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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Todd Stern to the President, re: Rasco / Tyson Health Care Policy memo (1 page)	August 17, 1996	P5
002. draft	Acceptance Speech at Dmocratic National Convention (23 pages)	8/22/96	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
[Convention Drafts] [1]

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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.
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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(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]

48 hour rule for new mothers -- on Mothers' Day you endorsed rule requiring health care plans to allow new mothers to remain in hospital for 48 hours. ***Open VA to Medicare-eligible vets*** -- allowing VA to get reimbursement from Medicare. ***Eradicate global polio*** -- by contributing to WHO's initiative to end polio by 2000.

Three options for new initiatives:

Increased oversight of managed care -- In view of rising concern that cost containment may be coming at expense of quality, (i) support "gag" rule law preventing health plans from restricting what doctors can tell their patients about alternative treatments. OMB and HHS support; (ii) establish public/private advisory board to evaluate managed care shortcomings and recommend appropriate role for federal government. VP, OMB, HHS, DOL support, as do Sweeney and McEntee; (iii) host Presidential forum on problem of managed care's role in declining research and training funds, challenging managed care industry and research community to work together on solutions.

Provide children greater access to affordable insurance -- Four options: (i) legislation for targeted investments to help community health centers and school-based clinics provide preventive and other services (wouldn't increase insurance coverage much); (ii) small tax subsidy for working families who pay for kids' insurance if employers don't contribute to dependent coverage (addresses affordability more than coverage); (iii) provide subsidy to help low-income families purchase insurance for their kids (would significantly increase coverage, but would be costly, inefficient, duplicative of Medicaid and would create incentives for employers to drop kids who have coverage); (iv) increase state flexibility to design programs to expand Medicaid coverage to more children. NOTE -- Options (ii-iv) would require new spending of $15-20 billion over 7 years.

Increase independence of people with disabilities -- (i) to address problem of disabled people who choose to remain on SSI or SSDI rolls rather than risk loss of health insurance, allow disabled to purchase Medicaid or Medicare coverage on sliding scale linked to their income; (ii) evaluate options to address problem that home- and community based care services are "optional" Medicaid services, while nursing home coverage is "mandatory" -- a distinction disabled community hates.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Proud of past bridge to future Hopes and Dreams

8/22/96 am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
August 29, 1996

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-President, fellow Democrats, my fellow Americans:

Let me begin by saluting a man who has carried his job to boundaries of influence and courage it has never before reached -- my partner, my friend, the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

Tonight I thank Chicago, city of the big shoulders and a great heart. And thank you, Chicago, for giving me the love of my life -- my wife, Hillary.

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. You asked me to carry out a vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. Four years ago, I told you about my hometown in Arkansas -- and that I still believed in a place called Hope.

Four years ago, crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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These unsolved problems seemed to open wounds in our generous American soul. A nation built on equality found racial division on the rise. A nation built on the promise of progress found its path blocked; hardworking Americans replaced the hope of moving higher with resentment of those stuck below. And too many politicians climbed the ladder of these resentments to higher office. They used these problems as issues to be exploited, not challenges to be met. When the times demanded that we join hands, they pointed fingers.

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not "who to blame," but "what to do." We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

We created economic opportunity to restore the American Dream. 10 million new jobs. The lowest combined rates of inflation and unemployment and montages in 30 years. Wages rising again. And last week, I signed legislation raising the minimum wage, moving people from welfare to work, and assuring that when Americans change jobs, they can take their health insurance with them.

With the help of the Vice-President, we cut 250,000 jobs from the federal workforce; now our government is the smallest -- and the most efficient -- it has been since John F. Kennedy was President. And, today the deficit that was strangling our progress is 60%

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smaller than four years ago.

We began to put 100,000 more police on the streets; we toughened penalties; we stopped felons and fugitives from buying handguns; we banned assault rifles. For four years now, the crime rate has dropped. Now even the juvenile murder rate is down.

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.3 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

We have kept America strong around the world. Tonight, no one, anywhere on this planet -- from Haiti, to South Africa, to Russia, to Bosnia, to the Middle East -- doubts that America is the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world.

And most important, we have found a new faith in ourselves as a country; a new faith in America. And this renewed faith is giving us the courage to take on our new challenges, together, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

As we prove to ourselves again that, as a community, we can work together to keep our children safer, to make our schools modern and strong, to make our nation more secure,

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we must fight against any force that would divide us rich from poor, black from white, and certainly generation from generation. We must, as we always have, respect and honor the legacy of the past. But I for one want the bridges we build always to be bridges to future. America's best days are not behind us; America's best is yet to come.

As our new faith grows, let us turn to the new challenges we face as a nation. How we choose to do that will be the great decision of the months ahead. Tonight, we embark again on that privilege of choosing our leaders and the great debate about our country's direction. So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Ross Perot are ~~good~~ men who ~~have served their country with distinction~~. Let us honor their service, and our fellow citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together.

And when our time here is over, ~~we will know we have done a good day's work~~. We will be able to watch the sun go down, and truly say, we have prepared our children for the dawn. ~~Now together, let us raise our eyes to the future, and see the America we want in the Year 2000 -- and the new challenges we must meet to get there~~.

I see an America in the Year 2000 in which strong families can meet the challenges of raising our children, have the security of health care and the certainty of their own home.

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Our children need more of our time. The first bill I signed into law, The Family and Medical Leave Act, lets parents bond with children in their first weeks of life. We must extend the law to give parents time off each month to take a child to the doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents and children to have the most precious thing of all, time with one another.

We should pass a tax cut that gives parents the money to raise their children. We have already cut taxes for 15 million working families. I propose cut taxes another $500 for every child under 13 in every middle income family. And my tax cut -- like every one of my tax cut proposals -- is fully paid for in my balanced budget plan.

I want an America in the Year 2000 where single mothers, struggling to bring up children, get every penny absent fathers owe them. We have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support. And we will instruct the IRS to take all tax deductions away from any taxpayer whose child support is overdue. No one should be able to write off deductions if they have written off their children.

I want an America in the Year 2000 where no parent worries that a child has no health insurance. The Kennedy-Kassebaum law is a crucial first step. Tonight we must move to the next steps.

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In the next four years, we must extend paid health insurance for six months to anyone who is unemployed. A parent may be without a job; but no child should be without a doctor.

Government employees and Members of Congress -- my own family, and those of many of you here -- enjoy access to one of the best insurance programs in the world. Today, I am instructing those who administer the program to insist that the insurance companies who sell to the federal government must offer equivalent benefits to every small business and every self-employed American. You should get what we get.

Managed care must never mean substandard care. We will pass a law making it illegal for HMOs to retaliate against doctors who tell their patients about alternate, higher cost forms of treatment. Patients have a right to know they are getting the right treatment, not just the cheapest, ~~and we will enforce that right~~.

I see an America in the Year 2000 where families can pay the medical bills insurance hasn't covered, without mortgaging their financial health. To do this, I am proposing expanding IRAs so that people may save money tax free to use for medical expenses.

Finally, we must work together to take the most fundamental step of all. We must follow the dictates of our conscience, and find a way to provide medical care to every uninsured child.

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I see an America in the Year 2000 where the tender lives of our children are not threatened with an early death from tobacco. We are targeting the tobacco ads that target our children. In the next four years, Joe Camel, the Marlboro Man and Miss Virginia Slims will be banned from billboards, from magazines, and from our children's lives forever.

