Administration testimony on the United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act, March 19, 1997

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Andrew Cuomo to Erskine Bowles; RE: Presidential Initiatives in the FY 1999 Budget (3 pages)	12/15/1997	P5
002. memo	Robert Rubin to Michael Waldman; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	01/12/1998	P5
003. memo	Frederico Pena to Ann Lewis; RE: State of the Union Address: Electricity Competition Initiative (2 pages)	01/05/1998	P5
004. memo	Andrew Cuomo to Erskine Bowles; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	12/04/1997	P5
005. memo	Bill Galston to Michael Waldman; RE: 1998 State of the Union and Phone number (4 pages)	10/23/1997	P6/b(6)
006. memo	Bill Galston to the President; RE: 1998 State of the Union (4 pages)	10/23/1997	P5
007. memo	Bill Galston to the President; RE: 1998 State of the Union (4 pages)	10/23/1997	P5
008a. fax	Henry Cisneros to Michael Waldman; RE: State of the Union (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
008b. memo	Henry Cisneros to President Clinton; RE: Ideas for the President's State of the Union Address (2 pages)	12/19/1997	P5
009a. memo	Kent Markus to Michael Waldman; RE: DOJ SOTU Thoughts & Phone number (2 pages)	01/24/1998	P5, P6/b(6)
009b. memo	Kent Markus to Michael Waldman; RE: DOJ SOTU Thoughts & Phone number (2 pages)	01/24/1998	P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
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FOLDER TITLE:
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2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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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]
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(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]

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

THE SECRETARY

December 15, 1997

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: PB DATE: 1/28/11
2006-0469-F(2)

MEMORANDUM FOR: Erskine Bowles

CC: Gene Sperling
Bruce Reed
Michael Waldman
Paul Begala
Sidney Blumenthal
Rahm Emanuel
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Sylvia Mathews
Minyon Moore
John Podesta
Franklin Raines

FROM: Andrew Cuomo

SUBJECT: Presidential Initiatives in the FY 1999 Budget

As you begin finalizing recommendations for the Presidential Priority Reserve, I would like to emphasize several key initiatives.

Pursuant to requests for the reserve, we reduced the number of HUD initiatives significantly. We urge you to give utmost consideration to the remaining initiatives as FY 1999 Presidential initiatives funded out of the reserve.

These initiatives could be cast as an *Urban Agenda* or a *One America Opportunity Agenda*, or a *Community Empowerment Agenda*. There are two components: economic opportunity and homeownership opportunities.

I believe that these initiatives framed in a national perspective are the natural and necessary follow to the Race Initiative. An economic opportunity thrust is also a prime

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component of the President's "new economy" vision. The President's recent highly successful trip to the South Bronx could be recalled in The State of the Union to manifest his principles: community involvement, bottom-up, ownership, opportunity, partnership and possibility.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

- **Empowerment Zone (EZ) Grants for Urban Zones.** Recent discussions have focused on EZ funding being at $150 million in FY 1999 and in the 10 outyears from the mandatory side of the budget. While HUD supports this approach, a ten-year installment term is too long to allow a zone to actually operate. We believe five-year installments are the maximum for an effective program.

- **Economic Development Initiative (EDI)/Community Empowerment Fund.** As you know, HUD requested one billion dollars for EDI/Community Empowerment Fund. We have identified $300-400 million in HUD's base through recent efforts. This combined with an additional $600 million from the Presidential Priority Reserve would provide communities with a significant investment tool and commence the development of a secondary market for private sector loans. As the President heard in the Bronx last week, "Do for lagging American communities what we did for Europe after the War: provide low-interest loans."

- **HUD Vouchers for Welfare to Work.** We have already been working with your staffs in obtaining 50,000 vouchers for this effort and continue to emphasize its importance.

HOMEOWNERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

- **Homeownership Zones.** We strongly support your interest in a major homeownership program. However, we do not recommend terminating HUD's proven homeownership efforts only to begin other efforts. The HUD Homeownership Zones program enables cities to undertake large-scale, single-family developments in inner-city neighborhoods. These developments assist and attract both low- and moderate-income families to city neighborhoods. This program allows for a comprehensive approach to homeownership with a wide array of eligible activities such as downpayment assistance, housing counseling, and rehabilitation. It stimulates public-private partnerships, increases homeownership, leverages private investment and creates jobs. The Passback rejected HUD's FY 1999 request for $50 million and zeroed out the program. **I strongly urge consideration of Homeownership Zones for $50 million in FY 1999.**

- **Homeownership Vouchers.** This proposal would provide qualified "graduates" of public and assisted housing (e.g., working families with a good rent-paying record) the opportunity to buy a home using Section 8 vouchers and up to $5,000 in subsidy

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(or a low-interest loan) for downpayment and closing cost assistance. We would also have a model "continuum" of housing policy for the first time. Assistance for 25,000 homeowners would cost $245 million in FY 1999. The program would stress "opportunity" for public housing residents and be a nice complement to our "responsibility" plank: *One Strike and You're Out*. It would also be making more public housing units available by moving people out -- an added bonus.

- **Officer Next Door Program.** This proposal would build upon the early success of our program to assist police officers to move into revitalization and high-crime, inner-city neighborhoods. A one-time appropriation of $30 million would enable 1,500 police officers to anchor neighborhood safety efforts.

- **Fair Housing.** President Clinton has directed HUD to double Fair Housing enforcement actions. This pledge has already had a great impact on furthering civil rights. 1998 marks the 30th anniversary of the Fair Housing Act; an additional $7 million will allow us to take even more actions through a highly-targeted task force.

Thank you for your consideration to these important initiatives. My staff and I are available to work with you as you finalize the new initiatives recommendations.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

January 12, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: Robert E. Rubin

SUBJECT: State of the Union

There are two Treasury-specific issues that I wanted to bring to your attention for consideration in the State of the Union:

1) IRS reform

2) Reauthorization of the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund

1) IRS Reform

Purpose: This issue will likely be the principal point of attack for the Republicans next year. With the State of the Union, we have a real opportunity to coopt the issue to some extent.

Background: The Administration is making significant progress to further improve the IRS, but an enormous challenge lies ahead. We were able to work with the House last year to produce a bipartisan bill with widespread support. We would like to urge the Senate to pass a similar bill as soon as possible to eliminate the uncertainty surrounding the future of the IRS and give Commissioner Rossotti the tools that he needs to reform the agency.

Also, the Senate Finance Committee is holding a hearing on IRS restructuring the day after the State of the Union. Commissioner Rossotti and I will testify, and would be able to reinforce a presidential message of reform.

Suggested Language:

- In recent months, we have heard about unacceptable instances of taxpayer abuse at the IRS. We must do a better job of protecting taxpayer rights.

- My Administration is working hard to reform the IRS. We just brought in an experienced businessman to run the IRS. We instituted Problem Solving Days to help taxpayers resolve longstanding problems with the IRS. This spring, we will launch the first Citizen Advocacy Panel, which will act as an independent advocate for taxpayers.

- But we must do more. We helped pass the IRS reform legislation in the House. I expect the Senate to do the same, and have a bill that I can sign on my desk by April 15.

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- I urge Congress not to delay. We must have an IRS that works for American taxpayers.

2) CDFI Reauthorization

Purpose: The State of the Union should also include a section devoted to the Administration's strong record of helping to bring all Americans into the economic mainstream. I firmly believe, as I know the President believes, that this country will fall short of its national economic potential unless we give all Americans the opportunity to enter the economic mainstream.

In addition to other initiatives, I believe that the President should consider discussing the creation of the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund, which is helping to revitalize distressed communities across the United States. This was a promise made during the 1992 campaign, and a promise kept once the President took office. In addition, this program faces reauthorization this year.

Background: The Fund has completed two rounds of awards and will be launching a third round this year. The FY 99 budget includes a request for $125 million for CDFI. The CDFI Fund's authorization runs out this year, and we will be making CDFI reauthorization a top legislative priority. This effort will be helped significantly if the President calls for reauthorization -- to continue the hard work of building a nationwide network of community development financial institutions -- in the State of the Union address.

Suggested Language:

- When I first ran for President, I called for the creation of a nationwide network of community development financial institutions, so that every community in America could get the access to capital that is the lifeblood of growth and opportunity.

- Today, that pledge is being turned into reality in communities all across our nation. And to make sure we can continue that growth, I'm going to ask Congress to fund Treasury's CDFI Fund at $125 million for next year, and to extend the Fund's authorization, so that no good business idea or promising entrepreneur fails simply because they can't get a loan.

CC: Erskine Bowles
Gene Sperling
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Paul Begala
Doug Sosnik
Ann Lewis
Sidney Blumenthal
Bruce Reed

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The Secretary of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

January 5, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO ANN LEWIS
SYLVIA MATHEWS
KATIE MCGINTY
JOHN PODESTA
GENE SPERLING
MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: FEDERICO PEÑA

Re: State of the Union Address: Electricity Competition Initiative

I strongly recommend that the Administration's electricity competition/restructuring initiative be included as a key domestic policy component of the President's 1998 State of the Union Address. Such an announcement would be an appropriate follow-up to the President's October 22nd commitment to pursue a "... bold plan for electricity restructuring." Allowing customers to choose their electricity suppliers will reduce costs, benefit consumers, strengthen the economy, and improve environmental quality. The benefits include :

1. $20 Billion in Annual Savings. Our estimates, which are conservative, are that increased competition due to restructuring will reduce electric bills by $20 billion a year when fully implemented. This is like giving consumers a $20 billion tax cut. Total annual savings to a typical family of four would be about $200 a year. The Federal Government is the largest purchaser of electricity in the world. By lowering prices, we will save taxpayers' dollars for other important investments.

2. Significant Reductions in Greenhouse Gas Emissions. We estimate that a well-designed restructuring proposal will reduce carbon emissions between 23 and 89 million metric tons in 2010 through a combination of legislative and market mechanisms. Competitive forces will create a more efficient, leaner, and cleaner industry. Competition will also provide an opportunity for environmentally minded consumers to choose "green power"-- electricity from renewable sources -- in the marketplace. Finally, the Administration's proposal contains provisions to guarantee continued investments in renewables and energy efficiency above and beyond what the market will provide.

Restructuring is Consistent with the President's Principles

Restructuring will advance the President's economic objectives. It is both pro-competition and pro-business. It will lower ratepayers' costs by reducing longstanding barriers to competition. At the same time, it will provide flexibility through (state) implementation and ensure reliability

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and universal service. As discussed above, it will also validate the Administration's message that progressive economic policy can be consistent with, and supportive of, environmental protection.

The Restructuring Proposal is Ripe for Action

The interagency electricity restructuring group convened by the National Economic Council has reached consensus on the following key issues:

- support for state-managed retail competition;
- principles underlying recovery of stranded costs by utilities;
- policies to assure the reliability of the national electricity grid;
- a renewable "portfolio standard" to guarantee a minimum level of renewable electricity generation;
- a public benefit fund to support low-income electricity assistance, energy efficiency, renewable technology and consumer education; and,
- uniform electricity labeling requirements to promote customer choice and support the creation of a "green power"market.

Conclusion

While I look forward, under the NEC's leadership, to an early resolution of the few remaining issues, the basic framework of the Administration's proposal has been established. The State of the Union Address will provided an opportunity for the President to preview the important elements of the proposal; establish an Administration presence in this major, evolving debate; and take credit for the overwhelming economic benefit that will accrue to the nation under restructuring.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

December 4, 1997

THE SECRETARY

Personal and ~~Confidential~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: OB DATE: 1/28/11
2006-0469-FOIA

MEMORANDUM

TO: Erskine Bowles

CC: Gene Sperling
Bruce Reed
Sidney Blumenthal
Paul Begala
Rahm Emanuel
Sylvia Mathews
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Michael Waldman
John Podesta

FR: Andrew Cuomo AC

RE: State of the Union

Please allow me to argue a simple point: there must be an "urban agenda" piece – as a policy cornerstone of the One America Initiative – in the State of the Union. Here are the seven urgent reasons supporting this point:

1) Media elites and opinion makers live in cities, own businesses in cities and associate with the more traditional democratic issues. I have traveled the country and spoken extensively with editorial boards and they are clearly waiting to see if there will be an urban agenda as part of the second term. As you know, the editors and publishers of the Nation's leading newspapers – and the top people at the networks – are often deeply involved in the civic life of their cities. Absent an urban agenda in this State of the Union, I am concerned that they will criticize the Administration on this point; if there is one, I believe that they will readily view it as a critical part of the President's legacy.

2) From the longer view as well, the extent of the agenda for cities and poor communities will weigh in the President's long-term legacy.

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3) Embarking on an expanded effort in this challenging arena would be important evidence of new energy for the second term.

4) It pre-empts Democrats in Congress on a progressive agenda.

5) The absence of an urban program in the State of the Union – given the challenges posed by the passage of welfare reform and the steady and highly visible discussion in past months on the Race Initiative – will be glaring.

6) As the President noted in releasing the June, 1997 State of the Cities Report, the numbers are powerful. The economy is strong, but only 13 percent of new jobs are in cities. As the President has argued, the new economy will not work unless every American is brought along and given the tools to succeed – the opportunity for work and decent housing. Yet, the growth of assisted housing has stopped. Because of Congressional resistance, this is the first time in history that we are not building housing. Without expanded action, every other President, Democrat and Republican, in boom or bust economies, since the creation of HUD, would have built more housing than this Administration.

7) You cannot credibly address racial issues without an urban strategy. An expanded empowerment agenda can be a lesson learned from the *One America* dialogue and can be the action item to complement and strengthen the dialogue. If the One America Initiative is principally dialogue with a few scattered programs not directly and explicitly linked to an urban agenda, few will believe that there is a solid policy foundation underlying the Initiative.

I would urge three big new ideas as the centerpiece of such an "urban agenda" (those words are important) focusing on the empowerment theme. If the word "urban" is objectionable, I would suggest the *One America Opportunity Agenda* as a fall back. These ideas are ones that could have the most immediate impact – and ones for which the President would get significant credit, especially among the elite audience discussed above.

These three ideas (as well as the other items that follow) achieve the traditional progressive goals we all support – opportunity for all, community, and fairness – through new means – leveraging private sector investment, offering bottom-up, community-driven solutions rather than Washington mandates, and building on mainstream values of family, hard work and self-reliance. Together, these policy options offer a multi-issue approach to lifting the underclass into productive work and ensuring the vitality of America's communities. In short, this is <u>not</u> "your father's" urban agenda.

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UCI -- FAX

Date

Number of pages including cover sheet

TO: MICHAEL WALDMAN

(CONFIDENTIAL)

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: DB DATE: 1/28/11
2006-0469-F (2)

Phone
Fax Phone (202) 456-5709

FROM: Henry Cisneros
President
Univision Comms. Inc.

Phone 310/556-7676
Fax Phone 310/556-7697

CC:

REMARKS: ☐ Urgent ☒ For your review ☐ Reply ASAP ☐ Please Comment

Mike:

Attached is the memo concerning a possible opening to Cuba which I sent several weeks ago. The more I hear from influence-leaders in Miami, the more convinced I am that a breakthrough may be possible. If the President were to broach this in the State of the Union, it is important to put the burden to act on Castro; ie., "If you, Mr. Castro, do the following things to demonstrate real opening in Cuba, the United States will respond as follows: (A,B,C). The words could be drafted which would be as dramatic as Pres. Reagan's speech in Berlin: "Mr. Gorbachev, take this wall down!"

If you do not receive all pages indicated above, please call

Jacqueline Allee (310) 556-7676

Univision Communications Inc., 1999 Ave. of the Stars, Suite 3050, Los Angeles, CA 90067

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Mike:

A quick draft of suggested language:

"For thirty-six years, Mr. Castro, you have followed your plan for Cuba. It is time now to get on the right side of history. Everywhere around the world information flows freely, but in Cuba what people hear and learn is censored. Democracy is sweeping the globe giving free people a chance to select their governments and leaders, but in Cuba your iron hand is the only government. In nations on every continent, the energy and genius of people unleashed in enterprise, but in Cuba long lines for scarce goods are the norm. It is time to act for history and free your people.

If you will allow for free elections with observers from democratic nations, if you will allow freedom of speech and freedom of the press, if you will allow for full freedom of worship ... then we will lead the free world in urging public and private investment for Cuba and we will respect your sovereignty as you move to democratic rights and freedoms.

It is time, Mr. Castro, to ~~help the people~~ lead in the light of human liberty, to ~~elevate the human spirit~~ to let your people

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MEMORANDUM

[002a]

To: *Michael Waldman*, Bruce Reed, Rahm Emmanuel & Paul Begala

From: Kent Markus [202/514-3008 (o); P6/(b)(6) (h)]

Subject: DOJ SOTU Thoughts (faxed -- 2pp. total)

Date: January 24, 1998

Hopefully, this falls in the category of better late than never; .views of various DOJ principals and components are below:

1) Our highest priority is that the speech NOT include any announcement about the management of southwest border issues that has not been specifically reviewed and approved by the Attorney General. If there is an intent to discuss this matter in the speech, we ask that you rely only on representations from someone at DOJ for the proposition that DOJ has signed off on any given proposal -- obviously, we've had difficulty in this area.

2) The Attorney General's fondest wish -- expressed to me on several occasions in the last week -- is that the speech include a reference to an initiative of hers (no credit to her needed) with which I believe only Bruce is familiar. For some time, the AG has been leading a multi-agency project (currently, 12 cabinet level agencies are involved) known as the Federal Support for Communities Initiative (FSCI). The thrust of this ReGo-esque initiative is to try to improve the way the federal government provides assistance (both financial and human resource) to communities. Currently, the federal government provides assistance that local communities can't find out about, can't get because of cumbersome/unnecessary regulations, can't access when they need it in their budget cycle, can't use for the purpose they need it although one would expect they could, etc.

The FSCI seeks to organize information about available federal assistance according to subject area rather than organizing information as we generally do now -- by administering agency. A community would then be able to find out about, for example, all job training programs whether administered by Labor, Education, HUD, Defense, Agriculture, Americorps, Commerce, Veterans' Affairs, or some other agency. But in addition to improving the information available to communities, the FSCI is also involved in seeking to assist communities gain access to federal resources in the manner most useful to them.

In the after-school part of the child care package, the President already announced that FSCI (without using the name of the project) would be assisting communities trying to access and make the best use of the many different after school program federal funding streams. This is only the first of efforts in a number of different areas to work with communities in helping them get and use the assistance the federal government has for them. As noted above, the AG would sincerely appreciate any reference to this overall effort somewhere in the speech.

3) Crime. We assume that the standards items will receive mention: declining crime rates, 70,000 of the 100,000 cops funded, a push for the passage of juvenile justice/youth violence legislation and the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act this session, and, of

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course, Brady (more than 300,000 prohibited purchases blocked and the fact that since the Supreme Court said that state and local governments could volunteer to do Brady checks but couldn't be required to do so, law enforcement officials in every state, covering more than 99% of the population of the United States, have stepped up to voluntarily conduct Brady checks because law enforcement officials know that Brady checks prevent crime).

We'd like to encourage one crime "theme" which will serve us well all year if established in the SOTU: 21st century crime fighting will be about effective use of technology and information. There are several reasons we believe it would be good to set out "technology and information" as our next crime fighting emphasis.

First, from a policy standpoint, once we've deployed 100,000 new cops, we'll have met the major human resource need in crime fighting -- the challenge is already becoming the effective use of technology to maximize the value of that human resource commitment. Second, there are dozens of crime fighting technology and information initiatives contained in the President's budget and otherwise underway at DOJ and elsewhere. Establishing a technology and information crime fighting theme in the SOTU will give us a message hook we can use all year as we roll out initiative after initiative. Finally, law enforcement would love to hear the President emphasize the importance of technology and information in crime-fighting -- it's critical to them.

Examples of some of the technology and information efforts underway which may play out this year include:

- improved DNA labs
- the development of prototype "smart guns", "remote gun detectors", and "alert cars"
- the development of new x-ray technology for the detection of smuggling at borders
- new crime mapping and statistical software which permits strategic crime-fighting
- improved computer tracking of sex offenders, gun running, and gang activity
- the development of the national IAFIS (digitized fingerprints) system
- the implementation of the National Instant Check System for running Brady background checks (by law, November 1998)
- improved documentation authentication technology for catching illegal aliens
- improved criminal history records systems in the states -- used for charging decisions, sentencing decisions, officer safety determinations, and a range of other purposes
- the continued development of "less than lethal" weapons for use by law enforcement
- the opening of the National Advocacy Center in Columbia, SC in April at which federal and state prosecutors from across the country will be trained
- dozens of reports that invariably come out from our grant bureaus which can help emphasize the information part of a "technology and information" theme, showing that we're fighting crime smarter and smarter all the time.

Hope there's some stuff here that's useful to you! Call if I can provide needed detail.

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To: *Michael Waldman*, Bruce Reed, Rahm Emmanuel & Paul Begala

From: Kent Markus [202/514-3008 (o); P6/(b)(6) (h)]

Subject: DOJ SOTU Thoughts (faxed -- 2pp. total)

Date: January 24, 1998

MEMORANDUM

[0028]

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1) Our highest priority is that the speech NOT include any announcement about the management of southwest border issues that has not been specifically reviewed and approved by the Attorney General. If there is an intent to discuss this matter in the speech, we ask that you rely only on representations from someone at DOJ for the proposition that DOJ has signed off on any given proposal -- obviously, we've had difficulty in this area.

2) The Attorney General's fondest wish -- expressed to me on several occasions in the last week -- is that the speech include a reference to an initiative of hers (no credit to her needed) with which I believe only Bruce is familiar. For some time, the AG has been leading a multi-agency project (currently, 12 cabinet level agencies are involved) known as the Federal Support for Communities Initiative (FSCI). The thrust of this ReGo-esque initiative is to try to improve the way the federal government provides assistance (both financial and human resource) to communities. Currently, the federal government provides assistance that local communities can't find out about, can't get because of cumbersome/unnecessary regulations, can't access when they need it in their budget cycle, can't use for the purpose they need it although one would expect they could, etc.

The FSCI seeks to organize information about available federal assistance according to subject area rather than organizing information as we generally do now -- by administering agency. A community would then be able to find out about, for example, all job training programs whether administered by Labor, Education, HUD, Defense, Agriculture, Americorps, Commerce, Veterans' Affairs, or some other agency. But in addition to improving the information available to communities, the FSCI is also involved in seeking to assist communities gain access to federal resources in the manner most useful to them.

In the after-school part of the child care package, the President already announced that FSCI (without using the name of the project) would be assisting communities trying to access and make the best use of the many different after school program federal funding streams. This is only the first of efforts in a number of different areas to work with communities in helping them get and use the assistance the federal government has for them. As noted above, the AG would sincerely appreciate any reference to this overall effort somewhere in the speech.

3) Crime. We assume that the standards items will receive mention: declining crime rates, 70,000 of the 100,000 cops funded, a push for the passage of juvenile justice/youth violence legislation and the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act this session, and, of

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course, Brady (more than 300,000 prohibited purchases blocked and the fact that since the Supreme Court said that state and local governments could volunteer to do Brady checks but couldn't be required to do so, law enforcement officials in every state, covering more than 99% of the population of the United States, have stepped up to voluntarily conduct Brady checks because law enforcement officials know that Brady checks prevent crime).

We'd like to encourage one crime "theme" which will serve us well all year if established in the SOTU: 21st century crime fighting will be about effective use of technology and information. There are several reasons we believe it would be good to set out "technology and information" as our next crime fighting emphasis.

First, from a policy standpoint, once we've deployed 100,000 new cops, we'll have met the major human resource need in crime fighting -- the challenge is already becoming the effective use of technology to maximize the value of that human resource commitment. Second, there are dozens of crime fighting technology and information initiatives contained in the President's budget and otherwise underway at DOJ and elsewhere. Establishing a technology and information crime fighting theme in the SOTU will give us a message hook we can use all year as we roll out initiative after initiative. Finally, law enforcement would love to hear the President emphasize the importance of technology and information in crime-fighting -- it's critical to them.

Examples of some of the technology and information efforts underway which may play out this year include:

- improved DNA labs
- the development of prototype "smart guns", "remote gun detectors", and "alert cars"
- the development of new x-ray technology for the detection of smuggling at borders
- new crime mapping and statistical software which permits strategic crime-fighting
- improved computer tracking of sex offenders, gun running, and gang activity
- the development of the national IAFIS (digitized fingerprints) system
- the implementation of the National Instant Check System for running Brady background checks (by law, November 1998)
- improved documentation authentication technology for catching illegal aliens
- improved criminal history records systems in the states -- used for charging decisions, sentencing decisions, officer safety determinations, and a range of other purposes
- the continued development of "less than lethal" weapons for use by law enforcement
- the opening of the National Advocacy Center in Columbia, SC in April at which federal and state prosecutors from across the country will be trained
- dozens of reports that invariably come out from our grant bureaus which can help emphasize the information part of a "technology and information" theme, showing that we're fighting crime smarter and smarter all the time.

Hope there's some stuff here that's useful to you! Call if I can provide needed detail.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. points	RE: State of the Union Ideas (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
Outline

2006-0469-F
db3416

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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MW

State of the Union Ideas

Foreign Policy

- NATO Enlargement Ratification ✓ → #1
- Post-SFOR Security Presence in Bosnia ✓ → #1
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty ✓ # 2 — Not ready. submittal yet. CLUSTER
- Biological Weapons Convention
- UN Arrears — THIS week, UN will enact new assessment schedule. supp for 98, so "pass it immediately" NEW. IN value of Iraq. More formal leang. IFI also.
- Trade (Fast Track and trade in general)
- 1998 Trips - South Asia, Latin America, Africa and China

[point SOTU rollout/event] now is relatively good shape.

~~Bigger~~ ~~obama trade~~ → decision pt? unclear

as "new security threats"

→ nice but only 1-2 sentences.

Education

We have now accomplished the goal

- Class Size/100,000 teachers ✓ ~~Big~~ if in budget
- Education Opportunity Zones ~~done~~
- National Public School Choice Law → POTUS wants.
- University-School Partnerships → in budget. roll out early.
- Campaign on Access to Higher Education → challenge in SOTU.
- School Construction — ~~How much~~ put tog w/class size.
- Teacher Training for Technology — every new tchr, + every school cluster
- Hispanic Education Dropout Plan → Do w/univ. school partnerships
- "Learning on Demand"

1000 colleges re: Amer Reds.

value: SOCIAL PROM.

Q: 1. STDs 2. computers — E rate 3. school discipline — 4. GI Bill

Child Care

- Affordability
- Safety and Quality
- Early Childhood Learning and Afterschool Programs
- Helping Parents Stay Home
- FAMILY LEAVE.

✓

Health Care

- Consumer Protection Legislation ✓
- Medicare Reform and Program Improvements
- Doubling the NIH Research Budget with Proceeds from Tobacco Legislation ✓
- Other Coverage Options -- Children's Health, Workers In-Between Jobs, Voluntary Purchasing Cooperatives
- Racial Disparities in Health Care

Crime

- Community Prosecutors
- Juvenile Crime Initiative
- COPS? GUNS?

Welfare/Housing

- Welfare-to-Work Housing Vouchers
- Immig/food stamps

reduce welf rolls by 2 mill — fast track

Next T

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Melanne Verveer to the President; RE: Gallery Seating for the State of the Union (3 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
002. memo	Melanne Verveer to the President; RE: Gallery Seating for the State of the Union [duplicate of 001] (3 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
003. memo	Melanne Verveer to the President; RE: Gallery Seating for the State of the Union (3 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
004. list	RE: Gallery Seating (1 page)	n.d.	P5
005. letter	Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr. to The President; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	12/19/1997	P6/b(6)
006. letter	Tom Lantos to Ms. Hoang K. Taing; RE: Address [partial] (1 page)	03/04/1997	P6/b(6)
007. resume	Rita Triviz; RE: Address and phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
008. memo	Pjeremy Rosner to Paul Begala; RE: NATO Enlargement, State of the Union (1 page)	01/15/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
Heroes

2006-0469-F
db1942

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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GALLERY SEATING

Additional Requests

1 - John Sweeney, Linda Chavez-Thompson and Richard Tumka from AFL/CIO (per Karen Tramontano)

2 - Bob Chase from NEA (per Karen Tramontano)

3 - National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids "Youth Advocate of the Year" (name tbd). (request from Bill Wasserman through Melanne)

4 - **Education:**

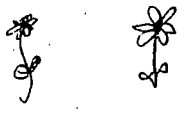
- Rita Trivez - teacher in school on Mexican border (Las Cruces, N.M.), received doctorate in education from Harvard.

5 - **Science/Exploration:** (per Jack Gibbons)

- Donna Shirley - project director at JPL on Mars Pathfinder/Sojourner mission
- Bill Shephard - first Commander of the International Space Station
- John Delaney - oceanographer, discovered undersea volcanoes, etc.
- Bob Ballard - oceanographer, discovered Titanic
- Bill Phillips - 1997 Nobel Laureate, learned how to isolate and freeze single atoms
- Harold Varmus - NIH director
- Jim Watson - 1997 Medal of Science, disovered DNA
- Andy Grove - Intel
- Vinton Cerf and/or Robert Kahn - Internet protocol
- Bruce Alberts - President, National Academy of Science; molecular biologist, dedicated to science education for young people.

6 - **Arts/Humanities:**

- Bill Ferris (requested to attend)



<u>Staff</u>

1 - Hilley and Brophy

2 - Susan Liss

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Paul -
Any chance on this? I think it would be effective -
Jeremy

To: **Paul Begala**
Counselor to the President

From: **Jeremy Rosner**
Special Adv. to the President and Secretary of State for NATO Enlargement Ratification 647-9003

Subject: **NATO enlargement, State of the Union, & Gen. Shalikashvili**

As planning proceeds for the State of the Union, I wanted to share an idea that I proposed to Sandy Berger as well:

One of the key policy and legislative initiatives for the President at the start of this new year will be the addition of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to NATO. This requires a two-thirds Senate vote, which we expect to occur (and win) in March.

As a way to dramatize NATO enlargement and give it a human face, the President could invite Gen. Shalikashvili to sit in the gallery with the First Lady. Below is some possible language that could be used on this; it would come at the end of the President's discussion of NATO enlargement. (The language easily could be revised to provide a link to our policy in Bosnia as well, since he played a key role on that front.)

This would also, obviously, be a nice way for the President to express his thanks to a great public servant.

> If there is one American who embodies this new alliance, it is our just-retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Born in Poland, carried to the United States by parents fleeing the violence and oppression of the second World War, he spent a lifetime serving the military of his new country, rose to its position of highest responsibility, guided our armed forces through the changes that followed the Cold War, and played an instrumental role in reshaping NATO for this new era, including the creation of its Partnership for Peace program and, now, its enlargement. And tonight, I would like us all to join in acknowledging America's debt to General John Shalikashvili.

→ HE ALSO LEARNED ENGLISH FROM JOHN WAYNE MOVIES!

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Michael Waldman to Tony Blinken;RE Foreign Policy (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: Foreign Policy [pages 11-16] (5 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union - Foreign Policy Section (8 pages)	04/15/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
LA: Foreign Policy Sections

2006-0469-F
db3417

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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FOR: TONY BLINKEN
FR: MICHAEL WALDMAN

FOREIGN POLICY

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that our nation has a responsibility to lead. Today, the values for which we fought – democracy, freedom, free markets – are ascendant. We are more secure and prosperous than ever in our history. And we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. ~~Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.~~

~~Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy ... backed where necessary by American force ... this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who don't.~~

That is our vision for the 21st Century. here are some steps we must take together -- this year.

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia¼ and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give them the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower , is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. ~~By banning all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction.~~ [Endorsement announcement to come]. ~~So~~ I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new cloud of fear on the horizon: state supported terrorists and organized criminals armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated]

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a giant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of

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disease as a weapon of war and terror. ~~Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world.~~ Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax bacteria could kill millions.

We are strengthening our ability to respond to a biological weapons attack against civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations. But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, a treaty in force for a quarter century, lacks tough measures to enforce its ban on such weapons. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, a strong, international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure -- after full consideration but with full speed.

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy.

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. My balanced budget will allow us to keep our troops well-trained and ready¼ improve their quality of life¼ and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Last year, I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations. At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children, our failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with this organization -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who **see** America for the power of our example and the example of our power. ~~I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom¼ for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress¼ and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But we~~ We should embrace this **awesome** responsibility **for the opportunity it brings --** to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

4 AND AMERICA AT A TIME WHEN UN WEAPONS INSPECTORS ARE BRAVING THE DANGERS OF IRAQ, AMERICA SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO THE UN. WHEN AMERICA GIVES ITS WORD AMERICA SHOULD KEEP ITS WO

PHOTOCOPY

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing vouchers to help families move closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work.

FOREIGN POLICY [15 minutes]

America has a resp to lead.

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that ~~with our vast expanse,~~ great power and democratic values comes a responsibility to lead. ~~Now, , the ideas we~~ Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a ~~right to pursue their own~~ dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality ~~around~~ the world. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous than ever ~~before~~ -- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. They are susceptible to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and to racial and religious hatreds. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

REPETITIVE

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands… old thinking for new times… we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.

Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. ~~Forged by American diplomacy… backed where necessary by American force… this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who do not.~~

~~Here~~ That is our vision for the 21st Century. Here

~~Putting this strategy into place is a long term project. But to advance some of its most important pieces, there~~ are some steps we must take together -- this year.

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

Today democracy, freedom and free markets are ascendant. We are more secure and prosperous than ever before.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give them the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower , is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. By banning all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. So I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, vote to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new cloud of fear on the horizon: increasingly interconnected terrorists and organized criminals -- often state supported -- armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated]

~~I am determined to give America every possible tool to fight emerging threats to our security -- and put us ahead of the curve.~~ Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a giant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. Terrorists don't go slow. We shouldn't either.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world. Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax could kill millions.

BACTERIA

We are strengthening our ability to respond to a biological weapons attack against civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations. ~~My FY '99 defense budget increases spending for defensive equipment and programs by $1 billion.~~ [TK] But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, ~~which entered into force 25 years ago, commits 100 countries not to develop, produce or possess biological weapons. But it~~ lacks tough measures ~~to enforce these commitments~~. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, a strong, international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure -- after full consideration but with full speed.

ENFORCEMENT

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy.

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it

IN FORCE FOR A QUARTER CENTURY!

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our mission to deliver for them. My ~~FY '99~~ BALANCED budget will allow us to keep our troops well-trained and ready… improve their quality of life… and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Last year, I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations ~~and the International Monetary Fund.~~ At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children… ~~and the IMF was working to stem the spread of Asia's financial problems,~~ our failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with these organizations -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America for the power of our example and the example of our power. I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom… for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress… and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But we should embrace this responsibility because with it comes an opportunity: to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION [6 minutes]

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." That mission, the core mission of our democracy, is as vital today. And our democracy, our union, faces new challenges.

Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress, only to be quietly smothered by filibuster. Well, not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have a strong bill, a bold first step in cleaning up our campaigns. And it will finally come to a vote on March 11, up or down, yes or no. Tonight, before the eyes of the American people, let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote <u>for</u> soft money – for the status quo. And that will be a very hard vote to explain to the American people.

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every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in common endeavor. [possible race & service announcement]

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM [8 minutes]

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the human body, mapping the very

~~If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology -- but only if we maintain our sustained commitment to research and development. In the early~~ years of the new century, ~~we will finish mapping the~~ structure of human genes.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- a substantial new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. Let us build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes and make this year the year that, in the war against cancer, we began to win.

But as we go forward, technology divorced from values will not bring us one step closer toward meeting the challenges or reaping the benefits of the 21st Century. I ask the Congress to ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And I ask the Congress to prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, but five years ago, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. Within a matter of years, it will be the largest international marketplace in history -- not only of products and services, but ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

[*Salute to Sen. Glenn -- "Godspeed, John Glenn."*]

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1/15/98 3 p.m.

State of the Union -- Foreign Policy Section

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that with our vast expanse, great power and democratic values comes a responsibility to lead. Now, ~~on the brink of a new century~~, the ideas we Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a right to pursue their own dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality ~~for people~~ around the world. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous ~~today~~ than ever before -- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity ~~for millions around the world.~~ But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. They are susceptible to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and to racial and religious hatreds. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations ~~that pose the threat of wider war~~ persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

To answer~~seize these opportunities and meet~~ these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands... old thinking for new times... we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers.

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International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.

Each of these initiatives advances a distinct American interest while ~~. Each also~~ serving ~~es~~ a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy... backed where necessary by American force... this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who do not.

Putting this strategy into place is a long term project. But to advance some of its most important pieces, there are steps we must take together -- this year.

First, in a few days, I will ask ~~transmit to~~ the Senate for its advice and consent ~~the documents that will~~ to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic ~~for the first time in history~~. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

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Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants~~the parties to the war~~ made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have ~~done a remarkable job~~ silenced~~ing~~ the guns, separated~~ing~~ the armies and secured~~ing~~ the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun~~made a good start at~~ to rebuild~~ing~~ Bosnia's roads and factories, restart~~ing~~ its economy, hold~~ing~~ democratic elections, return~~ing~~ refugees to their homes and bring~~ing~~ war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we ~~stay and~~ finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give them the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

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This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower ~~in 195X~~, is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. By banning all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. That is why the last five Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- General John Shalikashvili, General Colin Powell, Admiral Bill Crowe, General John Vessey and General David Jones -- support this treaty. So I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, vote to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see ~~the contours of~~ a new cloud of fear on the horizon: increasingly interconnected terrorists and organized criminals -- often state supported -- armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. ~~That is why~~ Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. ~~And t~~That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. ~~The inspectors are back on the job. Now, we must see to it that they carry on their mission fully, freely and without interference.~~

[TK: to be updated]

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I am determined to give America ~~and the international community~~ every possible tool to fight emerging threats to our security -- and put us ahead of the curve. Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a giant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. Terrorists don't go slow. We shouldn't either.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror~~ism~~. Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. ~~But a~~As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world. Under the right~~s~~ circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax ~~or botulinum~~ could kill millions.

~~Already, we~~We are strengthening our ability to respond to a biological weapons attack ag ainst civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations. My FY '99 defense budget increases spending for ~~biological and chemical weapons~~ defensive equipment and programs by $1 billion. [TK] But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, which entered into force 25 years ago, commits 109 countries not to develop, produce or possess biological weapons. But it lacks tough measures to enforce these commitments. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, a strong, international inspection system ~~as part of that treaty~~ to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure -- after full consideration but with full speed.

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Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy. ~~that lie at the heart of our foreign policy.~~

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. My FY '99 budget will allow us to ~~maintain the right force structure...~~ keep our troops well-trained and ready... improve their quality of life... and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Last year, I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children... and the IMF was working to stem the spread of Asia's financial problems, our failure to pass ~~comprehensive,~~ bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with these organizations -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

~~I will resubmit legislation to fund our full participation in the UN and the international financial institutions. We need not face the future alone. By working with the rest of the world, we can~~

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~~share the risks and costs of leadership. That makes sense for America. Failing to pay our bills does not. Let's put this problem behind us once and for all.~~

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In ~~will travel to~~ Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

~~[countries in Africa never visited by an American president... where a new day of democracy and free markets is dawning... and where Congress can join that effort by passing the Africa Trade and Investment Bill. In Chile, I will join 34 [TK] other leaders in our Hemisphere for the second Summit of the Americas, continuing our work to make this region a stronghold for freedom and prosperity. In Birmingham, England, at the Summit of the 8, we will focus on fighting high tech international crime and other emerging threats. In India and Pakistan, two of the world's largest democracies with 25% of its people, but where no American President has traveled in a quarter century [TK] I'll work to strengthen our partnerships. And in China, I will strive to deepen America's engagement with one quarter of the world's population -- expanding our areas of cooperation and dealing honestly with our differences.~~

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America for the power of our example and the example of our power. I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom... for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress... and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But we should embrace this responsibility because with it comes an opportunity: to shape

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a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Christopher to Sylvia; RE: Speech on Race Initiative (2 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
002. memo	Christopher to Sylvia; RE: Speech on Race Initiative [duplicate of 001] (2 pages)	01/20/1998	P5
003. email	Minyon Moore to Michael Waldman, Sidney Blumenthal; RE: SOTU Thoughts (3 pages)	01/22/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
Race

2006-0469-F
db3418

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]

1/20/98

To: Sylvia
Cc: Minyon, Andrew, Maria
From: Christopher

Per your request, here are my ideas. *Not speech language, just concepts*. I offer two options, and as you know I prefer the second. **Premises:**

- Must mention the Race Initiative because, after all, it is a major priority activity.
- Must not be purely rhetorical, because there are plenty of laundry list policy presentations in the address, so the Race Initiative would suffer badly in the comparison if it were totally lacking in something of a programmatic character.
- Must have some lift - can't be about itty-bitty stuff. No school uniforms.
- Can't be a traditional opportunity agenda thing, like in education or urban policy, because any particular policy idea would be justly criticized as too partial a response to the complex problems, and too limited in scope given the constraints of budget and federal role. And can't get away with a boring recitation of all the opportunity-related stuff we've done or will be proposing.

Two Thematic Options

1. Why I'm doing this race initiative. Why it is important. Why it is hard. 30 years since MLK's death. We must rededicate ourselves to that great struggle. Borrow heavily from VP's Atlanta speech - the spiritual dimension, and the need to tackle this as a problem of mind, heart and spirit. With both dialog and action, and not government alone, not just officials and executives and Hollywood figures. What we hope to accomplish this year and set in motion for the future, and what I hope to present to the American People as a progress report when the year is over.

2. Why I'm doing this race initiative, and why it's success depends on whether thousands of Americans in communities and institutions, around the country and across the generations, will take up the struggle for racial and ethnic justice in One America. It's hard work, too easily put aside in favor of the easier task with a more predictable payoff. So, one goal of our Initiative on Race is recruit and begin the preparation of leaders. Individuals committed to build bridges connecting us across lines of color and class, so that we may become One America. I have asked X & Y (or the Advisory Board) to devise plans to find and prepare the leaders we need. And I've asked them specifically to work with Members of Congress to see how each of you can help to identify and inspire individuals in your communities to join in this effort. I'd like our goal to be at least 25 individuals from each of our 435 congressional districts . . . . An army of ten thousand individuals who believe that . . . Not an army of political partisans or special interest ideologues, but an army of *soldiers for justice*.

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I favor option 2. Ciao.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1/20/98

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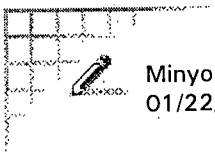
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Minyon Moore
01/22/98 11:21:08 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP, Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP

cc: Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP, June G. Turner/WHO/EOP, Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP
Subject: SOTU thoughts...

Michael I will need to bring you up to speed on this: Last night I raised with Sylvia that I thought it would be important in the State of the Union, that the President was somehow able to articulate in his speech a tone that reflected restoring people's faith and trust in him and the Presidency. Sylvia spoke with the President and he did convey that he wanted us to be mindful of this tone. I have come to understand this in my own humble way as an oblique message of hope rooted in scripture, poetry and vision.

Please recognize, I am in no way suggesting that he use his speech to discuss our current situation head on, I am simply stating we cannot take his supporters for granted nor his detractors and they need to be reassured on several fronts: (1) that he's on okay; (2) he will continue to lead this nation with the passion and vigor that he has for 5 years; and (3) that he remains a great leader, still energized and a fighter for the American people. I suppose what I am suggesting is that he uses the bully pull pit of Congress to paint a picture and tell a story of hope against amazing odds throughout portions of his speech.

To that end, I am proposing the following recommendations based on a very well thought out speech as it stands to date -- while recognizing that we have a unique set of circumstances looming over the top. I am also mindful, that these suggestions will need to be evaluated in the context of what has already been developed.

Most of my recommendations can be accomplished within the current structure and will only present an artistic challenge. I only have one goal, and that is to have this speech reflect a person that has shown exemplary vision and commitment to and on behalf the American family. And, during his journey these last five years, he has been tried and tested, but through it all "we the American people" were able to accomplish great things together.

Why has he worked so hard to make our future prosperous for generations to come?
His faith in God should be strengthen and seen as the underpinning for his policy and thought process. In articulating his economic vision for example, we must combine it with the ethics of what he has tried to accomplish. His vision and his compassion for the middle class and the "least of these" has been at the cornerstone of our administration. The people based economy has not been highlighted to the degree it should. More often than not, his policies have been rooted in a sense of humane priorities with a vision towards One America----- that is his moral voice of authority. The American people must be reminded of the role he has played in charting a new course for the 21st century.

If you review the first five pages (based on my last draft 5:20 p.m. 1/21) you will note that Clinton's vision/principle doesn't really enter the picture until page 4. As we take America on this journey to the past, present and future, we must weave him into this journey in a subtle and humble way very early on in the speech. This scripture comes to mind (St. John 1:16 (New

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American English Version) --"from the fullness of his grace we have all received one blessing after another."

In paragraph two page 1, with 700 days left....we speak of an America, medicine, painting, etc., --- we should consider weaving his race initiative into that section (I see an America where children can live in a colorblind society and they will have an equal opportunity to live out their God given talents -- something on this order. (a forward looking scripture (similar to the one above might fit well in this or maybe not)

(The Sinatra quote might have its place, but not at the beginning of the speech. In my judgment the beginning and ending of this speech has great significance. The middle will stand on its own based on policy. However, the same application should apply --- his leadership should be weaved through. Thread the needle from beginning to end. If we use a quote, it should be one that causes the American people to be reflective.)

An approach might be to begin by paying tribute to Walter Capps and Sony Bono in our opening It can set a tone of bi-partisanship and a mood to examine what it means to be a public servant if carefully crafted. Capps was so profoundly noted for the moral compass by which he was guided in politics (a quote from him on the leadership standards he set for himself and his colleagues in Congress could make a strong impact) This could prove to be sobering in the first minutes and will cause people to refocus their energy. I am sure something could be found for Bono -- he appeared to have transcended partisan politics and will be a voice that will be missed.

I.e. As you begin your second half of the 105th Congress, two members who dedicated their lives to public service will not be with us as we continue on our journey towards a more perfect union in the 21st century....I was particularly inspired by Walter Capps vision of what public service meant and our duty and obligation as public officials. He described his duty in these terms (Quote from Capps) (suggestion only) (possible quote from Bono)

Another option, Paragraph 1 (an option for starting) When I began this American journey five years ago with Hillary and Chelsea at my side, I envisioned what America could be.... (insert vision of what we have achieved since 1993 --- succinctly (i.e. An American where millions more people where employed.) With proper vetting, we might think of moving in to a statement that reflects this ...America trusted me to bring about change.... see below (public servant not perfect servant)

But with barely 700 days left... (add One America line)

On page 2 --- lead sentence George Washington (I am struck by the fact that we named 7 Presidents and what they did or tried to accomplish) we should try to link the 7 with the President. This paragraph can prove to be interesting and where we can espouse on the difficulty of leading a nation to greatness . (i.e. by adding Kennedy or Jefferson we send a subtle message about what it means to be a "public servant" but not a "perfect servant"

The economy section should lead in with a value based vision of how he came to this point. t ---see above. We must humanize this section. People must see how they have benefited in a very practical way and why his leadership as been good for their lives.

I will fast forward to the end (come back to the middle tomorrow) I understand a great deal of work has been done, this could be in vain...none the less,

on the race section and I am sure you've flushed it out more but I wanted to offer some additional suggestions on framework borrowing from the work of Chris Edley and the VP's speech.

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THEMES:

lst paragraph -- Understanding our history so that we can build our future discrimination, stereotypes and overcoming racism and building towards diversity;

pull out some of the language you've written, on discrimination etc.

"So even though we understand that diversity is an enriching an ennobling strength, in creating an integrated society, it is foolish and naive to imagine that our differences will disappear and relinquish their claim on us. Indeed, our challenge is to appreciated and celebrate our differences, as a necessary prelude to transcending them in order to join on the basis of what we all have in common as children of God."

2nd paragraph Religion, Religious values and racial justice (One Nation under God -- how we can draw strength and insight from our several fights to tackle the challenges of differences.)

3 paragraph --- the equal opportunity message and closing the opportunity gap

4 paragraph --- he should close with articulating why One America is good for the country and should crystallize the more perfect union concept.

sorry for the delay....(I know this is scary but I do have some more thoughts, but I think it should wait until I see the latest version.)

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Reed and Gene Sperling to the President; RE: Family and Medical Leave Expansions (4 pages)	01/23/1998	P5
002. draft	RE: Council on Environmental Quaility Proposed 1998 Initiatives (6 pages)	12/15/1997	P5
003. draft	RE: Establishment of a Treasury Advisory Committee (1 page)	n.d.	P5
004. memo	Bruce Reed and Chris Jennings to the President; RE: New AIDS Initiative (2 pages)	12/08/1997	P5
005. memo	Bruce Reed, et al. to the President; RE: Initiative to Reduce Racial Disparities in Health (3 pages)	12/09/1997	P5
006. memo	Gene Sperling and Bob Shireman to the President; RE: School Construction (6 pages)	12/06/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] Policy Memos [1]

2006-0469-F
db3339

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)]

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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]

COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY DRAFT - 12/15/97
PROPOSED 1998 INITIATIVES Not Administration Policy

Following are summaries of several environmental initiatives that could form the basis of one or more major policy announcements by the President. We have been developing these proposals with an eye to the State of the Union and the FY '99 budget but could be ready to launch them sooner. For each, we have identified proposed actions, budget implications, Hill implications and potential negatives.