Four years from now, I want our children to be able to watch television and learn values, not violence. Because of our efforts with the Vice President, we have given parents the V-chip, TV shows will be soon be rated for content, and there will soon be 3 hours of quality childrens' programming on the air on every network every week. [In the next four years, I will work with the networks and with the FCC to roll-back violence in children's programming. We cannot raise a generation of responsible citizens . . . on Power Rangers alone.]

I ~~see~~ an America in the Year 2000 where families can own their own homes. We have already achieved record homeownership -- in part by cutting FHA fees $1000. In the next four years, we will pass a targeted tax cut for homeowners to sell their homes without paying capital gains taxes. And we will expand IRAs so people can save tax free for that first down-payment. ~~By lifting the burden of taxation, we will help put a home within reach of our families. Then~~ every American can hear ~~the most~~ beautiful words ~~in the English language~~: Welcome home.

I see an America in the Year 2000 where abortion is safe, legal, and rare. We do not

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hide our commitment to a woman's right to choose. ~~We say~~ But we also proudly say in our platform that we respect the individual conscience of every American, ~~on this difficult issue. Her right to choose is too important to be handed over to government. It must be a matter between~~ even those who believe the choice should never be made. Though we believe the decision should be handed over to God, but left to a woman, her conscience, and her God.

Our goal is to make abortion ~~less necessary and~~ more rare, ~~not more difficult and more dangerous. Even as we protect choice~~ That is why we have worked to establish a network of teen pregnancy prevention programs to support local efforts in reducing it. We must make adoption more and more the alternative. ~~That is why~~ That is why, last week, I signed a $5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children. And ~~we also~~ to put an end to racial preference in adoption. No longer will the laws of 43 states keep children of one race from the loving arms of adoptive parents of another.

In the next four years, we will bring security to the 500,000 children trapped in the limbo of foster care. No child should be uncertain what the word family or parents or home means. We must change the law: after a child has had a year in foster care, if his old family is still not an appropriate place for him to live, we must find that child a home.

We want our children to know the love we have known. My mother was with us four years ago; she is not here tonight. I miss her very much. But I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned early in life how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. I want an America in the Year 2000 where every child will have the

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same love with a parent that I was blessed to have with my mother.

So.. I see an America in the Year 2000 where every neighborhood is proud to point to its rebuilt school, where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children. And above all, I see an America in the Year 2000 where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself."

Over the past two years, we stopped budget cuts that would cripple our initiatives to double the size of Head Start, to increase remedial reading and math, and to double the number of anti-drug counseling programs in our schools.

In the Year 2000, I see an America where every third grader can read and write. Today, 40% of our children cannot read or write by the 3rd grade. Some learn late; some never really learn at all. We must set our children free.

I am proposing a bold literacy program: To hire 50,000 reading specialists for our schools where too many students read below grade level. They will recruit and train volunteers to create an education army of 1 million people to teach our children to read.

We will provide funds to keep schools open, from early in the morning until early at night, so young people can stay off the street and develop the skills to live good lives.

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In the Year 2000, a diploma will mean something: That this child, educated anywhere in this country, has attained a satisfactory level of knowledge and reading and math skills. And a high-school diploma will proclaim to the world: this child has earned it.

We will ask every state to compose rigorous achievement tests. We will expect that state to make passing that test a precondition of graduating elementary school, middle school, or high school. We will challenge states to reward good teachers and remove those who don't measure up. And where schools have failed, we will help parents come together to set up charter schools to provide quality education to their children. Parents do deserve the choice to send their children to the best public school their communities can create.

In the Year 2000, I see America's schools rebuilt, modernized, wired for computers and prepared to cope with the rapidly increasing enrollments. The students who start first grade next week will be the largest class in our nation's history. I propose federal assistance to enable localities to increase school construction by at least 25%. We cannot ask our children to learn in a landscape of peeling paint and broken glass.

Computers are remaking our world. When this convention gathered four years ago, there was no such thing as a "web page" on the Internet. Today, even Socks, my cat, has one. Our mission is simple and imperative: We will connect every single classroom and library in America to the world wide web of computers, information and knowledge by the Year 2000.

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I see an ~~America in the Year 2000 where we all share in the benefits of a growing economy, where more and more of us go to college. I see an America where the budget deficit is approaching zero~~ -- but ~~our~~ budget reflects our values. I see an America where new opportunity opens up to our people, enabling us all to seize this age of possibility.

If we had to ask one question that would determine a person's future economic well-being, ~~the answer is~~ not gender, or race -- it is, simply, "did you go to college?" Women earn less than men, but they are gaining; minorities earn less than whites, but they are gaining; those who have not been to college earn less than those who have, and they are falling farther and farther behind.

By the Year 2000, every American high school graduate who wants to go to college must have the opportunity to do so. We have reduced interest on student loans. We have expanded Pell Grant scholarships. And we have offered, through Americorps, the chance to earn your way through college by serving your community.

In the next four years, we will pass a tax cut to make most community colleges free, and all college more affordable. If you go to college, we will give you a $1500 a year tax credit for the first two years, and a $10,000 tax deduction thereafter. And if, you return to college to advance your skills, your tuition will be covered by this tax cut. ~~We will pay for it by closing tax loopholes for large multinational corporations~~. We will say to Americans: Do the work, expand your skills, and we will help you pay for it. And Americans will say: Give

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

never forget — (#2500 E bill.) they would be elig. it's like a welfare bonus.

us the tools to succeed, and we'll get the job done.

I see an America in the Year 2000 where parents can save for their child's college. I am proposing an expanded IRA of $2000 for each child, which parents may save each year tax-free. This tax cut, too, is fully paid for by spending cuts. When the day comes that their child uses these tax free savings and the tax free interest to pay tuition, those payments themselves will be tax free. (up to 10,000 a yr. ~~tax free~~ so We will reform the tax code to make sure that for middle income Americans, the money that pays for school is never, ever taxed.

I see an America in the Year 2000 where work pays. Where, when you work at a job, you don't come home at night to a family in poverty. Last week I was very proud to sign an increase in the minimum wage. And we have expanded and protected from budget cuts the Earned Income Tax Credit, cutting the taxes of 15 million working families. When this tax cut is fully in place, going to work will mean the end of poverty.

we've already made work pay 6 years ago,

But most important of all, I see an America by the Year 2000 in which those who have been forced to the bottom, left to a lifetime of welfare dependency are finally climbing up.

I signed last week as much a compact as a law. Those on welfare now have the responsibility to move to work. But we, who are not on welfare, have the responsibility to keep a reciprocal promise: to provide them with the opportunity -- the daycare, the education,

{pull college up into education 1. family 2.

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and, most of all, the jobs they need.



This is the most important compact of our time. If we succeed in providing work, dignity, and the chance for advancement to those who now languish on welfare, we can end the permanent underclass, exiled, forgotten, and cast out by society.

This compact is our last, best hope to succeed where we have failed before. If we fall short, we will have lost another last best hope -- for true national unity. I will honor this compact with a strategy to create one million jobs for those now on welfare.

1st → very strong work all or pt of week now will check avail as wage subsidy for up to 1yr

First, we will give every business a $2100 tax credit for every person hired who is on welfare, provided that person stays on the job for a year. This is a good deal for the workers, it's a good deal for the businesses, and it's a good deal for America.

The quickest way to create these jobs - most in state - wage subsidy

AFSME give local govts reason

Second, the same job placement firms that help millions of Americans find better jobs should help welfare recipients find their first job. To that end, we will pay them $1500 for every welfare recipient they place in a job, and who stays there for a year.

CHALL. STATES

Third, we will create jobs to put our people to work. Building homes. Repairing schools. Renovating parks. Fixing the streets. Cleaning up pollution. Making their communities shine again. We will expand child care and hire welfare mothers to help staff them.

If W the wr bill we have given to the states the largest job c tool -

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BIG

#450 CDB in CA.

1) We're giving fedl $ to states we are now giving $ to states for income supplants

2)

3) we are going to create jobs

Fourth, we will help free enterprise take root in the inner city, ~~irrigating the economy~~ with capital from an expanded network of community development banks such as the South Shore Bank here in Chicago. There is no capitalism where there is no capital -- and we must enable it to thrive everywhere in America.

CDB banks set up in inner c

it is simply not true that we can't will not take it.

I see an America in the Year 2000 where we cut taxes wisely to help America grow. I propose a ~~limited~~ tax cut of $110 billion targeted ~~at helping~~ people have the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. We will cut taxes for the family of the child going to college . . . we will cut taxes for the worker who returns to college . . . we will cut taxes for the family saving to buy a home . . . and for the family selling a home to move up. We will cut taxes for middle income families trying to raise their children. We will cut taxes for working families to keep them out of poverty. ~~We will target our tax cuts where they can do the most good.~~

That's why

responsible

to give ~~get~~ pol

let me repeat what I want to help raise their ch; to

~~for~~ for:

for that affects very Am in

These tax cuts will strengthen the econ for

This is a tax cut that will help us to grow the econ... This is the way to do it.

(by targ, tax cuts, + paid for)

The era of big government is, indeed, over. ~~We must cut taxes,~~ and we must let people keep more of their own money.

move it to

~~But have~~ we must learned ~~nothing~~ from our ~~own~~ recent history? In the 1980s, it seems our opponents have not. we tried their approach — a big tax cut, exp the def, fed rd, laid the basis for recess

by more than ½. Now were going to ~~bring~~ this deficit down. Are we now to make the ~~same mistake~~ again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? To follow the same pied

cut

way to ~~do~~ cut taxes?

There is another tax plan

Now that we've got [illegible]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The greatest untapped mkt for us is Am Blacks

We have made a big inroad in Ala & GA. We have wonderful in Chi [MAKE IS SOUND BIG]

pipers over the same cliff? My answer is simple: No way.

And are we to forget the even more recent past -- when there were those who sought a massive tax cut we could not afford, and tried to pay for it with harsh cuts in crucial areas.

Last year and this year, I rejected these massive cuts. I rejected them.

Let me make one thing clear: As long as I am President, I will never allow Congress to use the threat of government shutdown to blackmail the American people into accepting deep, devastating cuts -- in education . . . the environment . . . Medicaid . . . or Medicare.

Are we now again to invite cuts of this magnitude -- or even greater, crueler cuts, -- to pay for a huge, across-the-board tax cut? No way.

Let me say again:

We have a better plan. Cut taxes by $110 billion, not by $550 billion. Pay for them with reasonable spending cuts, not with borrowed money -- or by eviscerating Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment. And target the tax cuts where they will do real things to help real people to help our nation grow:

None of these tax cuts or other initiatives must divert us from the path to a balanced budget. Every tax cut and every initiative will be paid for by specific spending cuts. We have already reduced the federal payroll by 250,000 employees; we will reduce it by another 100,000. We will close loopholes for multinational corporations and on corporate welfare.

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tax subsidies to corps.

We cannot turn from the path of fiscal discipline that has ~~gotten us moving again.~~ would like really to. to be more prod this million of people and fam to afford home/car, ~~a mortgage~~

more Amers are really surprised

I see an America in the Year 2000 where crime is becoming the exception, not the rule. I see an America where children will not find it easier to buy a gun than a beer, where the voices of crime victims will finally be heard in our courtrooms, where the gangs that once ran wild in our neighborhoods have been chased-down, locked-up, and kicked-out, when young people who at risk/living themselves, stay away fr. on the street drugs + gangs bec. we give them something to say yes to—

~~For a long time, Americans thought there was nothing we could do about crime. We proved them wrong~~. But we cannot go into the 21st Century vital and strong if children are still killing children . . . if children's lives are shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard . . . if a generation of young people is left to raise itself alone on the streets. . . .

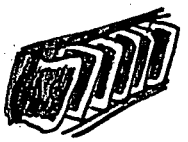
if drug use is going down among youth as well as use among children

We ~~took on the Washington gun lobby and their allies in Congress,~~ banning 19 deadly assault weapons, and passed the Brady Bill. No hunter has been denied his gun -- but 60,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied theirs. Tonight, I propose new steps to curb violence and fight crime.

// new need explicit admonit. re: drugs. (Targeted to juniles. McCaff.

Too many women and too many children live in mortal fear of domestic violence -- and each year, there are 150,000 acts (ck) of domestic violence involving a gun. [Sarah Brady thank you?] We must extend the Brady Bill to say: if you have a record of violence against your own family, you cannot buy a gun. If we do this, four years from now

80% find work
20% make less
20% make more



DRUGS
one thing

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thousands of women who would have lost their lives to domestic violence will be alive.

Even as we punish crime, we must prevent it before it happens. We expect criminals to serve their time. Parole is a conditional privilege. We expect parolees to obey the law and turn their lives around. If they turn the wrong way and slip back onto drugs, chances are they will soon be committing crimes. So I call upon every state to test parolees for drugs, and to lock up -- for the balance of their sentence -- those who test positive. We say to parolees: if you go back on drugs, you are going back to jail.

Too many kids have guns. I propose a federal law making it a crime for anyone under 21 to own a handgun -- or for anyone to sell a handgun to anyone under 21. This crime will be punishable by 5 years in prison. I see an America where a child's finger on the trigger of a handgun is an abomination.

We must ban the cop-killer bullets that are designed with one purpose in mind: to kill police. ~~If a~~ bullet can cut through a Kevlar vest like a knife through butter, ~~then it~~ has no place on our streets.

And by the Year 2000, our Constitution ought to protect victims of crime -- not just criminals. Victims of crime should have the right to be heard at trial, at sentencing, or at a parole hearing. And they should be warned when their assailant leaves prison. ~~To safeguard~~ these rights, I support a Constitutional Amendment to guarantee victims rights.

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By the Year 2000, I want teenage gangs in full retreat. To win this victory, we will use our most potent legal tool -- the anti-racketeering RICO statute. RICO brought the mob to its knees. RICO helped smash the Medellin drug cartel. Under ~~this powerful law~~ RICO, we will be able to wiretap, infiltrate, and ~~electronically~~ track ~~every~~ gang member. And when we have enough evidence, we will close in to bring them to justice.

By the Year 2000, I see drug use among our teenagers coming down. Recently, we have been afflicted by yet another rise in teen drug use. To fight this, we have doubled funding for school anti-drug programs, stiffened penalties for drug dealers, and imposed the death penally for drug kingpins. [*drug program & McCaffrey mention to come*]

I want an America in the year 2000 where every family is safe from ~~cancer-causing~~ poisonous chemicals in the water they drink, in the food they eat, and in our rivers and streams.