A THOUSAND RIVERS RESTORED

Action: The President would confront a major environmental and public health threat by launching America's next generation of clean water protections. As a goal, he would commit to fully restoring 1000 watersheds (the 40 percent of the nation's river systems that remain seriously polluted). The strategy would be two-fold: the President would challenge Congress to join him in strengthening the Clean Water Act; simultaneously, whether or not Congress is prepared to act, he would take executive action to push the limits existing law. These steps could be coupled with other water-related initiatives -- including the International Year of the Ocean and designation of American Heritage Rivers -- as part of a broader year-long water strategy.

Background: We recently celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Clean Water Act and its remarkable successes. Yet a recent EPA study found that 40 percent of the nation's waterways are still too polluted for fishing or swimming. Despite dramatic reductions in pollution from factories and sewage plants, dirty runoff from farms and city streets continues to create unacceptable environmental and public health threats. The dangers posed by such "nonpoint source" pollution were recently underscored by the *Pfiesteria* outbreaks in Maryland and Virginia that killed fish, made people sick and harmed local economies. Similar incidents are bound to recur.

In the long term, the answer is a stronger Clean Water Act. The 104th Congress, in the guise of reauthorizing the act, instead tried to weaken it. The President derided the proposed amendments as the "Dirty Water Act" and successfully defeated them. He could now challenge Congress to reverse course and ensure clean water for the next generation.

At the same time, the President could demonstrate that he is prepared to act even if Congress is not, by initiating administrative actions in three areas:

- curbing uncontrolled runoff from cities and rural areas through regulatory and incentive-based strategies.
-reducing toxic discharges, such as dioxin and PCBs, so people would no longer have to be warned not to eat the fish they catch.

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-promoting community-based planning that protects watersheds by coordinating local, state and federal actions, as we are now doing in California's Bay-Delta.

Budget Implications: A credible initiative would require between $500 million and $1 billion a year depending on the division between tax incentives and appropriations (currently under discussion with OMB).

Hill Implications: Clean water is an issue -- more than any other -- on which the public overwhelmingly trusts Democrats over Republicans. Seventy-one percent of Americans want tougher water standards, and while 75 percent trust Democrats on the issue, only 10 percent trust Republicans. A Presidential clean water initiative would **unify Democrats** in both the House and Senate, as well as environmental and community groups. It would also force moderate Republicans who opposed the "Dirty Water Bill" to choose once again between their party and their constituents.

Status: Pursuant to a directive from Vice President Gore, EPA and USDA are now developing an "Action Plan" defining our second-generation clean water strategy. The plan, which will launch a series of aggressive Administrative actions, will be ready before the State of the Union. On the legislative front, the Administration has long had a set of principles that already are reflected in a number of Democratic bills.

Potential Negatives: House Republicans may deride the initiative as politically motivated. Controls on agricultural runoff may draw rural opposition.

A NEW CENTURY FOR AMERICA'S FORESTS

Action: The President would inaugurate the second century of America's national forest system with a sweeping strategy to end abuses and assure healthy forests for generations to come. The strategy would include administrative action and possible legislative proposals to permanently protect the nation's last untouched forests, eliminate timber road subsidies and put forest management on a sound scientific footing.

Background: Federal forest reserves, the precursors to today's 155 national forests, were established by the Organic Administration Act in 1897. Next year, then, marks the start of the second century of federal forest management. Early emphasis on protecting forests to safeguard watersheds gave way, during the post-World War II boom, to rising demands for timber production. In recent years, however, Americans have come to expect more from their national forests -- recreation, wilderness and wildlife protections. Continued timber harvest in old-growth stands and roadless areas inflicts serious environmental harm. Damage also results from an extensive road network many times the size of the federal highway system. National forests generate only about five percent of the nation's timber supply. Yet efforts to reduce timber harvesting in favor of other forest values have resulted in some of the most polarized environmental conflicts of the past decade.

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The President's Pacific Northwest Forest Plan addressed these issues head on and established a model that can now guide the second century of federal forest management. In his statement upon signing the Interior Appropriations bill, the President referred to system-wide measures being developed on roads and forest planning. These could be combined with other initiatives in a broad strategy to fulfill the national forests' multiple-use mandate: Jobs can be preserved through sensible logging while recreation, wildlife and other values are given higher priority.

Specific elements could include:

-Immediate suspension of road-building in roadless areas as an interim step toward permanent protection of millions of acres of pristine land. A scientific panel would recommend criteria for determining lands to be protected.

-Elimination of timber road subsidies through administrative action, coupled with legislation to hold counties harmless against revenue losses.

-New regulations, based on the recommendations of an expert panel, to incorporate new science and ecosystem management in forest planning.

-Changing incentives, which now favor timber cutting, by delinking timber receipts and payments to counties, and by revising agency budget processes that make other programs dependent on high harvest levels.

Budget Implications: Eliminating road subsidies would result in considerable savings. However, guaranteeing continued payments to counties would require new resources; OMB's early out-year projections for FY '99 are $20 million to $40 million.

Hill Implications: Although forest issues have been extremely divisive in the last two Congresses, with key committee chairs opposing Administration proposals, there is rising interest in greater protection for national forests. Senators Warner, Robb, Thurmond, Cleland and Hollings support deferring new roads and timber harvests in roadless areas in the Southeast. One bill with bipartisan support would stop all commercial logging on national forests.

A Presidential initiative would draw strong support from Democrats and some Republicans in the East, Southeast and Midwest; strong opposition in Alaska and some Rocky Mountain states; and mixed reaction in the Pacific Northwest.

Status: Initiatives to end road subsidies, protect roadless areas and revise forest planning regulations are being developed. A proposal to delink timber receipts from county payments is being considered for the FY '99 budget.

Potential Negatives: Opposition from the timber industry, and possibly labor and some Democrats.

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SAVING GREAT PLACES

Action: The President would permanently protect irreplaceable natural areas, and possibly create a new National Park, through a series of significant land acquisitions from willing sellers. These acquisitions would continue the Administration's strenuous efforts to save America's great places before it is too late.

Background: The President has demonstrated a strong commitment to protecting vital lands for future generations through creation of the California desert parks, designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and agreements to acquire Headwaters Forest and the proposed New World Mine outside Yellowstone. The Interior Appropriations bill includes $699 million for priority acquisitions through the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Although much of that total is earmarked for Headwaters and Yellowstone, more than $300 million remains uncommitted.

An interagency process to identify candidate areas for LWCF acquisition is under way. The final list will depend on priority, cost, availability and other factors. Sites and regional priority areas under consideration include the following:

Purchase of Caldera Basin, home of the world's largest elk herd -- A private inholding surrounded by the Santa Fe National Forest in northern New Mexico, the Caldera property is an ancient volcano now supporting lush forest, grasslands and clean water surrounded by a spectacular rim reminiscent of its origins. In addition to the elk herd, it supports a rich diversity of plants and animals.

Winter Range for Yellowstone Wildlife -- Acquisition of 7800 acres of the Royal Teton Ranch would be a rare opportunity to protect key winter range and migration corridors for bison, elk, grizzly bear and other wildlife that cross the Yellowstone National Park boundary. The land would be managed by the Forest Service and the state of Montana. Full buy-in from Montana would be necessary.

Completion of the Appalachian National Scenic Trail --The trail extends 2,119 miles from Georgia to Maine. Remaining gaps in the trail would be closed by acquisitions in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine.

Oregon Coastal Refuge Complex -- Expansion of this complex would protect wintering waterfowl and diverse habitats and wetlands associated with coast estuarine ecosystems.

Expansion of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area -- Acquisition of 15 riverfront tracts would preserve additional scenic, scientific and historic features of this park 50 miles west of Manhattan.

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Expansion of Acadia National Park -- The last privately owned oceanfront property adjacent to the park, if offered to the public, would quickly be subdivided, and developed. The owners are willing sellers and are patiently awaiting for acquisition funding.

Budget Implications: FY '98 Land and Water Conservation funds would be the primary source of funding but new resources would be required for some projects.

Hill Implications: A Presidential initiative on lands acquisition which had regional diversity would enjoy broad **Democratic support** but could provoke jockeying for rival properties.

Potential negatives: Some Republicans and other detractors would say the existing park system is in disrepair and should be fixed before new lands are added.

PROTECTING COMMUNITIES FROM TOXICS

Action: The President would highlight his successes in combating toxic risks and rally Congress to finish the job.

Background: In August, 1996, the President proposed an aggressive strategy to better protect communities from toxic exposures. Key elements of that strategy have been implemented, including steps to expand right-to-know requirements, accelerate Brownfields redevelopment and strengthen drinking water protections.

More work is needed to complete two other elements:

-Congress approved funds to accelerate the cleanup of Superfund sites as an FY '99 advance appropriation, conditioned on passage of a Superfund reauthorization bill by May, 1998.

-An Environmental Crimes Bill strengthening penalties for the worst environmental crimes (such as those causing serious injury to emergency personnel) has been introduced in the House and may soon be in the Senate.

The President could highlight accomplishments to date and rally Congress to help complete the agenda. There is bipartisan support for an Environmental Crimes Bill and a presidential spotlight would help ensure passage. Superfund reauthorization, however, poses risks. The President would have to articulate strong criteria, and back them up with a veto, to avoid a reauthorization bill that does more harm than good. In addition, if reauthorization does not occur by the congressionally mandated deadline, the President must demand that Congress provide the funds anyway or take the blame for putting communities at risk.

Budget Implications: The Administration has accepted the FY '99 advance appropriation for

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Superfund cleanup, and would have to fight to keep those funds if there is no reauthorization bill. Enactment of a reauthorization bill could reinstate the Superfund "polluter pays" tax.

Hill Implications: Some Democrats would resist a reauthorization push, in part because they fear it would be hard to deliver a strong bill, in part because Republicans would use passage of a Superfund bill to claim they are environmentalists in the next election. Also, an attack on the Republican record on Superfund could undermine Administration efforts to work with moderates on a bipartisan bill.

Potential Negatives: A strong reauthorization push would raise the stakes and polarize the debate. This could make it harder to line up support from moderates, and could encourage extremist Republicans to insist on weak Superfund reforms in exchange for cleanup funds.

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- Establishment of a Treasury Advisory Committee to improve coordination and establish a regular dialogue with NGOs, other federal agencies and industry; and
- Creation of a "jump team" capable of conducting investigations of forced and bonded child labor, initially targeted at the rug industry in South Asia.

It is important to note that the World Trade Organization (WTO) does not currently authorize any ban on imports made with exploitative child labor. Further, we must be careful that this inititiative is not viewed by our trade partners as providing license for them to restrict or harass imports of U.S. goods produced using techniques they do not approve. This is particularly important to our agricultural sector, where we have been arguing that the manner in which goods are made (e.g. with hormones or genetic engineering) should not be used as a basis for restrictions. The Customs initiative is carefully designed to minimize the potential for a challenge in the WTO or retaliatory actions, by limiting Customs enforcement to cases of individual shipments or importers where Customs has gathered demonstrable proof of the exploitation of children.

3. $50 Million (for FY99) for the Migrant Education Program [MEP]:

Because of their mobility, migrant children -- more than 80 percent of whom are Hispanic -- often do not "belong" to any one school system or even any one State. That is why the Federal role is critical. Funded at $305 million in FY 1998, MEP is run on a State formula basis for supplemental education and support services for migrant children.

This program supports an extremely wide range of interventions specifically tailored to the needs of the local population it serves. Services range from the identification and recruitment of kids into schools, to all kinds of school-based interventions, to after school programs and summer sessions.

Despite a narrowing of eligibility rules in 1994, the number of participating children has been increasing, in part because of partnerships between MEP and several major agribusiness partners. These partnerships have led to improved service and coordination by local providers (education, health, public safety, and library).

In spite of an increase in eligible students, the MEP has been level funded since 1994. In FY99 at the current level of funding only 75 percent (roughly 550,000 to 600,000) of eligible students will be served. The suggested increase of $50 million would allow the program to serve about half the unserved students and to continue providing a richer array of supplemental educational services. This investment would support the full range of MEP-supported activities, including child care, after-school programs, summer sessions, tutoring and other activities critical to getting and keeping these kids in school.

We anticipate that the Hispanic Caucus and advocates for migrant farm workers would react positively to this proposal.

A $50 million investment in MEP is also included in our Hispanic Education Action Plan.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Council on Environmental Quality Proposed 1998 Initiatives (10 pages)	11/24/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] Policy Memos [2]

2006-0469-F
db3419

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.

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COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
PROPOSED 1998 INITIATIVES

DRAFT - 11/24/97
Not Administration Policy

Following are summaries of several environmental initiatives that could form the basis of one or more major policy announcements by the President. We have been developing these proposals with an eye to the State of the Union and the FY '99 budget but could be ready to launch them sooner.

The initiatives fall into three of our five major policy areas -- Resource Stewardship, Protecting Communities from Toxics and Sustainable Communities -- and are organized accordingly. For each, we have identified proposed actions, budget implications, Hill implications and potential negatives.

RESOURCE STEWARDSHIP

A THOUSAND RIVERS RESTORED

Action: The President would confront a major environmental and public health threat by launching America's next generation of clean water protections. As a goal, he would commit to fully restoring 1000 watersheds (the 40 percent of the nation's river systems that remain seriously polluted). The strategy would be two-fold: the President would challenge Congress to join him in strengthening the Clean Water Act; simultaneously, whether or not Congress is prepared to act, he would take executive action to push the limits existing law. These steps could be coupled with other water-related initiatives -- including the International Year of the Ocean and designation of American Heritage Rivers -- as part of a broader year-long water strategy.

Background: We recently celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Clean Water Act and its remarkable successes. Yet a recent EPA study found that 40 percent of the nation's waterways are still too polluted for fishing or swimming. Despite dramatic reductions in pollution from factories and sewage plants, dirty runoff from farms and city streets continues to create unacceptable environmental and public health threats. The dangers posed by such "nonpoint source" pollution were recently underscored by the *Pfiesteria* outbreaks in Maryland and Virginia that killed fish, made people sick and harmed local economies. Similar incidents are bound to recur.

In the long term, the answer is a stronger Clean Water Act. The 104th Congress, in the guise of reauthorizing the act, instead tried to weaken it. The President derided the proposed amendments as the "Dirty Water Act" and successfully defeated them. He could now challenge Congress to reverse course and ensure clean water for the next generation.

At the same time, the President could demonstrate that he is prepared to act even if Congress

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is not, by initiating administrative actions in three areas:

- curbing uncontrolled runoff from cities and rural areas through regulatory and incentive-based strategies.
-reducing toxic discharges, such as dioxin and PCBs, so people would no longer have to be warned not to eat the fish they catch.
-promoting community-based planning that protects watersheds by coordinating local, state and federal actions, as we are now doing in California's Bay-Delta.

Budget Implications: A credible initiative would require between $500 million and $1 billion a year depending on the division between tax incentives and appropriations (currently under discussion with OMB).

Hill Implications: Clean water is an issue -- more than any other -- on which the public overwhelmingly trusts Democrats over Republicans. Seventy-one percent of Americans want tougher water standards, and while 75 percent trust Democrats on the issue, only 10 percent trust Republicans. A Presidential clean water initiative would **unify Democrats** in both the House and Senate, as well as environmental and community groups. It would also force moderate Republicans who opposed the "Dirty Water Bill" to choose once again between their party and their constituents.

Status: Pursuant to a directive from Vice President Gore, EPA and USDA are now developing an "Action Plan" defining our second-generation clean water strategy. The plan, which will launch a series of aggressive Administrative actions, will be ready before the State of the Union. On the legislative front, the Administration has long had a set of principles that already are reflected in a number of Democratic bills.

Potential Negatives: House Republicans may deride the initiative as politically motivated. Controls on agricultural runoff may draw rural opposition.

A NEW CENTURY FOR AMERICA'S FORESTS

Action: The President would inaugurate the second century of America's national forest system with a sweeping strategy to end abuses and assure healthy forests for generations to come. The strategy would include administrative action and possible legislative proposals to permanently protect the nation's last untouched forests, eliminate timber road subsidies and put forest management on a sound scientific footing.

Background: Federal forest reserves, the precursors to today's 155 national forests, were established by the Organic Administration Act in 1897. Next year, then, marks the start of the second century of federal forest management. Early emphasis on protecting forests to safeguard watersheds gave way, during the post-World War II boom, to rising demands for timber production. In recent years, however, Americans have come to expect more from their

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national forests -- recreation, wilderness and wildlife protections. Continued timber harvest in old-growth stands and roadless areas inflicts serious environmental harm. Damage also results from an extensive road network many times the size of the federal highway system. National forests generate only about five percent of the nation's timber supply. Yet efforts to reduce timber harvesting in favor of other forest values have resulted in some of the most polarized environmental conflicts of the past decade.

The President's Pacific Northwest Forest Plan addressed these issues head on and established a model that can now guide the second century of federal forest management. In his statement upon signing the Interior Appropriations bill, the President referred to system-wide measures being developed on roads and forest planning. These could be combined with other initiatives in a broad strategy to fulfill the national forests' multiple-use mandate: Jobs can be preserved through sensible logging while recreation, wildlife and other values are given higher priority.

Specific elements could include:

-Immediate suspension of road-building in roadless areas as an interim step toward permanent protection of millions of acres of pristine land. A scientific panel would recommend criteria for determining lands to be protected.

-Elimination of timber road subsidies through administrative action, coupled with legislation to hold counties harmless against revenue losses.

-New regulations, based on the recommendations of an expert panel, to incorporate new science and ecosystem management in forest planning.

-Changing incentives, which now favor timber cutting, by delinking timber receipts and payments to counties, and by revising agency budget processes that make other programs dependent on high harvest levels.

Budget Implications: Eliminating road subsidies would result in considerable savings. However, guaranteeing continued payments to counties would require new resources; OMB's early out-year projections for FY '99 are $20 million to $40 million.

Hill Implications: Although forest issues have been extremely divisive in the last two Congresses, with key committee chairs opposing Administration proposals, there is rising interest in greater protection for national forests. Senators Warner, Robb, Thurmond, Cleland and Hollings support deferring new roads and timber harvests in roadless areas in the Southeast. One bill with bipartisan support would stop all commercial logging on national forests.

A Presidential initiative would draw strong support from Democrats and some Republicans in the East, Southeast and Midwest; strong opposition in Alaska and some Rocky Mountain states; and mixed reaction in the Pacific Northwest.

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Status: Initiatives to end road subsidies, protect roadless areas and revise forest planning regulations are being developed. A proposal to delink timber receipts from county payments is being considered for the FY '99 budget.

Potential Negatives: Opposition from the timber industry, and possibly labor and some Democrats.

A NEW ALASKA WILDERNESS

Action: The President would propose legislation to prevent oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge by declaring it wilderness.

Background: A new poll shows growing opposition to oil drilling in the refuge. Sixty-two percent of those polled oppose drilling; 47 percent strongly oppose.

Details to come.

SAVING GREAT PLACES

Action: The President would permanently protect irreplaceable natural areas, and possibly create a new National Park, through a series of significant land acquisitions from willing sellers. These acquisitions would continue the Administration's strenuous efforts to save America's great places before it is too late.

Background: The President has demonstrated a strong commitment to protecting vital lands for future generations through creation of the California desert parks, designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and agreements to acquire Headwaters Forest and the proposed New World Mine outside Yellowstone. The Interior Appropriations bill includes $699 million for priority acquisitions through the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Although much of that total is earmarked for Headwaters and Yellowstone, more than $300 million remains uncommitted.

An interagency process to identify candidate areas for LWCF acquisition is under way. The final list will depend on priority, cost, availability and other factors. Sites and regional priority areas under consideration include the following:

> *Purchase of Caldera Basin, home of the world's largest elk herd* -- A private inholding surrounded by the Santa Fe National Forest in northern New Mexico, the Caldera property is an ancient volcano now supporting lush forest, grasslands and clean water surrounded by a spectacular rim reminiscent of its origins. In addition to the elk herd, it supports a rich diversity of plants and animals.

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Winter Range for Yellowstone Wildlife -- Acquisition of 7800 acres of the Royal Teton Ranch would be a rare opportunity to protect key winter range and migration corridors for bison, elk, grizzly bear and other wildlife that cross the Yellowstone National Park boundary. The land would be managed by the Forest Service and the state of Montana. Full buy-in from Montana would be necessary.

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Oregon Coastal Refuge Complex -- Expansion of this complex would protect wintering waterfowl and diverse habitats and wetlands associated with coast estuarine ecosystems.

Expansion of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area -- Acquisition of 15 riverfront tracts would preserve additional scenic, scientific and historic features of this park 50 miles west of Manhattan.

Expansion of Acadia National Park -- The last privately owned oceanfront property adjacent to the park, if offered to the public, would quickly be subdivided, and developed. The owners are willing sellers and are patiently awaiting for acquisition funding.

Budget Implications: FY '98 Land and Water Conservation funds would be the primary source of funding but new resources would be required for some projects.

Hill Implications: A Presidential initiative on lands acquisition which had regional diversity would enjoy broad **Democratic support** but could provoke jockeying for rival properties.

Potential negatives: Some Republicans and other detractors would say the existing park system is in disrepair and should be fixed before new lands are added.

PROTECTING COMMUNITIES FROM TOXICS

EXPANDING EVERY COMMUNITY'S RIGHT -TO-KNOW

Action: The President would commit to an expansion of every community's right to know about toxic materials moving through their neighborhoods and potentially threatening their children. Specifically, he would endorse/propose legislative and administrative action to require "materials accounting" or "use data" disclosure so communities know about toxics in their midst, whether or not they are released directly to the environment.

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Background: The Administration already has taken steps to expand disclosure of toxic releases, doubling the number of chemicals subject to "toxic release inventory" (TRI) reporting in 1993, and last year increasing in the number of facilities subject to TRI by 30 percent. The President could take the next step by requiring disclosure of toxic materials used or stored in facilities. Often, communities are unaware of the risks these materials pose until an explosion or other extraordinary event causes a catastrophic release. Massachusetts and New Jersey, which already requires such disclosures, claim dramatic reductions in toxic material use as a result.

The President first endorsed the concept of "use date" disclosure in *Putting People First* and in 1995 directed EPA to accelerate its review of the merits. OMB and the economic agencies have expressed reservations about potential costs and proprietary concerns (why should Fuji be able to learn what materials Kodak uses?).

Budget Implications: A credible initiative would require few new resources (less than $10 million).

Hill Implications: This issue has strong support in the left wing of the Democratic caucus but could **divide Democrats.** Several senior Democrats (e.g. John Dingell) have been opponents of "materials accounting," even though a number of moderate Republicans are supportive.

Status: EPA is in a position to accelerate its administrative process, although there is doubt about its legal authority to expand disclosure requirements by regulation. Congressmen Waxman (D-CA) and Saxton (R-NJ) already have introduced legislation that would reinforce EPA's authority and enhance disclosure of environmental threats to children. The President could set enactment of these bills as a priority.

Potential Negatives: Strong opposition by industry and some Democrats.

SAFE PLACES FOR KIDS

Action: President Clinton would launch an aggressive program to protect children from environmental health and safety threats where they live, play, and go to school through direct federal action and support for state and local governments.

Background: On April 21, President Clinton signed an Executive Order directing Federal agencies to enhance the protection of children from environmental health and safety threats. The order and its implementation respond to an emerging scientific consensus that children's physiology and activity patterns put them at a disproportionate risk from exposure to toxics and other environmental hazards. EPA and HHS have a broad interagency effort under way to develop a series of on-the-ground initiatives.

This week, a major anti-lead initiative announced by Mrs. Gore and Carol Browner drew

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favorable press response. If additional funds are committed, they could be used to more aggressively expand lead abatement, preventive health measures, school improvements and removal of other hazards. Possibilities include health monitoring in at-risk areas, accelerated cleanup of toxic dumps, assistance to homeowners for the removal of lead-soldered pipes, and creation of federal-state teams in targeted communities. Wherever possible, federal funds would be used to leverage state matches and public-private partnerships.

Budget Implications: Undetermined. A credible initiative focused on 100 targeted cities and rural areas would require new resources at a level of $100 million or more annually.

Hill Implications: Children's health issues tend to **unify Democrats** and generate **bipartisan support.** A draft bill codifying the President's Executive order already has been developed (though not introduced) and could be used to foster Hill "buy-in" and ownership of the children's health agenda.

Status: Pursuant to the Executive Order, EPA and HHS have been convening agencies to develop the elements of an effective initiative.

Potential Negatives: House Republicans may deride the initiative as politically motivated, although moderate Republicans are likely to be receptive.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE FOR ALL AMERICANS

Action: The President would advance his initiative on race relations by committing to an aggressive, targeted pollution abatement strategy in 100 communities and rural areas where low-income and minority communities have suffered adverse and disproportionate impacts from toxic exposures.

Background: Early in the first term, the President issued Executive Order 12898 directing Federal agencies to consider disproportionate and adverse impacts on low-income and minority communities when implementing federal programs and activities. Many African-American community leaders, however, feel that our commitment is faltering. This frustration stems in part from the fact that many significant environmental "injustices" result not from federal actions but from historic patterns of development and decades-old contamination.

Additional resources could be used to target cleanup, pollution reduction and health responses in communities receiving little or no help from their state and local governments. Possibilities include relocation of people living next to toxic sites, medical monitoring in at-risk areas, incentives for businesses to reduce emissions and creation of zones for state-federal action plans.

Budget Implications: Undetermined. A credible initiative focused on 100 targeted cities and

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rural areas would require new resources of at least $100-$200 million annually.

Hill Implications: This initiative would receive strong support from **the Black Caucus and the Hispanic Caucus,** as well as the **left wing of the Democratic caucus.** Significant opposition is unlikely.

Status: Pursuant to the Executive Order, there exist an interagency workgroup and a Federal advisory committee that could rapidly identify target areas and needs. Most of the eligible communities and regions already have been identified.

Potential Negatives: This initiative may have limited broad-based appeal and could draw some backlash from industry, fearing heavy-handed regulation.

SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

SMART GROWTH AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES INITIATIVE

Action: The President would announce creation of new funding and tax incentives to promote "smart growth" and sustainable communities. The initiative would focus on ways to encourage reinvestment in city centers and discourage suburban sprawl.

Background: After decades of disinvestment, our nation's central cities are experiencing the cumulative effects of poverty, chronic unemployment, environmental decay and crime. Meanwhile, continuing flight for the urban core is fueling poorly planned suburban sprawl. Many suburbanites now find they are not immune to what were once considered urban ills. Rapid growth has created severe traffic congestion, long commutes, higher local taxes and reduced quality of life. Urban disinvestment and suburban sprawl are, in many respects, two sides of the same coin.

These issues have been highlighted by the report of President's Council on Sustainable Development. In a recent directive, the Vice President asked for an interagency report on steps the federal government could take to combat sprawl and promote "smart growth." An Executive Order could reinforce this effort by assisting states in developing smart growth plans, and by creating a preference in Federal planning for projects that are based on sound land use planning and do not contribute to sprawl.

Governors Glendening and Kitzhaber have been leaders in implementing state "smart growth" policies and this initiative would help other states follow their lead. Nonetheless, all of the Administration's efforts have identified the need for additional Federal resources to bolster local planning efforts and to provide incentives for urban re-population, and this conclusion has been vocally reinforced by the National Conference of Mayors, the National League of Cities, and others. Funding could be used for enhancing local planning efforts and for

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targeted tax incentives to promote urban re-population.

Budget Implications: Funding would depend on the number of areas targeted, but a credible proposal would likely require at least $1 billion over five to seven years. This could be allocated competitively by requiring states to meet threshold planning requirements.

Hill Implications: Strong support is likely from Democratic caucus, particularly among the Black and Hispanic Caucuses. This support would be reinforced by the Conference of Mayors, Governors, and other groups.

Status: An interagency effort is under way and could quickly complete any needed policy development.

Potential Negatives: Possible opposition from development interests. An initiative might be viewed as federal interference with local land use prerogatives.

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RURAL BENEFITS OF ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES

Environmental initiatives, properly structured, present significant opportunities for building support from rural constituencies.

Historically, environmental protection often has been viewed as antagonistic to rural interests, particularly in areas with economies heavily dependent on agriculture and resource extraction (timber, mining and grazing). However, as rural demographics have become more diverse, traditional resource-based economies have weakened, and alternate economies based on resource preservation (i.e. tourism) have flourished, environmental goals have come to be viewed more favorably.

If thoughtfully designed, environmental initiatives can not only ease past antagonisms but draw support by addressing important rural concerns. The key is to structure them in ways that promote environmental protection while helping to ease economic pressures facing rural communities. Two important elements in such a strategy are the use of collaborative approaches and the use of targeted economic incentives.

The creation of new economic incentives would be particularly well received in agricultural areas facing the prospect of reduced farm subsidies.

Following are examples of how such strategies could be employed in two proposed initiatives:

A Thousand Rivers Restored - A major objective of this clean water initiative would be curtailing polluted runoff from farms. A traditional regulatory approach (establishing standards and/or prescribing specific controls) is likely to meet considerable resistance. An alternate approach would couple technical assistance with incentives for compliance. USDA's Conservation Reserve Enhancement Program provides an instructive model. The program, recently expanded to allow partnerships with states, rewards farmers who agree to keep lands along rivers out of production, thereby reducing harmful runoff. The recent announcement of a partnership with Maryland generated highly favorable press reports.

Smart Growth and Sustainable Communities - This initiative would aim in part to discourage suburban sprawl. At present, farmers in fast-growing areas face tremendous pressure to sell their land for development, particularly as rising land values drive up their property taxes. Some states and municipalities give tax breaks to farmers who agree not to develop their lands or grant them development rights that can be sold to property owners in areas where higher density development is being encouraged. Both approaches serve to keep farmers farming. The federal government, either directly or in partnership with states, could promote broader use of these strategies.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	01/16/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14459

FOLDER TITLE:
Loose SOTU [State of the Union] Material

2006-0469-F
db3420

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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1

1/16/98 Draft 1D

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years, I report ~~I report~~ to you on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

But tonight I ~~want to talk to you not about the State of the Union is a time~~ to report ~~not only~~ on the past, or ~~on~~ the matters immediately before us, ~~but on the future~~. Tonight is a night to face the future. ~~Tonight, I will speak~~ of the ~~opportunity before us~~ -- the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of a new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America. ~~The opportunity to forge a future far greater than any~~ past we have known.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we can shape its content. In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun -- we truly are present at the future. And from the stunning leaps of new tecyhnology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know that this new era also poses new risks to our families, demands new skills of our people, and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals. And for over two centuries, we have remained young by finding new means and methods to breathe new life into our enduring values and eternal virtues. ~~We have acted to strengthen our union, and to apply the elemental principles of our founding -- extending the meaning of our Constitution -- to each new time.~~

In the Civil War, our nation was challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it,

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As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table.

We ~~need to~~ must help parents ~~take responsibility to~~ protect their children from the single greatest health threat they face -- an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by million dollar marketing campaigns. We have acted to restrict the advertising that can seduce our children.

~~We could do more~~ Now we must

~~Now, this year, we have an historic opportunity to~~ pass bipartisan, landmark legislation to ~~curb teen smoking. This~~ change the way tobacco companies do business, and ~~will~~ raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if smoking does not go down. This is not about politics. This is not about money. This is about one terrible fact. Every day 3000 young people will start smoking, and 1000 will die early as a result. Democrat or Republican, young or old, we all know someone who has died form smoking, and others we love will die if we don't act. Let us work together across party lines to make tobacco legislation the law of the land.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy. ~~And after decades in which it seemed as if the crime rate would rise forever, we have begun to make remarkable progress.~~

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and ~~more~~ smarter prevention, we have spread ~~throughout the nation~~ a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. ~~For there is still far too much crime~~. Drug use among young people ~~is~~ are still too high. ~~Far too many children are raising themselves on the streets~~. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. ~~We have a moral responsibility to take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.~~

~~Here's what we must do next.~~

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. They should ~~extend the Brady Bill to violent juveniles, and~~ prohibit ~~them~~ from buying guns on their 21st birthday. And they should help principals keep more of our schools open later, so that adults can be more involved in the lives of our youth -- and teach them right from wrong.

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refusal to act

help

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to ~~give the~~ states ~~added ability to~~ expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system. ~~Nothing will do more to prevent crime.~~

in drag out

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. Every criminal knows that trial and punishment ~~can drag on~~ for years ~~due to~~ clogged courts. Yet the ~~refusal of the~~ Senate's ~~even to vote on dozens of judges~~ has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice Rehnquist was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice Rehnquist's plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

"due to is no excuse"

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to ~~take the next step, and~~ move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

~~Think about what that means~~. Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. ~~Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair~~.

available

more

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even ~~farther~~, providing vouchers to help families move closer to ~~where the~~ jobs ~~are~~. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone ~~who is willing to work their way off welfare.~~ eager to work ☺

FOREIGN POLICY

[unedited, unexpurgated from NSC … too long & needs lots of work]

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that with our vast expanse, great power and democratic values comes a responsibility to lead. Now, on the brink of a new century, the ideas we Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a right to pursue their own dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality for people around the world. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous today than ever before -- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity for millions around the world. But too many people still bear its

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

remain the world's greatest multiracial democracy in the 21st century.

We should begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same aspirations and principles. All Americans are united by the same values, the same dreams, for their families, the same willingness to work. Education, health care, child care, jobs -- these issues weigh heavily on the minds of families everywhere. We make our greatest progress when we address them for everyone. At the same time, we must recognize that racism still abides; discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal.

But we must remember this: We have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. In so many ways, we still hold ourselves back. We retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too many schools -- too many cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Too many Americans of all races have begun to give up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on these issues. I believe it is vitally important that we move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

But tonight I say: As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in common endeavor. [possible race & service announcement]

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 33-38, 42, 46-48, 61] (12 pages)	01/25/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [1]

2006-0469-F
db3421

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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In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever. They face a constant struggle to balance their obligations to be good workers -- and their even more important obligations to be good parents.

The Family and Medical Leave Act, the very first bill I signed into law, has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. I ~~ask you to extend this law so that new mothers and fathers can take six months of unpaid leave when they have a baby.~~

Last year, I asked you to extend Family leave for limited purpose of taking children to doctor's appts & each conferences. We have highest pop of parents in workforce & we must help them do their most important jobs.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Child care is the next frontier. Now, I learned a long time ago that governments don't raise children; parents do. There is no more important example of the First Lady's work over the past 25 years -- no more important example of her adage that it does take a village to raise a child than our common obligation to give parents the help they need to raise their families right. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally responsible plan to make child care better, safer, and more affordable, with tax cuts for businesses and millions of working families. If you pass my plan, a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs should not have to pay a penny of federal income tax.

This year of Beijing & most two trip conference both made it clear last time we are going to make succeed Congress must respond by making shared childr First of all more money to states for vouchers tax credits to business scholarships tax cuts for working families money for safety.

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~~Pass this plan to help parents of six million children afford quality child care.~~

provide safe

Third, a society rooted in responsibility must hold streets, safe schools, safe neighborhoods.
individuals responsible when they break the law --

punishing crime severely when it occurs, and preventing it from happening in the first place.

end w/ drugs.
drug use down. thank congress on Anti-drug plan in history. Including Ad campaign. Must do more along borders. This year we must make sure fight drugs coming in at the border. respecting rights.

McCaffrey

For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly violent crime would permanently poison our neighborhoods, ~~our great cities, our entire nation~~. Now, with 100,000 new police headed for the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have a crime fighting strategy that works.

We committed to put * We need to finish job of putting 100,000 + focus on prev on juv. crime.

We embrace strategy of . . .

And ~~wants~~ citizens. preven

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I can report to you tonight that murder is down, robbery is down, assault is down, burglary is down . . . for five years in a row, all across America.

→ finish job 100,000 + juvenile crime

I again ask Congress to pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. Ban juveniles go here

And I ask you to expand before- and after-school programs. Most violent crime is committed between the hours of 3 in the afternoon and 7 at night. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets.

can keep em off of trouble in first place & then we give them some place to

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We should also bar violent juveniles from buying guns for life.

Ev. know you can have good rev. system, pros, but ct. system has to work as well. That's price

And let me speak plainly about a solemn responsibility that rests with 100 of the men and women in this chamber. When the courts are clogged, criminals go free. The Senate has the Constitutional duty to confirm judges to enforce the law and sentence the lawbreakers. Here is what the Chief Justice of the United States wrote, and I quote: "[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask the United States Senate to heed this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judicial nominees, up or down.

duff if vacancies noted ct. Chief Justice said. justice is delayed. therefore.

Too many vacancies. Senate duty to fill these vacancies.

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Fourth, we must ~~demand~~ exercise responsibility not only at home but abroad, ~~and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership.~~ by living it

~~In this century, the American people learned that our nation has a unique role, and we have lived up to it, in the most extraordinary defense of freedom in human history.~~ Now, on the eve of a new century, we have both the power and the duty to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. America must stand against ~~war and~~ the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

To ~~take firm root -- and to prevent another bloody war in~~ ~~the heart of Europe~~ -- Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the ~~secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why~~ American troops ~~should take part in a follow-on security force w~~hen the current NATO mission ends in June. Senator Dole said it best: this is like being ahead in the fourth quarter of a football game. Now is not the time to walk off the field and forfeit the victory.

~~That is why, when Mission ends, Am + allies should stay on~~

I wish all of you could have been with us to visit with our troops in Tuzla. They are the pride of our nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

On modern times you have rule — uses
them people on innocent ppl.
We cannot permit us

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas. Now, we must act to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. ~~The Biological Weapons Convention has been in force for 25 years, but frankly, it lacks tough enforcement measures.~~ This year, we must strengthen that treaty with an international inspection system to detect and deter cheating.

on the books

the teeth of

the rules are good, but enforcement is weak

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with old allies in Asia and Europe and new partners from Africa to India and Pakistan... from South America to China.

Middle East

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In this new era, our freedom and independence are enriched, not impoverished, by our interdependence with other nations. Those who share our goals can ~~also~~ share our burdens. But our partnerships will be weak and our leadership in doubt if we fail to set the example. ~~I ask Congress:~~ It's ~~isn't it~~ long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations? When we give our word, we I ask the Congress to make sure should keep our word. America pays its bills.

~~In the century we are leaving, America has made the difference between tyranny and freedom... chaos and stability... war and peace.~~ Now, in a new century, we have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. ~~That~~ It is our chance and our challenge. We must seize it. we must not shrink from it.

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A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form ~~not just a new nation, but~~ gov't "a more perfect union." ~~More than ever, we must~~ Americans ~~we~~ are on an ~~eternal~~ mission together ~~recognize that we are inextricably linked by the idea of America itself. We are on a mission together~~. Therefore, We as a nation must live together as a community.

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the trust of the American people.

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And that is one reason why I am so committed to AmeriCorps, our national service corps which has given 100,000 young people the chance to earn money for college by serving ~~their~~ in communities all across our country. Americorps members come from all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done.

President's Summit. Service can transform ~~the lives of our people~~ America. Last year, I called up a volunteer army to teach every 3rd grader to read independently. I'm pleased that over 800 colleges and universities have already joined this effort -- over X,000 work study students and volunteers, already teaching all over America.

discrimination, dialogue.
→ American crime disc. when we close the opp. gap. I
have that will dialogue on next month

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~~that's one~~
world's finest ~~com~~ military

Why we support →
AmeriCorps
PeaceCorps.
America Reads
serve 2 get

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 33-35, 62] (4 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [2]

2006-0469-F
db3422

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

In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever. They face a constant struggle to balance their obligations to be good workers -- and their even more important obligations to be good parents.

The Family and Medical Leave Act, the very first bill I signed into law, has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. Now I ask you to extend this law so that new mothers and fathers can take six months of unpaid leave when they have a ~~baby~~ child.

(LW)

Last year I asked you to extend ~~this law~~ the FL Act for the few parents of letting parents have time off ... It is still a good idea.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Child care is the next frontier. Now, I learned a long time ago that governments don't raise children; parents do. There is no more important example of the First Lady's work over the ~~past~~ 25 years -- no more important example of her adage that it does take a village to raise a child -- than our ~~common~~ obligation to give parents the help they need to raise their ~~families~~ right. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care better, safer, and more affordable, with tax cuts for businesses and millions of working families. If you pass my plan, a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs should not have to pay a penny of federal income tax.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Pass this plan to help parents of six million children~~

~~afford quality child care.~~

Third, a society rooted in responsibility must hold

provide safe streets, safe schools +

individuals responsible when they break the law --

safe neighborhoods

punishing crime severely when it occurs, and preventing it

from happening in the first place.

Dog was chased to go down ago.
Fabe had off to Gen McCaffrey
for say largest a-d in history

For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly

felonism But must do more

violent crime would permanently poison our

along border... as are...

neighborhoods, our great cities, our entire nation. Now,

drugs come into country along

with 100,000 new police headed for the streets, tougher

border. [specifics]

punishment, and smarter prevention, we have a crime

fighting strategy that works.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, I will send Congress a proposal to enlist colleges send mentors into middle schools and junior high schools, to help students start early to think about plan for, and prepare themselves for college.

Tonight I challenge every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, doing the Lord's work of building a more perfect union.

NO CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address[pages 2-8, 13, 27, 48, 49, 52-55, 60, 62, 63, 70, 73-75] (22 pages)	01/25/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [3]

2006-0469-F
db3423

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(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]

For 209 years, it has been the President's duty to report to you on the State of the Union: ~~Tonight, it is a duty any citizen would cherish.~~ Because of the hard work and high purpose of the American people, these are good times for America. ~~Our economy is prospering. Our incomes are rising. Our social fabric is mending. Our leadership in the world is unrivaled. The state of our union is strong.~~

replace w/ p. 8

Add biggest drop in welf. rolls in hist. Crime dropped a record 5 yrs. in a row

But with barely 700 days left in the 20th Century, this is not a time to rest; it is a time to build, to build the America within our reach. An America where scientists find cures for diseases from Alzheimers to AIDS.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America where every child can stretch a hand across a keyboard and reach every book ever written, every painting ever painted, every symphony ever composed.]

Let us reach toward a time when a confident America, which saved civilization in this century, leads civilization to new heights of peace and prosperity, environmental preservation and scientific discovery in the next one.

Let us strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

an am where every Am has chance to get ahead....

gov provides opp. citizens honor resp. to give something back

an am which leads themselves to greater peace & prosperity

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This unique moment of promise did not come upon us with the roar of guns or sudden crisis. Quietly, but with gathering force, the ground has shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a truly new world. ~~Perhaps never before has one generation seen so~~ Rarely have we lived through so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.

[The changes have upset old arrangements, ~~decided new winners and losers~~, opened new possibilities and raised new perils.]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

we have met

But for five years now, with ~~renewed spirit and~~

~~energy, our people have risen as one nation to meet~~ these

These challenges as americans have

challenges ~~-- as we have~~ at every turning point -- by

very

renewing the idea of America, widening the circle of

opportunity, deepening the meaning of our freedom,

forging a more perfect union.

We have shaped a new kind of government for the

[PB [a new era] I want VP lead. Cong. support in helping us + to ~~build~~ a new ~~dream~~ govt.

NEW ERA ~~Information Age.~~ Leaner. More flexible. Focused on

giving the American people the tools they need to make

Acting as

the most of their own lives. ~~Functioning~~ as a catalyst for

Most of all

new ideas. ~~A government that replaces a sense~~ of

~~entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Our success in this effort is due in large measure to the leadership of the Vice President in~~ giving us not only we have the smallest government in 35 years, ~~but one even better able to propel us forward.~~ but

We have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. My fellow Americans, we have found a third way. We have a smaller government, but a more progressive one. We have a smaller government, but a stronger nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are moving steadily toward a

~~At every step, we have aspired to three goals for~~ 21st Century America. An economy that offers opportunity, A society rooted in responsibility. And a nation that lives as a community.

~~Let's take each one of these and see what they will mean in the 21st Century.~~

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

First, to ~~build an economy that offers opportunity~~, we are ~~embracing~~ a new strategy for prosperity: Fiscal discipline to cut interest rates and spur growth.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Investing ~~in our people,~~ in science and technology, education and skills, to prepare ~~them~~ our people for the new economy. Tearing down trade barriers to open new markets for American products and American workers, and new pathways to peace and freedom.

~~In this chamber and across this country, Americans have worked to give our nation a new economy for a new century.~~

We have over 14 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 24 years. The lowest core inflation in 30 years. The highest homeownership rate in history.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tonight, I propose that we reserve 100% of the [that's every penny of any surplus]

surplus until ~~we strengthen Social Security for the 21st~~

~~Century. Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until~~ taken all the measures necessary to (save) strengthen

we have ~~saved~~ the Social Security system. ~~Let us reserve~~ for the 21st century.

~~every penny of any surplus until we have taken all~~ the

~~measures necessary to preserve Social Security for the~~

~~next 75 years.~~

say

Let us ~~make this fundamental promise~~ to all

Americans watching tonight -- whether you are 70 . . . or

50 . . . or 30 years old -- ~~that~~ Social Security will be there

when you need it. Let us, tonight, make this commitment:

Social Security first.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The American economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. ~~But make no mis~~take: The turmoil in Asia will have an impact on all the world's economies, including ours. Our job is to make the negative impact as small as possible.

Our policy is clear. No nation can recover if it does not reform itself. But when nations are willing to undertake serious economic reform, ~~it is in our interest to enable them to try, and it's the right thing to do~~. So I call on Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund. Preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser than ignoring the thunder until the clouds are overhead.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POTUS would take out

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with old allies in Asia and Europe and new partners from Africa to India and Pakistan . . . from South America to China. And from Belfast, to Korea to the ancient lands of the Middle East, America will continue to stand with those who stand for peace.

In this new era, our freedom and independence are actually enriched, not impoverished, by our increasing interdependence with other nations. As we see so clearly in Bosnia, allies who share our goals can share our burdens. But our partnerships will be weak and our leadership in doubt if we fail to set the example.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations. When we give our word, we should keep our word. America pays its bills.

In the century we have a truly historic opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. It is our chance and our challenge. We must seize it.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Our Founders set America on a permanent journey toward "a more perfect union." It is a trip we can only make together -- as one nation living as one community.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free or reduced television and radio time for candidates who voluntarily accept spending limits. ~~Free time can help free our democracy from the grip of big money.~~ (two tier system...) freer, fairer, & more open air do it b/c it's right ...

~~We must do to make government work~~ better. MORE Under the Vice President's reinventing government initiative, we have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, ~~transformed HUD~~ and the Federal Emergency Management ~~Agency,~~ reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers. Yet there is more to do.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. We need new citizen advocacy panels, a stronger taxpayer advocate, phone lines open 24 hours a day, relief for innocent spouses. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. Let's not allow that bill to languish in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now.

Empowering communities

A nation that lives as a community must value its communities.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

For the past five years, we ~~have~~ are witnessing an urban renaissance all across America. Neighborhoods once haunted by crime and despair have been transformed into strong, safe, vibrant communities.

Our ~~strategy has been~~ have worked has to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city and poor rural areas -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans ~~from commercial banks,~~ commercial into poor areas restoring polluted more cleanups of pollutes sites for development. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we should expand the number of empowerment zones. Give businesses incentives to move into inner city

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We should give poor families more opportunities to move into homes of their own. We should use tax cuts to spur the construction of more low income housing. We should establish a Community Empowerment Fund to spur the creation of private sector jobs.

So many of America's great cities, which rose and fell in the 20th Century, are rising again as we approach the 21st Century. Let's keep them going, leaving no one behind.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Just this month, thanks in part to an innovative partnership between our administration and the Big Three, America's automakers unveiled prototypes of high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of typical models today. This innovative spirit must spread to every industry in America.

It was on this date -- January 27, way back in 1880 -- that Thomas Edison received his first patent for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that produced the genius for the lightbulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy while continuing to grow at high levels.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must begin by acknowledging what we still must overcome. Discrimination against any American is un-American. We must vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. ~~I ask you to provide the necessary resources to end the backlog at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are waiting in line for justice.~~

GS: Austin
GRAF .... whether it's tax distress
Stockyards ... etc.
Personal pov.

Then, we must shine a light on those in our communities who are coming together through open talk and honest labor to fight old prejudices and forge new friendships.

working b wrs, lots good, groups across Am coming together — highlight best practices — recruit leaders —

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beyond that, we know America ~~can~~ will never fully overcome its divisions only when we offer the same opportunity to all who are willing to work for it -- until when we close the opportunity gap. That will be the primary focus of our race initiative for the next six months. For we know when people work together, learn together and serve together, they get along together. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds hammered out a common identity.

race I. has done a lot of good
still have a lot to do.
but for next 6 months
what can we

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Internet is an exploding global marketplace of ideas as well as commerce. And I call on all the nations of the world to join us in making the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs. I ask the Congress to step up support for building the next generation Internet, which will operate up to a thousand times faster than today.