This month, I signed legislation to remove cancer causing pesticides from our fruits and vegetables. This month, I signed a new program to rid drinking water of poisons that threaten the health of entire cities. Three years ago in Milwaukee, poisonous drinking water killed 100 people. That must not happen again.

Last month, I issued new regulations dramatically upgrading our meat and poultry inspections to take full advantage of modern technology. We saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-

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of-control development.

We have cleaned up ~~more~~ [400] toxic waste sites in the past two years than in the previous 12 combined. In the next four years, we will clean up 2/3 of the toxic waste sites in the country. After years and, in some cases, decades on the Superfund list, these sites will be clean.

By the Year 2000, we will pass a law giving every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We ~~will~~ make it a crime to attempt to pollute. ~~We will establish an environmental crimes division in the FBI,~~ and catch polluters before they can poison our land.



~~No longer will environmental criminals be able~~ to use the courts to delay justice. ~~Under a new law, we will be~~ able to go to court as soon as we find pollution, and place a lien on the property of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

By the Year 2000, we will not only treat cancer in our hospitals; we will stop the chemicals that cause it from entering our water and on our land.

I see an America in the Year 2000 that remains the world's greatest force for

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

reminding
that we got them out of Baltics

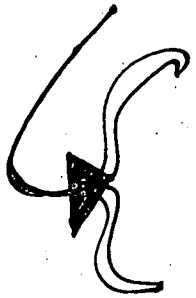
peace and freedom. I see an America that is secure and strong. And I see an America that embraces its responsibility to do what no other nation can do as well -- to advance progress around the world. I see an America which is winning the war against terror, by standing against the reckless rogue states, like Iran and Libya -- stopping them from weaving their dangerous web of terrorism and international crime.

We have helped bring freedom to South Africa, democracy to Haiti, and peace to Bosnia. We have frozen North Korea's nuclear program under international supervision. And we have stopped Iraq from continued lawlessness, and ~~made it bow to the justice of world law.~~ We ~~[illegible]~~ helped advance peace process in ME and supported the Wye Accord

By the Year 2000, I see a world where no nuclear weapon is ever exploded. We will sign, ratify and enforce a total ban on nuclear testing.

By the Year 2000, we will ratify the chemical weapons convention, banishing poison gas from this earth.

There are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhistan are giving up the nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. By the Year 2000, we will enforce the START II treaty to slash our nuclear arsenals in the United States and Russia by two thirds from their Cold War peak.



we must lead

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Nothing in our lifetimes was more heartening than when the people of Eastern and Central Europe rose up to throw off the yoke of Communism. We have helped democracy grow in those countries. We have encouraged economic and political reform in Russia. By the Year 2000, I see a world in which the integrity, and the freedom, of Eastern Europe is protected by NATO guarantees -- and where the global commitment to reform in Russia has helped that nation thrive in a peaceful and democratic global community.

We will strike hammer blows at the international forces of terrorism. Our strategy has three parts. First, we must rally the world community to stand with us. This month, I signed a law imposing harsh sanctions on any foreign company that invests in key sectors of the Iranian or Libyan economy. We will deny these companies loans from American banks, contracts with the American government, or even the personal right to travel to America's shores.

Second, we will toughen enforcement and offer stern punishment here at home. By the Year 2000, through a new international crime control act that I will propose, we will crack down on money laundering by criminals and terrorists, expand our powers to extradite them to our justice, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad.

When a bomb explodes in America today, we must rely on old police methods to find the culprit. I demand that Congress pass a law adding chemical markers called taggants to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

the gunpowder used in bombs, so we may use modern technology to fight modern terror.

When a terrorist uses a pay telephone or a motel phone to plot a bombing, we **cannot** tap his conversation. We cannot protect our citizens by anticipating his actions. I demand that Congress allow us to save lives by tapping all the phones that a terrorist uses.

Third, we will tighten security on our airplanes and our airports. We are installing the most sophisticated and sensitive bomb detection equipment in every airport. And we are searching every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

There are those who would doubt our military. But it is the best trained, best equipped, in the world. By the Year 2000, we will have increased weapon modernization by 40%. We are putting in place a sensible defense against missiles. But we will not -- not now, and not by the Year 2000 -- squander $60 billion on an unproven, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

America is the indispensable nation. Not for our strength, though we are strong; not for our wealth, though wealthy we are; but for our sense of justice and fairness. We are the one nation others trust. The one nation that has ever led the world by moral example and the power of ideas.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There are times when America, and only America, can make the difference between war and peace, freedom and repression, life and death. We cannot save all the world's children -- but we can save some. We cannot become the world's policeman -- but where our values, and our interests, are at stake, we must act. We must lead.

If ever we grow weary and doubtful, we should remember how the rest of the world sees us. America stands as a beacon of freedom, opportunity, and peace across the globe. We showed that in our great Atlanta Olympics this summer. And I heard it, again and again, in my visits with Olympic athletes from other lands: from the Mideast, to South Africa, from the former Soviet Republics to Bosnia and Northern Ireland.

When I visited Northern Ireland last year, the Nobel prize winning poet Seamus Heaney wrote out a wonderful passage ~~from one of his plays~~, which reads:

History says, *Don't hope*
On this side of the grave.
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up,
And hope and history rhyme.

Tonight, as we approach the Year 2000, I see America's new history ahead. Four

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	New Draft of Foreign Policy Section with POTUS changes (6 pages)	nd	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
[Convention Drafts] [3]

2006-0469-F
sb87

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.

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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[Single space is same as current draft. Double space is new material

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. You asked me to carry out a vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. [take out sentence on Hope, Ark. here.]

Four years ago, our challenges were steep. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all our hardworking people.

Left unsolved, these real problems of real people seemed to open wounds in our generous American soul. A nation built on equality found racial division on the rise. A nation built on the promise of progress found its path blocked; hardworking Americans replaced the hope of moving higher with resentment of those stuck below. And too many politicians climbed the ladder of these resentments to higher office. They used these problems as issues to be exploited, not challenges to be met. When the times demanded that we join hands, they pointed fingers.

And our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. That is why, four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. That night, in New York, you heard about my hometown, and together we told America that we still believed in that most American of all places, that place called Hope.

It was our hope that drove us forward: Hope that we could replace old arguments with new actions. Hope that we could keep the American Dream alive for everyone willing to make the most of their own lives. Hope that America would remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, despite a

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pace of global change we had not seen in half a century. And the deepest hope of all -- that we would conquer our fears and divisions to come together as one America.

My fellow Americans, faith begins with hope. And, bit by powerful bit, we have seen our hope become our confidence, and our confidence become a new faith in ourselves as a nation, a new faith in America.

The Economy So and began to meet our challen

~~Our new faith is based on hard facts. We have a new faith that we can create opportunity for all and harness the forces of a new economy~~: With 10 million new jobs; the lowest combined rates of inflation and unemployment in 30 years; wages rising again.

The Deficit

~~We have a new faith in our ability to make our government a better servant of our people -- not perfect, but stronger and better able to take account of what it cannot be expected to do.~~ We have 250,000 fewer positions in the federal workforce -- the smallest government since John F. Kennedy was President. We have tamed the deficit that had left us insolvent as a nation, strangling our progress; it is 60 percent smaller than four years.

~~We have a new faith in our ability to fight~~ Crime: Putting 100,000 more police on our streets; toughening penalties;

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

stopping tens of thousands of felons and fugitives from buying handguns. And for four years, the crime rate has dropped and, now, even the juvenile murder rate is down.

Welfare We have a new faith in our ability to make work the ~~fundamental organizing principle in the lives of all our people~~. We have worked with the states to launch real welfare reform, and because of this quiet revolution, already, tonight, 1.3 million fewer people are on welfare than the day I took office. Now, we must, and we will, finish the job.

We have a new faith in our ability to keep America strong around the world. Tonight, no one, anywhere on this planet -- from Haiti, to Russia, to Bosnia, to the Middle East -- doubts that America is the strongest and most trusted force for peace, freedom and prosperity in the world.

keep And, most important, we are seeing the seeds of a new faith that when we work together, we can step up to the challenges we all face as one people. We are changing our debate from "who is to blame" to "what must be done."

Again and again, we are putting aside the stale, old false choices between left and right. That is what we have done by unclenching the political fists of division over challenges that have stopped our progress together for far, far too long: ~~big~~

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challenges of our times like crime, like welfare, like balancing our budget while protecting our values. And that is what we did last week, making a downpayment on progress: Raising the minimum wage . . . moving people from welfare to work . . . and assuring that when Americans change jobs, they can take their health insurance with them.

Across America tonight, there are Americans who are beginning to believe as they have not believed in years that we can meet our new challenges even as we protect our old values -- when we work together -- school by school, block by block, community by community. That is why I have spoken out over these months about how with curfews, truancy laws, school uniform rules, neighborhood watch efforts and more, we can keep our children safe throughout the day and the night; make our schools fountains of success not pools of failure and strengthen our families striving to unleash this, our age of possibility, in their own lives.

We can, and we are moving forward. And as we do, we learn again the lesson that is as old as our nation: That our hope is our hammer, and our faith is our foundation. And that if we stay together, not divided, our unity paves the road ahead. And that, with these tools in our hands, we build our bridges -- and I, for one, believe they must always be bridges to the future, never to the past.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let no one tell us America's best days are behind us. America's best is yet to come.

~~Each - rich - rich gen.~~

And, as we go there, I want to make clear: we must never be divided generation from generation. ~~Each of our great American generations has made its contributions to bring us to where we stand today. It does no good to pit one group of Americans against another, to call into question the dreams and work of one over the other. We have come to the end of one great era, where our enemies abroad and our challenges at home shaped a broad consensus about our directions ahead.~~ Now, every one of us -- each and every generation -- must join to map our new direction -- our determination of where our bridges will lead us in our missions at home and around the world.

There is an old hymn that says: "Once to every man and nation, comes the moment to decide." We as a country have faced many moments of decision, from our founding right through to this day. Now, I believe with all my heart, we stand at another moment for Americans to decide -- this time what kind of America we want for our children in the year 2000 and beyond.

My vision is as old as America and as young as the new century we are already entering. It is grounded in the values that have made us great, and it is about the new challenges of a new era. It is a vision of an America that is strong in the world on behalf of

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

our values. An America that is coming together at home. And, most of all, it is a vision of an America based on the most enduring truth of our country: That if every family, every community and every responsible person has the tools to make the most of their own lives, then America will always get the job done.

It is those tools -- our shared investments in our hopes today so that we can succeed tomorrow -- that must be at the heart of our mission -- how we make strong families, enduring education, safe streets, a growing economy, a healthy environment, a secure world. This is our moment to decide between that vision for our future rooted in our past -- and a very different one.

Tonight, as we embark on the last leg of that decision about our future, I want to say that Bob Dole and Ross Perot are good men who have served their country with distinction. Le us honor their service, and our fellow citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults.

And when our time here is over, we will know we have done a good day's work. We will be able to watch the sun go down, and truly say, we have prepared our children for the dawn. Now together, secure in our new faith, let us raise our eyes to the future, and see the America we want in the year 2000.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Draft of Acceptance Speech at Democratic National Convention (8 pages)	8/29/96	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
[Convention Drafts] [4]

2006-0469-F
sb88

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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. . . two children proudly reading from their favorite book; and at every stop, large and exuberant crowds cheering for America and its future.

I would not have missed that trip for all the world. For that trip showed that hope is back in America. America is on the right track for the 21st Century.

4.4 million more Americans are living in a home they own. ~~Hundreds of thousands of women have started~~ Record numbers of new businesses, ~~Over the last year, African American~~ more of them than ever owned by women and minorities. ~~unemployment was the lowest since 1973. And we have~~

The lowest combined rate of unemployment and inflation and mortgages in 28 years.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

10 million new jobs, more than half ~~two-thirds of them~~ high wage jobs. 10 million workers helped by ~~getting the raise they deserve~~ with an increase in the minimum wage. 25 million working people with greater health insurance protection ~~will now have their health care protected~~ when they change jobs.

40 million Americans with more protection pensions. A tax cut for 15 million working families and small businesses that invest in the future. 12 million people able to take family leave to care for their children or parents. 10 million students helped by lower-cost ~~have saved money on their~~ college loans.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~We are making our democracy work -- passing the line-item veto, expanding voter registration, registering lobbyists, making Congress live by the laws it applies to the private sector. One big thing to go -- bipartisan campaign finance reform -- and we will get that done, too.~~

More investment in research and technology

~~We have increased our investments in~~ breast cancer research ~~and key technologies like~~ a supercomputer that much more for

will be able to do 30,000 years of calculations in a single second; ~~In four years,~~ faster development and broader access to drugs

the life expectancy of a person with AIDS ~~has dramatically increased~~ (or HIV or that have dramatically increased.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Four years ago, there was no such thing as a "web page"; today, even my cat Socks has one. This truly is an age of possibility.~~

Our country is still the strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity in the world.

On issues that once tore us apart, we have changed the old politics of Washington. For too often, leaders asked, "Who's to blame?" We asked: "What are we going to do?"

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The federal workforce is now the smallest it's been since John F. Kennedy was President. And the deficit has been reduced by that was strangling our progress -- well, tonight, it is 60% smaller than four years ago, heading towards zero.

We are on the right track for the 21st Century. But our work is not finished. there is still much to do to build the America we want for the Year 2000, the America we want when our children and grandchildren are our age.

What should we do?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Of course we could ~~have~~ set the right kind of balanced budget ~~if we~~ with ~~Instead of undermining our progress and dividing our people, we need a Congress that helps build this bridge to the future~~ -- a new Congress . . . a Democratic Congress.

I propose to balance the budget ~~through~~ with real, ~~certified~~ cuts in government and waste. My plan invests in education, and in technology, and research, as Christopher Reeve so powerfully said. And it gives Americans tax cuts that will help our country grow.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must make it possible for the best workers and products in the world -- America's workers and -- the world's best -- America's products -- to get the fair deal they deserve and fair with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our children. In the 4 years We have frozen North Korea's nuclear weapons program, and We must now enforce and ratify without delay the measures to further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must stand firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and win the war against terrorist around the world and here at home.

We are fighting terrorism on three fronts.

First, we must rally a world coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism. This month, I signed a law imposing harsh sanctions on foreign companies that invest in key sectors of the Iranian or Libyan economy. As long as Iran trains, supports and protects terrorists . . . and as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103 . . . they will pay a price.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Draft of Acceptance Speech at Democratic National Convention (26 pages)	8/29/96	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
1996 Acceptance Drafts: 1996 Convention Speech - POTUS Notes

2006-0469-F
sb89

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Draft 8/29/96 9am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
August 29, 1996

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-President, fellow Democrats, my fellow Americans:

~~Let me salute my strong partner and close friend, whom I look forward to working with for four more years, and who will be working for America long after that -- the Vice President of the United States of America, Al Gore.~~

Tonight I thank Chicago, ~~city of the big shoulders and a great heart. And thank you, Chicago, for giving me the love of my life, my wife, Hillary.~~

It ~~has been~~ four years ~~since~~ ago you and I set forth on a journey to bring our vision to this country: To keep the American Dream alive for all who were willing to work for it. To keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. ~~And to come together as an American community~~.