But the Internet must not be a values-free zone. We will continue to work with the computer industry to give parents tools to protect their children from inappropriate material on the Net.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today, that Star Spangled Banner, along with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, are on display just a short walk from here. They are America's treasures, and we must save and preserve them for the ages. I ask all Americans to support a ~~state-of-the-art~~ project to restore them ~~so that the~~ generations of 21st Century ~~America~~ can see for themselves the image and the words that are the old and continuing glory of America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America that has continued to rise through every age, against every challenge, because we have always found the wisdom and strength to come together as one nation -- to widen the circle of opportunity and to deepen the meaning of our freedom.

At the beginning of our first century, George Washington asked our people to move beyond separate states, to become, as he put it, "an indissoluble community of interest as one nation." Abraham Lincoln gave his life to move beyond division and slavery to one nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pushed us to reap the benefits and curb the abuses of the Industrial Revolution -- so that we could prosper as one nation. Franklin Roosevelt battled Depression, tyranny and fear, and the triumph was won by America as one nation. Fifty years of national leadership stood resolute through the Cold War, while we built the world's greatest middle class at home, lifting America to new heights as one nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 1, 23, 26, 27, 67] (5 pages)	01/27/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [5]

2006-0469-F
db3424

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(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]

opening new markets & tearing down trade barriers

1/27/98 11:00am

transportation

Oh

Jeffrey MORUNO

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Thank C.

Restore benefits to legal immigrants

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

UNITED STATES CAPITOL

alzheimer to AIDS to diabetes

Sarah Brandi

January 27, 1998

Barshefsky USTR

Bowerbank Treas

Gene?

LORI

check:

double child care

double exemption

Jones

(MEDICARE)

diabetes (cure?)

Cities —

Las yr. this Con took strong action to help D.C. — Had I worked all have to make Nas city ... Great capital

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, in Chicago, they made that decision -- not to hold children back, but to lift them up. Chicago stopped social promotion, and started mandatory summer school to help students who are behind to catch up. I propose an effort to help other communities follow Chicago's lead. Stop promoting children who don't learn, and we will give you the tools you need to make sure they do learn.

~~The job of improving our schools is a job for every American. I~~ This Congress ask you to support our effort to enlist colleges and universities to reach out to disadvantaged children starting in the 4th grade -- ~~and~~ so that they can go to college & hope ~~to~~ give them hope and guidance to help ~~prepare them to go to college~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year we will forge new partnerships with Latin America. And we should pass the new African Trade Act.

REWRITE

And I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad. < This is a great opp. for our countr etc

TAPE > but there is strong opposition for more comp tra rooted in fear that trade's with have (over econ & labor stds), give them unfair advantage in an mkt, & undermine the quality of life in this our country

We should also seek to maintain and enhance worker and environmental standards around the world. But we can't influence those decisions if we send a message to our trading partners that we're backing away.

it should be a part of our trade policy -

Sen - more trade means more commun will lose their jobs

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year, I will send legislation to Congress, and ask other nations to join with us, to fight the most intolerable practice of all – abusive child labor.

We should also offer help and hope to those Americans temporarily left behind by the global marketplace or the march of technology.

That is why we have more than doubled the funding for training dislocated workers, since 1993 – And of my budget is adopted, we will triple it.

Whether we like it or not, in many ways mostly positive the world economy is more & more interconnected

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote America's creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share into the 21st Century. Our culture lives in every community, in the historic places that tell our stories as Americans. I am proposing a public private partnership to save America's treasures. And I call on all Americans to give a gift to the future by preserving our heritage.

To honor what we have been, and imagine what we can become, let us invoke the wonders of science and the richness of our culture -- our arts and humanities -- to bestow our gifts to the millennium.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address (17 pages)	01/27/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [6]

2006-0469-F
db3425

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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1/27/98 3am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

MW — tell POTUS - this is it —
we dist draft after

? double empowerment zones —
— ? double # kids?

(child care assistance
for double the
number.)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Since the last time we met in this chamber, America has lost two patriots and fine public servants. Though they sat on opposite sides of the aisle, Representatives Walter Capps and Sonny Bono shared a deep love for this House and an unshakeable commitment to improving the lives of all our people. They will be sorely missed.

Hold - Lee

For 209 years, it has been the President's duty to report to you on the State of the Union. Because of the hard work and high purpose of the American people, these are good times for America. We have more than 14 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 24 years. The lowest core inflation in 30 years. Incomes are rising, and we have the highest homeownership rate in history. The welfare rolls are the lowest in 27 years, and crime has dropped for a record five years in a row. Our leadership in the world is unrivaled. The state of our union is strong.

But with barely 700 days left in the 20th Century, this is not a time to rest; it is a time to build, to build the America within our reach.

An America where everybody has a chance to get ahead with hard work. Where every citizen can live in a safe community. Where families are strong, schools are good, and all young people can go to college. An America where scientists find cures for diseases from Alzheimers to AIDS. An America where every child can stretch a hand across a keyboard and reach every book ever written, every painting ever painted, every symphony ever composed. Where government provides opportunity, and citizens honor the responsibility to give something back to their communities. An America which leads the world to new heights of peace and prosperity.

Let us strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

Rarely have Americans lived through so much change, in so short a time, in so many ways. Quietly but with gathering force, the ground has shifted beneath our feet, as we move into an information age, a global economy, a truly new world.

For five years now, we have met these challenges as we have at every turning point -- by renewing the very idea of America: widening the circle of opportunity, deepening the meaning of our freedom, forging a more perfect union.

We have shaped a new kind of government for the Information Age. I thank the Vice President for his leadership and the Congress for its support in building a government that is

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

leaner, more flexible, a catalyst for new ideas. Most of all, a government that gives the American people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

We have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. My fellow Americans, we have found a third way. We have the smallest government in 25 years, but a more progressive one. We have a smaller government, but a stronger nation.

We are moving steadily toward a stronger America in the 21st Century. An economy that offers opportunity. A society rooted in responsibility. And a nation that lives as a community.

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

First, Americans in this chamber and across this country have pursued a new strategy for prosperity: Fiscal discipline to cut interest rates and spur growth. Investments in education and skills, in science and technology, to prepare our people for the new economy. Tearing down trade barriers to open new markets for American products and American workers, and new pathways to peace and freedom.

When I took office, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. Today, our deficit is $23 billion, and heading lower.
~~WILL BE $11~~ [WILL be $10 BILLION]

For three decades, six presidents have come before you to warn of the damage deficits posed to the nation. Tonight, I come before you to announce that the federal deficit -- once so incomprehensibly large that it had eleven zeroes -- will be, simply . . . zero.

I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years.

And if we hold fast to fiscal discipline, we may balance the budget this year -- four years ahead of schedule.

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work by the American people and of two visionary actions in Congress -- the courageous vote in 1993 that (HELPED) cut the deficit by 90% . . . and the historic bipartisan balanced budget agreement passed by this Congress. And if we maintain our resolve, we will produce balanced budgets as far as the eye can see.

We must not go back to unwise spending, or untargeted tax cuts, that risk reopening

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

the deficit. Last year, we enacted targeted tax cuts, so that typical middle class families will now have the lowest tax rate in 20 years.

My plan to balance the budget next year includes new investments and new tax cuts targeted to the needs of working families: for education, child care, and the environment.

But whether the issue is tax cuts or spending, I ask all of you to meet this test: approve only those priorities that can actually be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit.

If we balance the budget for next year, it is projected that we will have a sizeable surplus. What then, should we do with this projected surplus?

I have a simple four word answer: Save Social Security first.

Tonight, I propose that we reserve 100% of the surplus -- that's every penny of any surplus -- until we have taken all the measures necessary to strengthen the Social Security system for the 21st Century.

Let us say to all Americans watching tonight -- whether you are 70 . . . or 50 . . . or just beginning to pay into the system -- Social Security will be there when you need it. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

I urge all Americans to join us -- in facing these issues squarely, and forming a true consensus on how to proceed. We'll start by conducting nonpartisan forums in every region of the country. We will host a White House conference on Social Security in December. And one year from now, I will convene the leaders of Congress to craft a historic, bipartisan legislation to save Social Security.

Investing in people

In an economy that honors opportunity, all Americans must be able to reap the rewards of prosperity.

Because these times are good, we can afford to take one simple, sensible step to help millions of workers struggling to provide for their families: We should raise the minimum wage.

The information age is first and foremost an education age . . . in which education

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

must start at birth and continue throughout a lifetime.

Last year, from this podium, I said education was our highest priority. I laid out a ten point plan to move us forward, and urged us all to make sure politics ends at the schoolhouse door.

Since then, this Congress and the American people have responded, in the most important year for education in a generation . . . expanding public school choice and creating 3,000 charter schools . . . working to connect every classroom to the information superhighway . . . committing to expand Head Start to 1 million children . . . launching America Reads, which has sent thousands of tutors into our schools to make sure every 8 year old can read.

Last year I proposed, and you passed . . . 1 million work study jobs for college students . . . 220,000 new Pell Grant scholarships for deserving students. Student loans are already less expensive and easier to repay, and now you can deduct the interest. Families all over America can put savings into our new, tax free education IRAs. And this year, for the first two years of college, families will get a $1500 tax cut -- a Hope Scholarship that will cover the cost of most community college tuition.

So I have something to say to each every American family listening tonight: your children can go to college. If you know a child from a poor family, tell her not to give up. She can go to college. If you know struggling young parents who are worried they won't be able to save for their children's education, you tell them not to give up. Their children can go to college. If you know somebody caught in a dead-end job, afraid he can't afford the classes that will get him better jobs for the rest of his life, tell him not to give up. He can go to college.

We can make college as universal as high school is today. And my friends, this will change the face of 21st Century America.

We cheer tonight because we know we have opened wide the doors of the world's best system of higher education. Now we must make our public elementary and secondary schools the best in the world, too -- by raising standards, raising expectations, and raising accountability.

Thanks to the actions of this Congress last year, we will soon have, for the first time, a voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents have a right to know whether their children are mastering the basics.

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And every parent already knows the key: good teachers and small classes. Tonight I propose the first ever national effort to reduce class size in the early grades. My balanced budget will help to hire 100,000 new teachers -- teachers who must pass a state competency test. With these teachers, we will reduce class size in the first, second, and third grades to an average of 18 students.

More teachers teaching smaller classes requires more classrooms. So I propose a school construction tax cut to help communities modernize or build over 5,000 schools.

We must also demand accountability. When we promote a child from grade to grade who hasn't mastered the work, we do that child no favors. It is time to end social promotion in America's schools.

Last year, in Chicago, they made that decision -- not to hold children back, but to lift them up. Chicago stopped social promotion, and started mandatory summer school to help students who are behind to catch up. I propose an effort to help other communities follow Chicago's lead. Stop promoting children who don't learn, and we will give you the tools you need to make sure they do learn.

The job of improving our schools ~~is a job for every American~~. I ask you to support our effort to enlist colleges to reach out to disadvantaged children -- and give them hope and guidance to help prepare them to go to college.

Leading the global economy

As we enter the 21st Century, the global economy requires us to seek opportunity not just at home, but in all the markets of the world. We must shape this global economy, not shrink from it.

In the last five years, we have led the way in opening new markets, with 240 trade agreements. Our policy is to remove foreign barriers to products that bear the proud stamp, "Made in the USA."

In the coming decade, we can create millions of American jobs and sell billions of dollars of American goods, ~~in areas ranging from agriculture~~ FOOD to medical equipment. If we lead, we can make this global economy work for our own people, lift the fortunes of millions around the world, and strengthen our children's chances for prosperity and peace.

Today, record high exports account for fully one third of our economic growth. I want to keep them going, because that's the way to keep America growing.

This year we will forge new partnerships with Latin America. And we should pass the new African Trade Act.

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And I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad.

We should also seek to maintain and enhance worker and environmental standards around the world. But we can't influence those decisions if we send a message to our trading partners that we're backing away.

This year, I will send legislation to Congress, and ask other nations to join with us, to fight the most intolerable practice of all – abusive child labor.

We should also offer help and hope to those Americans temporarily left behind by the global marketplace or the march of technology.

That is why we have more than doubled the funding for training dislocated workers.

That is why we must do more, more quickly, to help workers who lose their jobs for any reason. We help communities when their military base closes. We ought to help them in the same way if their factory closes.

And that is why, again, I ask this Congress to continue its bipartisan work to consolidate the tangle of training programs into a GI Bill for Workers, a simple grant so people can move quickly to new jobs and higher incomes.

Today, an economic crisis anywhere can affect our trading partners everywhere. Recent months have brought serious problems in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesiam South Korea and beyond.

They are our customers -- and if Asia sinks into recession, they won't be able to buy the goods we want to sell them. They are our competitors -- and if their currencies lose their value, the price of their goods will drop, flooding our market and others with cheap goods. They are our strategic partners -- and their stability bolsters our security.

The American economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. But because the turmoil in Asia will have an impact on all the world's economies, including ours, making that negative impact as small as possible is the right thing to do for a safer world -- and it's the right thing to do for America.

Our policy is clear. No nation can recover if it does not reform itself. But when nations are willing to undertake serious economic reform, we should help them to do it. So I call on Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund.

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Preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser than ignoring the thunder until the clouds are overhead.

A SOCIETY ROOTED IN RESPONSIBILITY

A strong nation rests on the rock of responsibility.

A society rooted in responsibility must first promote the value of work, not welfare. We can be proud that after decades of finger pointing and failure, together we ended the old welfare system. Now we are replacing welfare checks with paychecks.

Last year, after a record four year decline in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off welfare by the year 2000. I am pleased to report that we have also met that goal - two years ahead of schedule.

We must all do more -- providing child care, helping families move closer to available jobs, challenging more companies to join the welfare-to-work partnership, increasing child support collections from deadbeat parents who have a duty to support their own children.

Second, we must make it possible for hardworking families to meet their most important responsibilities.

Two years ago, we guaranteed that Americans won't lose health insurance when they change jobs. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. This year, I challenge Congress to take the next historic steps.

More than 100 million Americans are in managed care plans. These plans save money and can improve care. But medical decisions should be made by medical doctors, not insurance company accountants.

So I urge the Congress to write into law a Consumer Bill of Rights that says this: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. You have the right to keep your medical records confidential. Traditional care or managed care, every American deserves quality care.

Millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 are losing their health insurance. Some are retired; some are laid off; some lose their coverage when their spouses retire. After a lifetime of work, they are left with nowhere to turn.

So I ask the Congress: let these hardworking Americans buy into the Medicare system. It won't add a dime to the deficit -- but the peace of mind it will provide will be priceless.

Next, we must help parents protect their children from the gravest health threat they face: an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

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So I challenge Congress: let's pass bipartisan, comprehensive legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business forever. Let's do what it takes to bring teen smoking down. Let's raise the price of cigarettes by up to $1.50 a pack over the next ten years, and ~~penalize~~ tobacco companies if they continue marketing to ~~kids~~. Tomorrow, like every day, 3000 children will start smoking. 1000 of them will die early as a result. Let this Congress be remembered as the Congress that saved their lives.

In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever. They face a constant struggle to balance their obligations to be good workers -- and their even more important obligations to be good parents.

The Family and Medical Leave Act was the very first bill I signed into law. I ask you to expand the law, extend it to cover more workers, and give parents time off for parent-teacher conferences and doctor's visits.

Child care is the next frontier. Last year, the First Lady and I hosted the very first White House conference on child care. From all corners of America, we heard the same message: we must make child care better, safer and more affordable.

Here is my plan: Help for hundreds of thousands of low-income families to pay for child care. Scholarships and background checks for child care workers. Tax credits for businesses that provide child care for their employees. And tax cuts for working families. If you pass my plan, for example, a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs will no longer pay a penny of federal income tax.

I have often wondered how my mother -- a young widow -- would have been able to go back to school if my grandparents had not been able to care for me. I was lucky. How many children never get the same opportunity? We don't know the answer to that question. But we do know what it should be: Not a single one.

Third, a society rooted in responsibility must provide safe streets, safe schools, safe neighborhoods.

We are pursuing a strategy of more police, tougher punishment and smarter prevention. We have formed a crimefighting partnership with local law enforcement and citizen groups.

I can report to you tonight that it's working. Violent crime is down, robbery is down, assault is down, burglary is down . . . for five years in a row, all across America.

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We need to finish the job of putting 100,000 more police on the streets.

Again I ask Congress to pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs, and bar violent juveniles from buying guns for life.

And I ask you to expand before- and after-school programs. Most juvenile crime is committed between the hours of 3 in the afternoon and 8 at night. We can keep our kids out of trouble in the first place if we give them someplace to go other than the streets.

Drug use is on the decline. I thank General Barry McCaffrey for his leadership, and I thank Congress for passing the biggest anti-drug budget in history last year. Now I ask for the resources to hire 1,000 new border patrol agents, and to deploy sophisticated new technologies, to help close the door on drugs.

Police, prosecutors, and prevention programs, as good as they are, can't work if the court system doesn't work. Today, there large numbers of vacancies in the federal courts. Here is what the Chief Justice of the United States wrote: "[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask the United States Senate to heed this plea, and vote on the highly qualified judicial nominees before you, up or down.

Fourth, we must exercise responsibility not only at home but abroad.

On the eve of a new century, we have the power and the duty to build a new era of peace and security. But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees.

America must stand up for its interests and stand against the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism. And we must combat an unholy axis of new threats: terrorists, international criminals and drug traffickers. These 21st Century predators feed on technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people. The ~~predators~~ will be all the more lethal if weapons of mass destruction fall into their hands.

To meet these challenges, we are helping to write international rules of the road for the 21st Century, protecting those who join the family of nations, isolating those who do not.

Within days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic the newest members of NATO. For fifty years, NATO contained Communism and kept America and Europe secure. These three formerly Communist countries have said "yes" to democracy. I ask the Senate to say yes to them -- our new allies.

By taking in new members and working closely with new partners, including Russia and Ukraine, NATO can help to assure that Europe is a stronghold for peace in the 21st.

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Next, I will ask Congress to continue its support for our troops and their mission in Bosnia. This Christmas, Hillary and I traveled to Sarajevo with Senator and Mrs. Dole and a bipartisan Congressional delegation. We saw children playing on the streets, where two years ago they were hiding from snipers and shells. Shops are filled with food, cafes alive with conversation.

The progress is unmistakable -- but not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the support of American and allied troops when the current NATO mission ends in June. Senator Dole said it best: this is like being ahead in the fourth quarter of a football game. Now is not the time to walk off the field and forfeit the victory.

I wish all of you could have been with us to visit our troops in Tuzla. Our wonderful men and women in uniform are very proud of what they are doing in Bosnia, and around the world. They always do their mission well.

Our mission must be to keep them well-trained and ready . . . to improve their quality of life . . . and to pay for the 21st century weapons they need to defeat any enemy.

I also ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the invention of the atom bomb.

This year, four decades after it was first proposed by President Eisenhower, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty is within our reach.

By ending nuclear testing, we can help to prevent the development of new and more dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to build these devices of destruction. I am pleased to announce that four former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- Generals Shalikashvili, Powell, Jones and Admiral Crowe -- have endorsed this treaty. I ask the Senate to approve it -- this year.

Together, we also must confront new hazards: ~~in the form of~~ chemical and biological weapons which could ~~become the property~~ of outlaw states, terrorists and organized criminals.

Saddam Hussein has ~~spent the better part of this decade and much of the wealth of his~~ nation not on providing for the Iraqi people but on developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons -- and the missiles to deliver them. The United Nations weapons inspectors have done a remarkable job, finding and destroying more of Iraq's arsenal than was destroyed during the Gulf War itself. Now, Saddam Hussein wants to stop them from completing their mission. I say to him: you cannot defy the will of the world. You have used weapons of mass destruction before. We are determined to deny you the capacity to use them again.

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention to protect our soldiers

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and citizens from poison gas. Now, we must act to prevent the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. The Biological Weapons Convention has been in effect for 23 years. The rules are good, but now we must strengthen them with an international inspection system to help detect and deter cheating.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with old allies in Asia and Europe and new partners from Africa to India and Pakistan . . . from South America to China. And from Belfast, to Korea to the ancient lands of the Middle East, America will continue to stand with those who stand for peace.

Finally, it's long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations. When we give our word, we should keep it. America should pay its bills.

But our partnerships will be weak and our leadership in doubt if we fail to set a good example. As we see so clearly in Bosnia, allies who share our goals can share our burdens. In this new era, our freedom and independence are actually enriched, not impoverished, by our increasing interdependence with other nations.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Our Founders set America on a permanent journey toward "a more perfect union." It is a trip we can only make together -- living as one community.

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the confidence of the American people.

Everyone knows elections have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. This year, on March 11, the Senate will vote on bipartisan campaign finance reform proposed by Senators McCain and Feingold. Let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote for soft money, for the status quo. I ask you to strengthen our democracy and pass campaign finance reform.

Even more, we must address the reason for the explosion in campaign costs. Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free or reduced cost television and radio time for candidates who limit their spending. The airwaves are a public trust, and broadcasters have a responsibility to act in the public interest.

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Under the Vice President's reinventing government initiative, we have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations and reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers.

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. We need new citizen advocacy panels, a stronger taxpayer advocate, phone lines open 24 hours a day, relief for innocent taxpayers. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. This bill must not languish in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now.

Empowering communities

A nation that lives as a community must value its communities.

For the past five years, we have worked to bring the spark of private enterprise into inner city and poor rural areas -- with community development banks, more commercial loans into poor areas, cleanups of polluted sites for development. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we will expand the number of empowerment zones.

We must continue should give businesses incentives to invest in poor areas and create jobs. We should give poor families more opportunities to move into homes of their own. And we should use tax cuts to spur the construction of more low income housing.

Our cities are the vibrant hub of our great metropolitan areas. They ~~were~~ have always been the gateway for ~~our grandparents~~ -- and they are the gateway for the new immigrants, coming to work for their own American dream. Let's keep our cities going strong into the 21st Century, leaving no one behind.

and must continue to be

to better live for people who come here from all over the world (in search of the American dream)

Environmental protection

Our communities are only as healthy as the air our children breathe, the water they drink, and the Earth they will inherit.

Last year, we put in place the toughest-ever controls on smog and soot. We moved to protect Yellowstone, the Everglades, the magnificent redwoods of Headwaters Forest. We expanded every community's right to know about the toxics that threaten their children.

Yesterday, our food safety plan took effect, using cutting-edge science to protect consumers from dangers like e-coli and salmonella.

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Tonight, I ask you to join me in launching a new Clean Water Initiative, a far-reaching new effort to clean our rivers, lakes and streams.

Our overriding environmental challenge is a worldwide problem requiring worldwide action: the gathering crisis of global warming.

The vast majority of scientists have concluded unequivocally that if we do not reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases, at some point in the next century we will disrupt our climate and put our children and grandchildren at risk. This past December, America led the world to reach a historic agreement committing nations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through market forces, new technology and energy efficiency.

We have it in our power to act right here, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts and research and development to spur innovation, cleaner factories, fuel efficient cars, energy efficient homes.

Every time we have acted to heal our environment, pessimists have said it would hurt our economy. Well, today our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. Americans have always found a way to grow the economy and clean the environment at the same time. And we'll do it again.

One America in the 21st Century

Finally, community means fulfilling, at long last, the defining American value -- the ideal heard round the world -- that all men and all women are created equal.

Let us be frank. Throughout our history, we have not always honored this ideal. It is so much easier to believe that our differences matter more than what we have in common. It is easier, but it is wrong.

What can we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more diverse? The answer cannot be to dwell on our differences, but to build on our shared values. We all cherish family and faith, work and community. We all strive to live lives that are free and honest and responsible. We all want our children to grow up in worlds where their talents are matched by their opportunities.

I have launched a national initiative on race to help us recognize our common interests and bridge the opportunity gaps that keep us from being One America.

Let us begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination still exists in America. There will always be those who define the worth of their lives not by who they are, but by who they aren't; not by what they're for, but by what they're against. Discrimination against any American is un-American. We must vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. We

Then let us recognize how to go forward Together.

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should pass the Employment Non Discrimination Act. And I ask your help to end the backlog at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are waiting in line for justice.

And we recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make for all Americans. When we open the doors of college to all Americans, when we cleanse our streets of crime, when we make sure that every parent has the child care they need, we build one nation.

We, in this chamber and in government, must do what we can to address this continuing American challenge. But we will only move forward if all Americans -- every one of you watching at home tonight -- commit to this cause.

We must work together, learn together, live together, and serve together. For only on the forge of common enterprise can Americans of all backgrounds hammer out a common identity. We see that in the United States military, in AmeriCorps, in the Peace Corps, wherever people of all races and backgrounds come together in a shared endeavor.

With shared values, honest communication, and citizen service, we can unite a diverse people in freedom and mutual respect. We are many. We must be one.

THE MILLENNIUM -- GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us lift our eyes to the new millennium. How will we mark that passage?

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote America's creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share into the 21st Century. Our culture lives in every community, in the valued collections and historic places that tell our stories as Americans. I am proposing a public private partnership to save America's treasures. And I call on all Americans to give a gift to the future by preserving our heritage.

To honor what we have been, and imagine what we can become, let us invoke the wonders of science and the richness of our culture to bestow our gifts to the millennium.

What are the real advances we can look forward to seeing in our lifetimes?

The entire store of human knowledge now doubles every five years. In the 1980s, scientists identified the gene causing cystic fibrosis -- and it took 9 years. Last year, we located the gene that causes Parkinson's Disease -- in only 9 days.
Within a decade, "gene chips" will offer a roadmap for prevention of illness throughout a lifetime. Soon, we will be able to carry all the phone calls on Mother's Day on a single strand

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of fiber the width of a human hair. A ~~typical~~ child born in 1998 may well live to see the 22nd Century.

Tonight, as part of our gift to the next millennium, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund for pathbreaking scientific inquiry. This will be the largest funding increase in history for the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and the National Cancer Institute.
We have already discovered genes for breast cancer and diabetes. I ask you to support this initiative, so that ours will be the generation that finally wins the war against cancer.

Let this year be remembered as the year our country and to research began a revolution in how we prevent & treat the diseases of our time

As important as rapid scientific progress is, science must continue to serve humanity, never the other way around. We must prevent the misuse of genetic tests to discriminate against any American. And we must ratify the ethical consensus of the scientific and religious communities, and ban the cloning of human beings.

In our next gift to the new millennium, we will enable all people of the world to explore the far reaches of cyberspace.

The first time I reported to you on the State of the Union, only physicists used the World Wide Web. Now, in schools, libraries, homes and businesses, millions of Americans surf the Web every day.

The Internet is an exploding global marketplace of ideas as well as commerce. I ask Congress to step up support for building the next generation Internet, which will operate up to a thousand times faster than today. And we must give parents the tools they need to protect their children from inappropriate material on the web.

And even as we explore innerspace, in the new millennium we will open new frontiers in outer space.

Throughout history, humankind has had only one place to call home -- the planet Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, men and women from 16 countries will build a permanent foothold in the heavens -- the international space station. Within its vast expanses, scientists and engineers will set sail on this uncharted sea of limitless mystery and unlimited potential.

And this October, a true American hero, a veteran pilot of 149 combat missions, and one five hour space flight that changed the world, will return to the heavens.

Godspeed, John Glenn.

You will carry with you America's hopes, and on your uniform you will carry America's flag, marking the unbroken connection between the deeds of America's past and the

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daring of America's future.

Nearly 200 years ago, a tattered flag, its broad stripes and bright stars still gleaming through the smoke of a fierce battle, moved Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope. Those words became our national anthem. Today, that Star Spangled Banner, along with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are on display just a short walk from here. They are America's treasures, and we must save and preserve them for the ages. I ask all Americans to support our project to restore all of America's treasures so that generations of the 21st Century can see for themselves the image and the words that are the old and continuing glory of America.

An America that has continued to rise through every age, against every challenge; a people of great works and greater possibilities, who have found the wisdom and strength to come together as one nation -- to widen the circle of opportunity -- to deepen the meaning of our freedom -- to form that more perfect union. Let that be our gift to the 21st Century.

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.

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001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 2-8, 13, 17, 49, 52-55, 60, 63, 64, 74-77] (21 pages)	01/25/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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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]
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(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]

For 209 years, it has been the President's duty to report to you on the State of the Union: ~~Tonight, it is a duty any citizen would cherish.~~ Because of the hard work and high purpose of the American people, these are good times for America. ~~Our economy is prospering. Our incomes are rising. Our social fabric is mending.~~ Our leadership in the world is unrivaled. The state of our union is strong.

We have more than 14 new jobs
We have lowest unemployment in 24 yrs. Highest homeownership
Welfare & Oil drops & Crime
Stats

But with barely 700 days left in the 20th Century, this is not a time to rest; it is a time to build, to build the America within our reach. An America where scientists find cures for diseases from Alzheimers to AIDS.

An America where we are ahead of the rest of the world
Safe community college!

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An America where every child can stretch a hand across a keyboard and reach every book ever written, every painting ever painted, every symphony ever composed.
where soft groundgrp. citizens honor respect to
Let us reach toward a time when a confident America,
give back to community
which saved civilization in this century, leads civilization to new heights of peace and prosperity, environmental preservation and scientific discovery in the next one.

Let us strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

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This unique moment of promise did not come upon us with the roar of guns or sudden crisis. Quietly but with gathering force, the ground has shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a truly new world. ~~Perhaps never before has one generation seen~~ Rarely have Americans lived through so so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.

The changes have upset old arrangements, ~~decided new winners and losers~~, opened new possibilities and raised new perils.

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~~But~~ for five years now, ~~with renewed spirit and energy, our people have risen as one nation to meet these challenges as we have~~ at every turning point -- by renewing the idea of America, widening the circle of opportunity, deepening the meaning of our freedom, forging a more perfect union.

We have shaped a new kind of government for the ~~Information Age.~~ Leaner. More flexible, ~~Focused on~~ giving the American people the ~~tools~~ they need to make the most of their own lives. ~~Functioning~~ as a catalyst for new ideas. ~~A government that replaces a sense of entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.~~

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Our success in this effort is due ~~in large~~ measure to the leadership of the Vice President in giving us not only the smallest government in 35 years, but one even better able to propel us forward.

We have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. My fellow Americans, we have found a third way. We have ~~a~~ the smaller government, in 35 years but a more progressive one. We have a smaller government, but a stronger nation.

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We are moving steadily forward in

~~At every step, we have aspired to three goals for~~ 21st Century America. An economy that offers opportunity. A society rooted in responsibility. And a nation that lives as a community.

~~Let's take each one of these and see what they will mean in the 21st Century.~~

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

First, to build an economy that offers opportunity, ~~we are embracing~~ Americans in this chamber & across country are pursuing a new strategy for prosperity: Fiscal discipline to cut interest rates and spur growth.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Investing ~~in our people, in~~ science and technology, education and skills, to prepare ~~them~~ for the new economy. Tearing down trade barriers to open new markets for American products and American workers, and new pathways to peace and freedom.

~~In this chamber and across this country, Americans have worked to give our nation a new economy for a new century.~~

We have over 14 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 24 years. The lowest core inflation in 30 years. The highest homeownership rate in history.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tonight, I propose that we reserve 100% of the surplus until we strengthen Social Security for the 21st Century. ~~Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until we have saved the Social Security system. Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until we have taken all the measures necessary to preserve Social Security for the next 75 years.~~

Let us ~~make this fundamental promise~~ to all Americans watching tonight -- whether you are 70 . . . or 50 . . . or ~~30~~ 20 years old -- ~~that~~ Social Security will be there when you need it. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

every family, to each/every one of you + I have something to say to her ~~me~~ tonight: you + your neighbors + friends should know; your ~~child~~ children can go to college

~~So tell your neighbors, and tell your friends: their~~ kids can go to college. If you know a child from a poor family, tell her not to give up. She can go to college. If you know struggling young parents who are worried they won't be able to save for their child's college education, you tell them not to give up. Their child can go to college. If you know somebody caught in a dead-end job, afraid he can't afford the classes that will get him better jobs for the rest of his life, tell him not to give up. He can go to college, too. We can make college as universal as high school is today.

And

My friends, this will change the face of 21st Century America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations. When we give our word, we ~~should keep our word.~~ America pays its bills.

In the century we have a truly historic opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. It is our chance and our challenge. We must seize it.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Our Founders set America on a permanent jourey towad "a more perfect union." It is a trip we can only make together -- ~~as one nation~~ living as one community.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free television and radio time for candidates. Free time can help ~~free~~ our democracy ~~from the grip of big money~~.

~~We must do~~ ~~make government work better~~. Under the Vice President's reinventing government initiative, we have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, ~~transformed HUD and the Federal Emergency Management Agency,~~ reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers. ~~Yet~~ there is more to do.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. We need new citizen advocacy panels, a stronger taxpayer advocate, phone lines open 24 hours a day, relief for innocent spouses. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. Let's not allow that bill to languish in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass ~~our~~ the bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now.

Empowering communities

A nation that lives as a community must value its communities.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

For the past five years, we have witnessed an urban renaissance all across America. Neighborhoods once haunted by crime and despair have been transformed into strong, safe, vibrant communities.

Our strategy has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city and poor rural areas -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, restoring polluted sites for development. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we should expand the number of empowerment zones.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

big incentives to invest in poor people and poor areas

We should give poor families more opportunities to move into homes of their own. We should use tax cuts to spur the construction of more low-income housing. ~~We should establish a Community Empowerment Fund to spur the creation of private sector jobs.~~

Our cities are hubs for metro areas, gateways for new immigrants

~~So many of America's great cities, which rose and fell in the 20th Century, are rising again as we approach~~ in America the 21st Century. Let's keep them going, leaving no one behind.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Just this month, thanks in part to an innovative partnership between our administration and the Big Three, America's automakers unveiled prototypes of high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of typical models today. This innovative spirit must spread to every industry in America.

It was on this date -- January 27, way back in 1880 -- that Thomas Edison received his first patent for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that produced the genius for the lightbulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy while continuing to grow at high levels.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beyond that, we know America can overcome its divisions ~~only when we offer the same opportunity to all who are willing to work for it - when~~ we close the opportunity gap. That will be the primary focus of our race initiative for the next six months. For we know when people work together, learn together and serve together, they get along together. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds hammered out a common identity.

working on six months, good things happen
Good groups coming across racial lines
to do remarkable things.
young great leaders doing great things

Race unit done good work. We have to fight disc -
But next six months to change the way
Am line, by closing up gap -
Getting more people to work together, learn together

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There is no finer example of that than the American military, ~~where working together has~~ closed the ~~opportunity~~ gap, raised the world's finest fighting force, and ~~created the nation's~~ greatest proving ~~ground~~ for racial progress. We must summon that spirit of common service -- whether through AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps, the effort of the President's Summit on Service, ~~or our new initiative to enlist universities to adopt middle schools so all our children are ready to go to college.~~

With shared values, honest communication, and citizen service, we can unite a diverse people in freedom and mutual respect. ~~E Pluribus Unum.~~ We are many. We must be one.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America that has continued to rise through every age, against every challenge, ~~because~~ we have always found the wisdom and strength to come together as one nation -- to widen the circle of opportunity ~~and~~ to deepen the meaning of our freedom.

At the beginning of our first century, George Washington asked our people to move beyond separate states, to become, as he put it, "an indissoluble community of interest as one nation." Abraham Lincoln gave his life to move beyond division and slavery to one nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pushed us to reap the benefits and curb the abuses of the Industrial Revolution -- so that we could prosper as one nation. Franklin Roosevelt battled Depression, tyranny and fear, and the triumph was won by America as one nation. Fifty years of national leadership stood resolute through the Cold War, while we built the world's greatest middle class at home, lifting America to new heights as one nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have always been a people of great works and great possibilities. And now, my fellow Americans, with barely 700 days to the new millennium, it falls to us to ensure that we continue to advance as "one nation -- under God -- indivisible -- with liberty and justice for all."

OR, a possible different ending on 'the nation'

We have always been a people of great works and great possibilities. And now, my fellow Americans, with barely 700 days to the new millennium, it falls to us to ensure that we continue to advance as one nation -- a stronger nation -- prepared for the 21st Century -- One America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.

Let that be our gift to the 21st century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 33-50, 6165, 66, 70] (23 pages)	01/25/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [8]

2006-0469-F
db3427

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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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]

In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever. They face a constant struggle to balance their obligations to be good workers -- and their even more important obligations to be good parents.

The Family and Medical Leave Act, the very first bill I signed into law, has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. I ask you to extend this law so that new mothers and fathers can take six months of unpaid leave when they have a baby.

[(WHAT'S the BIX that does this?).
ADD doctor visits? Parent-teacher conferences!]

"Last year I asked you to extend/expand the FMCA ... for the old purp-of letting parents have time for the kids' doc visits/parent-teacher conf. (JP: COMPTIME issue) Id for re-reg. doc visits/part-teacher conf. It is still a good idea ... more parents in workplace ...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

paint a better picture.

Child care is the next frontier. Now, I learned a long time ago that governments don't raise children; parents do. There is no more important example of the First Lady's work over the past 25 years -- no more important example of her adage that it does take a village to raise a child -- (than our ~~common~~ shared obligation to give parents the help they need to raise their families right.) I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care better, safer, and more affordable, with tax cuts for businesses and millions of working families. If you pass my plan, a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs should not have to pay a penny of federal income tax.

In fact

Through Florus hasn't two ways we can't

early child - child care

make clear, if we

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Pass this plan to help parents of six million children afford quality child care.

put a red flag on 100k cops — put it onto Congress...

Third, a society rooted in responsibility must hold individuals responsible when they break the law -- punishing crime severely when it occurs, and preventing it from happening in the first place.

provide safe streets, schools, neighborhoods... (but to our resp. to provide for safety.

cut of [DRUGS: drug use has started to go down — McCaffrey - comp. prog. — thank congress bcause of — inc. comm. plan (public service campaign)

Give credit to the local law enforcement of

must do more alone, bcuse (as result. transp-ac do more to fight.

For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly violent crime would permanently poison our neighborhoods, our great cities, our entire nation. Now, with 100,000 new police headed for the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have a crime fighting strategy that works.

we embraced the strategy of more + formed community partnership + local cops that works

funded 70,000

We committed to put 100k → have

Add Space of bou into cs. check more vdc put mo prop

[already have 50k cops now]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I can report to you tonight that murder is down, robbery is down, assault is down, burglary is down . . . for five years in a row, all across America.

if we need to do more job, & focus more sharply on high rates of juvenile crime

I again ask Congress to pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs.

we should also ban violent juv. from buying guns ----

And I ask you to expand before- and after-school programs. Most violent crime is committed between the hours of 3 in the afternoon and 7 at night. We must give ~~our children~~ somew~~here~~ to go other than the streets.

after all juvenile

we can keep alot of kids out of trouble in the right place if we give them place

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and let m

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We should also bar violent juveniles from buying guns for life.

And let me speak plainly about a solemn responsibility that rests with 100 of the men and women in this chamber. When the courts are clogged, criminals go free. The Senate has the Constitutional duty to confirm judges to enforce the law and sentence the lawbreakers. Here is what the Chief Justice of the United States wrote, and I quote: "[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask the United States Senate to heed this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judicial nominees, up or down.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

exercise

Fourth, we must demand responsibility not only at home but abroad, and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership.

In ~~this century, the American people learned that our nation has a unique role, and we have lived up to it, in the most extraordinary defense of freedom in human history.~~

Now, ~~on~~ the eve of a new century, we have both the power and the duty to build a new era of peace. and possibility.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. ~~America must stand against war and~~ the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism. →

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must combat an unholy axis of new threats with no respect for borders: terrorists, international criminals and drug traffickers. These 21st century predators feed on a bounty we otherwise cherish: the inventions of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people. They will be all the more lethal if weapons of mass destruction fall into their hands.

To meet these challenges, we are adapting old institutions to new demands ... forging strong partnerships to meet common challenges ... modernizing the instruments of our influence, military and diplomatic.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Through this new security strategy~~, we are helping to write international rules of the road for the 21st century, protecting those who join in the family of nations, isolating those who do not.

Some of the elements of this strategy we must put in place together -- this year.

First, within days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic the newest members of NATO. For fifty years, NATO contained Communism and kept America and Europe secure.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine, NATO can extend the frontiers of security -- and help assure that Europe, the bloodiest battleground of the 20th century, becomes a stronghold for peace in the 21st. These three formerly Communist countries have said "yes" to democracy. I ask the Senate to say yes to them.

Second, I will ask Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. This Christmas, Hillary and I traveled to Sarajevo with Senator and Mrs. Dole and a bipartisan Congressional delegation. The progress ~~we saw there~~ is unmistakable -- but not yet irreversible.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~To take firm root -- and to prevent another bloody war in the heart of Europe~~ -- Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. ~~That is why American troops should take part in a follow-on security force~~ when the current NATO mission ends in June. Senator Dole said it best:

this is like being ahead in the fourth quarter of a football game. Now is not the time to walk off the field and forfeit the victory.

I wish all of you could have been with us to visit with our troops in Tuzla. They are they pride of our nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We ~~must make~~ must be it our mission to keep our troops well-trained and ready . . . improve their quality of life . . . and pay for the 21st century weapons they need to defeat any enemy. Help me give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the invention of the atom bomb.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

we have it within our power by enacting a CNTB treaty to

This year, ~~four decades after it was first proposed by~~ STET

President Eisenhower, a comprehensive nuclear test ban STET

~~treaty is within our reach. By ending all nuclear~~ testing,

~~we can help~~ to prevent a new arms race and make it more

difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of

destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. This

treaty has strong bipartisan support and I ask the Senate to

ratify it -- this year.

Together, we also must confront a new hazard:

outlaw states, terrorists and organized criminals plotting

to wage chemical and biological warfare.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Saddam Hussein has spent the better part of this decade and much of the wealth of his nation not on providing for the Iraqi people but on developing the most terrible weapons ever created -- nuclear, chemical and biological -- and the missiles to deliver them. The United Nations weapons inspectors have done a remarkable job, finding and destroying more of Iraq's arsenal than during the Gulf War itself. Now, Saddam Hussein wants to stop them from completing their mission. I say to him, on behalf of the American people and the international community: we ~~cannot and we will not let~~ you defy the will of the world. ~~No ifs, no ands and no buts about it.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas. Now, we must act to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. The Biological Weapons Convention has been in ~~force for~~ 25 years, but ~~frankly, it lacks tough enforcement measures~~. This year, we must strengthen that treaty with an international inspection system to detect and deter cheating.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with old allies in Asia and Europe and new partners from Africa to India and Pakistan... from South America to China.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In this new era, our freedom and independence are actually enriched, not impoverished, by our increasing interdependence with other nations. As we see so clearly in Bosnia Those who share our goals can ~~also~~ share our burdens. But our partnerships will be weak and our leadership in doubt if we fail to set the example. ~~I ask Congress:~~ ~~isn't it~~ It's long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations. When we give our word, we should keep our word. I ask the Cong to help America pays its bills.

~~In the century we are leaving, America has made the difference between tyranny and freedom… chaos and stability… war and peace. Now,~~ In a new century, we have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, more prosperous and more secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge. We must not shrink from it; we seize it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Image that founders gave to successors an eternal mission. Idea of NPR -> you keep making it better- better every day... crisis after crisis.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." More than ever, we must recognize that we are inextricably linked by the idea of America itself. We are on a mission together. We as a nation must live together as a community.

→ Americans are on an eternal mission

together -- therefore we as a nation must live together as a community

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the trust of the American people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Elections have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress. And for years, the special interests and their allies have smothered those bills by filibuster.

But not this year. This year, on March 11, the Senate will vote on real, bipartisan reform proposed by Senator McCain and Senator Feingold. Now let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote for soft money, for the status quo, for the loss of trust. So I ask you to strengthen our democracy and pass campaign finance reform.

add more to Nep

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we must do more to make government work better. We have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, transformed HUD and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers. Yet there is more to do.

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. We need new citizen advocacy panels, a stronger taxpayer advocate, phone lines open 24 hours a day, relief for innocent spouses. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. ~~Months later, that bill still languishes in the Senate.~~ Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And that is one reason why I am so committed to AmeriCorps, our national service corps which has given 100,000 young people the chance to earn money for college by serving their community. Americorps members come from all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done.

Service can transform the lives of our people. Last year, I called up a volunteer army to teach every 3rd grader to read independently. I'm pleased that over 800 colleges and universities have already joined this effort -- over X,000 work study students and volunteers, already teaching all over America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

as part of

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- an ambitious new initiative for pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions.

In the past year, we have unlocked the dark secrets of disease, discovering genes for breast cancer and diabetes. Now, let's make ours the generation in which we win the war against cancer.

Describe the 21st century fund
double funding for NIH,
Substy NSF
con

As important as rapid scientific progress is, science cannot proceed in a moral vacuum. We must prevent the misuse of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And we must ratify the ethical consensus of the scientific and religious communities, and ban the cloning of humans.

In our next gift to the new millennium, we as a people will explore the far reaches of cyberspace.

The first time I reported to you on the State of the Union, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Now, [#] web pages are created each and every day. The Internet is an exploding global marketplace of ideas as well as commerce. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

our country this an

All across ~~America~~a, local communities have their own treasures. ~~At the~~ threshold of a ~~new century~~, we must help those communities save America's treasures. That is one of the main reasons why Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program this year -- to preserve the culture we share so we can carry it with us into the 21st Century.

move

We not only restore documents, monuments, symbols. Most of all, we seek to give new life to the ideas at the heart of America. We can and must continue to be the last best hope of Earth in the new millennium.

continue to
An america that has risen to the challenge
of ~~every time~~ b/c we have been
again every challenge - wisdom
strength to come together -
with a sense of

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 3-33 (31 pages)	01/24/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 1] [9]

2006-0469-F
db3428

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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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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Let us ~~count our blessings. Let us summon~~ our ~~resolve. This is a moment of promise, not fear.~~ Let us rise to the challenge of our unique moment, and strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point we have extended the American revolution by renewing the idea of America.

In 1992, America confronted another decisive moment in its destiny. It did not come upon us with the roar of guns or a sudden crisis.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Quietly but with gathering force, the ground ~~simply~~ has shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a truly new world. Perhaps never before has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.

~~[illegible]~~ INSERT A.

The changes upset old arrangements, decided new winners and losers, opened new possibilities and raised new perils. We ~~lacked a framework~~ A NEW PLAN for the future, and a path and a plan to master it. Our economy was in recession; our political system was paralyzed; too many hardworking Americans had to struggle to make ends meet and to make sense of a world moving beyond their control.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But for five years now, with renewed spirit and

energy, our people have risen as one nation to meet the

challenge of change -- to forge a more perfect union, to redeem the promise of America deepen the meaning of our freedom. Once again we have taken the path of

"bold persistent experimentation."

We have shaped a new kind of government for the Information Age. Leaner. More flexible. Focused on giving the American people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. Functioning as a catalyst for

new ideas. A government that replaces a sense of

entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our success in this effort is due

~~In this we have had great success, thanks~~ in large measure to the guiding work of the Vice President in giving us the smallest government in 35 years, but ~~one~~ even better designed to serve the American people. fix

(we have a smaller govt but one that better equips us to be a stronger nation.)

~~We have~~ Moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. My fellow Americans, we have found a third way. We have a smaller government - and we have a stronger nation.

and we have a stronger nation

but a more active one

At every step, we have aspired to three goals for 21st Century America. An economy that ~~(Invests)~~ offers opportunity. A society (Rooted in that demands) responsibility. And a nation that lives as a community.

Resp - this is not confined to persons coming we have resp to keep crime coming down rooted in - culture

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let's take each one of these and see what they will mean for the 21st Century.

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

First, an economy that offers opportunity. We are embracing a new strategy for prosperity:

~~We are achieving this by honestly facing and addressing our central economic challenges~~ with a new strategy for prosperity: Fiscal discipline to cut interest rates and spur growth. Investing in our people to prepare them for the new economy. Tearing down trade barriers to open new markets for American products and American workers ~~because we believe American workers can outproduce and outcompete anyone in the world.~~ New partnerships for peace and freedom

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

When I took office, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and heading lower.

For three decades, eight presidents came before you to warn of the damage deficits posed to the nation, the economy, and our credibility. Tonight, I come before you to announce that the federal deficit -- once so incomprehensibly large that it had eleven zeroes -- will be, simply, zero.

I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And if we hold fast to ~~our~~ fiscal discipline, we may well balance the budget this year -- four years ahead of schedule.

[Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work by the American people.] ~~This is something of which we can all be proud~~. It is the product of ~~courageous votes by Members of Congress~~ in 1993 to cut the deficit by 90%. Some of them sacrificed their political lives so that we might reach this historic achievement. ~~This nation owes them our thanks.~~ And it is the product of the historic balanced budget agreement, which will produce balanced budgets as far as the eye can see.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What we did, in this chamber, across this country, in these years, was nothing less than to make America an economy of opportunity for the 21st Century.

PB (NEW)

(for a new century)

MOVE

This strategy has led to

We have nearly 15 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 25 years. The lowest core inflation in 30 years. Highest percentage in American history.

PUT ON TOP

(X) Yet the prospect of a budget surplus was only minutes old when some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to unwise spending, or untargeted tax cuts, that risk reopening the deficit.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~The~~ to balance the budget next year
My ~~balanced budget~~ plan includes ~~30~~ new tax cuts targeted to the needs of working families: tax cuts for education, for child care, for the environment. Middle class families would have the lowest tax rate in 20 years. I ask you to enact those tax cuts now. ~~And~~ But whether the issue is tax cuts or spending, I ask all of you here to meet this test: approve only those priorities that can actually be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit.

Now, ~~what then~~, what should be done with ~~any~~ that projected ~~budget~~ surplus? ~~What if we get a surplus~~? I believe the answer is clear. ~~For me answer is clear — If one penny is spent~~ If we pass — it is then projected ... etc

(4) word answer: Fix SS first

(6) ~~& keep it separate~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An economy that offers opportunity must honor those who have built our prosperity over a lifetime. We now have the power and the obligation to fulfill, for new generations yet to come, the ancient command to 'honor thy father and thy mother.'

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it a "cornerstone" of our nation. We must build on that cornerstone, to make sure that retirement security is as strong for our children as it has been for our parents.

If we balance etc.
What should we do if any projected surplus
~~If we spend a penny of it~~ -
I have a ~~slogan~~ 4 word answer:

S. | S. | S. | F.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So tonight, I propose that we reserve 100% of the surplus until we strengthen Social Security for the 21st C. ~~Let us~~ Set ~~shall be reserved~~ ~~reserve~~ every penny of any surplus until we have ~~saved~~ the ~~Social Security system. Let us reserve every penny~~ of ~~any surplus until we have~~ taken all the measures necessary to preserve Social Security for the next 75 years. Let us make this fundamental promise to all Americans watching tonight -- whether you are 70 . . . or 50 . . . or 20 years old -- that Social Security will be there when you need it. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

Set

If we balance the budget,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This must be only the beginning of a determined national effort to extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]

Champagne, Urbana

Investing in people

In an economy that honors opportunity, all Americans must be able to reap the rewards of prosperity.

Many people, particularly those who work hard and earn less, are still way behind. ~~And in a time like this~~, we can afford to take one simple, sensible, proven step that can make all the difference to millions of workers struggling to provide for their families: We should raise the minimum wage ~~to [x] an hour.~~

B/C these times are good

clearly

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

enhance expand

And the most important thing we can do to ~~extend~~ ensure opportunity for all Americans in the information age is to make this an education age. ~~When it comes to~~ opportunity, education must come first. It must start at birth, and go ~~on for a lifetime.~~

The information age is the education age

The

Last year, from this podium, I said education was our highest priority. Our principles were high standards, committed reform, equal access to quality education.

+ laid out a 10 pt plan to move forward, + urged us all to make sure pol. end at school house door.

Since then, [illegible] Am. people have resp. in the most.

we all know

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Since then, this Congress and the American people have responded, in the most important year for education in a generation . . . expanding public school choice and creating 3,000 charter schools . . . working to connect every classroom to the information superhighway . . . ~~the honor roll of education reform goes on and on.~~

~~Last year I proposed & you passed a lifetime learning tax credit for college, grad school & training~~

~~Our goal is to make college as universal as high school is today.~~ Last year I proposed, and you passed, a lifetime learning tax credit for college, graduate school and training . . . 1 million work study jobs for college students . . . 230,000 new Pell Grant scholarships for deserving ~~Education IRAs~~ students. For the first time, you can deduct the interest on your student loan.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Families all over America are putting savings into our new, tax free education IRAs. And this year, for the first time, when parents write a tuition check, they will get a tax cut -- a $1500 Hope Scholarship.

We are making college as universal?

So tell your neighbors, tell your friends: their kids can go to college. If you know a child from a poor family, tell ~~him~~ her not to give up. ~~He~~ She can go to college. If you know struggling young parents who are worried they won't be able to save for their child's ~~college~~ education, you tell them not to give up. Their child can go to college. If you know somebody caught in a dead-end job, afraid ~~she~~ he can't afford the classes that will get ~~her~~ his better jobs for the rest of ~~her~~ his life, tell her not to give up. ~~She~~ He can go to college.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

we are making college as univ. as h.s. is today

My friends, this will change the face of 21st Century America.

We cheer tonight because we know we have opened wide the doors of the world's best system of higher education. Now we must make our ~~public schools~~ public elementary + secondary schools the best in the world.

~~We must~~ By raising standards, ~~we must~~ raising expectations, and ~~we must~~ raising accountability.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Thanks to the action of this Cong. last year,
~~Soon, for the first time~~, we will soon have for the first a voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents have a right to know whether students are mastering the basics.

And every parent already knows the key: good teachers and small classes. Tonight I propose the first-ever national effort to reduce class size in the early grades. My balanced budget will help hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class size in first, second, and third grades to an average of 18 nationwide.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We will insist that every ~~one of~~ all these teachers passes a rigorous state competency test before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school ~~for the young kids~~, they should know that the teacher is qualified to teach and that the class is small enough for learning.

To achieve this goal,

We must also help communities to repair old schools and build new ones. Our school construction tax cut will help communities build [#] new schools. ~~Let me do the math: to reduce class size, you have to build more classrooms.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In addition to smaller classes by
trained teachers,
we need

AND AS we

It is not enough to make college affordable. We want for all
we must make sure our
all children to be ready for college. Last year, I called up
our

a volunteer army to teach every 3rd grader to read independently. I'm pleased that over 800 colleges and universities have already joined the America Reads effort -- over X,000 work study students and volunteers, already teaching all over America. Now, I will send Congress a proposal to enlist colleges to send mentors into middle schools and junior high schools, to help students start planning and preparing for college.

move to service

to begin early
think about, plan for ---

charter schools
School
Internet
teachers
class size

now that we have opened doors to college —
help more students walk through them

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beyond the smaller classes in the

Increasing standards and expectations are important, but we must also demand accountability. When we promote a child from grade to grade who hasn't mastered the work, we do that child no favors. Last year, in Chicago, they told their schools: demand results; lift your students up or we will close you down. And it worked. We should say to every community: Stop promoting children who don't learn, and we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do learn.

It is time to declare an end to social promotion in America's schools -- [and it is time to declare a beginning to genuine excellence]. [*is this line necessary?*]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NOBODY should

~~Even this won't be enough.~~ In this education age, continue Throughout a lifetime

learning must start ~~in the earliest days, but it must~~

~~continue throughout a lifetime.~~ ~~And~~ that is why the as an I

ask -Kis

Congress should act this year to pass the GI Bill for

Workers to consolidate the tangle of training programs

and give workers a simple grant for the skills they need.. so they can more quickly to

(ADD read Bill).

Leading the global economy

As we enter the 21st Century, an economy ~~that offers~~ The global regions is

to seek

opportunity ~~must seek it~~ not just at home, but in all the

markets of the world. ~~In this era of great and global~~

~~change,~~ (This economic interdependence can and should lead

~~not only to greater prosperity,~~ but to greater peace and

stability as well.)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the last five years, we have led the way in opening up new markets, negotiating 220 trade agreements, and every single one of them removes foreign barriers to products that bear the proud label, "MADE IN THE USA."

America must continue to use its preeminent place as a world leader to break down trade barriers among all nations, so that the global economy will lead to a safer world for our nation. Increasingly, our trading partners cannot afford to be our adversaries.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(lead world toward greater prosperity & minimize disruption) IMF & Fast Track Keep bad things from happening in the world

Today, exports are at a record high, accounting for fully one third of our economic growth. This year, I will renew my request for the necessary negotiating authority to open markets abroad. ~~We can tear down $60 billion in barriers to the products we make~~, in areas like agriculture, environmental technologies, medical equipment, and other goods and products. We can make history by forging ties with new markets in Africa and Latin America, and South Asia ~~as well~~

As we expand trade, we must also seek to expand ~~I am deeply committed~~ to worker rights and environmental protection. (Everyone in this room knows how strongly I feel about these goals.) ~~But~~ F entering into more trade agreements will increase, not diminish, our ability to raise standards around the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~And~~ tonight, I ask every (other) nation to join with us in a new effort to fight the most abusive and exploitative practices of all – forced child labor. [we have a proposal/UN etc.] (ADD cite y Sparky or Tarullo?)

Today, an economic crisis anywhere can affect trading partners everywhere. Recent months have brought serious problems in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea.

These nations are our customers, our competitors, and our allies. Now, if our customers in Asia sink into recession, they won't be able to buy the goods we want to sell them.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As competitors, as their currencies lose their value, the prices of their goods will drop, flooding our market and others with low-cost products. And as our strategic partners, their national security affects our own.

The American economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. But no one should be mistaken. The turmoil in Asia will have an impact on all the world's economies, including ours. Our job is to make the negative impact as small as possible.

Preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser than ignoring the thunder until the clouds are overhead.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, no nation can or should be helped if it won't help itself by putting its own house in order. But when nations are willing to undertake serious economic reform, it is in our interest to enable them to do so, and it's the right thing to do. I call on Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world economy safe. And I thank Speaker Gingrich and Sen. Lott, Rep. Gephardt and Sen. Daschle, for their bipartisan leadership in support of essential action so we can keep the American economy safe.

But we must be guided by basic principles.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An economy that offers opportunity must also offer help and hope to those Americans temporarily left behind by the global marketplace or the march of technology.

That is why we have doubled the funding for / training dislocated workers. ~~training~~ TAPE | proposed new NT. legislation for communities ... new investments ... along Mex. border etc

And That is why we must do more, more quickly, to help workers who lose their jobs for any reason. We help ~~people~~ communities when their military base closes. We should help them (in the same way)? when their factory closes, too.

MP DOWN

POTUS → move to fast track section, bl of Asia.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A SOCIETY THAT DEMANDS RESPONSIBILITY

A strong nation rests on the rock of responsibility.

First, a society that demands responsibility must promote the value of work, not welfare. We can be proud that after decades of finger pointing and failure, we ended the welfare system that trapped generations in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a system that replaces welfare checks with paychecks.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, after four years of record declines in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to go even further -- to move two million more Americans off the welfare rolls by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we have also met that goal – two full years ahead of schedule.

We must do more -- increasing child support collections from deadbeat parents, providing child care, helping families move closer to available jobs. And above all, I ask thousands more businesses to accept their responsibility and join the 3000 companies already in our welfare-to-work partnership. ~~We have a duty to replace~~ committed to doing this part: hiring, training, & retaining – etc. the despair of dependency with the dignity of work. (working hard to replace)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Second, we must make it possible for hardworking families to meet their most important responsibilities.

Two years ago, we guaranteed that Americans won't lose health insurance when they change jobs. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. This year, I challenge Congress to take the next historic steps.

160 million Americans are in managed care plans. I challenge Congress to write into law a Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. Traditional care or managed care, every American deserves quality care.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 are losing their health insurance after a lifetime of work.

I challenge the Congress: let these hardworking Americans buy into the Medicare system. It won't cost the taxpayers a penny -- but the peace of mind it will provide will be priceless.

And we must help parents protect their children from the gravest health threat they face: an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; State of the Union Address [pages9-19, 21, 22, 29-55] (40 pages)	01/23/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 2] [2]

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]

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work by the American people. It is the product of courageous votes by Members of Congress in 1993, some of whom sacrificed their political lives so that we might reach this historic achievement. This nation owes them our thanks.

What we did, in this chamber, across this country, in these years, was nothing less than to make America an economy of opportunity for the 21st Century.

We have nearly 15 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 25 years. The lowest inflation in 30 years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Yet the prospect of a budget surplus was only minutes old when some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to unwise spending, or untargeted tax cuts, that risk reopening the deficit. My balanced budget plan includes 30 tax cuts targeted to the needs of working families: tax cuts for education, for child care, for the environment. Middle class families would pay the lowest taxes in 20 years. I ask you to enact those tax cuts now. And whether the issue is tax cuts or spending, I ask all of you here to meet this test: approve only those priorities that can be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What, then, should be done with any budget surplus?

I believe the answer is clear.

An economy that offers opportunity must honor those who have built our prosperity over a lifetime. We now have the power and the obligation to fulfill, for new generations yet to come, the ancient command to 'honor thy father and thy mother.'

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it a "cornerstone" of our nation. We must build on that cornerstone, to make sure that security is as strong for our children as it has been for our parents.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So tonight, I propose that we reserve 100% of the surplus until we strengthen Social Security. Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until we have saved the Social Security system. Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until we have taken all the measures necessary to preserve Social Security for the next 75 years. Let us make this fundamental promise to all Americans watching tonight -- whether you are 70 . . . or 50 . . . or 20 years old -- that Social Security will be there when you need it. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

This must be only the beginning of a determined national effort to extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

These are the principles that I believe must guide such reform. [*reform principles*]

Investing in people

In an economy that honors opportunity, all Americans must be able to reap the rewards of prosperity.

[After three decades of stagnation, wages have at ~~long last~~ begun to increase. Now, one simple, sensible, proven step can make a difference ~~for~~ millions of workers: We ~~must~~ raise the minimum wage to [x] an hour.]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

high standards — equal access commitment

Five years ago, we recognized that more than an information age, we are moving into an education age . . . an age where education starts at birth and goes on for a lifetime. An age when standards of knowledge will raise standards of living.

Last year, from this ~~rostrum~~ podium, I said education was our highest priority. Since then, this Congress and the American people have responded, in the most important year for education in a generation ...expanding choice and creating 3,000 independent charter schools ... working to connect every classroom to the information superhighway ... beginning to build an army of tutors to teach every 8 year old to read ... and the honor roll of education reform goes on and on.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

made
~~We are waging and winning a quiet revolution.~~ We are making at least two years of college education as universal as high school is today. As of 1998, when parents write a tuition check, they get a tax cut. (Due to ~~It is the~~ the most significant investment in higher education since the GI Bill, today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every American, regardless of income: if you work hard, you can go to college.

almost worthless

Tell yr neighbors, tell your friends
You know struggling — this can
caught in dead end job

Let us extend that revolution of opportunity to every
The reason we can cheer is that we know
That we have given access to even Am to
grade of our nation's public schools.

the world's finest (Elec) college system

This is going change the face of 21st Century America

add HOPE
Pell
work study

Now we must make our public school system

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

When it comes to the public schools—
comp, accounts etc.

We must make sure all our children master the basics. Soon, for the first time, we will have a voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents have a right to know whether students and schools measure up.

And every parent already knows the key to mastering these basics: small classes and good teachers. Tonight I propose a the 1st ever national effort to reduce class size in the early grades. My balanced budget will enable schools across the country to hire an additional 100,000 teachers to reduce class size in the first, second, and third grades to an average of 18 nationwide.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We will insist that every one of these new teachers passes a rigorous state competency test before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small enough for learning and the teacher is qualified to teach.

but esp for young children class is small enough for teach to do the job.

We must also assist communities as they seek to repair old schools and build new ones. Let me do the math: to reduce class size, you have to build more classrooms.

compare this to one from last yr

last yr. I proposed X — this one's even better

And I will send Congress a proposal to enlist thousands of colleges to send mentors into middle schools and junior high schools to help students there start planning and preparing for college.

neighborhoods.

to go to college

assist schools in raising acad stand.

To foster in near excellence in our public schools

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

It's not enough to go to college
we want students to succeed

Let us say to all our schools: Social promotion is destructive. No child in America should graduate if they can't read their diploma. And if schools stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. If you come up w a plan to bring high standards and help → extra hours, summer schools. It is time to declare an end to social promotion in America's schools. — It's time to declare a beginning to summer excellence in America's schools.

(America leads — Service — One American — (CHICAGO))

Leading the global economy

Increasingly stands but & exp's is imp. but Then also we have a duty. but we can't have a just. who people count to get promoted when they can't

Last yr. I asked univ. college students & the country to make some small volunteer time proud to say

As we enter the 21st Century, an economy that offers opportunity must seek it not just at home, but in all the markets of the world. ~~We are living~~ In this era of great and global change. Economic interdependence can and should lead to greater peace and stability.

schools should stop promoting unless I propose, including etc

Not only to create prosp, but

We've made college affordable now we have to make sure

are 500 colleges, 1000s more children are going to have a better chance

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Nations ~~cannot afford to be adversaries~~ with their ~~trading partners~~. America must use its preeminent place as a world leader to break down trade barriers among all ~~nations so that the~~ global economy ~~will lead~~ to a safer ~~world for our nation~~.

In the last five years, we have led the way in opening up new markets. We have negotiated 220 trade agreements, and every single one of them removes foreign barriers to products that bear the proud label, "MADE IN THE USA."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We can make history by forging new ties with regard to trade

And we must insist that our trading partners enforce basic labor and environmental standards. And tonight, I ask every nation to join with us in a new effort to fight the most abusive and exploitative practices of all – forced child labor.

part of our agenda in how I support it

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

But we will increase our ability to and everyone

(we want all of our trading partners to join w us)

entering into new trade agts will increase our ability to have a positive effect — I have always believed that trade, labor + envir ought to be part of our broader econ environment - & that's why you agree or disagree.

10X 3B to 30B

Opportunity in the new economy demands new steps to safeguard overall economic growth. America will only prosper if the whole world prospers.

GS

I want to increase funding to give parents econ support when they put their children back in school Triple funding on [work to follow up on this] -

Today, an economic crisis anywhere can affect trading partners everywhere. Recent months have brought serious problems in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

These nations are our customers, our competitors, and our allies. If our customers in Asia sink into recession, they won't be able to buy the goods we want to sell them. As competitors, as their currencies lose their value, the prices of their goods will drop, flooding our market with low-cost products. And as our ~~allies~~, their national security affects our own. ~~Having fought 3 wars in the Pacific during this century, we know that the stability of Asia is a vital interest for America.~~

The ~~American~~ economy remains sound and strong -- and ~~I~~ want to keep it that way. ~~But no one~~ should be mistaken. ~~The turmoil in Asia~~ will have an impact on our economy.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

So
I challenge Congress: let's pass bipartisan, comprehensive legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business, and raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if teen smoking does not go down. Today, ~~like every day,~~ tomorrow (start 3000 children will start smoking, and 1000 of them will die early as a result. Let this be remembered as the Congress that saved their lives.

In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever – and they need more time with their children.

In fact one of our challenges is that our citizens face in the new economy is the struggle to balance their responsibilities and to be good workers — and even more important — to be good

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. I ask you to extend this law so that new mothers and fathers can take six months of unpaid leave when they have a baby.

[redacted]

Child care is the next frontier. Governments don't raise children; parents do. [*acknowledge First Lady*] ~~But~~ we can and must give parents the help they need to raise their families right. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable ~~and accessible~~, with new incentives for care givers, and tax cuts for businesses and millions of working families.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Third, a society that demands responsibility must hold individuals responsible when they break the law -- punishing crime severely when it occurs, and preventing it from happening in the first place.

For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly vicious crime was the permanent poison of our neighborhoods, our great cities, our entire nation. Now, with 100,000 new police headed for the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have a crime fighting strategy that works. I can report to you tonight that for five years in a row, murder is down, robbery is down, assault is down, burglary is down . . . for five years in a row, all across America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I again ask Congress to pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs.

need to

~~We must~~ expand before and after school programs. Most violent crime occurs btwn hours of 3 — We ~~must~~ give our children somewhere to go other than ought to the streets.

also

We should bar violent juveniles from buying guns once they turn 21.

And let me speak plainly about a solemn responsibility that rests with the 100 of the men and women in this chamber. When the courts are clogged, criminals go free.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Senate has the Constitutional duty to confirm judges to enforce the law and sentence the lawbreakers. Here is what the Chief Justice of the United States wrote, and I quote: "[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask the United States Senate to heed this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judges, up or down.

Fourth, we must demand responsibility not only at home but abroad, and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In this century, the American people learned that our nation has a unique role, and we have lived up to it, in the most extraordinary and selfless defense of freedom in human history. ~~We defeated the two greatest totalitarian threats of all time. We are more secure and prosperous than ever before.~~ Now, in a new day, at the eve of a new century, we have both the power and the duty to shape a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. America must stand against war and the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism. We must combat an unholy axis of new threats that respect no borders: terrorists, international criminals and drug

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

traffickers. These predators feed on a bounty we otherwise cherish: the inventions of technology, and the free flow of information, ideas and people. The predators will even more lethal if weapons of mass destruction fall into their hands.

So we are writing international rules of the road for the 21st century, protecting those who join in the family of nations, and isolating outlaw regimes.

Here are key elements of a new strategy of security for a new world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic the newest members of NATO. These formerly Communist countries have said "yes" to democracy. I ask the Senate to say yes to them. ~~For fifty years, the alliance has kept America and Western Europe secure~~. By taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine, we will extend the frontiers of security so that Europe never again becomes a theater of war. [BOSNIA] work on.

Hillary &

This Christmas, I traveled to Bosnia with Senator Dole and a bipartisan Congressional delegation. The progress we saw there is unmistakable, but ~~it is~~ not irreversible.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Bosnia's fragile peace still demands the presence of an international military force. That is why American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. Senator Dole said it best: this is like being ahead in the fourth quarter of a football game. Now is not the time to walk off the field and forfeit the ~~game~~. victory."

I wish you could have all been with us to visit our troops in Tuzla. They are the pride of our nation. After five years as President, there is one thing I know with certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Together, we must keep our troops well-trained and ready -- improve their quality of life -- and equip them with the 21st Century weapons they need to defeat any enemy. Help me give America's soldiers our full support. They earn it every day.

Next, I ask Congress to pursue the most ambitious agenda to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the invention of the atom bomb.

This year, four decades years after it was first proposed by President Eisenhower, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty is within our reach.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

By ending all nuclear testing, we can help prevent a new arms race and make it harder for non-nuclear states to develop the deadliest of all weapons. [Endorsement announcement to come]. I ask the Senate: before the end of this session, ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and lift the nuclear cloud that has shadowed our lives for fifty years.

For the next fifty years, we must confront the new hazards of outlaw states, terrorists and organized criminals plotting to wage chemical and biological warfare.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The United Nations weapons inspectors have destroyed more of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons potential than during the Gulf War itself. Now, Saddam Hussein wants to stop them from carrrying our their mission. I say to him, on behalf of all Americans: we cannot, and we will not let you do that.

The inspectors will stay on the job until Iraq dismantles its weapons program. Period. No ifs, ands, or buts about it. [Update TK]

At the very moment the UN inspectors are working to protect our children, Congress' failure to pass bipartisan legislation to pay our UN debt threatens to diminish our influence within the UN -- and our credibility around the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

When we give our word, we should keep our word.

America pays its bills. If we want to lead an interdependent world — we should set a good ex, keep our word, pay our bills.

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas. Now, we must act to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. The Biological Weapons Convention has been in force for 25 years, but frankly it lacks tough enforcement measures. This year, we must strengthen that treaty with an international inspection system to detect and deter cheating.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with old allies in Europe and Asia, and forge new ties with new partners around the world -- from Africa to India and Pakistan, from South America to China.

Whenever I represent our nation abroad, one thing is clear: America's leadership is indispensable.

In the century we are leaving, one nation rose up from isolation, to save the world -- again and again. That nation was America. And America must continue to lead the world. For our moral strength and military might are often the only things that stand between war and peace, chaos and stability, tyranny and freedom.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, for the century we are entering, we are waging a long sunlit struggle. That is our heritage, our hope, and our responsibility.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." More than ever, we must recognize that we are inextricably linked by the idea of America itself. We are on a mission together. We as a nation must live together as a community.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the trust of the American people.

Elections have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress. And for years, the special interests and their allies have smothered those bills by filibuster.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But not this year. This year, on March 11, the Senate will vote on real, bipartisan reform proposed by Senator McCain and Senator Feingold. Let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote for soft money, for the status quo, for the loss of trust. I ask you to strengthen our democracy and pass campaign finance reform.

But we must do more to make government work better. Under Vice President Gore's leadership, we have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, transformed HUD and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TRANSITION

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed our sweeping IRS reforms. Months later, that bill still languishes in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now. Professionalize the IRS -- don't politicize it.

Empowering communities ~~PUT BACK~~

(makes NO sense)

Community is not just an ideal. It can and must become and everyday reality wherever our people live.

[~~explain provisions of IRS~~

comms of all sizes in Ark are coming back through our strat. which focuses not on big govt progs but uses govt as a catalyst

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

as a result we see a renaissance
by declines in unemployment

Today, homeownership is at record levels. Instead of highest rate of homeownership participation in both
big government programs, our smaller government has brought the spark of private enterprise into the hardest pressed communities. My balanced budget will build on this progress, with a record commitment to economic development, housing, and help for the homeless. I ask you to double our Empowerment Zones, which have revitalized central cities and rural areas alike.

Environmental protection

And our national community is only as healthy as the air our children breathe, the water they drink, and the Earth they will inherit.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, we toughened controls on smog and soot. We moved to protect Yellowstone, the Everglades and the magnificent redwoods of Headwaters Forest. And we expanded every community's right to know about the toxics that threaten their children.

Tonight, I launch a new Clean Water Initiative, a far-reaching new effort to clean our rivers, lakes and streams. I am also proposing a new plan to use cutting edge science to protect our food supply.

Our overriding environmental challenge is a worldwide problem requiring worldwide action: the gathering crisis of global warming.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The vast majority of scientists have concluded unequivocally that if we do not ~~improve energy efficiency,~~ we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. This past December, America led the world to sign a historic treaty that ~~invokes market forces~~ to reduce greenhouse gases.

We have it in our power to act right here, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts and research and development to spur innovation, cleaner factories, fuel efficient cars, and energy efficient homes.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now

Whenever we act to help our environment, the pessimists say it will hurt our economy. Well, today our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. Just this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of typical models today. This innovative spirit must spread to every industry in America.

It was on this date -- January 27, ~~in 1880~~ -- that Thomas Edison received his first patent for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that invented the telephone and television, the airplane and the semiconductor, can ~~invent~~ create an economy that uses less energy, provides more environmental protection, and continues to grow at record levels.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

One America in the 21st Century

Finally community means fulfilling, at long last, the defining American value -- the ideal heard round the world -- that all men and all women are created equal.

It is more than two centuries since we proclaimed that truth to be self evident . . . 135 years since we wiped the stain of slavery from our soil . . . 30 years, this April, since the crack of a rifle ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., America's patriot and prophet.

Change to pas — VOTING Reg with Mr

We are still beset by racial division, by the crime of discrimination, by the sin of hate.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What can we do in our day and generation to build an America that is truly one nation? Even as we b/c more diverse

We must begin by acknowledging what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask you to provide the necessary resources to end the backlog at the antidiscrimination agency that ensures all Americans an equal opportunity to work. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are waiting line for justice.

SM ← white people

We should also acknowledge that while we have torn down the walls in our laws, but we have not torn down the walls in our hearts.

TOO much rhetoric
Notes on citizen server

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I believe that an honest and open dialogue among people of different races, backgrounds and religions can bring us closer together.

Above all, let us acknowledge that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make for all Americans. When we open the doors of college to all Americans, that builds one nation. When we cleanse our streets of crime, that builds one nation. When we make sure that every parent has the child care they need, that builds one nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let us go forward, as Dr. King said, with "an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind." We are torchbearers of the most shining idea in history -- the belief that shared values can unite a diverse people in freedom and mutual respect. E Pluribus Unum. We are many. We must be one, with a sense of connection to a great and common enterprise of hope.

GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us look forward toward the new millennium. How will we mark that passage, which comes just once in a thousand years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let us honor what we have been; ~~let us~~ imagine what we can become; let us invoke the wonders of science and the richness of our culture to endow the gifts of the future.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- an ambitious new initiative for pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. We have unlocked the dark secrets of disease, discovering genes for breast cancer and diabetes. Now, let's make ours the generation in which we win the war against cancer.

Science\cannot proceed in a moral vacuum. We must prevent the misuse of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [page 1] (1 page)	01/19/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [page 3, 15, 16] (3 pages)	01/19/1998	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address (20 pages)	01/17/1998	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address (18 pages)	01/16/1998	P5

COLLECTION:
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FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 2] [3]

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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]

1/19/98 3pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Backward

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

For 209 years, it has been the President's duty to report to you on the State of the Union: Tonight, it is a duty any citizen would cherish. Thanks to the hard work and strong values of the American people, these are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

Yet with barely 700 days left in the 20th Century, this is no time for complacency. Let us count our blessings -- and get on with the eternal mission of America: to build, as the founders said, a more perfect union.

The century that awaits us is so close we can see its contours, so near we can shape its content. The contours are marked by an explosive revolution in science, technology and information; the globalization of commerce and social exchange; and -- for good or ill -- the increasing interdependence of people and events across national racial, religious and cultural values.

There are unprecedented opportunities for abundance, fulfillment and peace. And as

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

enemy, and that with bold, persistent experimentation that all challenges can be met; of 50 years of Republican and Democratic leadership that maintained our resolve in the Cold War and advanced civil rights, protected the environment, and build the greatest middle class nation in history. And yes, we are all the heirs of Martin Luther King, Jr., who taught us again that we are ~~at heart~~ a nation ~~of dreamers who~~ can only live our dreams when all our fellow citizens have the same chance to live them, and when we are dedicated to making our dream real together. [*we can work to tighten this*]

nation of "dreamers" sounds like poets who think big thoughts but don't act — not what you intend in dismissing MLK

Five years ago, America was not living up to that legacy. Our new economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace. Social problems were accumulating. And our political system seemed paralyzed, trapped in a polarizing debate between those who said government was the problem, and those who though more of the same kind of government was the answer. It was a prescription for drift, division, and decline.

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only way to answer our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. But we also rejected the idea that more of the same was good enough. Instead, we brought the nation what some have praised and others have criticized as a third way, grounded in the principles of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

the world can affect trading partners on the other side of the globe. Over the past few months, serious problems have arisen in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea – problems that threaten confidence and growth in these nations. These nations are our customers, our competitors, and our allies. If our customers become insolvent, they won't be able to buy the goods we want to sell them. If their economies sink, as competitors they will be forced to cut their prices drastically, dump their products on our market, and undercut America's competitiveness. And as our allies, these nations' security affects our own. Having fought 3 wars there this century, the American people know well that the stability of Asia affects the security of America.

Our economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. But no one should be mistaken. The turmoil in Asia could well have an impact on our economy. Preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser, and far cheaper, than ignoring that storm until the clouds are overhead. Let us take sensible steps to contain the effects of the current financial turmoil overseas, steps that reflect common sense principles. First, no nation can be helped if it won't help itself by putting its own house in order. But second, when they are willing to take responsibility, it is in our interest to enable them to do so. Tonight, I renew my call to the Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world economy strong. And I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, Rep. Gephardt and Sen. Daschle, for uniting in support of prudent action to protect our prosperity.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Environmental protection [3 minutes]

In the economy of the 21st Century, we must protect the environment as we promote prosperity. Tonight, I am launching a new Clean Water Initiative, a dramatic new effort to clean our rivers, lakes and streams -- as well as a new plan to protect our food supply. In the 21st Century, every American must have the right to eat and drink, fish and swim, in safety.

Our greatest environmental challenge is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. In December, America led the world to agree to an historic treaty that will unleash the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, without new taxes or regulation. That treaty limits emissions by industrialized countries; next we must bring key developing nations on board, because this is a global problem.

[It wasn't "signed" & might not be for a while]

We have it in our power to act right here, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts and research and development to spur innovation and help families buy fuel efficient cars, help factories run cleaner, help homes use less energy. [And by bringing competition to the energy industry, we can cut utility rates by $20 billion.]

That requires a global solution.

Whenever we have acted to protect our environment, whether it was clean air, clean water, or acid rain, the pessimists said it couldn't be done. Well, today our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. The pessimists

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1/17/98 10am

Draft 2a

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years, I report to you on the state of our union. ~~These are good times for America.~~ With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

~~*Tonight is not simply a night to report on the past or the matters immediately before us. Tonight is a night to face the future.*~~

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we must shape its content. From the stunning leaps of new technology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We, ~~are a~~ the people, born in the greatest revolution in human history, ~~and~~ have at every turning point in our destiny ~~we have~~ extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. For over two centuries, from wininng civil war to securing civil rights, from the changes of the industrial age to the challenges of world war, America has remained young by finding new means and methods to extend the values of our Constitution to each new time.

Here is our mission today: To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. We must ensure that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.

Not very long ago, it seemed as if these tides of change would leave America adrift. ~~The~~ Our ~~new~~ economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace. Social problems were accumulating. And our political system seemed paralyzed, our government stuck in neutral. It looked all too possible that America would enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline.

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only way to answer our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We acted to strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because of the Vice President's efforts to reinvent our government so it does more with less, the federal bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President.

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Instead, working together, we have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all -- a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. The economy has created 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again, and more people are living the American Dream -- with higher levels of work, & home ownership + higher education than ever before in Am. history.

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But it's an old American saying: You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof. This is not a time to rest: this is a time to build.

So in this sunlit moment, let us challenge our people to embark upon a great national mission: to draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. We can build an economy based on opportunity, a society based on responsibility, a nation rooted in community. Tonight, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America ~~by directing the power of America.~~ in a new century.

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy -- for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity.

New technologies are fundamentally transforming our economy. From agriculture to automobiles to aerospace, American industries once again lead the world. And from semiconductors to supercomputers, America is on the cutting edge of the industries of the future. The flexibility, creativity, and enterprise of the new economy are qualities at the core of the American character. We have spurred it along with a comprehensive strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

Fiscal responsibility

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

When I took office, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and heading lower.

For three decades, eight presidents came before you to warn of the damage deficits posed to the nation. Tonight, I come before you to to announce that the federal deficit -- once so incomprehensibly large that it had eleven zeroes -- will be, simply, zero.

I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years.

And if we hold fast to our fiscal discipline, we may well balance the budget this year.

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline and wise investment by the American people. It is the product of courageous votes by Members of Congress in 1993, some of whom put their political lives on the line. This nation owes them our thanks.

Now, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy but of fundamental direction. Will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or fall backward to the failed policies of the past?

FAT-VAT INSERT

UNWISE

increases

UNFAIR

It seemed as if the prospect of a budget surplus was only minutes old before some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to ~~shortsighted~~ spending, or ~~shortsighted~~ tax cuts, that risk reopening the deficit. My balanced budget plan includes [20] tax cuts targeted to the needs of working families: tax cuts for education, for child care, for the environment. Every one of these priorities can accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit or a bureaucrat to the payroll.

As in so many areas, the innovations of the future must be strongly grounded in the values of our past.

What should be done with our nation's hard-earned budget surplus? I believe the answer is clear. ~~It is based on our national priorities and our deepest values.~~ We have acted, decisively and successfully, to erase our budget deficit. Now we must rise to a duty as old as the scriptural/ancient? commandment to "honor thy father and thy mother."

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it the "cornerstone" of our society. We must build on that cornerstone, to protect our parents and provide for our children.

So tonight, I propose that we save 100% of the surplus until we preserve Social Security. This will be proof of our nation's deep and lasting commitment to making this crowning achievement of the 20th Century a continuing achievement of the 21st Century. Until we have taken the other measures necessary to preserve this program for the next 75 years, let us reserve every penny of the surplus to replenish the Social Security Trust Fund. Let us commit that Social Security will be there for those who are 70, and 50, and 20. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This must be only the beginning of a determined national effort to extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]

These are the principles that I believe must guide such reform. [*reform principles*]

Investing in people

By imposing fiscal discipline, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our core value of equal opportunity for all is to remain vital in this new time, we must act to make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of prosperity. ~~The values and virtues that animate the American Dream are timeless, but the means and methods of achieving that dream must change with the times.~~ Today, in reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. It is a gap we must close.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

~~We are making the first two years of college as universal as a high school degree is today.~~ In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant; in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant. Beginning January 1 of this year, for the very first time, when parents write a tuition check, they will get a tax cut. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every American, regardless of income: if you work hard, you can go to college.

Now our mission must be to improve our elementary schools and high schools. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

We're already doing much to improve public education - expanding choice and creating 3,000 independent charter schools, connecting every classroom to the information superhighway, building an army of tutors to teach every 8 year old to read. We must do more, sending thousands of mentors into our schools to help young people prepare for college. (so I will send Cong. a proposal to I urge you to support it.

~~But still, too many of our children suffer from a tyranny of low expectations, too many schools promote students whether they learn something or not.~~

We must make sure all our children master the basics. This fall, for the first time, we will have a ~~nonpartisan~~ national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math to help parents know whether students and schools measure up.

If our students are going to meet these standards, they must have small classes and good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the early grades. My balanced budget will enable schools across the country to hire an additional 100,000 teachers to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

reduce class size in first, second, and third grade to an average of 18 nationwide. We will insist that these teachers are in the classroom, not in the administration office. And we will insist that these new teachers pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small and the teacher is qualified.

WE MUST ALSO ASSIST COMMUNITIES AS THEY SEEK TO REPAIR OLD SCHOOLS and BUILD NEW ONES. YOU CAN'T REDUCE CLASS SIZE IF YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH CLASSROOMS.

And let us finally say to failing schools: ~~Social promotion is destructive~~. Nobody in America should graduate if they cannot read their diploma. ~~And~~ if you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. It is time to declare an end to social promotion in America's schools.

The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times.

We have made health care portable from job to job. Last year, we extended health care to AS MANY AS ~~up to~~ 5 million children. Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care plans that can cut costs and improve service. Patients should be treated as people, not as dollar signs on a ledger. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. Traditional care or managed care, every American deserves quality care. PASS OUR HEALTH CARE CONSUMERS BILL OF RIGHTS.

~~And~~ millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system and have lost their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system. It won't cost the taxpayers a penny -- but the peace of mind it will provide is priceless.

The third key to expanding opportunity is to help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home. In the new economy, most parents work, harder than ever – and they need more time with their children.

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. But newborns need more. I ask you to extend Family Leave so that new mothers and fathers can take six months off from work.

Child care is the next frontier for the American community. Governments don't raise children; parents do. [*acknowledge First Lady*] But our new kind of government can give parents the tools they need to take responsibility. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, improving pay

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and raising standards for caregivers, and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. ~~A family of four that earns $35,000 with high child care expenses should no longer pay a dime of federal income tax.~~ And we must expand before- and after-school programs so that every child has somewhere to go other than the streets.

what about with stay-at-home moms??

The fourth key to expanding opportunity is to give our people the chance to own their own home in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped create ~~an urban~~ renaissance, bringing the spark of private enterprise into the inner city, bringing law and order to public housing. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. I ask you double our Empowerment Zones, spearheaded by Vice President Gore, which have revitalized our cities and rural areas. Empowerment works, and we should bring ~~the urban~~ rennaisance to every corner of the nation.

community

the community

Leading the global economy

The third element of our strategy recognizes this reality: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy. There is no turning back. Our only choice is whether to make this new world work for us or against us. ~~Today, America's exports are at a record high. Our businesses and workers are outcompeting anyone in the world. We are better positioned than any nation on Earth to reap the rewards of the global economy.~~

To stay strong, America needs a world that is strong. Fully one third of our economic growth comes from expanding exports – from selling to the 96% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. I will continue to press Congress for the power to make new trade agreements that tear down barriers to American made goods.

And this new economy poses new challenges. With new technology and trade, XXXXXXX [MINIMUM WAGE]

In the new world economy, an economic crisis in one part of the world can affect trading partners on the other side of the globe. Over the past few months, serious problems have arisen in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea – ~~problems that threaten confidence and growth in these nations.~~ These nations are our customers, our competitors, and our allies. If our customers become insolvent, they won't be able to buy the goods we want to sell them. If their economies sink, as competitors they will be forced to cut their prices drastically, dump their products on our market, and undercut America's competitiveness. And as our allies, these nations' security affects our own. Having fought 3 wars ~~in this~~ this century, the American people know well that the stability of Asia ~~is in~~ affects the Security ~~interest~~ of America.

there

Our economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. But ~~no one~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~should be mistaken.~~ The turmoil in Asia could well have an impact on our economy. ~~But~~ preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser, and far cheaper, than ignoring that storm until the clouds are overhead. Let us take sensible steps to contain the effects of the current financial turmoil overseas, steps that reflect common sense principles. First, no nation can be helped if it won't help itself by putting its own house in order. But second, when they are willing to take responsibility, it is in our interest to enable them to do so. Tonight, I renew my call to the Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world economy strong. And I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, Rep. Gephardt and Sen. Daschle, for uniting in support of prudent action to protect our prosperity, ~~and keep the world economy strong.~~

Environmental protection

In the economy of the 21st Century, we must protects the environment as we promote prosperity. Tonight, I am launching a new Clean Water Initiative, a dramatic new effort to clean our rivers, lakes and streams -- as well as a new plan to protect our food supply. In the 21°C., EVERY Am. must have the right to fish + swim, to eat + drink, ~~[illegible]~~ in safety.

But our greatest environmental challenge is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that unleashes the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, without new taxes or regulation.

We have it in our power to act right here ~~at home~~, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts and research and development to spur innovation and help families buy fuel efficient cars, help factories run cleaner, help homes to use less energy. [And by bringing competition to the energy industry, we can cut utility rates by $20 billion.] ?

Whenever we have acted to protect our environment, whether it was clean air, clean water, or acid rain, the pessimists said it couldn't be done. Well, today our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. The pessimists will be wrong again. Just this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today. This innovative spirit must spread to every industry in America.

Anyone who says we will fail doesn't realize this: failure is not in the Am. vocabulary.

Remember who we are. It was on this date -- January 27, in 1880 -- that ~~the first patent was awarded to~~ Thomas Edison received his first patent for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that invented the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy and keeps growing. we Are Americans.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [7 minutes]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table. └place

We must help parents protect their children from an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

This is the year we ~~can~~ must pass bipartisan, landmark legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business, and raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if teen smoking does not go down. ~~This is not about money. This is not about politics. This is about our~~ It is our most fundamental duty to protect our children from the greatest health threat they face. Let this Congress be remembered as the Congress that stopped 3,000 children a day from starting ~~a habit that will kill~~ smoking, 1,000 of them before their time.
and saved └from dying

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy.

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. ~~Violence and drug use among young people is still far too high. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children.~~

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. ~~And~~ We should bar violent juveniles from buying guns once they turn 21. AND I WILL ASK CONG. TO PASS A NEW FEDERAL LAW TO SENTENCE REPEAT CHILD SEX OFFENDERS TO LIFE IN PRISON WITHOUT POSSIBILITY OF PAROLE.
~~TO KEEP OFFENDERS~~

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. When the courts are clogged, criminals go free. The Senate has a Constitutional power -- and the Constitutional duty -- to confirm judges to uphold justice. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice ~~Rehnquist~~'s plea, and vote on these judges, up or down. └the Chief
└highly qualified

~~And~~ We have applied our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off of welfare by

└time-tested American values

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing child care and help to move families closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the 3000 companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work, to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

FOREIGN POLICY

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that that our nation has a unique responsibility to lead. ~~Today, the values for which we fought -- democracy, peace and freedom~~ have ~~markets are ascendant~~. As a result, We are more secure and prosperous than ever in our history. ~~And we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.~~ YET WHILE THE WORLD IS IN SO MANY WAYS A NEW PLACE, IT IS STILL A DANGEROUS PLACE.

~~But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. Age-old enemies are making peace. But the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and racial and religious hatreds still summon humanity's capacity for evil. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~To answer these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century.~~ By adapting old institutions to new demands, forging new alliances, and backing them where necessary with our military might, ~~we~~ slet. are laying a solid foundation for America's security ~~Brick by brick, this new structure protects all those who live within it, while isolating those who stay outside.~~ Re in the 21st Century.

Here are some of the pieces of this strategy we must put in place together -- this year.

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

~~NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century~~. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. ~~For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.~~ Stet

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give ~~them~~ the support they deserve.
OUR TROOPS

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower, is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. By banning all nuclear tests, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and help prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new hazard on the horizon: state-supported terrorists and organized criminals armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Over the past six-and-half years, international weapons inspectors have destroyed more of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons potential than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated] EVEN DESPITE SADDAM HUSSEIN'S INTRANSIGENCE, THE INSPECTORS WHO SERVE AS THE EYES AND EARS OF THE WORLD HAVE CONDUCTED SOME 400 INSPECTIONS SINCE THE CURRENT CRISIS BEGAN, AND THE WORLD WILL NOT REST UNTIL IRAQ FINALLY AGREES TO DISMANTLE ITS WEAPONS PROGRAM. [UN 98]

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention. This year, I call on CB Sfet. ~~you~~ to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. We made a commitment to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Let's make good on it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. ~~Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax could kill millions.~~

We are strengthening to protect our troops and respond to an attack. But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, in force for 25 years, lacks tough measures to enforce its ban. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, an international inspection system with teeth. We can and we will detect and deter cheating.

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible without the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy. !! = come on!!

And After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. As long as I am Commander-in-Chief, America's military will be the strongest fighting force the world has ever seen. My balanced budget will allow us to keep our troops well-trained and ready... improve their quality of life... and pay for the 21st century technology they need to DEFEAT THE ENEMY and dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

IF THERE IS ONE CENTRAL LESSON FROM ALL THE TRIUMPH & TRAGEDY ~~[illegible]~~ THAT WAS THE 20° CENTURY, IT IS THIS: ~~[illegible]~~ THERE ARE TIMES WHEN CIVILIZATION ITSELF DEPENDS ON THE MORAL STRENGTH and MILITARY POWER of THE UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[moves to 9 on following Iraq ...p.20]

~~Last year, I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations.~~ YET At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children, ~~our~~ Congress' failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with this organization -- and our credibility around the world. to pay our UN debt When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners, new and old, around the world -- from Africa, to Indian and Pakistan, to South America to China. Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America for the power of our example and the example of our power. A nation with the will to advance progress... and the way to get the job done. We should embrace this awesome responsibility for the opportunity it brings -- to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION [6 minutes]

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." That mission, the core mission of our democracy, is as vital today. And our democracy, our union, faces new challenges.

Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

Are these proposals? If so, say so. I will send you proposals to...

We must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing child care and help to move families closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the 3000 companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work, to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

FOREIGN POLICY

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Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress, only to be quietly smothered by filibuster. Well, not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have a strong first step in cleaning up our campaigns. This bill will finally come to a vote on March 11, up or down, yes or no. Let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote <u>for</u> soft money – for the status quo. I ask you to step up to your responsibility and pass campaign finance reform.

And we must always remember our goal: widening the circle of democracy. Far too few people vote. There are many reasons, but here is one thing we can do. I ask the Congress to pass legislation giving all workers in America the time off they need to vote.

> IRS INSERT

~~But as we work toward~~ ULTIMATELY, IF we are to truly form a more perfect union, we must confront the most stubborn obstacle of all: race.

~~The face of America is changing. And we must confront this issue, frankly and fearlessly, if we are to remain the world's greatest multiracial democracy in the 21st century.~~

We should begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same values and the same dreams: work, family, faith . . . education, health care, jobs. We make our greatest progress when we uphold our universal values and address our <u>common</u> concerns. At the same time, we must recognize that racism still abides; discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal, and I am asking Cong. to commit the resources for the Equal Employment Opp. Comm. to address the backlog of 60,000 cases it faces. In 60,000 cases, justice is being delayed--and denied. Let's enforce the anti-discrimination laws already on the books.

~~And we have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. Too often, we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

many schools -- too many cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on race. We have seen communities across America move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, doing the Lord's work of building a more perfect union. [*possible race & service announcement*]

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- a substantial new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. We can build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes and make this year the year that, in the war against cancer, we began to win.

But science does not occur in a moral vacuum. We should ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And we should prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, but the first time I reported to you on the State of the Union, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. Within a generation, the Web can bring every book ever written, every painting ever painted, and every symphony ever composed into the

HOW MANY THIS DAY? THIS HOUR?

EVERY HOT BABE EVER EXPOSED,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

bedroom of every child. It will be a global marketplace of ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs. But the Internet cannot be a value-free zone. I call on Congress to enact strict criminal penalties for anyone who uses the Net to prey on our children.

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

Throughout the course of human history, mankind has had only one place to call home -- Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, for the first time in the history of the world, men and women will build a new home -- a permanent space station, big as a football field, with as much electrical power as a neighborhood. Inside its vast compartments, scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs from 15 nations will build our future.

And in October, a true American hero, a veteran pilot of 141 combat mission, and one five hour space flight that inspired the world, will return to the heavens.

Godspeed, John Glenn. [MAKE SURE HE CAN SEE GLENN!! LOOK RIGHT AT HIM!]

But even as we imagine the future, as time and technology propel us into a new millennium, in the coming years let us commit ourselves to honoring the past.

Nearly two hundred years ago, a tattered, battle-worn flag inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope -- words that would become our national anthem. ~~Seeing that flag,~~ its broad stripes and bright stars still flying at the top of a Maryland fort after a fierce battle ~~made his heart swell with pride.~~

Today that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, are on display just a mile from here for all the world to see. They are America's crown jewels. We must preserve them for the ages. This year, we will launch a state-of-the-art effort to restore them, so that future generations can see for themselves the very words that launched our revolution.