~~Four years ago, many doubted that America could achieve this vision, that a time of pervasive change, uncertainty was~~

Four years ago, ~~our people had lost faith in our ability to achieve these goals.~~ Crime, welfare, the budget deficit were on the rise. ~~And our leaders were using them to tear us apart, rather than bring us together.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we believed in ourselves, and in America, enough, to believe that we could change our nation for the better. We still believed in a place called Hope. And for four years, my fellow Americans, we have relearned an old truth: faith begins with hope. And, bit by bit, block by block, community by community, we have seen our hope become our confidence, and our confidence become a new faith in ourselves as a country, a new faith in America.

How do we know this in the lives of our people, who face in their families, neighborhoods and jobs extraordinary opportunity and stiff challenges? I believe we sense it all around: In the strong outstretched hands of a police officer in Ohio; in the ingenuity of a young businesswoman in West Virginia; in the voice of a small child reading aloud -- to us all -- in a village in Michigan. For the last four days, all of you here joined me in that journey across the heartland. I went on that train trip because I wanted to look into the eyes, the faces and the hearts of the people I work for every day. And as much as I missed being here with you to celebrate, I would not have missed that trip for all the world, because it showed that our faith should be strong and that America really is on the right track to the 21st Century.

4.4 million Americans are living in new homes. For the first time in a decade, we are selling more of the cars our workers make to the world than Japan. Hundreds of thousands of women have started new businesses. And we have the lowest combined rate of unemployment

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and inflation and mortgages in 28 years. 10 million new jobs, half managerial and professional. 10 million workers getting the raise they deserve with an increase in the minimum wage. 25 million working people will now have their health care protected even if they change jobs. So our country is creating real wealth.

~~We can rest knowing that~~ our country is still the strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity in the world. ~~And wherever we look -- from Russia, to Bosnia, to Haiti, to the Middle East and beyond -- the children and all the people of the world look to us and to our values for the leadership they know they can trust.~~

~~For us here at home~~, on the issues that once tore us apart, we ~~are finally coming together~~ have changed the way we're thinking about our responsibilities and our possibilities. For too long ~~to replace decades of leadership that asked "who's to blame?" with leadership that asks "what must we do~~ leaders asked "who's to blame?" to blame? We ask "what are we going to do?"?"

On crime, we ~~began to put~~ put 100,000 more police on the streets; we made three-strikes-and-you're out the law of the land; we stopped 60,000 felons and fugitives and stalkers from buying handguns; we banned assault rifles. For four years now, the crime rate has dropped. ~~Now even the juvenile murder rate is down.~~ We supported tough punishment and prevention programs to help our children grow, grow and thrive.

On welfare, we worked with the states to launch a quiet revolution; today 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office. And we have increased child support collections by 40%.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And the deficit that was strangling our progress -- well, tonight, it is 60% smaller than four years ago, heading towards zero [redacted] The only def. we have today is the int. payment on the huge debt run up in 12 yrs by. This Admin began. Wrong. Begun—

~~Now that we have begun, how do we continue? The issue in this election is this: What~~ We are on the right track to the 21st century. But there's still ~~kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? What will America look like when our children~~ work to be done to build the America we want for the year 2000, the ~~and our grandchildren are our age~~?
America we want when our child + grandchildren are our age.

[redacted] What kind we do. It said, Send a Message that America was better in the past

I love and revere the history of America. And I am determined to take our best traditions and we wanted to build a bridge to the past.
into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the ~~future~~ future. + I ask all Amer. to join me in help that bridge to 21st Cent

1st let us consider how to proceed. Again, the Q is not who's to blame but what to do. Like Bush + JK + [redacted] - rhet - love our country + learn what we need to renew it.

Tonight, ~~I will outline an agenda to~~ let us build that bridge to the ~~future~~ 21st -- ~~allowing us~~ to meet our challenges, protect our basic values, and prepare our people for the ~~next century~~ future. Let us ~~We will~~ build a bridge to help ~~every~~ parents raise their child, to help ~~every~~ young ~~person~~ people and adults get the education and training they need ~~today to get a better job; that allows every~~ citizens to feel safer on our streets; ~~that will~~ to help ~~people be a~~ success at home and at work; ~~that will~~ to break the cycle of poverty and dependence that afflicts our cities; ~~that will~~ to protect our environment for generations to come.; to maintain our leadership in the face of new threats + new opportunities

The right given means to conquer our needs + fears; our plan for future future + the — + eloquent threats to dollar boom or foreseeably as they can — but I was in attendance personally at point of Berlin Wall speech. Let us work

Four years from now, we begin a new century. Four of ~~Out of these everyday issues, so important in the lives of our people, we will build a~~ economic principles and new challenges. We must give American future for America. ~~Helping our families, our children, our people face the new challenges of a~~ the tools they need to succeed. We must make the basic bargain new century. ~~As has always been true of us here, as I set out to do four years ago, as I have tried~~ of opportunity + responsibility from Amer. And we must come together

Under Hand of God-given Providence

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

as our future. We must say loud + clear if you begin in the back of the
to do every day since then, we must build our solutions on the foundations of our most enduring
Come, Blks, Jews, Gays, if you're ready to walk up hand in hand by the valley, Reps - Dems + Indys,
values: offering opportunity for all . . . demanding responsibility from all, and coming together as
all of you, no matter race or religion, black or gay, 40 or 40 divide — you'll be
a community across the lines that divide us. Above all else, we must work in the four years
big enough bridge + we'll all be walking across it together.
before the next century to make sure that every American, every American family and every

American community has the tools they need to make the most of our God-given potential.

OPPORTUNITY

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we expand opportunity through education: where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself."

For half a century, the most important thing we have done to extend economic opportunity is to open the doors of college to millions of Americans. By the year 2000, the single most critical thing we can do is to give every single American who wants it the chance to go to college.

We must make at least two years of college as universal as a high school education is today. And we should cut taxes to do it.

I propose a $1500-a-year tuition tax credit for Americans -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

first two years of college, to make the typical community college free. Every family ought to be able to deduct $10,000 in college tuition costs per year. Every parent ought to be able to save money for college in a tax free IRA. We should not tax middle income Americans on the money they spend for college.

The tax cuts in my plan are fully paid for, by specific budget cuts and loophole closings.

No tax cuts will do more to help the economy grow than tax cuts for education.

Education cannot stop on graduation day. I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a $2600 grant for all workers who need one, to get training and skills -- the tools they need -- to make the most of their own lives.

We must demand excellence at every level, insisting that students learn the old basics we learned, and the new basics they need

Tonight, let us set a clear national goal: every child should be able to read on their own by 3rd grade. When 40% of 8 year olds cannot read as well as they should, we must act. I want to send 30,000 reading specialists to mobilize a volunteer army of 1 million tutors. Together, they will teach America's children to read. Let me say to parents: every tired night you spend reading a book to your child is a night well worth it. It was for Hillary and me when we read to Chelsea. Literacy is freedom -- we must set our children free.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must insist that our students pass tough tests to move up in school; reward good teachers and remove those who don't measure up; give parents the choice of which public school to send their children; keep schools open late so young people can stay off the street.