Even as we commit to [~~strengthening~~ PRESERVING the ~~tattered~~ DEFENDING threads of the Star Spangled banner, ~~darkening~~ PROTECTING the ink of the Declaration, ~~reinforcing~~ the parchment of the Constitution,] we must also renew the enduring values and powerful ideals they represent for the new millennium.

This long quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is what makes us American. Every time a man speaks his mind, every time a family comes to our shores in search of a better life, every time a citizen casts a vote, every time a voice is raised in the pursuit of justice, we keep our ideals alive.

~~It is an neverending task. But it is what we must do, if this nation is to remain the last~~ EVERY TIME A CHILD DARES TO DREAM

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~best hope of humanity in the next millennium.~~

T. Jefferson?

Looking forward to our first century, our first President told his fellow citizens that their new country "seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness." Our new nation was little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then, struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation ~~and the revolutionary values they brought to this world would carry us to greatness -- and that is what they have done, for two centuries.~~

Our ideals are more than faded words on parchment; they are still the most profound force for human greatness ~~on Earth~~ in human history. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. ~~In those days,~~ let us imagine the future, and make America anew.

each moment of each day to come together,

WORLD ENDURE IF THE timeless VALUES & VIRTUES OF OUR FOUNDING WERE GIVEN ~~BROUGHT~~ NEW LIFE THROUGH NEW MEANS & METHODS IN EACH NEW ERA.

AND SO, MY FELLOW CITIZENS, IT FALLS TO US TO ENSURE THAT THE MIRACLE OF AMERICA ENDURES. TO GUARANTEE THAT

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SOCIAL SECURITY PROCESS

I PLAN TO ASK A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF AMERICANS TO LEAD A GREAT NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL SECURITY, NOT BY TALKING TO EACH OTHER IN WASHINGTON — WE DO ENOUGH OF THAT ALREADY -- BUT BY LISTENING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IN TOWN HALL MEETINGS IN EVERY Congressional District in AMERICA, THEN IN 6 REGIONAL MEETINGS, THEN ULTIMATELY CULMINATING IN A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE on SOCIAL SECURITY, WHICH I WILL CONVENE in DEC. of 1999.

IRS

THE GREAT JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES SAID "TAXES ARE THE
CK: PRICE (DUES?) WE PAY FOR A CIVILIZED SOCIETY." BUT FOR FAR TOO LONG, FAR TOO MANY OF THE PRACTICES OF OUR TAX COLLECTION AGENCY HAVE BEEN ANYTHING BUT CIVILIZED. LIKE EVERY TAXPAYER, I AM OUTRAGED BY THE REPORTS OF ABUSES BY THE IRS. TODAY WE HAVE A NEW IRS COMMISSIONER — A hard-nosed, hi-tech BUSINESSMAN WHO HAS SPENT HIS CAREER ON THE TAXPAYERS' SIDE OF THE LEDGER. BUT OUR NEW COMMISSIONER NEEDS NEW TOOLS. LAST YEAR THE HOUSE PASSED BY AN OVERWHELMING MARGIN THE MOST SWEEPING IRS REFORM PACKAGE in HISTORY. BUT MONTHS LATER IT LANGUISHES IN the SENATE. TONIGHT I CHALLENGE YOU: PASS OUR BIPARTISAN PACKAGE of IRS reforms BY APRIL 15. Don't play games. PROFESSIONALIZE the IRS. Don't POLITICIZE IT.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FLAT-VAT INSERT

I AM ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT THERE WILL BE THOSE WHO SEEK TO USE OUR NATION'S SURPLUS TO ADVANCE NARROW INTERESTS; THOSE FOR WHOM THE SURPLUS IS A CONVENIENT COVER — A TROJAN HORSE TO HIDE A SCHEME TO TAX HOME MORTGAGES, TAX EDUCATION, TAX GIFTS TO CHURCHES & CHARITIES... OR TO FORCE A HUGE NATIONAL SALES TAX ONTO WORKING PEOPLE, SO THEY CAN ONCE AGAIN LOWER TAXES ON THE FORTUNATE FEW. I AM SERVING NOTICE RIGHT NOW: I WILL NOT ALLOW ANY INTEREST TO HARM OUR ECONOMY, HURT WORKING FAMILIES and TAX THE AMERICAN DREAM.

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NOTE: This is the full, unexpurgated draft.

1/16/98 6pm EYES ONLY Draft 2*

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years, I report to you on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

Tonight is not simply a night to report on the past or the matters immediately before us. Tonight is a night to face the future. To look forward, and embrace the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of this new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we must shape its content. ~~In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun -- we truly are present at the future~~. And from the stunning leaps of new technology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know ~~that this new era also poses new risks to our families -- demands new skills of our people -- and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know~~ that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. ~~For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals. And~~ for over two centuries, we have remained young and grown stronger by finding new means and methods to extend the principles of our founding, the meaning of our Constitution, to each new time. By making our ideals not faded words scratched on parchment, but glowing signposts to guide our path.

In the Civil War, our nation was challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that we are all created equal.

A century ago, our nation was challenged by the brute force of economic change -- and we overcame it, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial

FROM [redacted] THE FIRST DAYS OF OUR FOUNDING TO THE CRISIS OF THE CIVIL WAR; FROM THE [redacted] CHANGES OF THE INDUSTRIAL [redacted] REVOLUTION TO THE MARCH FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS APPLIED OUR ENDURING VALUES TO THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIMES.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Age.

Three decades ago, our nation was challenged by the sin of segregation -- and we overcame it, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged America to live out the true meaning of our creed.

Here is our mission today: To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. ~~To prepare our people for a new millennium. To give new life to the American idea. To ensure that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.~~

Not very long ago, it seemed as if these tides of change would leave America adrift. The new economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace, with ancient ethnic hatreds flaring across the globe. Social problems were accumulating. And our political system seemed paralyzed, ~~insolvent. America was moving forward, but~~ our government was stuck in neutral. It looked all too possible that America would enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline.

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We acted to reform the government itself, to strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because of the efforts the Vice President has championed to reinvent our government so it does more with less, tonight I can report to you that the federal bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President.

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Instead, working together across lines of party, we have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all -- a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

We are building a new citizenship, one that calls upon our oldest sense of service -- a new citizenship that no longer expects something for nothing; that declares our interdependence as well as our individuality.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. The economy has created 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again.

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is

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not a time to rest: this is a time to build. ~~You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof~~.

in this soulful moment

So let us challenge our people to embark upon a great national mission: to draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. Tonight, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America by directing the power of America. It is in our power to define America anew for new times. What is this new America? A nation that protects its children and provides for its parents. A nation -- perhaps the only nation on Earth -- where all who work hard can rise as far as their God-given talents will take them. A nation that will lead the world to peace in the next century. Here is how, together, we can build that nation. [*INTRO: 10 minutes*]

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy -- for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity.

Technology Transforms

We are building a new economy. Consider: Today, more Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at its height in the 1950s. At the same time, the American auto industry is once again the strongest in the world. In the cutting edge industries that define the global economy -- from semiconductors and supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology, America leads the world.

Americans have been the pioneers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its creativity, and its enterprise are qualities at the core of the American character. We have brought it into being with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

Fiscal responsibility [6 minutes]

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

and if we stay strong for fiscal discipline, we may well balance the budget this year.

In 1993, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. That year, we acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and headed to zero. ~~Next year,~~ I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years. For three decades, every president in every State of the Union came before you to warn that the deficit threatened our nation. Today, I come before you to tell you ~~the deficit is gone.~~

~~11 ZEROS~~ ~~SIMPLY ZERO.~~

POSITIVE

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline and wise investment by the American people. I would be remiss if I failed to note that it took some real courage: several of the Members of Congress who cast crucial votes for America's economic turnaround plan in 1993 are no longer in this chamber. They put their political lives on the line to ~~cast the right vote~~ improve the lives & livelihoods of their countrymen & women. The nation owes them our thanks.

Now, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy but of fundamental direction.

THE FEDERAL DEFICIT -- once SO INCOMPREHENSIBLY LARGE THAT IT HAD ELEVEN ZEROS... WILL BE SIMPLY ZERO.

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WE WILL ACCOMPLISH OUR GOALS WITHOUT ADDING A DIME TO THE DEFICIT OR A BUREAUCRAT TO THE PAYROLL.

As we enter the new century, will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or fall backward to the failed policies of the past?

You know, it seemed as if the prospect of a surplus was only minutes old before some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to shortsighted spending, or shortsighted tax cuts, that risk reopening the deficit. My balanced budget plan includes [x] tax cuts that are targeted to the needs of working families: tax cuts for education, for child care, for *tk.* [redacted] every tax cut – and every spending initiative – ~~is fully paid for within my balanced budget plan.~~ in my agenda for the 21°C. [redacted] is paid for.

What should be done with our nation's hard-earned budget surplus? I believe the answer is clear. It is based on our national priorities and our deepest values. We have acted, decisively and successfully, to erase our budget deficit. Now we must rise to ~~our~~ A moral duty ~~to preserve our most important program -- the program representing our fundamental obligation to our elderly and to our next generation -- Social Security.~~ AS OLD AS THE SCRIPTURAL COMMANDMENT TO "HONOR THY FATHER and THY MOTHER."

don't say "Soc. Sec" till the payoff.

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it a "cornerstone" of our society. ~~Social Security is more than a program -- it~~ is the way we honor our parents and provide for our children. AND [redacted] building on that cornerstone

So tonight, I propose that we save 100% of the surplus until we preserve Social Security. This will be proof of our nation's deep and lasting commitment to making this crowning achievement of the 20th Century a continuing achievement of the 21st Century. Until we have taken the other measures necessary to preserve this program for the next 75 years, let us reserve every penny of our surplus to replenish the Social Security Trust Fund. Let us commit that Social Security will be there for those who are 70, and 50, and 20. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

~~This must be only the beginning of a determined national effort to extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]~~

~~These are the principles that I believe must guide such reform.~~ [*reform principles*]

CUT?

I know this will not be easy. But let me say something especially to my fellow "baby boomers." Our parents sacrificed for us. They built this country. I know that my generation is prepared to take prudent and farsighted action now, to secure this system into the future – and to pass it on intact to our children. This is a bracing challenge and a high honor, a chance to put our values to work, and I look forward to it.

Leading the global economy [6 minutes]

The second reality we must face is this: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy. There is no turning back. Our only choice is whether to make this new world work for us or against us. Today, America's exports are at a record high. Our businesses and workers are

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The second reality we must face is this: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy. There is no turning back. Our only choice is whether to make this new world work for us or against us. Today, America's exports are at a record high. Our businesses and workers are outcompeting anyone in the world. We are better positioned than any nation on Earth to reap the rewards of the global economy.

To stay strong, America needs a world that is strong. With just four percent of the world's population, we must sell to the 96% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Fully one third of our economic growth has come from expanding exports. We must continue to tear down trade barriers abroad that keep out our goods and services. I will continue to press Congress for the power to make new trade agreements in America's interest.

In the new world economy, countries that make mistakes can pay a steep price. When investors lose confidence in a country, that nation can see its economy spiral down. That's what has happened in Asia over the past few months. Serious problems have arisen in financial markets there, beginning in Thailand and spreading to Indonesia and South Korea. Their difficulties have shaken confidence in that region and around the world.

We must see to it that these problems in Asia do not spread. We have insisted that these countries act to put their own houses in order – tearing down trade barriers, fighting corruption, adopting sound banking practices. When they are willing to help themselves, as good neighbors we have helped them do so. It is important that you understand -- these nations are ~~both our customers and our competitors~~. If our customers become insolvent, they won't be able to buy the goods we ~~export abroad~~ want to sell them. If their economies sink, they will be forced to cut their prices as competitors drastically + dump their products on our markets, which ~~and that~~ will hurt our competitiveness and harm our economy. And as our allies these nations' future ~~leading in the world economy~~ is in our national security interest as well. Having fought 3 wars in Asia in this century, the American people know well the importance of security and stability in that region.

It is in our national interest – in our economic interest – and in our military interest – to act, and act decisively. Tonight, I renew my call to the Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world economic ~~financial~~ system strong.

→ OUR CUSTOMERS, OUR COMPETITORS AND OUR ALLIES.

No one should be mistaken. The turmoil in Asia could well have a ~~harmful~~ impact on our economy. We will do everything we can to minimize its impact on America. ~~But there are no guarantees.~~ BUT THIS WE KNOW: PREPARING FOR A FAR-OFF STORM THAT MAY AFFECT OUR ~~EE~~ SHORES IS FAR WISER – and FAR CHEAPER -- THAN IGNORING THAT STORM UNTIL THE CLOUDS ARE OVERHEAD. LET US TAKE SENSIBLE STEPS TO PREVENT and CONTAIN THE EFFECTS of THE CURRENT OVERSEAS ECONOMIC TURMOIL.

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~~temptation to score political points in the long-term interest of our nation.~~ I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, Rep. Gephardt and Sen. Daschle, for uniting in support of prudent action to preserve our prosperity and keep the world economy strong.

Investing in people [11 minutes]

By imposing fiscal discipline and ~~embracing~~ leading the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our core value of equal opportunity for all is to remain vital in this new time, we must act to make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of prosperity. In reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. It is a gap we must close. ~~These are the keys to closing it.~~

~~Education that continues through a lifetime.~~

~~Health care that doesn't disappear when you need it most.~~

~~Child care and other tools to help parents take responsibility at home and at work.~~

~~Retirement security so a lifetime of work will be rewarded with dignity.~~

~~The chance to own a home in a strong and growing community.~~

The values and virtues that animate the American Dream are timeless. But the means and methods of achieving that dream must change with the times.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

~~Our mission has been to make~~ we are making the 13th and 14th years of education — the first two years of college -- as universal as a high school degree is today. In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant; in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will not bar the door.

~~Our universities and colleges are the best in the world. But our elementary schools and high schools are not~~. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

Most important, we must make sure our children master the basics. America is moving toward national standards, this fall we will have a nonpartisan national test to help parents know

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NEW TEACHERS MUST BE IN CLASSROOM...

whether students and schools measure up. Nobody in America should be able to graduate if they can't read their diploma. Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. Let us say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. We will end social promotion in America's schools.

ELENA rewrite

The best way to make sure our children learn the basics is to start them in small classes with good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will give states the funds to hire an additional [xx,000] first and second grade teachers, and reduce class size in those grades to an average of [18] nationwide. And we will insist that these new teachers should pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small and the teacher is qualified.

We must do even more. My balanced budget will help connect every classroom to the information superhighway, help repair or build thousands of schools, teach millions of children to read by the 3rd grade, provide mentors for thousands of young people, .

<u>The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times.</u>

We have made health care portable ~~through the Kennedy-Kassebaum law~~ from job to job. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. ~~And working together across party lines, we secured Medicare for a decade. Soon we will strengthen the program for the long run~~.

Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care plans that can cut costs and improve service. Patients should be treated as people, not as dollar signs on a ledger. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. Traditional care or managed care, every American must receive quality care.

And millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system and have lost their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these millions of hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system. It won't cost the taxpayers a penny, but it will provide ~~millions~~ hundreds of thousands of Americans peace of mind that is priceless.

<u>The third key to expanding opportunity is to help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home.</u> The new economy imposes new demands on working families. Most parents work, and they're working harder than ever. They need more time with their children.

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as much

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. But newborns need more. I ask you to extend Family Leave so that new mothers and fathers can take six months off from work, and so all Americans can take as little as an hour or two for a parent-teacher conference or a doctor's appointment.

Child care is the next frontier for the American community. [acknowledge First Lady] Let's be clear: governments don't raise children; parents do. But our new kind of government can give parents the tools they need to take responsibility. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, doubling the number of children we help and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. ~~These tax cuts would mean a typical family of four [*does that include $35K income?*] and high child care expenses will no longer pay a dime of federal income tax.~~ We should offer scholarships for good caregivers, and insist on tough background checks to find bad ones. And we must expand before-and after-school programs so that every child has somewhere to go other than the streets.

The fourth key to expanding opportunity in the new economy is to give our people retirement security. This goes beyond Social Security and Medicare. We have already acted to secure the pensions of 40 million working Americans. [new pension stuff]

The fifth key to expanding opportunity is to give our people the chance to own their own home in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped create an urban renaissance, bringing the spark of private enterprise into the inner city, bringing law and order to public housing. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. ~~That's because our new strategy is working. We~~ proved it in the South Bronx. President Carter called it "x." President Reagan compared it to London in the Blitz. When I visited last month, I saw single family homes, well-tended lawns, children playing on the street. Hope reborn. I want what has worked in the South Bronx to work everywhere in America.

~~[Pensions]~~

Climate change [3 ½ minutes]

The economy of the 21st Century must be an economy that protects the environment and promotes prosperity. Today, our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. We must continue this approach, with dramatic new efforts to clean our rivers and to protect our food supply.

The greatest environmental challenge we will face in the decades ahead is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. The science is sound;

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the verdict is in. It is time to act.

In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that unleashes the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, without imposing new taxes or government regulation. The Kyoto Treaty limits emissions by developed countries; next, we must secure meaningful participation from developing countries, because this global problem requires a global solution.

But we have it in our power to act now, here at home, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts to spur innovation and help Americans create and use more energy-efficient technologies. ~~We must also restructure the energy industry, reducing greenhouse gases and saving American consumers an estimated $20 Billion a year.~~

~~Can we do this without crippling our economy? Every time we have acted to protect our environment, whether clean air, clean water, acid rain, the pessimists say it can't be done. They have been wrong every time -- and they will be wrong this time, too~~. Already, America is beginning to lead. Earlier this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today. I propose that families that buy fuel efficient vehicles receive a tax cut worth up to $4000. I am confident that American ingenuity can conquer even this threat. It was on this date -- January 27, in 1880 -- that the first patent was awarded to Thomas Edison for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that invented that created the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [7 minutes]

As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table.

We must help parents protect their children from the single greatest health threat they face -- an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by million dollar marketing campaigns. We have acted to restrict the advertising that can seduce our children.

Now we must pass bipartisan, landmark legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business, and raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if smoking does not go down. This is not about politics. This is not about money. This is about one terrible fact. Every day 3000 young people will start smoking, and 1000 will die early as a result. Democrat or Republican, young or old, we all know someone who has died form smoking, and others we love will die if we don't act. Let us work together across party lines to

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make tobacco legislation the law of the land.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy.

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. Violence and drug use among young people is still far too high. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. We have a moral responsibility to take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. They should prohibit violent juveniles from buying guns on their 21st birthday. And they should help principals keep more of our schools open later, so that adults can be more involved in the lives of our youth -- and ~~teach~~ show them ~~right from wrong.~~ THE ERIGHT LINE SEPARATING GOOD FROM EVIL.

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to help states expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. Every criminal knows ~~that~~ the clogged courts can drag out trial and punishment for years. Yet the Senate's refusal to act has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice ~~Rehnquist~~ was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice ~~Rehnquist~~'s plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

The ... of the United States Supreme Court

the Chief

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair.

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing

yet

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vouchers to help families move closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work, to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

FOREIGN POLICY [15 minutes]

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that with our vast expanse, great power and democratic values comes a responsibility to lead. ~~Now, , the ideas we Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a right to pursue their own dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality around the world~~. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous than ever before ~~-- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace~~.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. They are susceptible to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and to racial and religious hatreds. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

And ~~[illegible]~~ while the world is in so many ways a new place, it is still a dangerous place.

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. ~~By adapting old institutions to new demands... old thinking for new times... we are laying a solid foundation for America's security~~. Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights. AND THE STRONGEST FIGHTING FORCE IN HUMAN HISTORY.

Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy... backed where necessary by American force... this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who do not.

Putting this strategy into place is a long term project. But to advance some of its most important pieces, there are steps we must take together -- this year.

~~First~~, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO

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is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. ~~We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century.~~ America's efforts to ~~has led the way~~ in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to ~~its historic enlargement~~.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was ~~mired~~ in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give ~~them~~ our troops the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower , is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. By banning all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. So I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, vote to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new cloud of fear on the horizon: increasingly interconnected terrorists and organized criminals -- often state supported -- armed with chemical and biological weapons.

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Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated]

I am determined to give America every possible tool to fight emerging threats to our security -- and put us ahead of the curve. Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a significant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. Terrorists don't go slow. We shouldn't either.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world. Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax could kill millions.

We are strengthening our ability to respond to a biological weapons attack against civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations. My FY '99 defense budget increases spending for defensive equipment and programs by $1 billion. [TK] But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, which entered into force 25 years ago, commits 109 countries not to develop, produce or possess biological weapons. But it lacks tough measures to enforce these commitments. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, a strong, international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure -- after full consideration but with full speed.

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy. // NO WAY!

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. ~~My FY '99 budget will allow us~~ to keep our troops well-trained and ready... improve their quality of life... and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. ~~By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.~~

DEFEAT THE ENEMIES and

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children... and the IMF was working to stem the spread of Asia's financial problems, our failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with these organizations -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America for the power of our example and the example of our power. I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom... for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress... and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But we should embrace this responsibility because with it comes an opportunity: to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION [6 minutes]

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." That mission, the core mission of our democracy, is as vital today. And our democracy, our union, faces new challenges.

Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress, only to be quietly smothered by filibuster. Well, not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have a strong bill, a bold first step in cleaning up our campaigns. And it will finally come to a vote on March 11, up or down, yes or no. Tonight, before the eyes of the American people, let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote <u>for</u> soft money – for the status quo. And that will be a very hard vote to explain to the American people.

Even more, we must address the underlying cost of campaigning on television. The airwaves are a public trust, and broadcasters have a responsibility to act in the public interest. Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free television and radio time for candidates. Free time can help free our elections from the grip of big

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

money.

And we must always remember our goal: widening the circle of democracy. Far too few people vote. There are many reasons, but here is one thing we can do. I ask the Congress to pass legislation giving all workers in America the time off they need to vote.

But as we work toward a more perfect union, we must confront the most stubborn obstacle of all: race. The face of America is changing. And we must confront this issue, frankly and fearlessly, if we are to remain the world's greatest multiracial democracy in the 21st century.

We should begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same values and the same dreams. Work, family, faith . . . education, health care, jobs. We make our greatest progress when we uphold our universal values and address our common concerns. At the same time, we must recognize that racism still abides; discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal.

And we have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. Too often, we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too many schools -- too many cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Too many of us have given up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on race. We have seen communities across America move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in ~~common endeavor. [possible race & service announcement]~~ DOING THE LORD'S WORK OF BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM [8 minutes]

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the human body.

If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology -- but only if we maintain our sustained commitment to research and development. In the early years of the new century, we will finish mapping the structure of human genes.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- a substantial new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. Let us build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes and make this year the year that, in the war against cancer, we began to win.

But as we go forward, technology ~~divorced from values will not bring us one step closer toward meeting the challenges or reaping the benefits of the 21st Century~~ MUST BE GOVERNED BY OUR VALUES. I ask the Congress to ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And I ask the Congress to prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, but five years ago, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. Within a matter of years, it will be the largest international marketplace in history -- not only of products and services, but ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

[*Salute to Sen. Glenn -- "Godspeed, John Glenn."*]

Throughout the course of human history, mankind has had only one place to call home -- Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, for the first time in the history of the world, men and women will build a new home -- a permanent space station, big as a football field, with as much

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

electrical power as a neighborhood. (ck) Inside its vast compartments, scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs from 15 nations will build our future.

We are joined tonight by the leader of America's medical science lab, the National Institutes of Health -- Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold Varmus. We are joined by the Gutenberg of cyberspace: Tim Berner-Lee, who invented the World Wide Web -- and whose work has done more to shape and create the world our children will inherit than any invention since the printing press. And we are joined by Mission Commander Robert Cabana -- who will pilot the space shuttle Endeavor in July as we begin building the permanent international space station.

They are the pathfinders, American pioneers for the new century and the new millennium. We salute them. And I ask them to stand.

But even as we imagine the future, ~~as time and technology propel us into a new millennium, in the coming years~~ let us commit ourselves to honoring the past.

Nearly two hundred years ago, a tattered, battle-worn flag inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope -- words that would become our national anthem. Seeing that flag, its broad stripes and bright stars still flying at the top of a Maryland fort after a fierce battle, made his heart swell with pride.

Today that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, are on display just a mile from here for all the world to see. They are America's crown jewels. We must preserve them for the ages. This year, we will launch a state-of-the-art effort to restore them, so that future generations can see for themselves the very words that launched our revolution.

Even as we commit to [strengthening the tattered threads of the Star Spangled banner, darkening the ink of the Declaration, reinforcing the parchment of the Constitution,] we must also renew the enduring values and powerful ideals they represent for the new millennium.

This long quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is what makes us American. Every time a man speaks his mind, every time a family comes to our shores in search of a better life, every time a citizen casts a vote, every time a voice is raised in the pursuit of justice, we keep our ideals alive.

It is an never-ending task. But it is what we must do, if this nation is to remain the last best hope of humanity in the next millennium.

Looking forward to our first century, our first President told his fellow citizens that their

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

new country "seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness ~~and felicity.~~" Our new nation was little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then, struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation -- and the revolutionary values they brought to this world -- would carry us to greatness -- and that is what they have done, for two centuries.

Our ideals are more than faded words on parchment; they are still the greatest force for human ~~happiness~~ greatness on Earth. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. In those days, let us imagine the future, and make America anew.

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001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union (17 pages)	01/16/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union (10 pages)	01/16/1998	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union (17 pages)	01/16/1998	P5
004. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union (10 pages)	01/15/1998	P5

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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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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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SOTU MTG EDITS 1/17/98

1/16/98 6pm EYES ONLY Draft 2

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years, I report to you on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

Tonight is not simply a night to report on the past or the matters immediately before us. Tonight is a night to face the future. To look forward, and embrace the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of this new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we must shape its content. ~~In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun -- we truly are present at the future.~~ And from the stunning leaps of new technology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

RE

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know that this new era also poses new risks to our families -- demands new skills of our people -- and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals. And for over two centuries, we have remained young and grown stronger by finding new means and methods to extend the principles of our founding, the meaning of our Constitution, to each new time. By making our ideals not faded words scratched on parchment, but glowing signposts to guide our path.

EK
BR

In the Civil War, our nation was challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that we are all created equal.

RE And cold war
AL

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A century ago, our nation was challenged by the brute force of economic change -- and we overcame it, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial Age.

Three decades ago, our nation was challenged by the sin of segregation -- and we overcame it, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged America to live out the true meaning of our creed.

MW! To master transition to the info age & strengthen nation for 21st C. PB RE

Here is our mission today: ~~To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. To prepare our people for a new millennium. To give new life to the American idea.~~ To ensure that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776. SM

Pick one

Not very long ago, it seemed as if these tides of change would leave America adrift. The new economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace, with ancient ethnic hatreds flaring across the globe. Social problems were accumulating. And ~~our political system~~ seemed paralyzed, insolvent. ~~America was moving forward, but our government was stuck in neutral.~~ It looked all too possible that America would enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline.

RE: but our govt was not.

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We acted to reform the government itself, to strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because of the efforts the Vice President has championed to reinvent our government so it does more with less, ~~tonight I can report to you that the federal~~ bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President. SM

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Instead, working together across lines of party, we have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all -- a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

RE revision

or use in transition

We are building a new citizenship,* one that calls upon our oldest sense of service -- a new citizenship that no longer expects something for nothing; that declares our interdependence as well as our individuality.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. The economy has created 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again.

* RE: "new citizen" who said it? CSR.

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GS BR
MW SM
JP

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is not a time to rest: this is a time to build. You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof. Research origin

CHANGE LOCATION

So let us challenge our people to embark upon a great national mission: to draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. Tonight, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America by directing the power of America. It is in our power to define America anew for new times. What is this new America? A nation that protects its children and provides for its parents. A nation -- perhaps the only nation on Earth -- where all who work hard can rise as far as their God-given talents will take them. A nation that will lead the world to peace in the next century. Here is how, together, we can build that nation. [*INTRO: 10 minutes*]

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY work on opening grafs post meeting.

We begin with the economy -- for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity. SM From auto industries to Computers etc. SM: techie steroids

Podesta: point toward new forms econ. growth

We are building a new economy. Consider: Today, more Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at its height in the 1950s. At the same time, the American auto industry is once again the strongest in the world. In the cutting edge industries that define the global economy -- from semiconductors and supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology, America leads the world. GS: do both positive

GS putting down auto/midwest NOT youre the past...

#1 in ag. in semi cond etc.

SM

Americans have been the pioneers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its creativity, and its enterprise are qualities at the core of the American character. We have brought it into being with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

RE: find colloquial way to say deficit down to Zero

93 → Reagan → dollars piled to moon?

see light @ tunnel.

Fiscal responsibility [6 minutes]

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

In 1993, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. That year, we acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and headed to zero. Next year, I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years. For three decades, every president in every State of the Union came before you to warn that the deficit threatened our nation. Today, I come before you to tell you the deficit is gone.

JP LAST FIVE PRESIDENTS?

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline and wise investment by the American people. I would be remiss if I failed to note that it took some real courage: several of the Members of Congress who cast crucial votes for America's economic turnaround plan in 1993 are no longer in this chamber. They put their political lives on the line to cast the right vote. The nation owes them our thanks.

Ar. more positive →

PB definitive moment ~~single deficit~~.

PB where no def. # followed by zeros...

GS I'm presenting 99 budget ... if econ stays strong...

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Now, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy but of fundamental direction. As we enter the new century, will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or fall backward to the failed policies of the past?

- *more fiscal discipline*
- *international markets*

Investing in people [11 minutes]

By imposing fiscal discipline and embracing the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our core value of equal opportunity for all is to remain vital in this new time, we must act to make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of prosperity. In reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. It is a gap we must close. ~~These are the keys to closing it.~~

Education that continues through a lifetime.

Health care that doesn't disappear when you need it most.

Child care and other tools to help parents take responsibility at home and at work.

Retirement security so a lifetime of work will be rewarded with dignity.

The chance to own a home in a strong and growing community.

The values and virtues that animate the American Dream are timeless. But the means and methods of achieving that dream must change with the times.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

Our mission has been to make the 13th and 14th years of education — the first two years of college -- as universal as a high school degree is today. In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant; in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will not bar the door.

ME LOSE SM

Our universities and colleges are the best in the world. But our elementary schools and high schools are not. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

MAKE COLLEGE
RE universal - every American — parents pay tuition this year, 1st time (write them checks)
they get tax break ---

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

P.S. we do drive by on SOC. promotion

more memorable, stronger, more declarative.

Most important, we must make sure our children master the basics. America is moving toward national standards, this fall we will have a nonpartisan national test to help parents know whether students and schools measure up. Nobody in America should be able to graduate if they can't read their diploma. Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. Let us say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. We will end social promotion in America's schools. RE: Frame it as an equity more than a discipline to kids: needs to be natl policy

The best way to make sure our children learn the basics is to start them in small classes with good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will give states the funds to hire an additional [xx,000] first and second grade teachers, and reduce class size in those grades to an average of [18] nationwide. And we will insist that these new teachers should pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small and the teacher is qualified.

We must do even more. My balanced budget will help connect every classroom to the information superhighway, help repair or build thousands of schools, teach millions of children to read by the 3rd grade, provide mentors for thousands of young people, .

The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times.

We have made health care portable through the Kennedy Kassebaum law. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. And working together across party lines, we secured Medicare for a decade. Soon we will strengthen the program for the long run.

Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care plans that can cut costs and improve service. Patients should be treated as people, not as dollar signs on a ledger. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. Traditional care or managed care, every American must receive quality care.

And millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system and have lost their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these millions of hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The third key to expanding opportunity is to help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home. The new economy imposes new demands on working families. Most parents work, and they're working harder than ever. They need more time with their children.

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. But newborns need more. I ask you to extend Family Leave so that new mothers and fathers can take six months off from work.

Child care is the next frontier for the American community. [acknowledge First Lady] Let's be clear: governments don't raise children; parents do. But our new kind of government can give parents the tools they need to take responsibility. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, doubling the number of children we help and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. These tax cuts would mean a typical family of four [*does that include $35K income?]* and high child care expenses will no longer pay a dime of federal income tax. We should offer scholarships for good caregivers, and insist on tough background checks to find bad ones. And we must expand before-and after-school programs so that every child has somewhere to go other than the streets.

The fourth key to expanding opportunity in the new economy is to give our people retirement security. This goes beyond Social Security and Medicare. We have already acted to secure the pensions of 40 million working Americans. [new pension stuff]

The fifth key to expanding opportunity is to give our people the chance to own their own home in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped create an urban renaissance, bringing the spark of private enterprise into the inner city, bringing law and order to public housing. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. That's because our new strategy is working. We ~~proved it in the South Bronx. President Carter called it "x." President Reagan compared it~~ to ~~London in the Blitz. When I visited last month, I saw single family homes, well-tended~~ lawns, ~~children playing on the street. Hope reborn. I want what has worked in the South Bronx to work everywhere in America.~~

[Pensions]

Climate change [3 ½ minutes]

The economy of the 21st Century must be an economy that protects the environment and promotes prosperity. Today, our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. We must continue this approach, with dramatic new efforts to clean our rivers and to protect our food supply.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The greatest environmental challenge we will face in the decades ahead is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. The science is sound; the verdict is in. It is time to act.

In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that unleashes the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, without imposing new taxes or government regulation. The Kyoto Treaty limits emissions by developed countries; next, we must secure meaningful participation from developing countries, because this global problem requires a global solution.

(return) reive concept of competition

But we have it in our power to act now, here at home, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts to spur innovation and help Americans create and use more energy-efficient technologies. We ~~must also restructure the energy industry, reducing greenhouse gases and saving American consumers an estimated $20 Billion a year.~~ competition, electric

Can we do this without crippling our economy? Every time we have acted to protect our environment, whether clean air, clean water, acid rain, the pessimists say it can't be done. They have been wrong every time -- and they will be wrong this time, too. Already, America is beginning to lead. Earlier this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today. ~~I propose that families that buy fuel efficient vehicles receive a tax cut worth up to $4000.~~ I am confident that American ingenuity can conquer even this threat. It was on this date -- January 27, in 1880 -- that the first patent was awarded to Thomas Edison for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that invented that created the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy.

BR: transition (CEA).

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [7 minutes]

O-C-R

As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table.

We must help parents protect their children from the single greatest health threat they face -- an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by million dollar marketing campaigns. We have acted to restrict the advertising that can seduce our children.

Now we must pass bipartisan, landmark legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business, and raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten

~~COPIE~~

~~bring comp back to electronic~~

RADIO ADDRESS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3000 + Congress

This Congress should be proud as the Congress that stopped 3000 a day from ... child

years if smoking does not go down. This is not about politics. This is not about money. This is about one terrible fact. ~~Every day 3000~~ young people will start smoking, and 1000 will die early ~~as a result.~~ Democrat or Republican, young or old, we all know someone who has died form smoking, and others we love will die if we don't act. Let us work together across party lines to make tobacco legislation the law of the land.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy.

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. Violence and drug use among young people is still far too high. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. We have a moral responsibility to take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. They should prohibit violent juveniles from buying guns on their 21st birthday. And they should help principals keep more of our schools open later, so that adults can be more involved in the lives of our youth -- and teach them right from wrong.

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to help states expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. Every criminal knows that the clogged courts can drag out trial and punishment for years. Yet the Senate's refusal to act has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice Rehnquist was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice Rehnquist's plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

10 M announcement.

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Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair.

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing vouchers to help families move closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work.

transportation

FOREIGN POLICY [15 minutes] 11

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that with our vast expanse, great power and democratic values comes a responsibility to lead. Now, , the ideas we Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a right to pursue their own dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality around the world. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous than ever before -- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

cut to 2.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. They are susceptible to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and to racial and religious hatreds. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands... old thinking for new times... we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.

Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy... backed where necessary by American force... this network of new arrangements forms ~~a Berlin Wall~~ for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who do not.

Putting this strategy into place is a long term project. But to advance some of its most important pieces, there are steps we must take together -- this year.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give them the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower , is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. By banning all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. So I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, vote to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new cloud of fear on the horizon: increasingly interconnected terrorists and organized criminals -- often state supported -- armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated]

I am determined to give America every possible tool to fight emerging threats to our security -- and put us ahead of the curve. Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a giant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. Terrorists don't go slow. We shouldn't either.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of war and terror. Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world. Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax could kill millions.

We are strengthening our ability to respond to a biological weapons attack against civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations. My FY '99 defense budget increases spending for defensive equipment and programs by $1 billion. [TK] But an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, which entered into force 25 years ago, commits 109 countries not to develop, produce or possess biological weapons. But it lacks tough measures to enforce these commitments. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to secure, as part of that treaty, a strong, international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure -- after full consideration but with full speed.

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy.

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. My FY '99 budget will allow us to keep our troops well-trained

JP: Am strongest military in world, [illegible]
TB give them a mission & they deliver

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and ready... improve their quality of life... and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Last year, I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children... and the IMF was working to stem the spread of Asia's financial problems, our failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with these organizations -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America for the power of our example and the example of our power. I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom... for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress... and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But we should embrace this responsibility because with it comes an opportunity: to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION [6 minutes]

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." That mission, the core mission of our democracy, is as vital today. And our democracy, our union, faces new challenges.

Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress, only to be quietly smothered by filibuster. Well, not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have a strong bill, a bold first step in cleaning up our campaigns. And it will finally come to a vote on March 11, up or down, yes or no. Tonight, before the eyes of the American people, let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote for soft money -- for the status quo. And that will be a very hard vote to explain to the American people.

2E
1P
RK | Lose
CFR Free Time

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RE: Lithuanian President
MISTAKE: mixed message

Even more, we must address the underlying cost of campaigning on television. The airwaves are a public trust, and broadcasters have a responsibility to act in the public interest. Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free television and radio time for candidates. Free time can help free our elections from the grip of big money.

And we must always remember our goal: widening the circle of democracy. Far too few people vote. There are many reasons, but here is one thing we can do. I ask the Congress to pass legislation giving all workers in America the time off they need to vote.

But as we work toward a more perfect union, we must confront the most stubborn obstacle of all: race. The face of America is changing. And we must confront this issue, frankly and fearlessly, if we are to remain the world's greatest multiracial democracy in the 21st century.

We should begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same values and the same dreams. Work, family, faith . . . education, health care, jobs. We make our greatest progress when we uphold our universal values and address our common concerns. At the same time, we must recognize that racism still abides, discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal.

And we have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. Too often, we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too many schools -- too many cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Too many of us have given up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on race. We have seen communities across America move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge

SM: everyone who's watching →
MM: what do we want people to see

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Rosen.
do shalikashvili in box?

every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in common endeavor. [possible race & service announcement]

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM [8 minutes] Add Peace Corps? ✱ TO FP?

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the human body.

If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology -- but only if we maintain our sustained commitment to research and development. In the early years of the new century, we will finish mapping the structure of human genes.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- a substantial new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. Let us build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes and make this year the year that, in the war against cancer, we began to win.

But as we go forward, technology divorced from values will not bring us one step closer toward meeting the challenges or reaping the benefits of the 21st Century. I ask the Congress to ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And I ask the Congress to prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, but five years ago, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. ~~Within a matter of years, it will be the largest international marketplace in history -- not only of products and services, but~~ ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

benefits & risks

T SMUT on NET

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

[*Salute to Sen. Glenn -- "Godspeed, John Glenn."*]

Add libraries or decks...

If you use Internet to [illegible] your children → [illegible] about you...

✱ Founders youngest grandchild ...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Throughout the course of human history, mankind has had only one place to call home -- Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, for the first time in the history of the world, men and women will build a new home -- a permanent space station, big as a football field, with as much electrical power as a neighborhood. (ck) Inside its vast compartments, scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs from 15 nations will build our future.

We are joined tonight by the leader of America's medical science lab, the National Institutes of Health -- Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold Varmus. We are joined by the Gutenberg of cyberspace: Tim Berner-Lee, who invented the World Wide Web -- and whose work has done more to shape and create the world our children will inherit than any invention since the printing press. And we are joined by Mission Commander Robert Cabana -- who will pilot the space shuttle Endeavor in July as we begin building the permanent international space station.

They are the pathfinders, American pioneers for the new century and the new millennium. We salute them. And I ask them to stand.

But even as we imagine the future, as time and technology propel us into a new millennium, in the coming years let us commit ourselves to honoring the past.

Nearly two hundred years ago, a tattered, battle-worn flag inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope -- words that would become our national anthem. Seeing that flag, its broad stripes and bright stars still flying at the top of a Maryland fort after a fierce battle, made his heart swell with pride.

Today that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, are on display just a mile from here for all the world to see. They are America's crown jewels. We must preserve them for the ages. This year, we will launch a state-of-the-art effort to restore them, so that future generations can see for themselves the very words that launched our revolution.

Even as we commit to [strengthening the tattered threads of the Star Spangled banner, darkening the ink of the Declaration, reinforcing the parchment of the Constitution,] we must also renew the enduring values and powerful ideals they represent for the new millennium.

This long quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is what makes us American. Every time a man speaks his mind, every time a family comes to our shores in search of a better life, every time a citizen casts a vote, every time a voice is raised in the pursuit of justice, we keep our ideals alive.

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It is an neverending task. But it is what we must do, if this nation is to remain the last best hope of humanity in the next millennium.

Looking forward to our first century, our first President told his fellow citizens that their new country "seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity." Our new nation was little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then, struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation -- and the revolutionary values they brought to this world -- would carry us to greatness -- and that is what they have done, for two centuries.

Our ideals are more than faded words on parchment; they are still the greatest force for human happiness on Earth. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. In those days, let us imagine the future, and make America anew.

Secular age of Enlightenment

A new age of enlightened...

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years, I report to you on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

Tonight is not simply a night to report on the past or the matters immediately before us. Tonight is a night to face the future. To look forward, and embrace the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of this new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we must shape its content. In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun -- we truly are present at the future. And from the stunning leaps of new technology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know that this new era also poses new risks to our families -- demands new skills of our people -- and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals. And for over two centuries, we have remained young and grown stronger by finding new means and methods to extend the principles of our founding, the meaning of our Constitution, to each new time. By making our ideals not faded words scratched on parchment, but glowing signposts to guide our path.

In the Civil War, our nation was challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that we are all created equal.

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A century ago, our nation was challenged by the brute force of economic change -- and we overcame it, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial Age.

Three decades ago, our nation was challenged by the sin of segregation -- and we overcame it, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged America to live out the true meaning of our creed.

To ~~[illegible]~~ master the great transit to an Infant age.

Here is our mission today: To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. To prepare our people for a new millennium. To give new life to the American idea. To ensure that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.

Not very long ago, it seemed as if these tides of change would leave America adrift. The new economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace, with ancient ethnic hatreds flaring across the globe. Social problems were accumulating. And our political system seemed paralyzed, insolvent. ~~America was moving forward, but our government was stuck in neutral~~. It looked all too possible that America would enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline.

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We acted to ~~reform the government itself, to~~ strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because of the efforts ~~the~~ Vice President ~~has championed~~ to reinvent our government so it does more with less, tonight I can report to you that the federal bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President.

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Instead, working together across lines of party, we have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all -- a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

and

We are building a new citizenship, one that calls upon our oldest sense of service -- a new citizenship that no longer expects something for nothing; that declares our interdependence as well as our individuality.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. The economy has created 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is not a time to rest: this is a time to build. You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof.

So let us challenge our people to embark upon a great national mission: to draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. Tonight, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America by directing the power of America. It is in our power to define America anew for new times. What is this new America? A nation that protects its children and provides for its parents. A nation -- perhaps the only nation on Earth -- where all who work hard can rise as far as their God-given talents will take them. A nation that will lead the world to peace in the next century. Here is how, together, we can build that nation. [*INTRO: 10 minutes*]

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy -- for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity.

~~We are building a new economy~~. Consider: Today, more Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at its height in the 1950s. At the same time, the American auto industry is once again the strongest in the world. In the cutting edge industries that define the global economy -- from semiconductors and supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology, America leads the world.

Americans have been the pioneers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its creativity, and its enterprise are qualities at the core of the American character. We have brought it into being with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

Fiscal responsibility [6 minutes]

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

In 1993, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. ~~That year, we acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course~~. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and headed to zero. Next year, I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years. ~~For three decades, every president in every State of the Union came before you to warn~~ that the deficit threatened our nation. Today, I come before you to tell you the deficit is gone.

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline and wise investment by the American people. I would be remiss if I failed to note that it took some real courage: several of the Members of Congress who cast crucial votes for America's economic turnaround plan in 1993 are no longer in this chamber. They put their political lives on the line to cast the right vote. The nation owes them our thanks.

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Now, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy but of fundamental direction. ~~As we enter the new century~~, will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or fall backward to the failed policies of the past?

You know, it seemed as if the prospect of a surplus was only minutes old before some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to shortsighted spending, or shortsighted tax cuts, that risk reopening the deficit. My balanced budget plan includes [x] tax cuts that are targeted to the needs of working families: tax cuts for education, for child care, for *tk.* ~~And~~ every tax cut – and every spending initiative – is fully paid for within my balanced budget plan. But

What should be done with our nation's hard-earned budget surplus? I believe the answer is clear. It is based on our national priorities and our deepest values. We have acted, decisively and successfully, to erase our budget deficit. Now we must rise to our moral duty to preserve our most important program -- the program ~~representing~~ reflecting our fundamental obligation to our ~~elderly~~ parents and to our ~~next generation~~ children -- Social Security.

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it a "cornerstone" of our society. Social Security is more than a program. It is the way we honor our parents and provide for our children.

~~So~~ tonight, I propose that we save 100% of the surplus until we preserve Social Security. This will be proof of our nation's deep and lasting commitment to making this crowning achievement of the 20th Century a continuing achievement of the 21st Century. Until we have taken the other measures necessary to preserve this program for the next 75 years, let us reserve every penny of ~~our~~ the surplus to replenish the Social Security Trust Fund. Let us commit that Social Security will be there for those who are 70, and 50, and 20. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

This must be only the beginning of a determined national effort to extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]

These are the principles that I believe must guide such reform. [*reform principles*]

I know this will not be easy. But let me say something [illegible] "baby boomers." Our parents sacrificed for us. They bu[illegible] prepared to take prudent and f[illegible]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The second reality we must face is this: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy. There is no turning back. Our only choice is whether to make this new world work for us or against us. Today, America's exports are at a record high. Our businesses and workers are outcompeting anyone in the world. We are better positioned than any nation on Earth to reap the rewards of the global economy.

To stay strong, America needs a world that is strong. With just four percent of the world's population, we must sell to the 96% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Fully one third of our economic growth has come from expanding exports. We must continue to tear down trade barriers abroad that keep out our goods and services. I will continue to press Congress for the power to make new trade agreements in America's interest.

In the new world economy, countries that make mistakes can pay a steep price. When investors lose confidence in a country, that nation can see its economy spiral down. That's what has happened in Asia over the past few months. Serious problems have arisen in financial markets there, beginning in Thailand and spreading to Indonesia and South Korea. Their difficulties have shaken confidence in that region and around the world.

We must see to it that these problems in Asia do not spread. We have insisted that these countries act to put their own houses in order – tearing down trade barriers, fighting corruption, adopting sound banking practices. When they are willing to help themselves, as good neighbors we have helped them do so. It is important that you understand -- these nations are both our customers and our competitors. If our customers become insolvent, they won't be able to buy the goods we export abroad. If their economies sink, they will be forced to cut their prices drastically -- and that will hurt our competitiveness and harm our economy. And leading in the world economy is in our national security interest as well. Having fought 3 wars in Asia in this century, the American people know well the importance of security and stability in that region.

It is in our national interest – in our economic interest – and in our military interest – to act, and act decisively. Tonight, I renew my call to the Congress to renew America's commitment to the International Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world financial system strong.

No one should be mistaken. The turmoil in Asia could well have a harmful impact on our economy. We will do everything we can to minimize its impact on America. But there are no guarantees.

Throughout this past century, the threats to America from abroad came from a hostile military enemy. Today, new threats can come from the impersonal forces of the global market. At every moment of testing, Americans have pulled together, and our leaders have set aside the temptation to score political points in the long-term interest of our nation. I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, Rep. Gephardt and Sen. Daschle, for uniting in support of prudent action to preserve our prosperity and keep the world economy strong.

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Investing in people [11 minutes]

By imposing fiscal discipline and embracing the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our core value of equal opportunity for all is to remain vital in this new time, we must act to make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of prosperity. In reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. It is a gap we must close. ~~These are the keys to closing it.~~ We all know the keys to opportunity. A good job. But more than ever, esp. today

Education that continues through a lifetime.

Health care that doesn't disappear when you need it most.

Child care and other tools to help parents take responsibility at home and at work.

Retirement security so a lifetime of work will be rewarded with dignity.

The chance to own a home in a strong and growing community.

The values and virtues that animate the American Dream are timeless. But the means and methods of achieving that dream must change with the times.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

Our mission has been to make the ~~13th and 14th years of education~~ the first two years of college as universal as a high school degree is today. In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant; in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will not bar the door.

Our universities and colleges are the best in the world. But our elementary schools and high schools are not. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

Most important, we must make sure our children master the basics. America is moving toward national standards; this fall we will have a nonpartisan national test to help parents know whether students and schools measure up. Nobody in America should be able to graduate if they can't read their diploma. Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. ~~Let us~~ We must say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. We will end social promotion in America's schools.

The best way to make sure our children learn the basics is to start them in small classes with good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will give states the funds to hire an additional [xx,000] first and second grade teachers, and reduce class size in those grades to an average of [18] nationwide. And we will insist that these new teachers should pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small and the teacher is qualified.

We must do even more. My balanced budget will help connect every classroom to the information superhighway, help repair or build thousands of schools, teach millions of children to read by the 3rd grade, provide mentors for thousands of young people, .

The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times.

We have made health care portable through the Kennedy Kassebaum law. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. And working together across party lines, we secured Medicare for a decade. Soon we will strengthen the program for the long run.

Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care plans that can cut costs and improve service. Patients should be treated as people, not as dollar signs on a ledger. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. Traditional care or managed care, every American must receive quality care.

And millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system and have lost their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these millions of hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system.

The third key to expanding opportunity is to help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home. The new economy imposes new demands on working families. Most parents work, and they're working harder than ever. ~~They need more time with their children.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. But newborns need more. I ask you to extend Family Leave so that new mothers and fathers can take six months off from work.

Child care is the next frontier for the American community. [acknowledge First Lady] ~~Let's be clear~~: governments don't raise children; parents do. But our new kind of government can give parents the tools they need ~~to take responsibility.~~ I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, doubling the number of children we help and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. These tax cuts would mean a typical family of four [*does that include $35K income?]* ~~and~~ with high child care expenses will no longer pay a dime of federal income tax. We should offer scholarships for good caregivers, and insist on tough background checks to find bad ones. And we must expand before-and after-school programs so that every child has somewhere to go other than the streets.

The fourth key to expanding opportunity in the new economy is to give our people retirement security. This goes beyond Social Security and Medicare. We have already acted to secure the pensions of 40 million working Americans. [new pension stuff]

4th

The ~~fifth~~ key to expanding opportunity is to give our people the chance to own their own home in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped create an urban renaissance, bringing the spark of private enterprise into the inner city, bringing law and order to public housing. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. That's because our new strategy is working. We proved it in the South Bronx. President Carter called it "x." President Reagan compared it to London in the Blitz. When I visited last month, I saw single family homes, well-tended lawns, children playing on the street. Hope reborn. I want what has worked in the South Bronx to work everywhere in America.

[POSSIBLE FLOTUS BOX]

[Pensions]

Climate change [3 ½ minutes]

The economy of the 21st Century must be an economy that protects the environment and promotes prosperity. Today, our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. We must continue this approach, with dramatic new efforts to clean our rivers and to protect our food supply.

The greatest environmental challenge we will face in the decades ahead is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate,

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undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. The science is sound; the verdict is in. It is time to act.

In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that unleashes the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, without imposing new taxes or government regulation. The Kyoto Treaty limits emissions by developed countries; next, we must secure meaningful participation from developing countries, because this global problem requires a global solution.

But we have it in our power to act now, here at home, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts to spur innovation and help Americans create and use more energy-efficient technologies. We must also restructure the energy industry, reducing greenhouse gases and saving American consumers an estimated $20 Billion a year.

Can we do this ~~without crippling~~ our economy? Every time we have acted to protect our environment, whether clean air, clean water, acid rain, the pessimists say it can't be done. They have been wrong every time -- and they will be wrong this time, too. Already, ~~America is beginning to lead. Earlier this month,~~ Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today. I propose that families that buy fuel efficient vehicles receive a tax cut worth up to $4000. ~~I am confident that American ingenuity can conquer even this threat.~~ It was on this date -- January 27, in 1880 -- that the first patent was awarded to Thomas Edison for the lightbulb. I am confident that the nation that invented that created the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [7 minutes]

As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table.

We must help parents protect their children from the single greatest health threat they face -- an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by million dollar marketing campaigns. ~~We have acted to restrict the advertising that can seduce our children.~~

Now we must pass bipartisan, landmark legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business, and raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if smoking does not go down. This is not about politics. This is not about money. This is about one terrible fact. Every day 3000 young people will start smoking, and 1000 will die early as a result. ~~Democrat or Republican, young or old, we all know someone who has died form~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

smoking, and others we love will die if we don't act. Let us work together across party lines to make tobacco legislation the law of the land.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy.

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. Violence and drug use among young people is still far too high. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. We ~~have a moral responsibility to~~ must take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. They should prohibit violent juveniles from buying guns on their 21st birthday. And they should help principals keep more of our schools open later, so that adults can be more involved in the lives of our youth -- and teach them right from wrong.

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to help states expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. Every criminal knows that the clogged courts can drag out trial and punishment for years. Yet the Senate's refusal to act has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice Rehnquist was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice Rehnquist's plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Redacted

1/16/98 6pm EYES ONLY Draft 2

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, ~~like all of my predecessors in an unbroken line reaching back 209 years,~~ I report to you on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, our incomes rising, our social fabric mending, and our leadership in the world unrivaled, the state of our union is strong.

Tonight is not simply a night to report on the past or the matters immediately before us. Tonight is a night to face the future. ~~To look forward, and embrace the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of this new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America.~~

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we must shape its content. In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun ~~-- we truly are present at the future.~~ And from the stunning leaps of new technology to the dynamism of the new economy, so much of this new century already bears the proud stamp: "Made in America."

This new era presents limitless vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment. Yet we know that this new era also poses new risks to our families and -- demands new skills of our people -- ~~and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know that~~ the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such promise also hold much peril: new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. ~~For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals.~~ And for over two centuries, we have remained young and grown stronger by finding new means and methods to extend the principles of our founding, the meaning of our Constitution, to each new time. ~~By making our ideals not faded words scratched on parchment, but glowing signposts to guide our path.~~

Yes it was — religious freedom

In the Civil War, our nation was challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that we are all created equal.

These 3-graph history lesson doesn't add much. It gets in the way of looking forward.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A century ago, our nation was challenged by the brute force of economic change -- and we overcame it, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial Age.

Three decades ago, our nation was challenged by the sin of segregation -- and we overcame it, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged America to live out the true meaning of our creed.

Here is our mission today: To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. To prepare our people for a new millennium. To give new life to the American idea. To ensure that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.

Not very long ago, it seemed as if these tides of change would leave America adrift. The new economy was shackled by recession, deficits, and a debt that had quadrupled in 12 years. The Cold War had given way to an uneasy peace, ~~with ancient ethnic hatreds flaring across the globe~~. Social problems were accumulating. ~~And~~ Our political system seemed paralyzed, ~~insolvent. America was moving forward, but~~ our government ~~was~~ stuck in neutral. It looked all too possible that America ~~would~~ might enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline. ← not quite gone

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation.

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to attack our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We acted to reform the government itself, to strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because of the efforts the Vice President has championed to reinvent our government so it does more with less, tonight I can report to you that the federal bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President.

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Instead, working together across lines of party, we have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all -- a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

We are building a new citizenship, one that calls upon our oldest sense of service -- a new citizenship that no longer expects something for nothing; that declares our interdependence as well as our individuality.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. The economy has created 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is not a time to rest: this is a time to build. ~~You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof.~~ JFK's.

STET

So let us challenge our people to embark upon a great national mission: to draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. Tonight, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America by directing the power of America. ~~It is in our power to define America anew for new times. What is this new America? A nation that protects its children and provides for its parents. A nation -- perhaps the only nation on Earth -- where all who work hard can rise as far as their God-given talents will take them. A nation that will lead the world to peace in the next century. Here is how, together, we can build that nation.~~ [*INTRO: 10 minutes*]

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy -- for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity.

We are building a new economy. Consider: Today, more Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at its height in the 1950s. At the same time, the American auto industry is once again the strongest in the world. In the cutting edge industries that define the global economy -- from semiconductors and supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology, America leads the world.

Americans have been the pioneers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its creativity, and its enterprise are qualities at the core of the American character. We have ~~brought~~ spurred it ~~into being~~ along with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

Fiscal responsibility [6 minutes]

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

In 1993, the deficit for 1998 was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. That year, we acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course. Today, our deficit is $22 Billion, and headed to zero. Next ~~year~~ month, I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years. For three decades, every president in every State of the Union came before you to warn that the deficit threatened our nation. Today, I come before you to tell you ~~the deficit is gone.~~ that we can end the deficit for good this year.

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline and wise investment by the American people. I would be remiss if I failed to note that it took some real courage: several of the Members of Congress who cast crucial votes for America's economic turnaround plan in 1993 are no longer in this chamber. They put their political lives on the line to cast the right vote. The nation owes them our thanks.

This is a mistake to go partisan so early.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy but of fundamental direction. As we enter the new century, will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or fall backward to the failed policies of the past?

- *more fiscal discipline*
- *international markets*

Investing in people [11 minutes]

By imposing fiscal discipline and embracing the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our core value of equal opportunity for all is to remain vital in this new time, we must act to make sure that all Americans can reap the rewards of prosperity. ~~In reality, the income gap is an~~ opportunity gap. ~~It is a gap we must close. These are the keys to closing it.~~ It is time to close the

This billboard gets you nothing.

Education that continues through a lifetime.

Health care that doesn't disappear when you need it most.

Child care and other tools to help parents take responsibility at home and at work.

Retirement security so a lifetime of work will be rewarded with dignity.

The chance to own a home in a strong and growing community.

The values and virtues that animate the American Dream are timeless. But the means and methods of achieving that dream must change with the times.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

Our mission has been to make the 13th and 14th years of education — the first two years of college -- as universal as a high school degree is today. In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant; in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will not bar the door.

Our universities and colleges are the best in the world. But our elementary schools and high schools are not. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Most important, we must make sure our children master the basics. America is moving toward national standards, this fall we will have a nonpartisan national test to help parents know whether students and schools measure up. ~~Nobody in America should be able to~~ Now we must make sure no one in America graduates ~~if they~~ without being able to can't read their diploma. Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. Let us say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do. We will end social promotion in America's schools.

The best way to make sure our children learn the basics is to start them in small classes with good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will give states the funds to hire an additional ~~[xx,000] first and second grade~~ 100,000 1st, 2nd, + 3rd teachers, ~~and~~ to reduce class size in ~~those~~ grades to an average of [18] nationwide. And we will insist that these new teachers ~~should~~ pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small and the teacher ~~is qualified~~ can teach.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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The fifth key to expanding opportunity is to give our people the chance to own their own home in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped create an urban renaissance, bringing the spark of private enterprise into the inner city, bringing law and order to public housing. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. That's because our new strategy is working. We proved it in the South Bronx. President Carter called it "x." President Reagan compared it to London in the Blitz. When I visited last month, I saw single family homes, well-tended lawns. children playing on the street. Hope reborn. I want what has worked in the South Bronx to work everywhere in America.

[Pensions]

Climate change [3 ½ minutes]

The economy of the 21st Century must be an economy that protects the environment and promotes prosperity. Today, our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. We must continue this approach, with dramatic new efforts to clean our rivers and to protect our food supply.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The greatest environmental challenge we will face in the decades ahead is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will disrupt our climate, undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at risk. The science is sound: the verdict is in. It is time to act.

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NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [7 minutes]

As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the kitchen table.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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MOVE TO P.7

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Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. They should prohibit violent juveniles from buying guns ~~on their 21st birthday.~~ once they turn 21. And they should help principals keep more of our schools open later, so that adults can be more involved in the lives of our youth -- and teach them right from wrong.

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to help states expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively. Every criminal knows that the clogged courts can drag out trial and punishment for years. Yet the Senate's refusal to act has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice Rehnquist was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice Rehnquist's plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair.

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing vouchers to help families move closer to available jobs. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [3,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone eager to work.

FOREIGN POLICY [15 minutes] !!

Throughout the past century, America has taken the

~~For the past half century, the American people have agreed that with our vast expanse, great power and democratic values comes a~~ responsibility to lead. Now, , the ideas we Americans have stood and struggled for -- that people have a right to pursue their own dreams in peace, security and liberty -- are, more and more, a daily reality around the world. As a result, our people here at home are more secure and prosperous than ever before -- and we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. They are susceptible to the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and to racial and religious hatreds. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands... old thinking for new times... we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.

Unnecessary billboard, apologetic gobbledygook

Berlin Wall was a bad thing

Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy ~~backed~~ where necessary by American force... this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who do not.

Putting this strategy into place is a long term project, but ~~But to advance some of its most important pieces,~~ there are steps we must take together -- this year.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

CUT ~~NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic.~~ For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

I sent our soldiers to Bosnia when its combatants made a commitment in Dayton to end the suffering and the slaughter. I sent them because we have a profound interest in preventing another brutal war from spreading in the heart of Europe. With soldiers from [TK] countries, they have silenced the guns, separated the armies and secured the peace. And civilian organizations, working hand-in-hand with the Bosnians, have begun to rebuild Bosnia's roads and factories, restart its economy, hold democratic elections, return refugees to their homes and bring war criminals to justice.

explaining won't really help

The progress is unmistakable. But it is not yet irreversible. To take firm root, Bosnia's fragile peace still needs the secure environment only an international military force can provide. That is why I have agreed that American troops should take part in a follow-on security force when the current NATO mission ends in June. If we finish the job, a lasting peace is possible. Our troops have done right by Bosnia... and by America. Now, we should do right by them. Give them the support they deserve.

Third, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the threat of weapons of mass destruction since the atom was split.

This year, the longest sought prize in arms control history, first proposed by President Eisenhower , is within our reach: the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. ~~By banning~~ to ban all nuclear tests for all time, we can help prevent nuclear states from producing more advanced and dangerous weapons and make it more difficult for non-nuclear states to develop these devices of destruction. [Endorsement announcement to come]. So I ask the Senate: before this session of Congress ends, ~~vote to stop~~ the spread of nuclear weapons. Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and stop

(obvious)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOREIGN POLICY [15 minutes] (1666

For the past half century, the American people have agreed that our nation has a responsibility to lead. Today, the values for which we fought – democracy, freedom, free markets – are ascendant. We are more secure and prosperous than ever in our history. And we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility to build a new era of peace.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. The forces of global integration are a great tide of opportunity. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits. The superpower stand-off that drove our fears for fifty years has ended. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy axis of new security threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the very power of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people we cherish.

To answer to these challenges, American leadership is crafting a new security strategy for the 21st century. By adapting old institutions to new demands we are laying a solid foundation for America's security. ~~Strong security alliances. Tough arms control treaties. Agreements to tear down trade barriers. International coalitions for peace and against terror, crime and drugs. Binding international commitments on the environment and human rights.~~

~~Each of these initiatives strengthens a distinct American interest while serving a common purpose -- to strengthen democracy, peace and free markets while turning back their enemies. Forged by American diplomacy ... backed where necessary by American force ... this network of new arrangements forms a Berlin Wall for the 21st Century, embracing those who play by the rules, isolating those who don't.~~

That is our vision for the 21st Century. here are some steps we must take together -- this year.

First, in a few days, I will ask the Senate for its advice and consent to make three of Europe's new democracies -- Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic -- the newest members of NATO.

NATO is at the heart of Europe's transformation into a continent undivided, peaceful and democratic. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, NATO is extending the frontiers of security and freedom by taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine. We must build a future in which Europe never again unleashes the horrors we have seen in this century. America has led the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. I ask the Senate to say yes to its historic enlargement.

Second, I will ask this Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. For four years, Bosnia was mired in the deep freeze of destruction. Now, it has begun to grow again in the sunlight of peace.

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Even as we lift the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for fifty years, we can see a new cloud of fear on the horizon: ~~increasingly interconnected~~ terrorists and organized criminals ~~often state supported~~ armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf War, international weapons inspectors have been trying to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program. They destroyed more weapons of mass destruction potential over the past six and half years than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors from Iraq and continues to harass them because they have done their job too well. That is why the international community, led by the United States, insisted that they return to work -- and now demands that they be given full and immediate access to the sites they ask to inspect. [TK: to be updated]

I am determined to give America every possible tool to fight emerging threats to our security -- and put us ahead of the curve. Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention -- a giant step forward in protecting our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. Now, I call on you to pass the implementing legislation that will put this treaty into force. Terrorists don't go slow. We shouldn't either.

There are also steps we should take to prevent an even more lethal threat: ~~the use of~~ disease ~~as a weapon of war and terror. Biotechnology is booming -- a boon for health, agriculture and many other fields. As a result, the knowledge and materials needed to make biological weapons are spreading around the world. Under the right circumstances, a thimble full of anthrax could kill millions.~~

~~We are strengthening our ability to respond to a~~ biological weapons attack ~~against civilians and protecting our troops with vaccinations~~. My FY '99 defense budget ~~increases~~ includes a $1 billion increase to defend troops + civilians against these weapons. ~~spending for defensive equipment and programs by $1 billion. [TK] But an ounce of prevention~~ is ~~worth a pound of cure. Our first priority should be to~~ But we must stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. ~~The Biological Weapons Convention, which entered into force 25 years ago, commits 109 countries not to develop, produce or possess biological weapons. But it lacks tough measures to enforce these commitments~~. Tonight, I am announcing my determination to ~~secure~~ strengthen the BWC by securing ~~as part of that treaty~~, a strong, international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. And I will ask the Senate to approve any improvements we secure ~~after full consideration but with full speed.~~

Each of these initiatives is a key part of America's new security strategy. But not one of them would be possible with the world's finest fighting force and a fully funded diplomacy.

After five years as President, there is one thing I know with absolute certainty: give our men and women in uniform a clear and purposeful mission and they deliver. We must make it our mission to deliver for them. My FY '99 budget will allow us to keep our troops well-trained

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and ready... improve their quality of life... and pay for the 21st century technology they need to dominate the battlefields of the future. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

Last year, I was pleased that we finally reversed the downward spiral in funding for America's diplomatic mission -- building peace and opposing its enemies. But I was deeply disappointed that we missed an opportunity to make good on our debt to the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. At the very moment UN weapons inspectors were braving the dangers of Iraq to protect our children... and the IMF was working to stem the spread of Asia's financial problems, our failure to pass bipartisan legislation pulled the rug out from under our influence with these organizations -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills and put this problem behind us.

Send Postcards

In the months ahead, I will pursue our security strategy with partners -- new and old -- around the world. In Africa, in Indian and Pakistan, in South America and in China -- home to XX percent of the world's population -- I will work to advance a broad agenda of America's interests.

whiney

Everywhere I travel, I meet people who look to America ~~for the power of our example~~ and ~~the example of our power. I wish the American people could see our nation as so much of the world sees us: a force for peace and freedom... for security and prosperity. A nation with the will to advance progress... and the way to get the job done. Leadership can weigh heavily on us at times. But~~ We should embrace this responsibility ~~because with it comes an~~ opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance and our challenge in the world. We must seize it.

see for the power of our example + the example of our power. it brings — for that

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION [6 minutes]

Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union." That mission, the core mission of our democracy, is as vital today. And our democracy, our union, faces new challenges.

Our elections -- the pride of our democracy -- have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress, only to be quietly smothered by filibuster. Well, not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have a strong bill, a bold first step in cleaning up our campaigns. And it will finally come to a vote on March 11, up or down, yes or no. Tonight, before the eyes of the American people, let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote <u>for</u> soft money – for the status quo. ~~And that will be a very hard vote to explain to the American people.~~

It is time to vote yes to CFR (or some applause line)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Even more, we must address the underlying cost of campaigning on television. The airwaves are a public trust, and broadcasters have a responsibility to act in the public interest. Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free television and radio time for candidates. Free time can help free our elections from the grip of big money.

And we must always remember our goal: widening the circle of democracy. Far too few people vote. There are many reasons, but here is one thing we can do. I ask the Congress to pass legislation giving all workers in America the time off they need to vote.

But as we work toward a more perfect union, we must confront the most stubborn obstacle of all: race. The face of America is changing. And we must confront this issue, frankly and fearlessly, if we are to remain the world's greatest multiracial democracy in the 21st century.

We should begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same values and the same dreams. Work, family, faith . . . education, health care, jobs. We make our greatest progress when we uphold our universal values and address our common concerns. At the same time, we must recognize that racism still abides; discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal.

And we have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. Too often, we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too many schools -- too many cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Too many of us have given up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on race. We have seen communities across America move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge

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every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in common endeavor. [possible race & service announcement] ← Good idea. Do we have one?

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM [8 minutes]

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the human body.

If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology -- ~~but only if we maintain our sustained commitment to research and development.~~ In the early years of the new century, we will finish mapping the structure of human genes.

Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- ~~a substantial~~ an $__ billion new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. Let us build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes and make this year the year that, in the war against cancer, we began to win.

But as we go forward, technology divorced from values will not bring us one step closer toward meeting the challenges or reaping the benefits of the 21st Century. I ask the Congress to ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And I ask the Congress to prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, but five years ago, there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. Within a matter of years, it will be the largest international marketplace in history -- not only of products and services, but ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

~~But~~ the I

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

[*Salute to Sen. Glenn -- "Godspeed, John Glenn."*]

JO — you can't push free trade on the Net without mentioning values, or crackdown on Interrapping, etc.

But the Internet cannot be a value-free zone. I call on Congress to pass legislation to crackdown on [illegible] use the net to

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Throughout the course of human history, mankind has had only one place to call home -- Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, for the first time in the history of the world, men and women will build a new home -- a permanent space station, big as a football field, with as much electrical power as a neighborhood. (ck) Inside its vast compartments, scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs from 15 nations will build our future.

We are joined tonight by the leader of America's medical science lab, the National Institutes of Health -- Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold Varmus. We are joined by the Gutenberg of cyberspace: Tim Berner-Lee, who invented the World Wide Web -- and whose work has done more to shape and create the world our children will inherit than any invention since the printing press. And we are joined by Mission Commander Robert Cabana -- who will pilot the space shuttle Endeavor in July as we begin building the permanent international space station.

They are the pathfinders, American pioneers for the new century and the new millennium. We salute them. And I ask them to stand.

But even as we imagine the future, as time and technology propel us into a new millennium, in the coming years let us commit ourselves to honoring the past.

Nearly two hundred years ago, a tattered, battle-worn flag inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope -- words that would become our national anthem. Seeing that flag, its broad stripes and bright stars still flying at the top of a Maryland fort after a fierce battle, made his heart swell with pride.

Today that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, are on display just a mile from here for all the world to see. They are America's crown jewels. We must preserve them for the ages. This year, we will launch a state-of-the-art effort to restore them, so that future generations can see for themselves the very words that launched our revolution.

Even as we commit to [strengthening the tattered threads of the Star Spangled banner, darkening the ink of the Declaration, reinforcing the parchment of the Constitution,] we must also renew the enduring values and powerful ideals they represent for the new millennium.

This long quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is what makes us American. Every time a man speaks his mind, every time a family comes to our shores in search of a better life, every time a citizen casts a vote, every time a voice is raised in the pursuit of justice, we keep our ideals alive.

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It is an neverending task. But it is what we must do, if this nation is to remain the last best hope of humanity in the next millennium.

COULD CUT

Looking forward to our first century, our first President told his fellow citizens that their new country "seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity." Our new nation was little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then, struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation -- and the revo lutionary values they brought to this world -- would carry us to greatness -- and that is what they have done, for two centuries.

Our ideals are more than faded words on parchment; they are still the greatest force for human happiness on Earth. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. In those days, let us imagine the future, and make America anew.

Godspeed America

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Draft 1/15/98

SOTU98.1c

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U. S. CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, ~~as required by the Constitution~~ I report on the state of our union. These are good times for America. With our economy growing, ~~steadily~~, our incomes rising, our social fabric ~~on the mend as crime and welfare rolls plummet~~, and our leadership unrivaled ~~in the world~~, the state of ~~the~~ union is strong.

But ~~the State of the Union is a time to report not only on the past, or on the matters immediately before us, but on the future~~. Tonight, America ~~must face the future. I will speak about the opportunity before us -- the opportunity to renew our nation, to harness the potential of a new era, and once again to fulfill the promise of America~~. The opportunity to forge a future ~~far~~ greater than ~~any past we have known~~.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we can shape its content. ~~Stunning leaps of technology, a biomedical miracle, a dynamic global economy all are remaking our world.~~ In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun -- we are present at the future.

This new era presents ~~unimaginable~~ vistas of opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment.

Yet we know that this new era also poses new risks to ~~our values and~~ our families -- demands

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new skills of our people – and places new obstacles in our path, even as old ones fall away. We know that the very forces of science and global integration and free markets that hold such ~~potential~~ PROMISE ALSO HOLD MUCH PERIL: ~~have within them the seeds of~~ new weapons, new disease, new threats to our prosperity.

We are a people born in the greatest revolution in human history, and at every turning point in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by making our nation new again. For alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals. And for over ~~200 years~~ TWO CENTURIES, we have remained young ~~and strong by acting to master each moment of change by renewing our unchanging values~~ FINDING NEW MEANS & METHODS TO BREATHE new LIFE INTO our enduring values + eternal virtues. We have acted to strengthen our union, and to apply the elemental principles of our founding -- extending the meaning of our Constitution -- to each new time.

In the Civil War, our nation ~~and our values were~~ WAS challenged by slavery -- and we overcame it, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that we are all created equal.

A century ago, our nation ~~and our values were~~ WAS challenged by the brute force of economic change -- and we overcame it, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial Age.

Three decades ago, our nation ~~and our values were~~ WAS challenged by the ~~still unresolved legacy of slavery~~ SIN OF SEGREGATION! -- and we overcame it, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. challenged America to live out the true meaning of our creed.

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At every moment of testing, we have reaffirmed our purpose, and reasserted our nation. TO PREPARE OUR PEOPLE

Here is our mission today: To strengthen the nation for the 21st Century. ~~To breathe new life~~ FOR A NEW MILLENNIUM.
~~into the xxxxx.~~ To ~~make certain~~ ENSURE that the promise of America is as real in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.

For many years, it seemed as if these tides of change would would leave America adrift. The new economy was shackled by deficit and recession. The Cold War ~~had~~ given way to an uneasy peace, with ancient ethnic hatreds flaring across the globe. Social problems were accumulating. And our political system seemed paralyzed, insolvent. America was changing, but our government was not changing. It looked all too possible that America would enter the next century DRIFTING, DIVIDED and IN DECLINE. OK TWICE ?

Five years ago, the American people chose a new direction for our nation. We rose to the challenge, once again, of making our ideals not faded words ~~but~~ scratched on parchment, but glowing signposts to guide our path. [*note... I know this bumps up against the "faded words" later in the speech, but that's ok -- we'll touch on it again.*]

We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to ~~weaken~~ ATTACK our government -- as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. We remembered that -- as the House of Representatives wrote to President John Adams in 1797 -- "Anyone who tries to divide the people from their government is trying to divide them from themselves."

We acted to reform the government itself, to strip away programs that did not work, ~~xx.~~ and EXPERIMENT BOLDLY on NEW IDEAS THAT DO.

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BECAUSE OF THE EFFORTS THE V.P. HAS CHAMPIONED TO REINVENT OUR GOVT. AND MAKE IT DO MORE WITH LESS, TONIGHT I CAN REPORT TO YOU THAT

The ~~government~~ FED. BUREAUCRACY is now the smallest it has been since John F. Kennedy was President.

~~And~~ we HAVE freed ourselves from ~~the fetters of tired and outdated liberalism and conservatism~~ OUTDATED ORTHODOXIES and FAILED PHILOSOPHIES of the past. Instead, working together and reaching across lines of ~~party and philosophy,~~ race + region; gender + generation Americans ~~of this generation~~ have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not intent on doing everything, not content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: ~~extending opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from all~~ – a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives: AN ECONOMY BASED on OPPORTUNITY and A SOCIETY BASED on RESPONSIBILITY.

We are building a new citizenship, one that calls upon our oldest sense of service -- a new citizenship that no longer expects something for nothing; A NEW CITIZENSHIP THAT DECLARES ~~that recognizes we are interdependent and linked by a common destiny.~~ OUR INTERDEPENDENCE, AS WELL AS OUR INDIVIDUALITY.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in a quarter century. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, are all dropping. ~~And~~ after stagnating for ~~a~~ two decades, wages are rising once again, HOPES ARE RISING AGAIN. AMERICA [OUR NATION?] IS RISING AGAIN.

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is not a time to rest: this is a time to build. You don't wait for a rainy day to fix the roof.

So ~~here,~~ NOW in this sunlit moment ~~for our nation, I propose an agenda that fulfills the promise of America by directing the power of America.~~ LET US CHALLENGE OUR PEOPLE TO EMBARK ON A GREAT NATIONAL MISSION: TO DRAW UPON OUR OLDEST VALUES TO MEET OUR NEWEST CHALLENGES. FOR ~~We~~ we have it in our power to define

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America anew for new times. What is this new America? ~~What is America if it does not~~ protects its children and provide for its parents? ~~What is America if it is not the one place~~ on Earth where all who work hard can rise as far as their God-given talents will take them? ~~What is America if it does not, after this century of world wars, make the peace of a new century? In this new century~~, ~~we have the greatest opportunity ever to inhabit the American idea. Here is how we can do it.~~

A NATION THAT

A NATION--perhaps the only nation --

A NATION THAT LED THE WORLD TO VICTORY IN TWO WORLD WARS in the last century, that will lead the world to peace in the next century

HERE IS HOW, TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD THAT NATION:

?

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy – for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity. And while once the wealth of our nation came mainly from ~~the gold in the ground,~~ ~~the abundance of our farmland, the output of our factories, now it will come from the skills of our people and the power of our imagination~~.

WHAT WE COULD GROW OR MINE OR MANUFACTURE, NOW IT WILL COME FROM WHAT WE CAN THINK AND IMAGINE and DREAM and DARE.

Today, more Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the ~~auto~~ industry at its height in the 1950s. In Silicon Valley, 11 companies are created every week. ~~The~~ And the new technology and new techniques have made the American auto industry ~~is~~ once again the strongest in the world for the first time since the 1970s. And in the cutting edge industries that the global economy -- from semiconductors and supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology, America leads the world.

STEEL?

alone

Americans have been the pioneers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its creativity, and its ~~enterprise~~ INNOVATION are qualities at the core of the American character. And we have brought it into being with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Fiscal responsibility

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline. Yet in the twelve years before I took office, deficits exploded and ~~our nation~~ quadrupled ~~its~~ our national debt, shackling our economy with high interest rates, and DIMINISHING OUR ABILITY TO LEAD the new economy.

In 1993, the deficit for this year was projected to be $357 billion, and heading higher. That year, we acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course. Today, our deficit is headed to zero. And next year, I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years. [~~F~~for three decades, every president in every State of the Union came before you to warn that the deficit threatened our nation. today, I come before you to tell you ~~that~~ the deficit is gone.]

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work, discipline ~~and~~ and WISE INVESTMENT. I WOULD BE REMISS IF I FAILED TO NOTE THAT IT TOOK ~~sacrifice by the American people. This is an accomplishment of which both parties can be proud.~~ SOME REAL COURAGE: SEVERAL OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO CAST CRUCIAL VOTES FOR AMERICA'S ECONOMIC TURNAROUND PLAN IN 1993 ARE NO LONGER IN THIS CHAMBER. THEY PUT THEIR POLITICAL LIVES ON THE LINE TO PUT AMERICA'S FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER.

~~Now~~, the question we face is not merely one of fiscal policy, but of fundamental direction. As we enter the new century, will we move forward with a new economic strategy that has brought new prosperity -- or ~~move~~ FALL backward to the failed policies of the past?

But ~~today~~ now

Tonight, with our budget in balance and our economy on the rise, a grateful nation thanks them.

You know, it seemed as if the prospect of a surplus was only minutes old before some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not go back to ~~shortsighted~~ UNWISE spending, or ~~shortsighted~~ UNFAIR tax cuts, that ~~risk reopening the deficit.~~ would RETURN US TO THE BAD OLD DAYS of DEBT and DEFICIT.

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Today, thanks to a successful economic strategy, the American economy is once again the envy of the world. From automobile manufacturers in Detroit to the chip makers in Silicon Valley, American entrepreneurs are leading their counterparts around the world in the technologies of the future.

But to stay strong, America needs a world that's strong. With just four percent of the world's population and twenty percent of the world's wealth, we need healthy markets around the world where we can sell the finest American products and best American know-how. We cannot keep creating more jobs and higher wages for American workers unless we can expand our frontiers in a prosperous world economy.

In that world economy, countries that make mistakes pay a very steep price. When investors lose confidence in a country, that country can see its economy virtually unravel. That's what's happened in Asia over the last few months. Serious problems have arisen in financial markets there, beginning in Thailand and spreading to Indonesia and South Korea. The difficulties in those countries have shaken market confidence elsewhere in the region and in international financial markets.

To prevent the problems in Asia from spreading, the U.S. has supported tough international plans that require those countries that are in trouble to get their own houses in order --cutting wasteful spending, eliminating trade barriers and taking new measures to fight corruption. When those countries show that they are willing to help themselves by undertaking tough reforms, I believe that the United States ought to ~~be a good neighbor and help them~~ allow them to get back on their feet.

OVER →

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BUT LET ME STATE THIS AS CLEARLY AS I CAN: JUST AS OUR DOMESTIC SOCIAL POLICY HAS DECLARED [redacted] AN END TO THE DAYS OF SOMETHING FOR NOTHING, SO TOO MUST OUR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY. AND SO I HAVE INSTRUCTED TREASURY SECRETARY RUBIN TO CALL ON HIS COUNTERPARTS IN THE OTHER [redacted] MAJOR ECONOMIC POWERS, AS WELL AS THE ASIAN FINANCE MINISTERS, TO EXPLORE STEPS WE CAN TAKE TO ENSURE THAT BIG INTERNATIONAL BANKS ARE NOT UNFAIRLY REWARDED FOR MAKING UNWISE FOREIGN LOANS.

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It ~~pays dividends to be a good neighbor, because a healthy neighbor will buy more American goods and services~~. That's why we've taken a leadership role to address the current turbulence in Asia and in strengthening the institutions of the international financial system. Only with a strong world economy can American workers continue to do well. That's why it is critical that Congress continue its long-standing support of the efforts to strengthen the world economy and the international financial systems that help maintain its stability. Our prosperity depends upon it.

which would hurt our economy.

why we must act to avoid a financial crisis in Asia

IT'S IMPORTANT THAT YOU UNDERSTAND ~~THIS~~ THESE COUNTRIES ARE ~~NOW~~ BOTH OUR COMPETITORS AND OUR CUSTOMERS! IF OUR CUSTOMERS GO BROKE THEY WON'T BE ABLE TO BUY what we sell, ~~OUR PRODUCTS~~. AND THEN AS OUR COMPETITORS THEY WILL BE FORCED TO DRASTICALLY CUT THE PRICES OF THEIR OWN PRODUCTS, WHICH COULD HARM OUR COMPETITIVENESS, and hurt our ECONOMY.

SO I WANT OUR COUNTRY TO TAKE A LEADERSHIP POSITION AT THIS TIME NOT BECAUSE ~~THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SOME DUTY TO AID OTHER~~ IT'S IN SOMEONE ELSE'S INTERESTS, BUT BECAUSE IT IS IN OUR OWN ECONOMIC SELF INTEREST.

LEADING IN THE WORLD ECONOMY IS IN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST AS WELL. ~~&~~ HAVING FOUGHT 3 ASIAN WARS IN THIS CENTURY, THE AMERICAN KNOW WELL THE VITAL IMPORTANCE of STABILITY and SECURITY IN THAT VITAL REGION.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union (10 pages)	01/10/1998	P5
002. paper	Toward the Millenium; RE: Handwritten notes (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address[pages 8-22 (15 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. draft	RE: Excerpts from Speech Draft (1 page)	n.d.	P5
005. draft	RE: Excerpts from Speech Draft (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
006. email	Bruce Reed to Michael Waldman; RE: Sunday Afternnon Edits (1 page)	01/25/1998	P5
007. email	Bruce Reed to Michael Waldman; RE: Friday Night Edits (1 page)	01/23/1998	P5
008. draft	Melanne; RE: Draft Edits (1 page)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
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[State of the Union 1998 - Drafts] [Folder 2] [5]

2006-0469-F
db3432

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 1/10/98 Needed: 5000

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U. S. CAPITOL
January 27, 1998

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight, as required by the Constitution, I report on the state of our union — not of our government, but of our great American nation. These are good times for America. With our economy soaring, our incomes rising, our social fabric on the mend, and our leadership unrivaled in the world, the state of the union is strong.

Tonight, I speak to you of the opportunity before us -- the opportunity to renew our nation and once again fulfill the promise of America -- the opportunity to grasp the potential of this new century and ~~steer~~ its awesome power for the benefit of our people and our nation.

We gather on the cusp of a new century, so close we can see its contours, so near we can shape its content ~~if we seize its opportunities~~. This is a period of change as ~~fundamental~~ as any in our history. Stunning leaps of technology, a biomedical miracle, a dynamic and disruptive global economy, ~~new pressures on our values and our families,~~ all are shaking and remaking our world. ~~In so many ways, we are present at the future~~. In so many ways, the 21st Century has already begun.

The 21st Century offers ~~vistas of~~ opportunity, abundance, and fulfillment beyond ~~what could ever have been imagined before~~. Yet we know that this new era also poses stiff new challenges to our values and our families -- demands new skills of our people – and places new obstacles in our path as old ones fall away. This nation, what George Washington called "the great experiment," can never shrink from change. ~~We must steer these vast forces of change so they are powerful forces for good.~~

For over 220 years now, our nation has remained young and strong by always meeting new challenges in ways that renew our oldest values. Alone among nations, America was founded not on religion or race or geography, but on incandescent ideals, which have been reaffirmed and reembraced at every critical moment in our history.

* * *

[ALTERNATE STUFF] America is more than our poeple. It is more than our land. America is an idea -- a passionate idea that burned brightly in the hearts of our founders, a light that inspires every person who comes to our shores in search of freedom and opportunity, a hope

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that guides every man, woman, and child living in our land. It is a belief that every one possesses the spark of possibility, that every honest person who works hard and respects the dignity of all men can make his most cherished dreams come true.

***

We were born with the revolutionary faith that "We are all created equal." We were bound together in mutual responsibility, pledging our lives and fortune and sacred honor. And we saw that our strength would only grow if we remained one America, forever questing to live up to our vision of a more perfect union.

Lincoln at Gettysburg … the Progressives forging a new freedom for an Industrial Age ... Franklin Roosevelt rescuing America from the abyss, in the name of our oldest ideals ... Dr. King challenging America to live out the true meaning of our creed. At every moment of challenge and change, we Americans have found a way to keep these old ideals not musty words scratched on parchment, but instead, living guideposts for a new era. "Opportunity for all": our mission must be to make sure that is as vibrant in the Year 2000 as it was in 1776.

For five years, that is what we have done. We rejected the false and failed idea that the only answer to our problems was to sweep away our government – as if a strong nation could afford a diminished democracy. Instead, working together and reaching across lines of party and philosophy, we Americans of this generation have formed a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Not a government intent on doing everything, not a government content to do nothing. Instead, a government rooted in America's basic bargain: extending opportunity for all, demanding responsiblity from all – a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives. In the 20th Century, to give our families security from the colossal forces of the industrial age, we built a welfare state. ~~In its place~~ we must build an opportunity nation for the 21st Century.

My fellow Americans, we see the results all around us. Unemployment remains the lowest in ~~a quarter century~~. Inflation is virtually nonexistent. Welfare, crime, teen pregnancy and family breakup are all dropping. And wages ~~have begun to rise again~~.

We have created a moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity. But this is not a time to rest: this is a time to build. You don't fix your roof on a rainy day. It is time to cast our eyes on the long view. So tonight I propose an agenda for action to ~~strengthen~~ opportunity and renew our values for our time. ~~Expanding opportunity by~~ strengthening our economy and strengthening Social Security. Protecting our children from tobacco and crime. Strengthening America's international leadership. Passing onto future generations a stronger democracy, a more perfect union.

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

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We begin with the economy – for economic growth has always been our engine of opportunity. And while once the wealth of our nation came mainly from the gold in the ground or the abundance of our farmland or the power of our factories. Now it will come from the skills of our people and the power of our imagination.

Consider what's happened in the past five years alone. More Americans work in the computer industry than worked in the auto industry at its height in the 1950s. In Silicon Valley alone, 11 companies are created every week. And revived by new technologies and new ways of working, the American auto industry is once again the strongest in the world for the first time since the 1970s. And from semiconductors to supercomputers to aerospace and biotechnology -- in the cutting edge industries that are driving the global markets of the new economy, America leads the world.

Americans have been the makers of this new economy. Its flexibility, its innovation, its creativity, and its enterprise are qualities at the core of the American character. And we have brought it into being with a comprehensive economic strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investing in our people.

Fiscal responsibility

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline. For decades, Washington lived beyond its means. In the twelve years before I took office, deficits exploded and our nation quadrupled its national debt. $2 trillion dollars, wasted. High interest rates kept our economy down. In the rigorous discipline of the new economy, it is clear that no nation can purchase its prosperity by writing hot checks.

In 1993, America acted to set this nation on a new fiscal course. Today, our budget deficit is not $357 billion, as projected the day I took office. It is $22 billion. And next year, we will bring the deficit to zero. I will submit to Congress for 1999 the first balanced budget in 30 years.

Turning a sea of red ink into black is no miracle. It is the product of hard work and sacrifice by the American people. This is an accomplishment of which both parties can be proud.

But it seemed as if the surplus was only minutes old before some old, bad habits began to reappear. We must not squander the surplus on shortsighted spending. We must not squander it on shortsighted tax cuts. We must rise to our moral duty to invest it in our nation's future – to make sure that the commitments we have made can be kept in new and changing times. America will have a budget surplus of $200 billion over the next five years. And I believe we should not spend a penny of it until we strengthen Social Security.

Social Security reflects our commitment reflects our most fundamental values as a nation. It is the way we honor our parents. Because of Social Security, being old in America no longer

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desperate dignity & respect.

guarantees poverty, it guarantees respect.

But Social Security faces new challenges. Since this program was created, life expectancy has doubled. And when the baby boomers retire, it will place new strains on this system. We expect Social Security to go broke in 33 years. That is unacceptable. We must act today so that Social Security ~~is as strong~~ will serve for our children as it has ~~been for~~ our parents.

These funds from our surplus are just a down payment on the changes that will be needed to keep Social Security strong.

[*TO COME: Discussion of Social Security reform process and, possibly, principles*]

[*Possible guest in First Lady's box: the grandchild of the first person to receive Social Security benefits*]

Leading the global economy

[*To come: Discussion of globalization, Asian markets, and trade*]

Investing in people

By imposing fiscal discipline and embracing the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But ~~America has never been defined~~ success in America will be measured ~~merely~~ by the growth of its economy, but by expanding horizons of opportunity for our people Today, high skill jobs are growing at four times the rate of lower skilled jobs. The income gap is in reality an opportunity gap. And that is a gap we can and must close.

In the 21st Century, there are five keys to opportunity for all.

Education for all -> education that continues through a lifetime.

Health care for all -> health care that goes .

Child care for all -- so parents can take responsibiliyt at work and at home.

Training and assistance for all -- so working people know that they will be the winners of economic change.

Retirement security for all.

These are the elements of the American Dream. They have been part of our lives in this century. And as the world changes, the way we help people reach this dream changes, too.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. In so many ways, this is not an information age — it is an education age. Our mission has been to make the 13th and 14th years of education — the first two years of college -- as universal today as a high school degree is today. If in the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant, in the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college: the $1500 Hope Scholarship for the first two years of college; xx; xx. Over the past five years, we have doubled scholarships, expanded work study to 1 million young people each year, and given 100,000 young people the chance to earn money for education by serving their country through AmeriCorps. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will be no object.

We have opened the door of the world's finest colleges and universities to all our people. But you know, and I know, that our elementary schools and high schools are not well. The crisis in our public schools is a crisis of opportunity and a challenge to our aspirations. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education: high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools, with more parental involvement, greater choice, better teaching, and an end to social promotion.

We know that smaller classes matter — and they matter most for children who need help the most. So tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will hire an additional 80,000 first and second grade teachers to reduce class size to an average of 18. And we will insist that these new teachers meet the highest standards, passing rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When parents take a child to school to start first grade, they have a right to know that their her class will be small and her teacher can teach.

We must do even more. The balanced budget I will submit will help connect every classroom to the information superhighway, help build repair or build thousands of new schools, teach millions of children to read by the 3rd grade.

But the most important thing we can do is simply to demand more, and better, of our schools. America is moving forward confidently to implement our national standards, with a test that will be ready next September. But demanding accountability need not wait. Too many children are passed from grade to grade without ever mastering the basics. Too many young people graduate middle school or high school without being able to read their diploma. We cannot let these young people down. In an economy as demanding of skills as this one, it is simply wrong -- wrong -- to move a child from grade to grade if he or she has not mastered the basics. It is time to stop social promotion in America's schools.

Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. If we are demanding that all students meet high standards, we have an obligation to make sure all students

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can meet those standards. Let us say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do.

[*Public school choice/charters*]

Second, we must give more people access to health care, while at the same time ensuring that the health care Americans receive remains the best in the world.

Last year, working together, we secured Medicare for a decade. Soon we will strengthen the program for the long run. Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care programs that can cut costs and improve service. But medical decisions should be made by doctors, not insurance company accountants. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights. We should say: you have the right to be informed about your health plan in plain English. You should have the right to know all your medical options -- not just the cheapest. Traditional care or managed care, no American should receive inferior care.

And millions of Americans between 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system. They have spent their lifetimes working hard, supporting their families, contributing to society. But having lost their insurance through no fault of their own, they are forced to pay unbearably high premiums at the just the moment when they need health care coverage the most. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these millions of hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system.

Third, we must help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home. Our new economy has imposed new demands on working families. In more and more families, both parents work; and more parents are working harder than ever. For many families, the search for affordable, high-quality child care has become an obstacle to achieving the American Dream.

Improving child care is the next great frontier for the American community. So I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, to raise the quality and assure the safety of care for millions of American families. We must double the number of children receiving our help. We must give tax cuts to help three million more working families meet their child care expenses and encourage more businesses to provide child care for their employees. We must strengthen the enforcement of the law, weed out bad providers through tougher criminal background checks, and offer scholarships to talented caregivers. Finally, we must make expand before-and after-school programs so that every child has a safe and enriching place to go after school. Most juvenile crimes are committed between the hours of 3 and 6. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets.

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Child care is an issue that touches nearly every family, one that should rise above politics and partisan interests. I welcome the bipartisan efforts to improve child care that are already taking place in Congress and thank the members their leadership.

Fourth, we must recognize that the most important new market for America is in the inner city. *[CITIES/EMPOWERMENT?]more money for affordable housing, more money for homelessness, more money for ocmmunity development htan ever before;.*

Climate change

There is a new element to our economy, as well. For the sake of our planet, and the strength of our economy, we must continue to find ways to protect the environment while promoting growth. Today, even as our economy is the strongest in a generation, our air and water are the cleanest in a generation.

(stopping / ending)

And in the century to come, no environmental challenge will be more compelling than that of ~~halting~~ global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have concluded, beyond any reasonable doubt, that if we do not take steps to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will alter our climate and swamp the very foundation for 21st century prosperity ~~we have worked so hard to build.~~ The verdict is in. The time for action is now.

In December, our nation signed an historic treaty that embraces the American approach of unleashing the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, rather than imposing new taxes or government regulation. That treaty sets limits on emissions by developed countries; now we will turn our attention to securing meaningful participation from developing countries, because this is a global problem that requires a global solution.

At the same time, we will begin immediately to tackle global warming here at home. First, I am proposing a $6 Billion in tax cuts to spur innovation and ~~help~~ to help Americans create and use more energy-efficient technologies. Our plan offers up to $4000 in tax credits to families who buy energy efficient products. We must also restructure the energy industry, reducing greenhouse gases, saving American consumers an estimated $20 Billion a year.

The economic imperative for action is clear. I am confident that the world's most innovative nation will find the ways to meet these goals while further expanding opportunity. In fact, we've already begun to do it. Earlier this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today.

But more important by far, the moral imperative for action is clear: God bestowed upon us an unsullied atmosphere and a wondrous earth where life would thrive. We have no right to rob our children of this sacred gift.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA

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As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.

Parents work hard to raise our children, to pass on our values, to protect our children from harm. It's hard enough being a parent. And it's harder still when the forces of commercialism and fashion send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church or at the ktichen table.

The single greatest health threat our families face is the epidemic of teen smoking -- an epipdemic spread by billion dollar marketing campiagns, aimed straight at teens. Today, like every day, 3000 young people will start to smoke, and 1000 of them will die early because of it. Already, my administration has moved forward, restricting the advertising that can seduce our children.

Now, this year, we have an historic opportunity to pass bipartisan, landmark legislation to curb teen smoking. This will change the way tobacco companies do business, and will raise the price of a pack of cigarettes up to $1.50 over the next ten years. I challenge the Congress to work together across party lines and make this tobacco legislation the law of the land.