We need schools that will take our children into the new century -- rebuilt and modernized, with an unprecedented commitment from the national government to increase school construction . . . and with every single library and classroom in America connected to the information superhighway by the year 2000.

If we do these things, every 8 year old will be able to read . . . every 12 year old will be able to log on to the internet . . . every 18 year old will be able to go to college . .. And Americans will have the knowledge they need to cross the bridge to the future.

Economy/budget

I want to build a bridge to the ~~Year 2000~~ in which we preserve the legacy of opportunity for the next generation, by balancing our budget in a way that protects our values, and ensuring that every family will be able to protect the value of their most important asset -- their home.

Tonight, let us proclaim to the American people: We <u>will</u> balance the budget. And let us also proclaim: <u>we</u> will do it in a way that preserves Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, the Republican Congress sent me a plan that violated our values. I vetoed their budget last year; I was proud to do it; and if necessary, I will do it again.

As long as I am President, I will never allow cuts that devastate education for our children, pollute our environment, gut health care under Medicaid, or violate our duty to our parents under Medicare. Never.

And as long as I am President, I will never allow Congress to use the blackmail threat of a government shutdown to try and break the will of the American people into supporting deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education or the environment.

And there is one sure way to prevent these cuts: send me a new Congress, a Democratic Congress.

I have proposed a plan to balance the budget through real, certified cuts in government and waste. My plan invests in education. And it gives Americans tax cuts that will help our country grow.

I have proposed expanding IRAs so that young people can save tax free to buy a first home. Tonight, I propose a new home ownership tax cut that says to every middle-income family: if you sell your home, you won't have to pay a capital gains tax -- ever. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: Welcome home.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within my balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy -- ~~they will help~~ spur economic growth. it. We should cut taxes for the family sending their child to college . . . for the worker returning to college . . . for the family saving to buy a home . . . for middle income families raising their children. That's the right way to cut taxes.

Our opponents have put forward a very different plan -- a risky $550 billion tax scheme that ~~can only be paid for with devastating~~ will force more to adopt more drastic cuts in HC, HA, ED, Env. than they passed last yr. cuts.

Even then, they give a convenient ~~tax break~~ than costs. Do that cuts to corporate. last yr.

This tax scheme will explode the deficit . . . spike interest rates -- by 2% - and require huge cuts in the very investments that will help our economy grow. ~~If you thought the cuts they proposed last year in Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment were bad, these will be much, much worse.~~

Do we really want to make the same mistake again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? ~~To follow the same pied pipers over the same cliff?~~ To start piling up debt again to weaken our bridge to the 21st century? Of course not. ~~My answer is simple: No way!~~

We have an obligation to leave our children a legacy of opportunity, not debt. So this is one area which I respectfully disagree with my opponent. We should not bet the farm . . . and we certainly shouldn't bet the country.

Spread tax cuts we can afford for I, E, & R/D research.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RESPONSIBILITY

Welfare

Opportunity alone is not enough. I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which ~~every~~ American~~'~~s take~~s~~ personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country. And I want ~~this~~ nation to take responsibility to make sure that every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

~~A few miles from this hall . . . and in the Mississippi Delta . . . and in South Central LA . . . young people are growing up in neighborhoods where only a fraction of the adults go to work every day~~. We want these young people to know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. ~~We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs. We are finally requiring everyone who can work, to go to work; now we have a moral obligation to say to those of whom we are demanding responsibility that they will have the opportunity~~. We must make sure ~~there are~~ jobs ~~to go~~ to -- one million new jobs for welfare recipients by the Year 2000.

Under ~~the law I signed~~, states can take money now spent on welfare and use it to help

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

businesses hire people and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to do this now.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare and keep employed; We should offer job placement firms a $3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in it; We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, fixing streets, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is America. We need more Empowerment Zones to draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; we need more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses.

Every business person who has had a beef with welfare should look for ways to hire and train someone off welfare. Every single American watching tonight who has ever said a disparaging word about the welfare system should say: "That's gone. Now, what is my responsibility to make it better?"

I'll tell you who this is about. A decade ago, a woman named Lillie Hardin moved from welfare to work with the help of a program in my state. I asked her, "What is the best thing about being off welfare?" She told me: "The best thing about being off welfare is that when my boy goes to school, and they ask him, 'What does your momma do?' he has an answer." Today, Lillie Hardin works in a grocery store in Little Rock. One daughter is an honor student; another

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

is a physical therapist. Her oldest son has a job and a family. And her younger son is going to college. Da—

I want every family to have the opportunity and take the responsibility that Lillie Hardin and her family have. And I want every person in America to pledge tonight: We will end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America.

Crime

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 where our children are not killing children . . . where our children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard . . . where a generation of young people is not left to raise itself alone on the streets.

In my first term, we put more police on the street, and began to take guns off the street. In the next four years, we must keep crime coming down.

We all owe a great debt to Sarah and Jim Brady for their courage. We must extend the Brady Bill to say: anyone with a record of violence against their spouse or child should not own a gun.

We must ban cop-killer bullets -- designed for one reason: to kill police. We ask the police to keep us safe. We must do our part to keep them safe.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We should pass a victims' rights Constitutional Amendment because victims deserve to be heard -- and need to know when an assailant is released.

We have made so much progress; even crime among young people is down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man -- and I hate them.

Parents have a responsibility to teach their children this truth: Drugs are deadly, drugs are wrong, drugs may cost you your life.

General Barry McCaffrey, a four star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade at home -- stopping drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and calling on America to turn our children away from drugs and gangs. Congress needs to give him every cent of funding we have requested.

We will say to parolees: If you go back on drugs, you will go back to jail. We will say to gangs: We will break you with the same anti-racketeering law we use to put mob bosses in jail.

My fellow Americans, in the 21st Century, we must make all of our children free -- free of the vise grip of guns, gangs and drugs, free to build lives of hope.

COMMUNITY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1996 - POTUS notes
CONV.

Draft 8/29/96 9am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
August 29, 1996

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-President, fellow Democrats, my fellow Americans:

TY for your nomination, ~~If I gathered, I would speed Democrats except~~

Many have contributed to the record we have made for the last years
~~Let me salute my strong partner and close friend, whom I look forward to working with~~
but one above all: My pal, my friend the best VP in our history, AG
~~for four more years, and who will be working for America long after that — the Vice President of~~

~~the United States of America, Al Gore~~.

Tonight I thank Chicago, ~~city of the big shoulders and great heart. And thank you,~~
mayor & people, for a wonderful
convention, for the powerful spirit of the people, your warm ~~smiles~~, your
~~Chicago, for giving me the love of my life, my wife, Hillary.~~
and most of all for the love & light of my life Chelsea.

It ~~has been~~ four years ago ~~since~~ you and I set forth on a journey to bring our vision to this
To make the American Dream come true for
country: To keep the American Dream alive for all who were willing to work for it. To keep
America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. ~~And to come together~~

~~as an American community~~.