I challenge parents to do your part. Teach your children that smoking can kill them. And I challenge young people. You are never too young to take responsibility. You are never too young to say no to tobacco.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy. And after decades in which lawlessness ruled the streets unchallenged, in which generations of our children were raised without hope, we have begun to make remarkable progress.

By putting 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and more prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community-based crimefighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. For there is still far too much crime. Drug use among young people is still too high. Far too many children are raising themselves on the streets. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. We have a moral responsibility to take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.

Here's what we must do.

Congress should finally pass the juvenile crime bill. This measure will [x] [crack down on youth handgun use].

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And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are ~~schools~~ for crime. We have begun saying to prison inmates, "If you stay on drugs, you have to stay in jail." We say to parolees, "If you go back on drugs, then you have to go back to jail. If you want to stay on the street, stay off drugs." Now, I ask you to give the states added ability to expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system. Nothing will do more to prevent crime.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, effectively, swiftly. Every criminal knows that trial and punishment can drag on for years due to clogged courts. Yet the refusal of the Senate even to vote on dozens of judges has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. Chief Justice Rhenquist was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed Justice Rhenquist's plea, and vote on these judges, up or down.

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most intractible social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to take the next step, and move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that in the past year alone, 2 million Americans have moved off welfare.

Think about what that means. Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of ~~a paycheck~~ instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing ~~despair.~~

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections, providing vouchers to help families move closer to where the jobs are. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone who is willing to work their way off welfare.

FOREIGN POLICY

[*To come -- NATO, Bosnia, new threats (incl.Biological Weapons Convention, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Terrorism, UN and IFI arrears, and other issues*]

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION

- democracy agenda
- race & service

What an amazing future America has to look forward to -- a future shaped by our shared values, driven by our common dreams, and powered by the ingenuity and determination of the

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American people.

TOWARD THE MILLENIUM

Science --

A. NIH/biomedical (note: Tobacco is in a different section, no need to link up the funding source)

B. Ethical issues -- cloning, genetic testing

C. Computers -- privacy, salute to inventor of internet / web in flotus box

D. Space -- talk to michael about possible inclusion here ... do space station

Preserving our values ... talk to Sid, see what they have cooked up

Onward & upward

What is America?
America is a passionate idea or it is nothing.
America is a human brotherhood or it is a chaos.
America is strengthened by its diversity or it is diminished by its divisions.
America is opportunity for all or freedom for none.
America can be a beacon of progress or a disappointment to our children.

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TOWARD THE MILLENIUM

JORDAN:

Science --
A. NIH/biomedical (note: Tobacco is in a different section, no need to link up the funding source)
B. Ethical issues -- cloning, genetic testing 2 sentences - new advances ~~C. Computers - privacy, salute to inventor of internet / web in flotus box~~
~~D. Space - talk to michael about possible inclusion here ... do space station~~

Preserving our values -- talk to Sid, see what they have cooked up

Onward & upward

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Security benefits]

Leading the global economy

[*To come: Discussion of globalization, Asian markets, and trade, possibly incl. fast track*]

Investing in people

By imposing fiscal discipline and embracing the world economy, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But America has never been defined merely by the growth of its economy, but by its wide vistas of opportunity. ~~Today, high skill jobs are growing at four times the rate of lower skilled jobs~~. The income gap is in reality an opportunity gap. That is a gap we can and must close through bold and fiscally responsible initiatives to extend the ~~In the 21st Century, we must close the opportunity gap, and ensure that all Americans have equal economic,~~ benefits of the new economy to all Americans.

In the 21st Century, there are four keys to opportunity for all.

Education that continues through a lifetime.

Health care that doesn't disappear when you need it ~~the~~ most.

Child care and other tools to help parents take responsibility at home and at work.

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Retirement security so a lifetime of ~~hard~~ work will be rewarded with dignity.

These are the things a strong nation can do to give meaning to opportunity for all. They the elements of the American Dream. ~~We found a way to promote them in this century, and we must find a way to promote them the next century.~~

The Am. Dream

The values + virtues that animate ~~them~~ are timeless.

But the means + methods of achieving that dream must ~~be~~ change with the times.

They simply must.

First and foremost, every American must have access to the best education in the world. More than an information age, this is an education age, in which knowledge determined how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.

Our mission has been to make the 13th and 14th years of education — the first two years of college -- as universal today as a high school degree is today. In the 19th Century opportunity came from a land grant. In the 21st Century opportunity will come from a Pell Grant.

~~On January 1 of this year, broad new tax cuts took effect to help families pay for college: the $1500 Hope Scholarship for the first two years of college; new IRAs for education; tax cuts for learning throughout a lifetime. Over the past five years, we have doubled scholarships, expanded work study, and given 100,000 young people the chance to earn money for education by serving their country through AmeriCorps~~. Today, for the first time in our history, we can say to every young American: if you work hard, you can go to college — and money will not bar the door.

Our universities and colleges are the best in the world. But you know, and I know, that

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our elementary schools and high schools are ailing. To keep opportunity alive, we need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

The most important thing we can do is to make sure our children master the basics. America is moving toward national standards, and this fall we will have a bipartisan national test to help parents know whether students and schools measure up to their highest expectations. Nobody in America should be able to graduate read if they can't read their diploma. In an economy as demanding of skills as this one, it is simply wrong, to move a child from grade to grade if he or she has not mastered the basics. ~~It is time to stop~~ social promotion in America's schools.

wrong,

WE WILL END

Let's be clear: Our purpose is not to hold anyone down, but to lift everyone up. Let us say to failing schools: If you stop promoting children who don't learn, we will give you the resources you need to make sure they do.

The best way to make sure every child learns the basics is to start them in small classes with good teachers. ~~That should be the norm in America, not the exception~~. So tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the earliest years. My balanced budget will give states the funds to hire an additional [xx,000] first and second grade teachers, and reduce class size in those grades to an average of [18] nationwide. And we will insist that these new teachers should pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. Every parent of a child starting school should have confidence that their child's class is small enough to learn – and the

AND THAT, THESE NEW TEACHERS ARE SPARKING MINDS in the CLASSROOM, NOT all of PUSHING PAPER in ~~CLINTON~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY.

teacher is skilled enough to teach.

We must do even more. My balanced budget will help connect every classroom to the information superhighway, help repair or build thousands of new schools, teach millions of children to read by the 3rd grade. I will propose a college-school partnership to provide mentors to thousands of young people, from the 7th grade on, so that every child can grow up believeing that if they work hard and stay in school, they will have the chance to go to college.

~~ENDING???~~

The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times.

We have made health care portable through the Kennedy Kassebaum law. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. And working together across party lines, we secured Medicare for a decade. Soon we will strengthen the program for the long run.

Today I challenge Congress to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.

Millions of Americans now receive health care through managed care plans that can cut costs and improve service. Patients should be treated as people, not as dollar signs on a ledger. I challenge Congress to enact a Health Care Consumer Bill of Rights that says: You have the right to be informed about your health plan in plain English. You have the right to know all your

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You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need.

medical options -- not just the cheapest. Traditional care or managed care, every American must receive quality care.

And millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 have fallen through the cracks of the health care system and have lost their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge Congress to enact legislation giving these millions of hardworking Americans the chance to buy into the Medicare system.

Third, we must help all our people meet their responsibilities at work and at home. The new economy imposes new demands on working families. Most parents work; and more parents are working harder than ever. They need more time with their children. And they need to know that their children are receiving quality care.

The Family and Medical Leave Act has given [15] million Americans time off from work to care for a child or a family member. But newborns need more. I ask you to extend Family Leave so that new mothers and fathers can take six months off from work, and so the day-to-day crises of doctors' appointments and parent-teacher conferences are covered as well.

Child care is the next frontier for the American community. [*acknowledge First Lady*] Let's be clear: governments don't raise children; parents do. And there is no more important job than that that of parent. I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, doubling the number of children we help and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. These tax cuts would mean a typical family of four [*does that include $35K income?*] and high child care

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expenses will no longer pay a dime of federal income tax. We should offer scholarships for good caregivers, and insist on tough background checks to find bad ones. And we must expand before-and after-school programs. Most juvenile crimes are committed between the hours of 3 and 6. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets.

Climate change

The economy of the 21st Century must be an economy that protects the environment and promotes prosperity. Today, our economy is the strongest in a generation -- and our air and water are the cleanest in a generation. We must continue this approach, ~~with dramatic new efforts to clean our rivers.~~ EXPANDING OUR ECONOMY WHILE IMPROVING OUR ENVIRONMENT.

The greatest environmental challenge we will face in the decades ahead is the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, we will alter our climate, undermine our economy, and harm our society. The verdict is in. It is time to act.

In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that unleashes the full force of the free market to cut greenhouse gases, rather than imposing new taxes or government regulation. The Kyoto Treaty limits emissions by developed countries; next, we must secure meaningful participation from developing countries, because this global problem requires a global solution.

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But we have it in our power to act now, here at home, right now. I propose ~~$6 Billion in~~ a series of tax ~~cuts~~ incentives to spur innovation and help Americans create and use more energy-efficient technologies. ~~We must also restructure the energy industry, reducing greenhouse gases and saving American consumers an estimated $20 Billion a year.~~

The economic imperative is clear. We can do better. Earlier this month, Ford, GM, and Chrysler unveiled high-performance cars that get three times the gas mileage of the typical models today. I propose that families that buy fuel efficient vehicles receive a tax cut worth up to $4000. I am confident that ~~an eruption of~~ a new wave of American ingenuity can conquer even this threat. It was on this date -- January 27, in 1880, that the first patent was awarded to Thomas Edison for the lightbulb. ~~I am confident that~~ the nation that invented ~~that created~~ the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA

EVEN IN THE MOST RAPIDLY CHANGING TIMES, WE MUST INSIST ON SOME CONSTANTS. ONE IMMUTABLE VALUE AT THE HEART OF AMERICA IS RESPONSIBILITY.

~~As our economy must be based on opportunity, our society must be based on responsibility.~~ PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE THE BEDROCK OF OUR SOCIAL POLICY IN THE 21st Century.

It's hard enough for parents to pass on their values, to protect their children from harm. And it's harder still when the mass media and the market send our children messages that can undo all the good done in church, ~~or~~ at school around the kitchen table.

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We need to help parents take responsibility to protect their children from the single greatest health threat they face -- an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by million dollar marketing campaigns. Already, my administration has moved forward, restricting the advertising that can seduce our children.

Now, this year, we have an historic opportunity to pass bipartisan, landmark legislation to curb teen smoking. This will change the way tobacco companies do business, and will raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if smoking does not go down. This is not about politics. This is not about money. This is about one terrible fact. Every day 3000 young people will start smoking, and 1000 will die early as a result. Democrat or Republican, young or old, we all know someone who has died form smoking, and others we love will die if we don't act. Let us work together across party lines to make tough tobacco legislation the law of the land.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our social policy. And after decades in which it seemed as if the crime rate would rise forever, we have begun to make remarkable progress.

With 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and more prevention, we have spread throughout the nation a community based crime fighting strategy that works. For five years in a row, crime is down, all across America.

Now we must press on. For there is still far too much crime. Drug use among young

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is still far too common.

people is still too high. ~~Far too many~~ children ~~are~~ raising themselves on the streets. We cannot go strong into the 21st Century if children are killing children ... if children are selling drugs to children ... if children are having children. We have a moral responsibility to take the guns out of their hands and to teach them right from wrong.

Here's what we must do next.

Congress should finally pass the juvenile crime bill. [*description to come*]

And we should recognize that 80% of crime is linked to drugs or alcohol. Too often our prisons are training academies for a life of crime. I ask you to give the states added ability to expand drug testing and drug treatment throughout our criminal justice system. Nothing will do more to prevent crime.

delaying justice, denying citizens a chance to protect their rights, allowing criminals to laugh at the prospect of swift punishment.

And the law must be enforced -- strongly, effectively, swiftly. Every criminal knows that trial and punishment can drag on for years due to clogged courts. Yet the refusal of the Senate even to vote on dozens of judges has left one in ten of the nation's judgeships vacant. The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court ~~Rehnquist~~ was right when he wrote, and I quote, "[These] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice." I ask this Congress to heed the Chief Justice's ~~Rehnquist~~'s plea, and vote on these highly qualified judges, up or down.

And we have acted to apply our oldest values to perhaps our most stubborn social problem. In 1996, we ended a welfare system that had trapped generations of Americans in a

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cycle of dependency, and replaced it with a new system based on work and responsibility. Last year, from this podium, I challenged our nation to take the next step, and move two million more Americans off of welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

Think about what that means. Think of those children whose mothers now go to work, who have the dignity of a paycheck instead of the indignity of a welfare check, who are now connected to mainstream America and the world of work. Think of the neighborhoods where hope is replacing despair.

And we must do more -- increasing child support collections even further, providing vouchers to help families move closer to where the jobs are. And above all, thousands more businesses must join the [x,000] companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to give a chance to someone who is willing to work their way off welfare.

~~[cities/empowerment -- tell story of South Bronx revival]~~

FOREIGN POLICY

[*To come -- NATO, Bosnia, new threats (incl. Biological Weapons Convention, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Terrorism, UN and IFI arrears, and other issues*]

BUILDING A MORE PERFECT UNION

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Two centuries ago, we the people of the United States of America proclaimed to the world that we had come together to form not just a new nation, but "a more perfect union."

[*campaign finance reform/free TV time challenge to FCC*

[*"democracy agenda" of 2 day voting, voting by mail*] NO!

[*success of reinventing government*]

Our mission remains to form a more perfect union, to become One America in the 21st Century. The face of America is changing. And we must make our growing diversity our greatest strength in the 21st century.

We must begin by recognizing that for all our differences, we are united by the same aspirations and principles. Education, health care, child care, jobs -- these are the issues that weigh heavily on the minds of families everywhere. So when we extend opportunity to all Americans and demand responsibility from all Americans, we build a community of all Americans united by values that transcend skin color, religion or heritage.

Let us be honest with ourselves: It is a plain fact that discrimination still exists. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPP. COMM., created by Cong. to enforce equal opp. laws passed by Cong., has ~~[illegible]~~ a backlog of 60,000 cases because Cong. has failed to ~~[illegible]~~ fund enough investigators + law enforcement officials. I call on Cong., right away, to act swiftly to enforce the equal rights laws we've already got on the books.

But we must remember this: We have torn down the walls in our laws -- but not the walls in our hearts. In so many ways, we still hold ourselves back. We retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Far too many communities -- too many schools -- too many

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cafeteria lunch tables -- are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Too many Americans of all races have begun to give up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. Any nation that indulges in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master the challenges of the 21st century.

I have asked the American people to join in a great national dialogue on these issues. I believe it is vitally important that we move past stereotypes and face these issues with stark honesty.

But tonight I say: As we talk together, we must work together -- toward goals that have nothing to do with race, but everything to do with America. For only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity.

That is why the United States military, the world's strongest and most skilled fighting force, has become a proving ground for racial progress and unity. That is the lesson learned every day by thousands of AmeriCorps members of all races and backgrounds. They learn that what matters is not the color of your skin, but whether you get the job done. Tonight I challenge every religious organization in America to take up the standard of service. I ask you to join with other of different races through their churches and synagogues and mosques, in common endeavor. ~~[*possible race & service announcement*]~~

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BUT IT WILL ALSO BE GIVEN LIFE + SPIRIT BY THE GUIDANCE of God and the morality of mankind.

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM

Tonight, let us look forward to our future -- toward the millennium ahead. We see today that this new era will be shaped by science, driven by knowledge, and powered by technology. It will be a time of bold exploration and extraordinary promise -- and it will carry grave new responsibilities as well.

In the new millennium, we will explore inner space, unlocking the mysteries of the human body.

If the past century was the age of physics, the next century will be the age of biology. In the early years of the new century, we will finish mapping the structure of human genes. We will build on discoveries of genes for breast cancer and diabetes. We will continue to bring down the death rate for cancer.

Even these breakthroughs will be just the beginning -- but only if we maintain our sustained commitment to research and development. Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund -- a substantial new initiative to support pathbreaking research at our nation's premiere scientific institutions. Let this year be remembered as the year that in the war against cancer, waged for so many decades, we began to win.

CAN NEVER DEVELOP IN A MORAL VACUUM.

But ~~as we go forward,~~ technological development ~~divorced from values will not bring us one step closer toward meeting the challenges or reaping the benefits of the 21st Century~~. So I ask

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the Congress to ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning. And I ask the Congress to ~~prevent~~ outlaw the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American, in health insurance, employment or _____.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore cyberspace.

It seems hard to believe, ~~but five years ago,~~ the first time I reported to you on the State of the Union there was no such thing as a web page on the Internet. [How many now? How many per day? per hour? --during this speech?] Today 50 million people in 150 countries are connected to the Information Superhighway. Within a matter of years, it will be the largest international marketplace in history -- not only of products and services, but ideas. I call on all the nations of the world to make the Internet a global free-trade zone: no discriminatory taxes, no unfair tariffs.

We must understand that in the future, access to technology will define access to democracy. Within a generation, the Web can bring every book ever written, every painting ever painted, and every symphony ever composed within reach of our children with the click of a mouse. We are only beginning to understand its potential. And we should never forget that it was created in America.

And with daring and wonder, in the new millennium, we will continue the great mission of exploring outer space.

Throughout the course of human history, mankind has had only one place to call home -- Earth. Beginning this year, 1998, for the first time in the history of the world, men and women

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will build a new home -- a permanent space station, big as a football field, with as much electrical power as a small city. (ck) Inside its vast compartments, scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs from 15 nations will build our future. On [date], the first construction ship will be launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida -- piloted by a Russian. On [date], the second ship will be launched from [site], Russia -- piloted by an American. And on (date) A TRUE AMERICAN HERO, A VETERAN PILOT of 140(TK) COMBAT MISSIONS AND A 5-HOUR SPACE FLIGHT THAT INSPIRED THE WORLD, WILL RETURN TO THE HEAVENS. GODSPEED, JOHN GLENN.

We are joined tonight by the leader of America's science lab, the National Institutes of Health -- Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold Varmus. We are joined by the Gutenberg of cyberspace: Tim Berner-Lee, who invented the World Wide Web -- and whose work has done more to shape and create the world our children will inherit than any invention since the printing press. And we are joined by Commander [name] -- the first American pilot to the permanent international space station.

not Dr. Timothy?? How 'bout the Tim-Meister?!

They are the pathfinders, the American pioneers of the new century. We salute them. And I ask them to stand.

[*Transition into Millennium*] Our nation was founded by men and women who believed deeply in the power of science to transform their lives -- and in the values that bound them together as a people. As the Year 2000 draws near, we must ask ourselves how we will keep those values alive in new times -- in a new century and a new millennium. And what gifts will we give to the future.

[*preserving America's heritage -- discussion of Declaration, Constitution, Star Spangled*

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We can be proud that after decades of finger pointing and failure, we ended the old welfare system.
Now we are replacing welfare checks with paychecks.

Last year, after a record four year decline in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to move two million more Americans off welfare by the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we have also met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

Now I ask thousands more businesses to accept their responsibility and join the 3000 companies already in our welfare-to-work partnership, committed to hire, train, and retain people who are willing to work. We must all do more -- providing child care, helping families move closer to available jobs. increasing child support collections from deadbeat parents who have a duty to support their own children.

Second, we ~~must make it possible for hardworking families to meet their most important responsibilities.~~

Two years ago, we guaranteed that Americans won't lose health insurance when they change jobs. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. This year, I challenge Congress to take the next historic steps.

160 million Americans are in managed care plans. These plans can save money and can improve care. But medical decisions should be made by medical doctors, not insurance company accountants. So I urge the Congress to write into law a Consumer Bill of Rights that says this:
You have the right to know all your medical options -- all of them, not just the cheapest. You have the right to choose the doctor you want for the care you need. You have the right to keep your medical records confidential. Traditional care or managed care, every American deserves quality care.

Millions of Americans betwen the ages of 55 and 65 are losing their health insurance. Some are retired; some are laid off; some lose their coverage when their spouses stop working. After a lifetime of work, they are left with nowhere to turn.

So I ask the Congress: let these hardworking Americans buy into the Medicare system. It won't add a dime to the deficit -- but the peace of mind it will provide will be priceless.

Next, we must help parents protect ~~their~~ children from the gravest health threat they face: an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

So I challenge Congress: let's pass bipartisan, comprehensive legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business forever. Let's raise the price of a pack of cigarettes by up to $1.50 over the next ten years if that's what it takes to bring teen smoking down. Every day, 3000 children start smoking, and 1000 of them will die early as a result. Let this be remembered as the Congress that saved their lives.

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and our leadership in doubt if we fail to set the example.

It's long past time to make good on our debt to the United Nations. When we give our word, we should keep our word. America pays its bills.

In the century we have a truly historic opportunity to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. It is our chance and our challenge. We must seize it.

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

Our Founders set America on a permanent journey towad "a more perfect union." It is a trip we can only make together -- as one nation living as one community.

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the confidence of the American people.

Everyone knows elections have become too expensive, fueling a fundraising arms race. For years, good campaign finance reform bills have been brought to the floor of Congress. And for years, special interests and their allies have smothered those bills by filibuster.

But not this year. This year, on March 11, the Senate will vote on real, bipartisan reform proposed by Senators McCain and Feingold. Let's be clear: a vote against McCain Feingold is a vote for soft money, for the status quo. So I ask you to strengthen our democracy and pass campaign finance reform.

Even more, we must address the reason for the explosion in campaign costs: the rising cost of campaigning on television. The airwaves are a public trust, and broadcasters have a responsibility to act in the public interest. Tonight, I formally request the Federal Communications Commission to act to provide free television and radio time for candidates. Free time can help free our democracy from the grip of big money.

We must do to make government work better. Under the Vice President's reinventing government initiative, we have already slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, transformed HUD and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers. Yet there is more to do.

Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. We need new citizen advocacy panels, a stronger taxpayer advocate, phone lines open 24 hours a day, relief for innocent spouses. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. Let's not allow that bill to languish in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: as your first order of business, pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms. Do it now.

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Empowering communities

A nation that lives as a community must value its communities.

For the past five years, we have witnessed an urban renaissance all across America. Neighborhoods once haunted by crime and despair have been transformed into strong, safe, vibrant communities.

Our strategy has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city and poor rural areas -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, restoring polluted sites for development. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we should expand the number of empowerment zones. We should give poor families more opportunities to move into homes of their own. We should use tax cuts to spur the construction of more low income housing. We should establish a Community Empowerment Fund to spur the creation of private sector jobs.

So many of America's great cities, which rose and fell in the 20th Century, are rising again as we approach the 21st Century. Let's keep them going, leaving no one behind.

Environmental protection

Our communities are only as healthy as the air our children breathe, the water they drink, and the Earth they will inherit.

Last year, we put in place the toughest-ever controls on smog and soot. We moved to protect Yellowstone, the Everglades and the magnificent redwoods of Headwaters Forest. We expanded every community's right to know about the toxics that threaten their children.

Yesterday, our new plan to protect our meat and poultry took effect, using cutting-edge science to protect consumers from e-coli and salmonella.

Tonight, I ask you to join me in launching a new Clean Water Initiative, a far-reaching new effort to clean our rivers, lakes and streams.

Our overriding environmental challenge is a worldwide problem requiring worldwide action: the gathering crisis of global warming. The vast majority of scientists have concluded unequivocally that if we do not reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases, at some point in the next century we will disrupt our climate and put our children and grandchildren at risk. This

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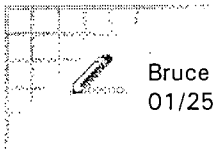

Bruce N. Reed
01/25/98 04:25:33 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Sunday afternoon edits

p. 8, Medicare section: Sylvia wants you to say, "It won't add a dime to the deficit" instead of "It won't cost taxpayers a penny" -- because technically, it does cost $.

p. 9, Child care: Here's how to describe the plan. "My plan includes money for states to subsidize child care for hundreds of thousands of low-income families . . . scholarships and background checks for child care workers so parents know their children are getting good . . . tax credits to businesses that provide child care for their employees . . . and tax cuts for working families to help pay the cost of care. If you pass my plan, a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs will no longer pay a penny of federal income tax."

p. 9, Drugs: "Drug use is going down again. I thank my Drug Czar, General Barry McCaffrey, for his efforts, and I thank Congress for passing the biggest anti-drug budget in history this past year -- including a massive advertising campaign to warn young people that drugs are deadly, dangerous, and wrong. We must do more to reduce demand for drugs and cut the supply of drugs that finds their way onto our streets by crossing our borders. My budget includes 1,000 new border patrol agents, and funds to develop and deploy sophisticated new technologies that will improve service but close the door to drugs."

p. 13, Food Supply: "Yesterday, our new plan to inspect meat and poultry took effect, using cutting-edge technology to protect consumers from e-coli and salmonella."

p. 15, Race: Where he wants to say "closing the opportunity gap," I think you need to make the Wilson point, that the best way to make racial progress is to expand opportunity for all. (This isn't just about affirmative action; it's about universal programs that lift everybody up.)

p. 16, Technology: "Tonight, I propose a 21st Century Research Fund for pathbreaking research at our nation's premier scientific institutions. My budget dramatically increases funding for the National Institutes of Health, the National Cancer Institute, and the National Science Foundation. American scientists are on the brink of many major breakthroughs: using genes to develop more effective treatments for breast cancer and diabetes . . . discovering vaccines against the world's deadliest epidemics -- malaria, tuberculosis, and AIDS -- . . . learning how to intervene early to slow the devastating impact of Alzheimers and osteoporosis. [if you want to mention non-medical, you could replace the last one with either "learning how to predict hurricanes and tornadoes before they occur" or "developing a factory that can produce goods without producing pollution."] Let's give American genius the resources to help us make the most of the 21st Century."

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* 6 Presidents, not 8

~~[illegible]~~

21st C. Research Fund: Finding more effective treatments for breast cancer + diabetes. On the brink of developing vaccines against the world's deadliest epidemics – malaria, TB + AIDS. Ability to predict hurricanes + tornadoes before they occur.

Bruce N. Reed
01/23/98 08:15:06 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Friday Night Edits

Here are a few minor clean-up changes to current draft. Page me if you need help with his edits.

p.5, Social Security section. Say "whether you are 70 ... or 50 ... or 30 years old" (not 20)

p. 7, national tests. Instead of "Soon, for the first time, we will have...", say "We're well on our way to having the first-ever voluntary national test ..."

p. 7, teacher testing. I'm afraid you have to drop the word "rigorous". Just say "state competency test"

p. 11, welfare. He wanted to say "after four years of record declines." The best you can say is "after a record four-year decline". (The caseload went up in the first year, down in the next 3.) At the end of the paragraph, you might add the clause "and now welfare rolls are at their lowest in 27 years" (or "fewest people on welfare since 1971")

p. 13, child care. We'll get you a # from Treasury on the number of kids helped by our plan. It's probably 5 or 6 million.

p. 14, juvenile Brady. Instead of "once they turn 21", say, "We should also bar violent juveniles from buying guns for life."

p. 22, Gifts to the Future. Please don't say the milennium "which comes just once in a thousand years". Harris already ridiculed us about the obviousness of that line.

p. 23, downside of science. I wouldn't use the phrase "moral vacuum". I would say something like, "But these rapid breakthroughs in new technology must be guided by our oldest values."

Godspeed.

* ~~[illegible]~~
Medicare line
FMLA: I ask you to extend this law to cover more workers, allow parents to take time off for parent-teacher conference or drs' appt

Service: ~~[illegible]~~ Create an ethic of service across racial lines, so that every America has ~~[illegible]~~ many opps. ~~[illegible]~~ – at work, at school, in community service – to work w/people of other races to solve our common problems. [Mentoring]

* Immigration/Border

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Melanne

I would like to make the following suggestions under the GIFTS TO THE FUTURE section.

Second paragraph:
Let us honor what we have been; let us imagine what we can become; let us invoke the wonders of science and the richness of our culture to endow the gifts to the future. *To do so we must support our science, art and humanities agencies.*

Note: Last year we made special effort to mention the arts and humanities endowments, which were threatened. Since we are relying on them and the science agencies for our Millennium programs, it might look like an omission this year not to repeat the message. What do you think?

Sixth paragraph, on the Internet. Add final sentence: *And we will enrich the content of the Internet with the history and art from our great national collections.* ** K (2) $100 m for Smithsonian to digitize collection

Note: the FY '99 budget includes $5 million to help the Smithsonian digitize its collection, and other agencies, including Archives, are making investments. These represent the federal government doing its share to improve the educational content of the Internet. (The Library of Congress also has an ambitious project, the National Digital Library.)

Eleventh and Twelfth paragraphs, on flag, Charters and Save America's Treasures:
Nearly two hundred years ago, a torn flag, its broad stripes and bright stars still gleaming through the smoke of fierce battle, inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble the words that became our National Anthem. Today that Star Spangled Banner hangs near here at the Museum of American History -- its tattered threads in need of cleaning and strengthening. The founding documents of our Nation, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, are on display at the National Archives. Their deteriorating cases must be replaced or these national treasures will be endangered. I ask you this Congress to ~~support state-of-the-art~~ projects to preserve them, to restore the images and words that are the continuing glory of America. *** (3) take action to support these & America's own endangered treasures

All over this land, communities prize their own treasures: from Civil War monuments, precious library books, and adobe churches, to President Madison's home, Thomas Edison's laboratory, or the Monroe School -- the landmark of the Supreme Court decision Brown vs Board of Education that ended school segregation. The best way to imagine the future is to honor the past. Let us join together in a millennium program to Save America's Treasures for the 21st century. ***

Note: The battle for Fort McHenry was in 1814, 184 years ago - can we say "nearly two hundred years ago"? I cannot find any reference that Key wrote his poem on the back of an envelope. Also, I think the Museum (or the Smithsonian) and the Archives need to be mentioned, to locate them in space and to make the preservation projects more concrete. I also tried to briefly describe what conservation will take place. The Millennium program to Save America's Treasures needed to be identified in the text. Also, I added a few examples to bring it to life. Monroe School is probably too long, but I was trying to show the diversity of need. There are many more - film and photography archives, twenty-nine Civil War monuments on Gettysburg Battle Field, the now derelict buildings on the south side of Ellis Island that housed millions of

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 13, 14] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
State of the Union Drafts [1]

2006-0469-F
db3434

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]

This middle class tax relief and educational assistance goes to those who need it to raise their income and their children. It goes to people who are doing everything possible to make the most of their own lives. We must do what's possible to provide it.

In the budget I will send you, the Middle Class Bill of Rights will be paid for by budget cuts, cuts in bureaucracy, cuts in programs, cuts in special interest subsidies. And the spending cuts will more than double the tax cuts. My budget pays for the Middle Class Bill of Rights without any cuts in Medicare. And I will oppose any attempt to pay for tax cuts by cutting Medicare.

The deficit is coming down three years in a row for the first time since President Truman was in office, by more than $600 billion -- that's nearly $10,000 for every family of four in this country. That's true thanks to the courage of many people here who made the tough choices -- and many who did not return in part because of that courage.

I know a lot of you have your own ideas about tax relief. I hope we can work together. My test for any proposal is: Will it create jobs and raise incomes for the middle class? Will it strengthen families and support children? Will it build the middle class and shrink the under class? If it does, I will support it. If it doesn't, I will oppose it.

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(65690) I am thor. fam. w/ the arg on all sides, and I can't that min wage will be good for our econ.

There is one further issue we must discuss that affects the incomes of lower income working people, people who are doing their best, choosing work over welfare. Two and a half million Americans, often women with children, work for $4.25 an hour [ck]. In terms of real buying power, by next year, that minimum wage will be at a 40 year low. [Some conventional economists say raising the minimum wage costs jobs, but if the raise is moderate, the evidence points in the other direction.] In fact, raising it will make work more attractive. But the main point is that people can't live on $4.25 an hour in 1995.

and raising the min wage isn't good for min wkrs it will boost wage for the econ

In the past, the minimum wage has been a bipartisan issue. It should be again. I challenge you to get together and find a way to raise the minimum wage a living wage.

Freshman members of Congress have been on the job less than a month. But by the close of business today, 24 days into the new year, each new Congressman has already been given as much in Congressional salary as people who work under minimum wage make in an entire year.

And everyone in this chamber has something else that too many Americans go without: health care. Last year, we almost came to blows over health care, but nothing was done. But the hard, cold fact is that, since the last State of the Union Address, we know

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "America's Challenge" State of the Union Address (2 pages)	01/16/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] January 1996: [State of the Union draft]

2006-0469-F
db3435

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(I) 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(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]

Draft January 16, 1996 9pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"AMERICA'S CHALLENGE"
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 23, 1996

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 104th Congress, distinguished guests:

Tonight, I speak not only to you gathered here in this chamber and those across America, but also to the men and women of our armed forces who stand sentry around the world -- and particularly those who are helping peace to take root in Bosnia. To these warriors for peace, I say: we are proud of you.

My duty tonight under the Constitution is to report on the State of the Union. Not on the state of our government, or even on the state of individual Americans, but of our union -- how we as Americans together are building our national community and creating a more perfect union.

The State of our Union is strong -- as strong as it has ever been.

Through the hard work of the American people, our economy is the strongest it has been in three decades. The combined rate of unemployment and inflation is the lowest in 27 years. We are keeping the American dream alive.

Through the hard work of the American people, there is new hope for peace tonight -- from the cobblestone streets of Northern Ireland to the sands of the Middle East to the snows of Bosnia. We are keeping America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom.

And through the hard work of the American people, the crime rate is down, teen pregnancy is down, even divorce is down. We are coming together as a nation.

Exactly 200 years ago, President George Washington stood before the 4th Congress of the United States to deliver his annual message. America faced great uncertainty about a new century, a new economy and competing visions for how best to move into the future. President Washington could have spoken to the young nation about what divided it. But instead, he chose to talk about all that held us together -- in his words, of our mission to "unite our efforts to preserve, prolong and improve our immense advantages."

Much more unites us than divides us. That vision has rescued our nation every time we have been seriously tested. Throughout our history, we have come together around three

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great ideals: First, our belief in progress -- that every American can dream of a better future, and that hard work can make those dreams come true. Second, our love of liberty. And third, our constant struggle to find common ground.

Now, at another moment of great change, our challenge -- America's Challenge -- is to find a way to preserve these old American ideals in new times. America's Challenge is to call on citizens in all walks of life to join together ... to win the war on crime, to renew our public schools for a new century, to give Americans health care and economic independence so they can be the winners of change.

The answers will not come from here in Washington alone, or from individuals acting alone. They will come from all of us, acting together -- in our communities, our churches, our businesses, our homes, our neighborhoods, and, when necessary, through our government. We must ask more of ourselves, and expect more from one another.

We will only rise to our challenges by speaking honestly about the duties we owe one another and the possibilities of what we as a nation can do together. So tonight, I want to speak directly about eight great challenges that America must meet as we move into the next century. For America was built on challenges, not promises.

America's first great challenge lies with all of us here tonight: to put our partisan differences aside and balance the budget.

It is wrong to leave our children a legacy of debt. I am proud that my administration cut the deficit nearly in half in 3 years. The federal government is now the smallest it has been since 1965. Now we must finish the job.

Earlier this month, I presented to the Congress a balanced budget with tough cuts in wasteful spending. According to the Congress own economists -- the Congressional Budget Office -- my plan makes real cuts and balances the budget in seven years.

And it balances the budget in a way that reflects our values.

We have a duty to honor our parents. And we can balance the budget without devastating Medicare or Medicaid. To anyone who would undercut Medicare, let me make myself clear: I will not let it happen.

We have a duty to our children, and to future generations. And we can balance the budget without cutting education or the gutting the environment.

We believe in work and responsibility. And we can balance the budget while ending welfare as we know it.

We believe in helping families who are trying to raise their children. We can balance

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: America's Challenge" State of the Union Address (12 pages)	01/18/1996	P5
002. draft	Speech Draft; RE: America's Challenge" State of the Union Address (2 pages)	01/18/1996	P5
003. draft	Speech Draft; RE: State of the Union Address [pages 3, 4, 11] (3 pages)	01/23/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] January 1996: [Drafts] [loose] [2]

2006-0469-F
db3436

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 January 18, 1996 am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"AMERICA'S CHALLENGE"
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 23, 1996

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 104th Congress, distinguished guests:

The State of our Union is strong -- as strong as it has ever been. Our economy is the strongest it has been in three decades. ~~Through our strength and our moral leadership,~~ America remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. Let me say a special word to our men and women in uniform who stand sentry around the world, esepcially in Bosnia, ~~who are listening tonight~~ we salute you.

It is traditional, in a State-of-the-Union Address, for Presidents to set forth their plans for the government. ~~But~~ tonight I ~~want to~~ speak to a larger purpose. Not what government alone can accomplish. Nor what individuals alone can do. But what we as a nation -- communities, businesses, churches, schools -- can do together. We must summon the energy, ideas and ~~creativity~~ of all Americans. ~~The American condition is not government's business; it is not somebody else's business; we must make it each of our business.~~

America is blessed with tremendous opportunities, and faces bracing challenges. If we all work together, we can meet these challenges. But before we do this, we in Washington must finish our work and come to agreement -- to balance the budget, cut wasteful spending, reform welfare, and give the American people a modest tax cut.

In long weeks of negotiation, both Democrats and Republicans have come close, very close, to finding common ground. Both parties agree: we should balance the budget, using conservative economic assumptions from Congress' economists, and reduce taxes. There are differences between us. But in three months of negotiations, we have significantly narrowed those differences. A balanced budget is within our grasp. I believe we can and must resolve these differences without undercutting Medicare, without ending our guarantee of nursing home care for our parents, without eroding educational opportunity for our children, without pulling back on protecitons for the environment. In the weeks to come, I look forward to working with the Congress, to enact our agreements, resolve our remaining disagreements, and balance the budget.

Let me be clear: ~~Even if we fail to act in the interest of the American people, then~~ I will act, ~~in my capacity~~ as President, to give the American people the change they demand.

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If we cannot reach agreement on sweeping welfare reform legislaiton, I will do everything within my authority as President to end welfare as we know it. Already, we have given 35 states freedom to dramatically overhaul their welfare systems, to promote responsibility and move people from welfare to work. I challenge all 50 states to go even further -- so long as they are willing to impose time limits on welfare and require welfare recipients to work.

And every year as President, I will submit to the Congress budgets that cut spending enough so that the budget will be balanced in seven years. As long as I am President, we will balance the budget.

Then we will can turn to the great challenges that will occupy us in the coming year, and as we edge toward the new century.

For this is a moment of great change -- and great opportunity. We join in impassioned debate about our future, and how best to make the American dream real for our people. But let us remember. Much more unites us than divides us. That vision has rescued our nation every time we have been seriously tested. Throughout our history, we have come together around three great ideals: First, our belief in progress -- that every American can dream of a better future, and that hard work can make those dreams come true. Second, our love of liberty. And third, our constant struggle to find common ground.

Tonight, our challenge -- America's Challenge -- is to preserve these old American ideals for a new time.

For America was built on challenges, not promises. We don't need another program for every problem. We must ask more of ourselves, and expect more from one another. That means challenging every citizen to stand guard in the war on crime and drugs . . . challenging parents and teachers to renew our schools . . . challenging business to find new ways to provide health insurance for their workers . . . and challenging fathers to care for their children.

We will only rise to our challenges by speaking honestly about the duties we owe one another and the possibilities of what we as a nation can do together. So tonight, I want to speak directly about [right] great challenges that America must meet as we move into the next century.

The first challenge is for every one of us to join together to take back our streets from crime and gangs and drugs.

Government's first responsibility is to keep its citizens safe. And citizens have a responsibility to step out from behind closed doors and shuttered windows and link arms with

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the police and with each other.

We here in this chamber must do our part.

That means keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. Under the Brady Bill, already 45,000 criminals have been stopped from buying guns. If anyone tries to repeal the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, I will veto it.

That means putting more police on the street through community policing. Across America, we are making good on our promise to put 100,000 new police on our streets. And if Congress passes a bill to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street, I will veto it.

And I challenge Congress to honor the men and women who protect us every day by passing my bill to ban cop-killer bullets.

We made three-strikes-and-you're-out the law of the land, and said that if you kill a law enforcement officer, you will get the death penalty. Tonight, I challenge judges, prosecutors, and legislators in every state to meet a new national goal: by the year 2000, every violent criminal must serve out at least 85% of his sentence.

We could hire a million more police and build a million new prison cells, and we would not win this war on crime and drugs unless we all join together -- every one of us.

Thousands of citizens are working together, to spot trouble, watch out for their neighbors, turn in crack houses. In city after city, the crime rate has dropped three years in a row for the first time in decades. In New York, murders are down 25%; St. Louis, 18%; Seattle, 32%. Two years ago, residents of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, were under seige -- literally sleeping in their hallways to avoid stray bullets. Then police began working with the neighbors to identify drug dealers and drive them off the street. The crime rate in Jefferson Parish has since dropped 60%. That is what can happen when law-abiding Americans rise to the challenge of fighting crime together.

And that is how we will address the one type of crime that continues to rise: violence by juveniles.

A few years ago, I spoke to grade school children in South Central Los Angeles. They told me their biggest fear was getting shot on the way to school -- and their second biggest fear was being forced to join a gang when they turn 12. That is no way for any American child to grow up.

Government will do its part: Tonight I am directing our nation's prosecutors to step up prosecutions of violent juveniles as adults. And I am directing the FBI and other investigative agencies to target gangs that involve juveniles in violent crime. It is time to break the gangs the way we broke the mob.

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Communities must do their part. I challenge local housing authorities, and public housing residents, to evict the gangs and the drug dealers. All of our children deserve decent lives. From now on, for public housing residents who get involved in drugs and crime, the rule should be: One strike and you're out.

Tonight we have someone with us who -- by his very example -- can do just that. Brian McCaffrey is a four star General, one of the architects of our victory in the Persian Gulf. Today, he commands our military's campaign against drug kingpins in Latin America. Tomorrow, I will nominate him as my "drug czar" to command a campaign against drugs on our streets. Thank you, General McCaffrey. [*In the balcony with the First Lady.*]

And to every teacher and preacher and to every parent in this chamber, around this country, I say this: teach our children right from wrong, and by your example, help them see through the false glamour of drugs and crime.

The second challenge is to work together to cherish our children and renew our schools for a new century.

Renewing our schools is a vital national mission -- but it will not be achieved by Washington. It must happen in our classrooms and living rooms. To make our schools succeed at this moment of change, I propose a four part challenge to renew every level of education in America for the new century.

First, we must raise our sights by demanding high standards. We should insist that every teacher meet basic competency standards . . . that every student meet national standards of excellence . . . that every parent take responsibility for their children . . . and that every school be held accountable for results.

I challenge every state to give parents the right to choose their child's public school. And if the idea of choice in public schools is to be real, we must give parents and teachers the right to start better public schools -- charter schools -- if the current ones do not work.

Second, we must mount a massive national effort -- as ambitious as any this nation has ever undertaken -- to bring our schools into the 21st century. In the age of the microchip, technological literacy is now as important as learning to read, write, and do math. When we walk into any school in the 21st century -- five years from now -- we should see every classroom connected to the outside world . . . a cutting-edge computer accessible to every student . . . and teachers with the skills and the software to make technology as exciting in the classroom as it is in the video arcade. Tens of millions of parents have watched their children play every video game from Mortal Kombat to Killer Instinct. From now on, the most important computer game in America must be learning.

Educators, scientists and business leaders must join in connecting the schools and preparing our students for the future. And what is our part here? If a company or community

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is willing to donate money to put new computers in the schools, we will match that donation dollar for dollar.

Third, we know that the GI Bill after World War II created an explosion of opportunity that built the middle class of this country for the last half century. That is why ~~every year of my presidency,~~ I have taken every step possible to throw open the doors of college for anyone who is willing to work hard and seek excellence.

We created a new college loan program that makes it easier and cheaper to borrow and repay the money for college. ~~We have given~~ college scholarships to a record number of students. We have enabled 50,000 students to earn their way by serving their ~~community~~. And last year, I asked the Congress to make $10,000 of college tuition costs tax deductible. If businesses can deduct the cost of their equipment, then families should be able to deduct the cost of a college education.

Tonight, I propose two more steps that will reward hard work. First, a $1000 merit scholarship for the top 5% of graduating students in every secondary school in America. Second, a dramatic expansion of college work-study, to enable 1 million young Americans to work their way through college by the Year 2000.

And tonight I ask colleges and universities to ~~make~~ a promise those hard-working students -- ~~the cost of college should not rise faster than~~ inflation.

We owe our children something else as well. We must stand up together as adults to protect our children from the glorification of violence and the degradation of values that assault them every day.

We must say to those in the entertainment industry to create TV shows as if your own children were going to watch them. ~~Take responsibility for what you put on the air.~~ Parents cannot escape responsibilty: if you don't like what's on TV, turn it off.

We must challenge those who produce and market cigarettes to take responsibility for your actions. Sell your products to adults, if you wish. But draw the line on children.

We must challenge our schools to teach ethics and values. And if it will stop children from shooting children for a gang jacket or designer shoes, then schools should be able to require student uniforms.

We must ~~challenge~~ our young people not to get pregnant or father a child until they are married. Tonight, I am pleased to say that a group of prominent Americans has answered the call I issued last year, and they are forming a new national campaign to enlist the media, business and communities to help our young people do the right thing.

Higher standards. Technology in the classroom. An aggressive strategy to open wider the doors of college. Teaching our children right from wrong. That is the duty we owe our

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children. ~~Because when our children succeed, America succeeds.~~

America's third challenge is this: ~~I challenge the medical industry, the insurance industry, and this Congress to~~ change the rules so people can take health insurance from job to job.

It is wrong that insurance companies compete by cutting off coverage to sick people. ~~And~~ It is wrong that Congress has not passed a law to change that. We should enact reforms so that insurance companies cannot deny you coverage or raise rates when you are changing jobs, because you or a member of your family have a preexisting condition. There is a bill in this Congress, introduced by Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum and Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy, that will make the rules fair. It is bipartisan, and it is strong. ~~If you~~ send it to me, I will sign it.

~~And~~ we should help give small businesses the same purchasing power to buy health care as big businesses, make it easier for older women to get mammograms every year, and find a way to ensure that if you lose your job, you don't lose your health care.

We need to crack down on Medicare fraud, which costs [x billion] every year. But government should not ~~have to~~ do it alone. I challenge the American Medical Association to stop standing in the way of tougher prosecutions, and take responsibility for policing your own.

~~I call on citizens to do what thousands of AmeriCorps volunteers have done, and make sure that every child in your community is immunized.~~

And I challenge Congress: It is one of the great strengths of our country that poor children and the disabled have a guarantee of quality health care. It is a good thing that older Americans know they will receive quality care, so they can live out their ~~retirement~~ in dignity. It would be wrong -- deeply wrong -- to take ~~these guarantees~~ away.

My fourth challenge is this: government and busines ~~should work together~~ to give our people the tools they need to become winners of economic change.

~~A~~merica's economy is growing, steady and strong. ~~Over the last three years, we have had the strongest growth of any major economy.~~ The combined rate of inflation and unemployment is the lowest in 27 years. Businesses have created over 7 million American jobs. ~~A decade ago, the auto industry was on its back. Today, Detroit is beating Japan for the first time since the 1970s.~~ Three years ago, we were losing jobs in construction; today, we have gained nearly 800,000. Businesses owned by women now employ more people than the Fortune 500. Home ownership is at its highest rate in 15 years.

Thanks in no small measure to the work of Vice-President Gore, we have cut 16,000

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page of ~~unnecessary~~ rules and regulations -- so government works better, costs less, and generates results not red tape. The government is the smallest in 30 years, and getting smaller every day. And from coast to coast, remarkable new industries like biotechnology and telecommunications are leading the world into the 21st century.

This new economy offers real opportunity for our people, but we all know that it poses a challenge: how to ensure that all of our people are able to reap the rewards of change.

~~To create new security for the new economy,~~ I challenge Congress to pass my GI Bill for workers. It would consolidate 70 ~~categorical~~ duplicative job training programs, and give the money directly to American workers. People who need it can use a training voucher to pay for tuition at a community college or training ~~at~~ next job. People shouldn't have to wait in line at yet another government office to get the skills they need to compete.

And we should protect the retirement security of our citizens.

~~We should cut through red tape to make it easier for small business to provide pensions for their employees, so that every American can share the responsibility of saving for retirement.~~

~~But~~ businesses have a responsibility to make sure that pensions are secure. If Congress sends me legislation that gives big companies a green light to raid their pensions, and put their workers' retirement at risk, I will veto it.

Economic growth and environmental protection go hand in hand. We will challenge business: if you can meet tough pollution goals, we will let you find the cheapest and most efficient way to do it.

We will challenge businesses to clean up polluted sites in the inner city. And we will waive the rules and call off the lawyers ~~for companies when they do.~~

~~And~~ we will draw on the ~~expertise~~ power of thousands of ~~backyard~~ community environmental groups, by enforcing the right-to-know laws that make companies disclose the toxic chemicals they release into ~~their~~ neighborhood.

~~And~~ if we honor work, then work must pay. Millions of Americans -- many of them women with children -- earn the minimum wage, ~~which is~~ at a 40 year low. A year ago, I called on Congress to raise the minimum wage. Since then, ~~the~~ value ~~of the minimum wage~~ has dropped $250 -- while Congress' pay has gone up [x]. That's wrong. ~~Congress should increase the minimum wage.~~

Our fifth challenge is ~~their~~ ~~All of us have to take responsibility to~~ rebuild the fabric of the American family.

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Bringing a child into the world is the most extraordinary responsibility that any man or woman can ~~undertake in their lifetime~~. No job is more important than holding that child, loving that child, reading to that child after a hard day's work, teaching that child to play and to pray. As parents, as grandparents, as community leaders, as citizens, we all need to do our part to give our children strong and loving families.

For too long, too many government policies -- however well-intentioned -- have ~~undermined~~ the family ~~instead of making it stronger~~. That is why I have spent my entire career working to reform our broken welfare system, which penalizes work, discourages responsibility, and breaks up families.

In ~~this year~~, we have made real progress toward ~~enacting~~ sweeping welfare reform that will end welfare as a way of life. ~~Across party lines~~, we agree on the need for time limits ~~on welfare~~, tough work requirements, and the toughest possible child support enforcement. I challenge Congress to send me a real welfare reform bill that requires work and provides child care so we can move people off welfare and into work.

~~But that will not be the end of welfare reform; it is only the beginning.~~ We must require people to take jobs, but we must all commit ourselves to creating new jobs for them to take. I challenge businesses across America to hire people who want to work their way off welfare.

And I challenge all of us here, across party lines, to reward work over welfare by uniting behind the Earned Income Tax Credit, which President Reagan called the best anti-poverty, the best pro-family, the best job-creation program on the books.

But it's time to stop making women take the ~~whole~~ fall for this whole thing. As a father, I challenge ~~my fellow~~ fathers to step forward and accept more responsibility for their children than most ~~fathers~~ are now doing.

If you owe child support, pay it. ~~You cannot walk away.~~ It is not enough to send your children a check. You have to give them your time.

One of the proudest things we have done was to pass family leave, which lets people take time off to care for a new child or a sick parent. But it shouldn't take a law for ~~businesses to go even further to establish~~ flexible schedules and ~~employment~~ policies ~~so~~ people don't have to choose between the job they need and the child they love.

Finally, let us remember that we can only build strong families when men and women respect each other. We must work together to end domestic violence. So I say to men all over this country -- I ask you to pledge never -- never -- to raise ~~their~~ hand in violence ~~against~~ a woman.

Our sixth great challenge is to meet our responsibility to lead ~~for peace and~~

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progress in the world.

In this the American century, our country has led the world in the fight for freedom and peace -- and won. Because we did, more people than ever before live free, more nations enjoy peace -- and our people have had half a century of prosperity and security.

Today, all over the world, people look up to us not only because of our power, but because of what we stand for -- and what we stand against. And though it imposes extra burdens on us, they trust us to help them seek the blessings of peace and freedom.

But as the Cold War fades, voices of isolation say America should retreat from the hard work of leadership. I say they are wrong. We face a host of threats that have assumed new and dangerous dimensions -- ethnic and religious hatred... aggression by rogue states... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... organized crime... drug trafficking. Each one is an equal opportunity destroyer with no respect for borders. In the enduring global struggle of virtue and values against chaos and evil, America must never be neutral.

Yet while the isolationists are wrong, so are those who would have us be the world's policeman. Our reach and resources are limited. We can't be everywhere. We can't do everything. But where we can make a difference -- and where our values and interests demand it -- America must lead.

Tonight, I can report that America is meeting the challenge of leadership.

By keeping our military strong... by using patient diplomacy where we could and force when we had to... by building coalitions to share the risk and the cost of our efforts.... by using the right tools at the right time in the right places... and by being unpredictable... America has made a difference for our people and people around the world.

Because we stayed engaged with Russia, tonight there are no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or citizens.

Because we applied hard-headed persuasion, North Korea is dismantling its dangerous nuclear weapons program.

Because we used the threat of force, in Haiti the dictators are gone, the democrats are back and the flow of refugees to our shores has ended.

Because we negotiated a better deal for America and opened markets abroad, more Americans have jobs at home.

Because we have stood with those who take risks for peace, in Northern Ireland the sound of car bombs and gun shots have given way to the quiet blessings of normal life... and in the Middle East, Arabs and Jews who once swore to fight to the death now share

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

knowledge, resources and dreams. [The American people -- and I -- lost a great friend and partner when Yitzhak Rabin was taken from us. But we can be proud that the people of the Middle East are finding the strength to go forward, in part because they know America will stand with them, now and forever.]

Because we stared down aggression and stood up for peace, in Bosnia marketplaces and playgrounds are no longer killing fields.

We must go forward in Bosnia. Now, we have it within our power to do even more. We can cut the world's nuclear stockpiles by another XX percent... stop an entire new generation of nuclear weapons... control chemical and biological weapons... take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals... and help more people move from hatred to hope.

We can do all these things, but only if we continue to lead... only if Congress ratifies the START II treaty -- this year... If we sign a truly Comprehensive Test Best Treaty -- this year... If Congress approves the Chemical Weapons Convention -- this year... If Congress finally passes legislation I proposed after Oklahoma City to give American law enforcement even stronger tools to fight terrorists... And if Congress gives us the resources we need to remain leaders for peace.

The challenge before us is straightforward: to reject the voices of isolation and the role of policeman... but to live up to the challenge of being a peacemaker. If we do, we can remain a force for freedom and progress around the world -- and for real security and prosperity at home. And the next century will be an American century, too.

peacemaker, a

America's seventh challenge is to all of us in this chamber: make this democracy work for the people, and not the lobbyists. Special interests.

In the past year, we have already applied to Congress the laws that apply to America, banned gifts and meals from lobbyists to lawmakers, and forced the lobbyists to fully disclose who they are working for, what they are spending, and what bills they are trying to pass or kill.

But we haven't finished the job of reform. We all know that special interests give too much money in political campaigns. And we must all take personal responsibility for changing it.

The first truly bipartisan campaign finance reform bill in a generation has been introduced by Republican Senators John McCain and Fred Thompson, and Democratic Senator Russ Feingold. It would limit spending, it would give candidates access to the airwaves, and would curb the role of special interests and lobbyists. It is real reform. Congress should pass it without delay.

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But curbing the lobbyists is not enough if we don't give ordinary citizens a louder voice. I challenge the technology industry and people at every level of government to develop new ways to transform the Internet and other emerging technologies into forums for democracy. And today, Members of Congress spend taxpayer money to flood their districts with unsolicited mailings. I challenge you to give up the frank, and give it to the citizens instead, so that you can hear from the people instead.

[I have already required my top trade officials not to become foreign lobbyists. But I cannot stop literally dozens of former trade officials from previous administrations from selling their knowledge and access to the highest foreign bidder. That's unfair to American workers and businesses. So I challenge Congress to pass a law prohibiting former top trade officials from becoming foreign lobbyists, effective immediately.]

America's eighth and perhaps most important, challenge is this: to live up to our values, and restore a sense of right and wrong, in our daily lives. I challenge Americans in all walks of life to reach within themselves and find a new sense of personal responsibility.

As Americans, we more than any people on earth should recognize the truth of the Gospel: "To whom much is given, from them much is required." We need a rebirth of ethics, of values, of the moral code that this country was built on. Only if we share a community of values, can we value community.

I believe in a woman's right to choose an abortion. Some people deeply disagree. But I challenge people on both sides of the abortion divide to find common ground. At the very least, let us do what we can to encourage adoption, and unite the hundreds of thousands of eligible parents who want a child with the thousands (ck) of babies who need a loving home.

We must challenge every citizen to give something back to their community through service. I am proud of what the national service program, AmeriCorps, has done to put 25,000 young people to work in communities -- raising reading scores, pulling garbage out of rivers, helping police shut down crack houses. But we shouldn't stop there. Every American has something to contribute -- from volunteering at an AIDS clinic to adopting a child.

Two decades ago, the average American lived only five years after retirement; today, they live twenty years. (ck) So let me issue a special summons to our nation's seniors, who have the time and the wisdom to teach us all: let your retirement years be a season of service. Thousands of children need parents, but they need grandparents just as much. We can all gain from your lifetime of experience.

And let me say this above all: Those of us who want government to get smaller but don't want the schools to decline, the drinking water to get dirty, or crime to worsen -- we have an obligation to actually do something about these problems ourselves.

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Every one of us faces a challenge to seek common ground with our fellow Americans -- to reach out beyond our differences, both because it is the right thing to do, and because it is the way we will meet every one of our other challenges as we enter a new century.

Conclusion

I have asked a lot of ~~you~~ this evening. But I have no doubts. For I know that the more we ask of ourselves as Americans, the more we can accomplish.

These challenges -- from renewing our schools to winning the war against crime -- are linked not by government spending or individual ambition, but by a single important idea that built this country: the duty we owe to one another. From the moment our founders pledged to each other their "lives, their fortune, and their sacred honor," Americans have been bound to one another not by blood, not even by geography, but by common ideals and a sense of common purpose. Let us never forget: When Americans gather in their homes, their schools, their churches, or at work, they have far greater power to shape our nation's destiny than do any of us in this ~~august~~ chamber.

[reference to Olympic torch-bearers, who are community heroes]

Each of us must hold high the torch in our own lives. But none of us can finish the race alone. We must find a way to xxxx. That is America's Challenge.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft January 18, 1996 4pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"AMERICA'S CHALLENGE"
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 23, 1996

96 JAN 18 P4:52

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 104th Congress, distinguished guests:

Tonight, I speak not only to all of you, and to those listening across America. I speak also to our men and women in uniform around the world, especially to those helping peace take root in Bosnia. To our warriors for peace, I say: we are proud of you.

The Constitution requires me to address the state of our union. Not what government alone can accomplish. Nor what individuals alone can do. But what we as a nation -- communities, businesses, churches, schools -- must do together.

The State of our Union is strong -- strong as it has ever been. Our economy is the strongest in three decades. Our fundamental values are coming back. America remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom.

We in Washington must build on this progress. It is time, once and for all, to come to agreement on a balanced budget in a way that reflects our values.

In months of negotiation, Democrats and Republicans have come very close to finding common ground. We can balance the budget, cut spending using conservative assumptions from Congress' economists, reform welfare, and reduce taxes. A balanced budget is within our grasp. I believe we can and must seize this moment . . . without devastating Medicare and Medicaid, without hurting education and the environment. In the weeks to come, I look forward to working with the Congress, to resolve our disagreements, and balance the budget.

Let me be clear: If Congress will not join me, I will act alone to give the American people the change they demand.

We have already given 35 states freedom to overhaul their welfare systems. If we cannot agree on bipartisan welfare reform legislation, I will challenge all 50 states to go further -- to impose time limits and require welfare recipients to work. On my watch, we will end welfare as we know it.

Every year as President, I will submit to the Congress budgets that cut spending enough so that we move toward a balanced budget in seven years. On my watch, we will

1

FYI: Can't "act alone" to balance the budget

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

balance the budget.

America is the greatest nation on earth. We are its leaders, and we must behave responsibly. No public servant should ever threaten the full faith and credit of the United States. And no public servant should ever -- ever -- shut down the government again.

Tonight, it is time for us to talk about the future.

This is a moment of great change -- and great opportunity. Throughout our history, we have come together around three great ideals: First, our belief in progress -- that every American can dream of a better future, and that hard work can make those dreams come true. Second, our love of liberty. And third, our constant struggle to find common ground.

Tonight, our challenge -- America's Challenge -- is to preserve these old American ideals for a new time.

For America was built on challenges, not promises. We don't need another program for every problem. We must ask more of ourselves, and expect more from one another. That means challenging every citizen to stand guard in the war on crime and drugs . . . challenging parents and teachers to renew our schools . . . challenging government and business to give workers health care they can carry with them throughout a career . . . and challenging fathers to take responsibility for their children.

We will only rise to our challenges by speaking honestly about the duties we owe one another and the possibilities of what we as a nation can do together. So tonight, I want to talk about seven great challenges that America must meet as we move into the next century.

The first challenge is for every one of us to join together to take back our streets from crime and gangs and drugs.

We here in this chamber must do our part.

That means keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. Under the Brady Bill, 45,000 criminals have been stopped from buying guns. If anyone tries to repeal the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, I will veto it.

That means putting again more police on the street through community policing. Across America, we are making good on our promise to put 100,000 new police on our streets. And if Congress passes a bill to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street, I will veto it again.

And I challenge Congress to honor the men and women who protect us every day by passing my bill to ban cop-killer bullets.

We made three-strikes-and-you're-out the law of the land, and said if you kill a law

Has vetoed 1 bill already that funded COPS

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We have not reached agreement yet. Real differences remain over the level and kind of investments we need in education and environment, and over the level of savings and the changes which should be made in Medicare and Medicaid. We differ on what kind of investment will best provide economic growth, through research, technology, trade, and a good agriculture program -- still our largest winner in international trade.

Tonight I reaffirm my determination to work with you to reach a balanced budget agreement. I know you differ with me on what it takes to protect Medicare, Medicare, education, and the environment. I hope we can bridge those gaps. And I will try. But we have more than enough savings common to both our plans to balance the budget in seven years, restrain entitlement spending, preserve the Medicare Trust Fund, and give a modest tax cut. I ask you at least to enact these savings so we can give the American people their balanced budget, lower ~~tax rates,~~ and a bright future. taxes;

Working together

~~Whatever happens~~, I am convinced we will balance the budget, and make permanent deficits yesterday's legacy.

It is time to look to the challenges of today and tomorrow. That is what I believe we all came here to do, regardless of party.

America was built on challenges, not promises. So tonight I want to speak honestly of the challenges we face as a people, as one America. broader

The First Challenge is to renew our schools and college opportunity for a new century.

to incorporate technology into improving education, and I challenge among

First, we need a partnership ~~between~~ educators, parents, business and government to connect every classroom to the information ~~superhighway~~ by the year 2000, with computers, good software, and skilled teachers. We are working with the telecommunications industry in California to wire 20% of the schools by this spring, and we will work with industry in every state to do the same. I challenge leaders in every state to develop a plan ~~and~~ Congress to provide a Technology Matching Fund ~~to contribute~~ 20% of the funds from ~~private~~ sources for this purpose. with federal

I challenge every state ~~to adopt national~~ standards of excellence, measure whether schools are meeting those standards, and hold them accountable for results. Every diploma must mean something. But it is also important to cut red tape so that schools have more room for grassroots reforms. And that must include giving all parents the right to choose which public school their children attend, and letting teachers form new schools with a charter they can keep only if they do a good job.

I challenge all schools to teach character education: education, values, and good citizenship. I challenge parents to be their children's first teacher, and to turn off the TV. See that their homework gets done. Know your children's teachers.

community and school to adopt nationally competitive

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Today, higher education is more important than ever before. We must open the doors of college to all who deserve it. Since 1993, we have increased Pell grant scholarships to record levels and created a new direct loan program that has made it easier and cheaper to borrow for college; and we have dramatically cut the student loan default rate. Through AmeriCorps, our national service program, this year 25,000 students will earn college money by serving in their communities. This program is a bipartisan success story; it is the right thing for America -- we should keep it going.

Tonight I want to open the doors of college even wider. I challenge Congress to expand work study and help one million young Americans work their way through college by the year 2000; provide a $1,000 merit scholarship for the top five percent of all high school graduates. Again I say: there is no better way to cut taxes than to make $10,000 a year of college tuition tax deductible.

Our second challenge is to help every American achieve economic security.

People who work hard deserve what it takes to get ahead in the new economy: Education and training for a lifetime, retirement security, and access to health care.

More and more Americans are finding that the education of their childhood simply does not last a lifetime. Congress has gone a long way toward consolidating 70 overlapping job training programs into one simple voucher for unemployed or underemployed workers to use for community college tuition or other training. I challenge you to pass this GI Bill for America's Workers.

More and more Americans are working hard without a raise. Congress sets the minimum wage. This year, the minimum wage will fall to a 40-year low in purchasing power. $4.25 an hour is not a living wage. But millions of American workers and their children are trying to live on it. I challenge you to raise their minimum wage.

In 1993, Congress expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit to cut the taxes of 20 million hard pressed working families. Our goal was to make sure no parent who worked full-time would have to raise their children in poverty. That tax cut is worth about $1,800 to a family of four living on $20,000. The budget bill I vetoed had excessive cuts in the Earned Income Tax Credit, which would have raised taxes on 7 million of these people. When we cut taxes for other Americans, we must not raise taxes on them.

In addition to the education tax cut, I support a tax cut for working families with children. I know the Congress has taken a strong stand on this, and it should be part of a final budget agreement.

I challenge every business that can possibly afford it to provide pensions for their employees, and I challenge Congress to pass a proposal to make it easier for small businesses and farmers to establish pension plans. That was one of the top priorities of the White

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America.

I also challenge every American to reach across the lines that divide us. We have come a long way -- but we have still not fully overcome. One hate crime is one too many. One incident of discrimination is one too many. Racism is un-American. We must do better.

Finally, to Congress, I say: we have to take responsibility to make this democracy work. [This government must again become one of the people, by the people, and for the people.]

Last year, Congress applied to itself the laws that apply to America, banned gifts and meals from lobbyists, and forced lobbyists to disclose who pays them and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill.

Now I challenge Congress to go further: curb special interest influence in politics by passing the first truly bipartisan campaign finance reform bill in a generation, introduced by Republican Senators McCain and Thompson and Democratic Senator Feingold. Show the American people we can limit spending and open up the airwaves to all candidates.

I have ordered my top officials not to act as foreign lobbyists when they leave government. I challenge anyone who has ever served this country as a top trade negotiator never to sell their knowledge to foreign governments.

And I appeal to Congress to give me the line item veto you promised to give me.

The American people deserve a government that works better and costs less. Thanks to the work of Vice-President Gore, we are eliminating 16,000 pages of unnecessary rules and regulations, shifting responsibility out of Washington back to states and communities, and letting individuals and the private sector do more. Today, the federal workforce is 205,000 employees smaller than the day I took office -- the smallest in 30 years, and getting smaller every day. The federal workers who remain are working harder and delivering better value for less money.

[VP ANECDOTE ON OKLAHOMA CITY: _____ worked for Social Security for 22 years. During the Oklahoma City bombing he re-entered the building four times and saved lives of three women. We will never forget brave people who serve us daily. I want to recognize him and tell story of heroism. In November, he was forced out of his office when the government shut down. The second time the government shut down, he continued working without pay. Let us promise ____:]

[But we here in Washington have a duty to behave responsibly. I want to make this very clear:] No public servant should ever threaten the United States with default. And no public servant should ever -- ever -- again shut down the government of the United States.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech Draft; RE: "America's Challenge" State of the Union Address [pages 4-13] (10 pages)	01/18/1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] January 1996: [Drafts] [loose] [3]

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

from crime and gangs and drugs.

move the positive stuff up here.

Here is the good news... the policies

We here in this chamber must do our part.

We should not turn back
we're ¾ of the way home
let's not turn back

That means keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. Under the Brady Bill, 45,000 criminals have been stopped from buying guns. If anyone tries to repeal the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban, I will veto it.

Nobody has a right to spray bullets in a school caf.

That means putting more police on the street through community policing. Across America, we are making good on our promise to put 100,000 new police on our streets. And if Congress passes a bill to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street, I will veto it.

And I challenge Congress to honor the men and women who protect us every day by passing my bill to ban cop-killer bullets.

pay fallow fed ays. + refer bit in crime bill.

We made three-strikes-and-you're-out the law of the land, and said if you kill a law enforcement officer, you should get the death penalty. Tonight, I challenge judges, prosecutors, and legislators in every state to meet a new national goal: by the year 2000, every violent criminal must be required to serve at least 85% of his sentence.

But we could hire a million more police and build a million new prison cells, and we would not win this war on crime and drugs unless we all step out from behind closed doors

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and shuttered windows to work with the police and with each other.

All over America, citizens are taking responsibility, spotting trouble, watching out for their neighbors, blowing the whistle on crack houses. In city after city, the crime rate has dropped three years in a row for the first time in decades. In New York, murders are down 25%; St. Louis, 18%; Seattle, 32%. Two years ago, the people of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, were under siege -- literally sleeping in their hallways to avoid stray bullets. Then police began working with the neighbors to drive drug dealers off the street. The crime rate in Jefferson Parish has dropped 60%. That is what can happen when law-abiding Americans rise to the challenge of fighting crime together.

And that is how we will address the one type of crime that continues to rise: violence by juveniles.

A few years ago, I spoke to grade school children in South Central Los Angeles. They told me their biggest fear was getting shot on the way to school -- and their second biggest fear was being forced to join a gang when they turn 12. That is no way for any American child to grow up. //

Government will do its part: Tonight I am directing our nation's prosecutors to step up prosecutions of violent juveniles as adults. And I am directing the FBI and other investigative agencies to target gangs that involve juveniles in violent crime. It is time to

What is the funda prob here? Too many kids roaming selves on streets that are too many. Some of them at aston young ages get into horrible behavior

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break the gangs the way we broke the mob.

Communities must do their part. I challenge local housing authorities, and public housing residents, to link arms to evict the gangs and the drug dealers. From now on, for public housing residents who get involved in drugs and crime, the rule should be: One strike and you're out.

And to every teacher and preacher and to every parent in this chamber and around this country, I say: teach our children right from wrong, and help them see through the false glamour of drugs and crime.

Tonight we have someone who by his very example can do just that. Brian McCaffrey is a four star General, an architect of our victory in the Persian Gulf. Today, he commands our military's campaign against drug kingpins in Latin America. Tomorrow, I will nominate him as my "drug czar" to command a campaign against drugs on our streets. Thank you, General McCaffrey. [*In the balcony with the First Lady.*]

The second challenge is to work together to cherish our children and renew our schools for a new century.

Washington alone will not achieve this vital national mission. The job must be done in our classrooms and living rooms.

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SOTU in ed. Here's what we're doing

2d, our schools are not going to change unless.

First, we must raise our sights by demanding high standards. We should insist that every teacher meet ~~basic~~ high competency standards . . . that every student meet national standards of excellence . . . that every parent take responsibility for their children . . . and that ~~every~~ school be held accountable for results, rewarded for success.

Every school dist that's not perf at an appl level should be challenged

I ~~challenge every state~~ to give parents the right to choose their child's public school. And if the idea of choice in public schools is to be real, we must give parents and teachers the right to start better public schools -- charter schools -- if the current ones do not work.

~~Second~~ First, we must mount a massive national effort -- as ambitious as any this nation has ever undertaken -- to bring our schools into the 21st century. In the age of the microchip, technological literacy is now as important as learning to read, write, and do math. When we walk into any school in the 21st century -- five years from now -- we should see every classroom connected to the outside world . . . a cutting-edge computer accessible to every student . . . and teachers with the skills and the software to make technology as exciting in the classroom as it is in the video arcade. Tens of millions of parents have watched their children play every video game from Mortal Kombat to Killer Instinct. From now on, the most important computer game in America must be learning.

Educators, scientists and business leaders must join in connecting the schools and preparing our students for the future. And what is our part here? If a company or community is willing to donate money to put new computers in the schools, we will match that donation

Fight vs. teen sh is an ongoing deal!

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

dollar for dollar.

(in the world – which we live + cert the one toward which we're moving, ed more important than ever before.

Third, we know that the GI Bill after World War II created an explosion of opportunity that built the middle class. That is why every year of my presidency, I have taken every step possible to open wide the doors of college for anyone who is willing to work hard and seek excellence.

We created a new college loan program that makes it easier and cheaper to borrow and repay the money for college. We have given scholarships to a record number of deserving students, and enabled 50,000 of them to earn their way through college by serving their community. And last year, I asked the Congress to make $10,000 of college tuition costs tax deductible. If businesses can deduct the cost of their equipment, then families should be able to deduct the cost of a college education. 12 to 14 yrs.

Tonight, I propose two more steps to inspire excellence and reward hard work. First, a $1000 merit scholarship for the top 5% of graduating students in every secondary school in America. Second, a dramatic expansion of college work-study. I want to make it possible for 1 million young Americans to be working their way through college by the Year 2000.

And tonight I ask colleges and universities to make a promise to those hard-working students -- don't let the cost of college rise faster than Americans' incomes.

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We owe our children something else as well. We must stand up together as adults to protect our children from the glorification of violence and degradation of values that assault them every day.

We must say to those in the entertainment industry: create TV shows as if your own children were going to watch them. And parents, if you don't like what your children are watching, turn the thing off.

To those who produce and market cigarettes, we must say: take responsibility for your actions. Sell your products to adults, if you wish. But draw the line on children.

We must challenge our schools to teach ethics and values. And if it will stop children from shooting children for designer shoes, then schools should be able to require student uniforms.

teen preg/pov. rate down

We must challenge our young people not to get pregnant or father a child until they are married. Tonight, I am pleased to say that a group of prominent media, business and civic leaders have answered my call for a new national campaign against teen pregnancy.

not primarily a govt resp. Natl message.

Higher standards. Technology in the classroom. An aggressive strategy to open wider the doors of college. Teaching our children right from wrong. That is the duty we owe our children.

dwell, Cong to ~~the~~ pass V chip

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

All as one

America's third challenge is this: we must change the rules so people can take health insurance from job to job.

It is wrong that insurance companies compete by cutting off coverage to sick people. It is wrong that Congress has not passed a law to change that. We should enact reforms to stop insurance companies from denying you coverage or raising rates when you are changing jobs, because you or a member of your family have a preexisting condition. Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum and Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy have introduced a bill to make the rules fair. It is bipartisan, and it is strong. Send it to me, and I will sign it.

+ small biz pool.

We should help give small businesses the same purchasing power to buy health care as big businesses, and find a way to ensure that if you lose your job, you don't lose your health care.

We need to crack down on Medicare fraud, which costs [x billion] every year. But government should not have to do it alone. I challenge the American Medical Association to stop standing in the way of tougher prosecutions, and take responsibility for policing your own.

And I challenge Congress: It is one of the great strengths of our country that poor children and the disabled have a guarantee of quality health care. It is a good thing that older Americans know they will receive quality care, so they can live out their lives in dignity. As

we must

↳ but we should not do anything that would.
What are pubs? Well, we're only county - wld w/ a smaller prop. of ppl under 65 & w/ [illegible] should

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long as I am President, I will stand up for these basic values.

My fourth challenge is this: government and businesses must join to give our people the tools they need to become winners of economic change.

America's economy is growing, steady and strong. Over the last three years, we have had the strongest growth of any major economy. The combined rate of inflation and unemployment is the lowest in 27 years. Home ownership is at its highest rate in 15 years. Businesses have created over 7 million American jobs. Businesses owned by women employ more people than the Fortune 500 combined. Three years ago, we were losing jobs in construction; today, we have gained nearly 800,000. A decade ago, the auto industry was on its back. Today, Detroit is beating Japan for the first time since the 1970s.

Thanks in no small measure to the work of Vice-President Gore, the federal workforce is the smallest in 30 years, and getting smaller every day. We have cut 16,000 pages of unnecessary rules and regulations. Government works better, costs less, and produces results, not red tape.

Today's economy offers real opportunity for our people; our challenge is to ensure that all Americans reap the rewards.

That is why I challenge Congress to pass my GI Bill for workers. It would

↓ H.R.s Sen both passed

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

consolidate 70 overlapping job training programs, and give the money directly to American workers to pay for tuition at a community college or training at their next job. People who need new skills shouldn't have to waste their time waiting in line at a government office.

We should make it easier for small businesses to start pension plans, and easier for Americans to save for their retirement.

And businesses have a responsibility to make sure that pensions are secure. If Congress sends me legislation that lets big companies raid their workers' pensions, I will veto it.

And we all have a responsibility to honor work and make work pay. Millions of Americans -- many of them women with children -- earn the minimum wage, now at a 40 year low. A year ago, I called on Congress to raise the minimum wage. Since then, its value has dropped $250 -- while Congress' pay has gone up [x]. That's wrong.

In the new economy, we recognize that a clean environment is good for business. We will challenge business: if you can meet tough pollution goals, we will let you find the cheapest and most efficient way to do it.

We will challenge businesses to clean up polluted sites in the inner city, and we will cut the red tape and call off the lawyers when they do.

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We will draw on the expertise of thousands of backyard community environmental groups, by expanding the right-to-know laws that make companies disclose the toxic chemicals they release into their neighborhood.

Make no mistake: these reforms will make it easier to protect the environment, not easier to pollute it. We will see to it that the air we breathe and the water we drink are safe -- and that our natural heritage is preserved for generations to come.

- Toxic waste - Ppl should pay, if they're resp.

safe drw act. 99-0 Sen.

Our fifth challenge is this: All of us have a duty to rebuild the American family.

→ Good news: —. But as a nation there is no more important job than the raising of our ch.

Bringing a child into the world is the most extraordinary responsibility any man or woman can have. No job is more important than loving your child, reading to your child, teaching your child to play and to pray. As parents, as grandparents, we all need to do our part to give our children strong and loving families.

Therefore, since we live in a time when most ppl have to work: a country where ppl can succeed at L + at work

For too long, too many government policies -- however well-intentioned -- have undermined the family, not made it stronger. That is why I have spent my entire career working to reform our welfare system, which penalizes work, discourages responsibility, and breaks up families.

We have made real progress toward enacting sweeping welfare reform that will end welfare as a way of life. We agree on the need for time limits, tough work requirements, and

we FMLA, doubled EITC, welfare

Support child tax credit. Vom sol.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	David Axelrod to Rahm Emanuel; RE: Speech (2 pages)	01/13/1997	P5, P6/b(6)
002. letter	David Axelrod to Michael Waldman; RE: Speech (2 pages)	01/16/1997	P5, P6/b(6)
003. paper	RE: SSN [partial] (1 page)	01/16/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
Inaug [Inaugural] 1997 - Outreach

2006-0469-F
db1946

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]

extraordinary capacity/meet our challenges/peace prosperity → Madison

self-importance / other Place / magnificent / unique envy / freedom - Carville

To: Rahm Emanuel
From: David Axelrod
Date: January 13, 1997
Re: Speech

I know that a big slug of language may not be of great use to you at this juncture. But the words below cover some ground I sensed was missing in the draft.

One is the concept of trusteeship. We are the inheritors of an awesome legacy, and with that comes the responsibility to nurture it. I think that is what was meant by the "preserve, protect and defend" reference at the beginning of the draft, but I think it needs to be teased out.

I also think the unity theme needs to be tied in more tightly to that legacy. Americans have pulled together in times of national need, not always because we love each other, because the heritage of freedom we share is more valuable than the differences between us.

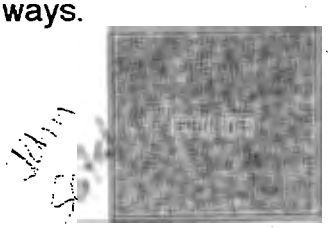
Finally, I think he needs to attack more directly the point that we ought not get seduced by the lack of an overt crisis into forgetting our obligation to attack our problems and meet our challenges.

Anyway, maybe there is a word, or phrase, or concept of value in the paragraphs that follow. And maybe not!

This day symbolizes the durability of our democracy--the survival and triumph of this bold experiment in self-government.

Our courageous forbearers shared this dream, and fought to make it possible. And each, succeeding generation has worked and sacrificed and struggled to see to it that these hard-won freedoms, and the promise of opportunity, would endure for future generations.

Yes, we come from different places, speak with many accents, worship in our own ways.



[001]

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But whatever our differences, whatever our grievances, Americans always have rallied when the times demanded it because we recognize that we enjoy something precious and unique.

We are each, every one of us, the inheritors and the trustees of a magnificent gift. And with it comes a sacred obligation to pull together and meet the challenges of our times, just as our parents and grandparents met the challenges of theirs.

Today, we are blessed to live in peace and prosperity. Perhaps that makes it harder to summon a sense of urgency to the tasks at hand, or to recognize the responsibilities we share.

But let us never take for granted the greatness of America. Let us never stop working. Let us never stop striving. Let us never sully the monumental efforts of those who came before us, or let down those who will follow, by failing to do our part to build a better and stronger nation.

If none of this is helpful, let me just suggest two small inserts.

One would sub for the third graf on page two, which begins, "Today, let us use...":

As the new century dawns, America is at peace. Our economy is strong. It is a time of unparalleled opportunity.

Yet we face complex challenges that even the visionaries who conceived this great nation could scarcely have foreseen.

The other would sub for the last phrase of the first paragraph on page four..."and let us make this a time when we work together for the American people."

Let us seize this moment together, and signal a season of progress for the American people.

That's all I have. I hope it is, at least, a little useful. Call if you want to discuss any of this.

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AXELROD
AND
ASSOCIATES

730 N. FRANKLIN, SUITE 404
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60610
(312) 664-7500 • FAX (312) 664-0174

1901 I STREET, N.W., SUITE 300
WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 20036
(202) 452-9454 • FAX (202) 296-7532

To: Michael Waldman
From: David Axelrod
Date: January 16, 1997
Re: Speech

Rather than reinvent the wheel, I have a few thoughts I hope might prove useful. I was a little troubled by the second and third paragraphs, which I'm not sure quite hit the mark. So I took a crack at an insert.

Ever since those first Americans ignited the torch of liberty, it has been carried forward with courage and vision by succeeding generations so that we might enjoy the blessings of freedom and opportunity.

Through world war and depression; civil war and social unrest, a brave and determined people has kept the torch aloft and flame burning.

And by that light, we have built the greatest nation the world has ever known.

Now, we have reached a clearing in our journey. Blessed with peace and prosperity, we stand on the threshold not only of a new century in a new millennium, but an Age of Possibility, in which our ability to master unprecedented change can open the door to unparalleled opportunity.

Our challenge, my fellow Americans, is to seize this moment; to do what we must to meet our responsibility to each other and future generations. For in our hands, together, rests the eternal promise of America.

On page 2, I would eliminate the King reference, and possibly relocate it to the diversity passage on page 4.

So in place of the second, third and fourth paragraphs on page 2, I would substitute the following:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech draft Re: Remarks at Goree Island, Senegal (3 pages)	April 2, 1998	P5
002. fax	Ted Widmer to Michael Waldman, Re: remarks at Goree Island (2 pages)	Mar 30, 1998	P5
003. draft	Remarks at Goree Island, Senegal (5 pages)	3/30/98	P5
004. memo	Michael Waldman to Tony Blinken and Ted Widmer, Re: Edits to Goree Island Speech (3 pages)	April 1, 1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14460

FOLDER TITLE:
Goree Island 4/2/1998

2006-0469-F
db3440

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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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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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]

3/30/98 12:15 am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT GOREE ISLAND, SENEGAL
APRIL 2, 1998

[acknowledgments]

Here, on a tiny island in the Atlantic, Africa and America meet. One expands to the east, its potential as vast as its landmass. The other lies over the horizon, to the west, a thriving democracy built through centuries of trial and error. ~~Long after the demise of slavery, Goree Island still looks out upon the New World, connecting two continents and reminding us that for some of America's ancestors, the journey to America was no search for the American dream; it was a nightmare.~~

America has enjoyed a glorious history, accomplishing things our founders never imagined when they signed the Declaration of Independence 222 years ago. But we have not always lived up to the promise of that document. For some, there was no promise at all – just a command. Today I saw a house of deportation built in 1776. At the very moment Thomas Jefferson was writing the words that declared a new beginning for humankind, a new building was conceived and dedicated to the selling of souls.

words cannot convey what we have seen here. FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS

~~Goree~~ Island had no Declaration of Independence, no Constitution, no Bill of Rights. But this place is as much a part of our history as the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. And here began a test of whether our society could live up to its promise.

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From Goree and other places, Africa's sons and daughters were taken against their will and sent across the ocean. Through an opening marked "door of no return," they left their friends and families one last time. They came from different places, but as Africa faded from view, their fates were joined forever to the New World waiting across the Atlantic. Those who survived the murderous Middle Passage emerged from a dark hold to find themselves American. It would be a long time before they enjoyed the full meaning of that word.

Deleted section

We cannot step backward through the doorway of no return. But we know our history. The shadow cast by slavery stretched far beyond the national agony of civil war. Generation after generation, until my own lifetime, millions upon millions of African-Americans worked hard ... obeyed the law ... built homes and communities. They loved America – but they were not full members of the American family.

BUT

In the last fifty years, we have made progress. In 1948, the year the world reasserted universal human rights, President Truman integrated the armed forces. Topeka, Montgomery, Little Rock and Selma are foreign places to Africans, but they are sacred shrines in my country, where the descendants of Africa seized their rightful share of the American Dream. We can only move forward as *fellow* Americans, sharing *one* nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for *all*.

The African experience in America proves affirmation is more powerful than affliction. The struggle to overcome slavery forms one of the most painful chapters in our history. It is also one of the most heroic. It is not separate from the American story; it is an essential part of the American story. ~~The poorest immigrant at Ellis Island was never considered three fifths of a~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

human being; every African man, woman and child was so defined in the Constitution. But they overcame these insults with dignity, courage and immense moral strength. They proved the spirit can never be enslaved. Their struggle for equality was the ultimate test of everything we hold sacred in America. Their victory was a vindication of the democracy cherished by *all* Americans.

As I return to the United States, I am grateful to the Africans who have opened my eyes to this extraordinary part of the world. This trip has brought home to me how powerful an engine democracy is. And I have relearned what too many Americans forget: that America is now more than ever the hope of the world. In tiny villages like Kisowera, Ugandans showed me schools that will allow children to reach across the Atlantic by internet. In cities like Cape Town and Soweto, South African leaders repeated to me the words of Americans who inspired them to take a higher road. That is what America stands for to Africa. And now that Africa is looking to us, we must not look away.

Africa Staff

I have seen Africans working hard to build a better future.

I am proud my country has a historic family tie to this land. And I am proud to be President of a nation of MANY colors. Because everything that is right about America is in some measure due to the contributions of African-Americans. There is no area of American achievement that has not been touched by the sunshine of Africa, from science and medicine to literature, art, and music. White and black, Latino, Asian, Middle Eastern, European and everything in between, we are the sum of many parts ... a community of communities ... a nation of nations. Together, we face the future as one America, undaunted and undivided.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FAX COVER SHEET

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17th & Penn, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20504

Did you get a complete, clear transmission? If not, please call:

(202) 456-9371

From: Ted Widmer

To: Michael Waldman

Agency:WH Speechwriting

Fax Number:456-5709

Date/Time: 3-30 12:45 Botswana

No. of pages to follow: 6

Message:

Michael: Here's the most recent version, with changes from Tony. I had a longer version, with all of your ideas about acknowledging the emotional power of this place, and resolving on the site of Goree Island never to forget the ideals that made America America. But folks here wanted something shorter. I can send that to you also if you like. Thanks for your help, Ted

To be changed again - a lot on Africa
less on slavery

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3/29/98 2:05 am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT GOREE ISLAND, SENEGAL
APRIL 2, 1998

[acknowledgments]

Here, on a tiny island in the Atlantic, Africa and America meet. One expands to the east, its potential as vast as the landmass before us. The other lies just over the horizon, to the west, a thriving democracy built through centuries of trial and error. Long after the demise of slavery, Goree Island still beckons to the New World, connecting two continents and reminding us that a nation built on dreams of freedom was also built on bondage.

America has enjoyed a glorious history, accomplishing things our founders never dreamed when they signed the Declaration of Independence 222 years ago. But we have not always lived up to the promise of that document. For some, there was no promise at all – just a command. Today I saw a slave house built in 1776. At the very moment Thomas Jefferson was writing the words that declared a new beginning for humankind, slavery was given a new lease on life.

Goree Island had no Declaration of Independence, no Constitution, no Bill of Rights. But this place is as much a part of our history as the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. And here began the ultimate test of whether our society could live up to its promise. The answer has been a long time coming.

Tone down the apology

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3/30/98 12:15 am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT GOREE ISLAND, SENEGAL
APRIL 2, 1998

[acknowledgments]

Here, on a tiny island in the Atlantic, Africa and America meet. One expands to the east, its potential as vast as its landmass. The other lies over the horizon, to the west, a thriving democracy ~~built through centuries of trial and error.~~ Long after the demise of slavery, Goree Island still looks out upon the New World, connecting two continents and reminding us that for some of America's ancestors, the journey to America was no search for the American dream ~~– it was a nightmare.~~

America has enjoyed a glorious history, accomplishing things our founders never imagined when they signed the Declaration of Independence 222 years ago. But we have not always lived up to the promise of that document. ~~For some, there was no promise at all – just a command.~~ Today I saw a house of deportation built in 1776. At the very moment Thomas Jefferson was writing the words that declared a new beginning for humankind, a new building was conceived and dedicated to the selling of souls.

~~Goree Island had no Declaration of Independence, no Constitution, no Bill of Rights.~~ But this place is as much a part of our history as the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. ~~And here began a test of whether our society could live up to its promise.~~

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From Goree and other places, Africa's sons and daughters were taken against their will and sent across the ocean. Through an opening marked "door of no return," they left their friends and families one last time. They came from different places, but as Africa faded from view, their fates were joined forever to the New World waiting across the Atlantic. Those who survived the murderous Middle Passage emerged from a dark hold to find themselves American. It would be a long time before they enjoyed the full meaning of that word.

Deleted section

We cannot step backward through the doorway of no return. But we know our history. The shadow cast by slavery stretched far beyond the national agony of civil war. Generation after generation, until my own lifetime, millions upon millions of African-Americans worked hard ... obeyed the law ... built homes and communities. They loved America – but they were not full members of the American family.

In the last fifty years, we have made progress. In 1948, the year the world reasserted universal human rights, President Truman integrated the armed forces. Topeka, Montgomery, Little Rock and Selma are foreign places to Africans, but they are sacred shrines in my country, where the descendants of Africa seized their rightful share of the American Dream. We can only move forward as *fellow* Americans, sharing *one* nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for *all*.

The African experience in America proves affirmation is more powerful than affliction. The struggle to overcome slavery AND ITS LEGACY forms one of the most painful chapters in our history. It is also one of the most heroic. It is not separate from the American story; it is an essential part of the American story. ~~The poorest immigrant at Ellis Island was never considered three fifths of a~~

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human being; every African man, woman and child was so defined in the Constitution. But they overcame these insults with dignity, courage and immense moral strength. They proved the spirit can never be enslaved. Their struggle for equality was the ultimate test of everything we hold sacred in America. Their victory was a vindication of the democracy cherished by *all* Americans.

How can we honor those who passed thru the

As I return to the United States, I am grateful to the Africans who have opened my eyes to this extraordinary part of the world. This trip has brought home to me how powerful an engine democracy is. And I have relearned what too many Americans forget: that America is now more than ever the hope of the world. In tiny villages like Kisowera, Ugandans showed me schools that will allow children to reach across the Atlantic by internet. In cities like Cape Town and Soweto, South African leaders repeated to me the words of Americans who inspired them to take a higher road. That is what America stands for to Africa. And now that Africa is looking to us, we must not look away.

Africa staff

I have seen Africans working hard to build a better future.

careful—Buchanan

I am proud my country has a historic family tie to this land. ~~And I am proud to be President of a nation of color.~~ ~~Because~~ everything that is right about America is in some measure due to the contributions of African-Americans. There is no area of American achievement that has not been touched by the sunshine of Africa, from science and medicine to literature, art, and music. White and black, Latino, Asian, Middle Eastern, European and everything in between, we are the sum of many parts ... a community of communities ... a nation of nations. Together, we face the future as one America, undaunted and undivided.

here? here?

NO.

WHY here?

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The work is not finished. It will never be finished. But we have smashed the shackles that bound all of us to a degree, and we stand ready to create "a more perfect union."

While we reflect on the past, the future expands as wide as the ocean that joins – not separates – the United States and Africa. As certainly as America lies over the horizon, so I promise you that our kindred peoples will work together in the next century to build a relationship based on friendship, trust and respect.

Now is the time to complete the circle of democracy, at home and abroad. At the turn of the century, we must turn the tide against hatred and ignorance. We must come together, not as many races with a divided past, but as one human race with a united future; a future that encompasses the globe; a future that knows no color lines; a destiny whose doorway is open to all.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. worked his entire life to redeem the promise of America. His final sermon, thirty years ago tomorrow, painted a vivid picture of a "Promised Land." He used the same phrase when he first came to Africa in 1957 to witness the birth of Ghana, and the end of the colonial era. To Dr. King, Africa and America were *both* part of the Promised Land of the future. Though he did not live to see the progress of the last three decades, I know he would rejoice at the promise we see before us today. I agree with the optimism he expressed upon winning the Nobel Peace Prize, when he proclaimed "an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind."

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Let people around the world learn the full story of Africa's Americans ... how they were enslaved ... how they overcame oppression ... and how rich America is for their triumph. Let African-Americans act as a living bridge between Africa and America, bringing their hard-earned knowledge to bear on a continent poised for new greatness. Let all mankind see in this story the promise of redemption. The survival and success of African-Americans made America complete — and restored the revolutionary truth at the heart of our experiment, begun across the ocean 222 years ago:

That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These ideals are not only American; they are universal, and they are eternal. This truth will always be stronger than any attempt to distort it. Freedom *will* prevail.

We must never forget the past. Our memory will be our compass as we navigate a better future. Together, we will explore a new world of possibilities for all humanity. Together, we will put the promise back into the promised land.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

April 1, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY BLINKEN AND TED WIDMER

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: EDITS TO GOREE ISLAND SPEECH

As we discussed, here are the edits from me, John Podesta, Rahm Emanuel, Jim Steinberg, Sidney Blumenthal, Ann Lewis and Paul Begala. Good luck!

Insert A

Today, I saw a house of deportation built in 1776. At the very moment our nation was founded on the promise of freedom, a new building was constructed and devoted here to the selling of human beings.

Insert B

We cannot step backward through the doorway of no return. But we know our history. In the depth of our Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln said, "If God wills that [this war] continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

American ideals sentence (in case it didn't come out on your fax)

A nation bearing the ideals of freedom, equality, responsible citizenship -- idals so powerful they light the world.

Suggested tightening of the beginning

Here, on a tiny island in the Atlantic, Africa and America meet.

Goree Island is as much a part of our history as the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. Today, I saw a house of deportation built in 1776. At the very moment our nation was founded on the promise of freedom, a new building was constructed and devoted here to the selling of human beings.

From Goree and other places, Africa's sons and daughters were taken against their will and sent across the ocean. Through an opening marked "door of no return," they left friends and families for the last time. Those who survived the murderous middle passage emerged from a dark hold to find themselves American. It would be a long time etc. etc. etc.

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3/31/98 10 pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT GOREE ISLAND, SENEGAL
APRIL 2, 1998

President Diouf; members of the American delegation; school children from Dakar and its sister city, Washington, D.C.; residents of Goree Island; ladies and gentlemen:

Here, on a tiny island in the Atlantic, Africa and America meet. One expands to the east, its potential as vast as its landmass. The other lies over the horizon, to the west, a thriving democracy built through centuries of ~~sweat and~~ sacrifice. Long after the slave ships stopped sailing from this place, Goree Island still looks out upon the New World, connecting two continents and reminding us that for some of America's ancestors, the journey to America was not a search for the American dream ~~– it was a nightmare.~~

SEE INSERT A

~~America has made a glorious history, accomplishing things our founders never imagined when they signed the Declaration of Independence 222 years ago. But not all Americans enjoyed the promise of that document. Today I saw a house of deportation built in 1776. At the very moment Thomas Jefferson was writing the powerful words that declared a new beginning for humankind, a new building was conceived and dedicated here to the selling of human beings.~~

A FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS,

~~This place had no Declaration of Independence, no Constitution, no Bill of Rights. But~~ Goree Island is as much a part of our history as the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. From Goree and other places, Africa's sons and daughters were taken against their will and sent across the ocean. Through an opening marked "door of no return," they left friends and families for the last time.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Those who survived the murderous MIDDLE passage emerged from a dark hold to find themselves American. It would be a long time before they enjoyed the full meaning of that word.

We cannot step backward through the doorway of no return. But we know our history. ~~Even~~ after emancipation, for generations, millions upon millions of African-Americans worked hard … obeyed the law … built homes and communities. They loved America – but they were not full members of the American family.

SEE INSERT B

We have come a long way in the last generation. Topeka, Montgomery, Little Rock, Selma -- these are foreign places to Africans, but they are sacred shrines in my country, where African Americans seized their rightful share of the American Dream. We have learned that we can only move forward as *fellow* Americans, sharing *one* nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for *all*.

The African experience in America proves affirmation OF OUR IDEALS is more powerful than affliction. The struggle to overcome slavery AND ITS LEGACY forms one of the most difficult chapters in our history. It is also one of the most heroic. It is not separate from the American story; it is an essential part of the American story. It is a story of overcoming adversity with dignity, courage and immense moral strength. The African-American journey proves that the spirit can never be enslaved.

A few hours from now, we will depart Africa on our journey home to America. I return more convinced than ever that there is an African Renaissance, that despite the daunting challenges that remain, the energy, spirit and intelligence of the people of Africa will prevail.

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