~~Four years ago, many doubted that America could~~
~~rebuild the vision, the sense of purpose, the commitment we~~
~~had, we must regain.~~
Four years ago, our people had lost faith in our ability to achieve these goals. Crime,
~~Welfare was growing & children were having~~
welfare, the budget deficit were on the rise. ~~And our leaders were using them to tear us apart,~~
~~rather than bring us together.~~
~~Opinion was growing & children were having~~
~~more & more to fear from each other~~
~~Our very ideas were used not to unite us~~
~~but to divide us~~
as we grew richer & richer than ever
we fought for power.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

four years ago, [redacted] our nation's budget deficit was high, interest rates were up and the budget was out of balance, a host of unmet challenges and a wave of cynicism, I told you about the place I was born — and that I still believe in a place called Hope.

For four years now we have worked, [redacted] to bring our vision of America, our strategy is working but prosperity, opportunity for all, responsibility from all, to our nation for the better. We still believed in a place called Hope. And for four years, my fellow Americans, we have relearned an old truth: faith begins with hope. And, bit by bit, block by block, community by community, we have seen our hope become our confidence, and our confidence become a new faith in ourselves as a country, a new faith in America.

Four days ago, [redacted] I boarded a train in WV to make my way here through the heartland of America. I wanted to see the faces, look into the eyes, and hear the voices of the people for whom I have worked and fought. We heard around: In the strong outstretched hands of a police officer in Ohio; in the ingenuity of a young businesswoman in West Virginia; in the voice of a small child reading aloud -- to us all -- in a village in Michigan. For the last four days, all of you here joined me in that journey across the heartland. I went on that train trip because I wanted to look into the eyes, the faces and the hearts of the people I work for every day. And as much as I missed being here with you to celebrate, I would not have missed that trip for all the world, because it showed that our faith should be strong and that America really is on the right track to the 21st Century.

We see it all around in the daily lives of our people:

4.4 million Americans are living in new homes. For the first time in a decade, we are selling more of the cars our workers make to the world than Japan. Hundreds of thousands of women have started new businesses. And we have the lowest combined rate of unemployment

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and inflation and mortgages in 28 years. 10 million new jobs, half managerial and professional. 10 million workers getting the raise they deserve with an increase in the minimum wage. 25 million working people will now have their health care protected even if they change jobs.

~~We can rest knowing that~~ our country is still the strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity in the world. ~~And wherever we look -- from Russia, to Bosnia, to Haiti, to the Middle East and beyond -- the children and all the people of the world look to us and to our values for the leadership they know they can trust.~~

~~For us here at home~~, on the issues that once tore us apart, we ~~are finally coming together to replace decades of leadership that asked "who's to blame?" with leadership that asks "what must we do?"~~

On crime, we ~~began to put~~ 100,000 more police on the streets; we made three-strikes-and-you're out the law of the land; we stopped 60,000 felons and fugitives and stalkers from buying handguns; we banned assault rifles. For four years now, the crime rate has dropped. ~~Now even the juvenile murder rate is down.~~

On welfare, we worked with the states to launch a quiet revolution; today 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office. And we have increased child support collections by 40%.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And the deficit that was strangling our progress -- well, tonight, it is 60% smaller than four years ago, heading towards zero. [redacted] The only dep. we have today is the int. payment on the huge debt run up in 12 yrs by. This Admin began. We must. Forget—

~~Now that we have begun, how do we continue? The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? What will America look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?~~

We are on the Mt. track to the 21st century. But there is still work to be done to build the America we want for the year 2000, the America we want when our child + grandchildren are our age.

[redacted] What kind we do. To send D, send D and Amer was better in the past

I love and revere the history of America. And I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the ~~past~~ future. + I ask all Amer. to join me in doing that bridge to 21st cent

1st let us consider how to proceed. Again, the Q is not who's to blame but what to do. I beg D & R - for - love our country + learn what we need to serve it.

Tonight, ~~I will outline an agenda to~~ let us begin to build that bridge to the ~~future~~ 21st -- ~~allowing us~~ to meet our challenges, protect our basic values, and prepare our people for the ~~next century~~ future. Let us ~~We will~~ build a bridge to help ~~every~~ parents raise their children, to help ~~every~~ young ~~person~~ people and adults get the education and training they need ~~today to get a better job;~~ ~~that allows every~~ to enable citizens to feel safer on our streets; ~~that will~~ to help Americans ~~people be a success~~ at home and at work; ~~that will~~ to break the cycle of poverty and dependence that afflicts our cities; ~~that will~~ to protect our environment for generations to come.; to maintain our leadership in the face of new threats + new opportunities

Four years from now, we begin a new century; full of ~~Out of these everyday issues, so important in the lives of our people, we will build a~~ enormous possibilities and new challenges. We must give American future for America. Helping our families, our children, our people face the new challenges of a the tools they need to succeed. We must make the entire journey new century. ~~As has always been true of us here, as I set out to do four years ago, as I have tried~~ of course + never new from hope. And we must come together

Make most of God-given possession

The right vision needs to combine our needs + feelings, our vision for the future + then — the right thing to do even if unpopular in short run but I will in strategic persuasion + point about Dem. Ideas stop us. Look to unite

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

to do every day since then, we must build our solutions on the foundations of our most enduring values: offering opportunity for all . . . demanding responsibility from all, and coming together as a community across the lines that divide us. Above all else, we must work in the four years before the next century to make sure that every American, every American family and every American community has the tools they need to make the most of our God-given potential.

OPPORTUNITY

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we expand opportunity through education: where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself."

For half a century, the most important thing we have done to extend economic opportunity is to open the doors of college to millions of Americans. By the year 2000, the single most critical thing we can do is to give every single American who wants it the chance to go to college.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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If we do these things, every 8 year old will be able to read . . . every 12 year old will be able to log on to the internet . . . every 18 year old will be able to go to college . .. And Americans will have the knowledge they need to cross the bridge to the future.

Economy/budget

I want to build a bridge to the ~~Year 2000~~ in which we preserve the legacy of opportunity for the next generation, by balancing our budget in a way that protects our values, and ensuring that every family will be able to protect the value of their most important asset -- their home.

Tonight, let us proclaim to the American people: We will balance the budget. And let us also proclaim: we will do it in a way that preserves Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Last year, the Republican Congress sent me a plan that violated our values. I vetoed their budget last year; I was proud to do it; and if necessary, I will do it again.

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Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within my balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy -- ~~they will help~~ it. We should cut taxes for the family sending their child to college . . . for the worker returning to college . . . for the family saving to buy a home . . . for middle income families raising their children. That's the right way to cut taxes.

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Do we really want to make the same mistake again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? ~~To follow the same pied pipers over the same cliff?~~ ~~My answer is simple: No way!~~

We have an obligation to leave our children a legacy of opportunity, not debt. So this is one area which I respectfully disagree with my opponent. We should not bet the farm . . . and we certainly shouldn't bet the country.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RESPONSIBILITY

Welfare

Opportunity alone is not enough. I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which every American takes personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country. And I want this nation to take responsibility to make sure that every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

~~A few miles from this hall . . . and in the Mississippi Delta . . . and in South Central LA . . . young people are growing up in neighborhoods where only a fraction of the adults go to work every day~~. We want these young people to know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. ~~We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs. We are finally requiring everyone who can work, to go to work; now we have a moral obligation to say to those of whom we are demanding responsibility that they will have the opportunity~~. We must make sure there are jobs to go to -- one million new jobs for welfare recipients by the Year 2000.

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We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is America. We need more Empowerment Zones to draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; we need more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses.

Every business person who has had a beef with welfare should look for ways to hire and train someone off welfare. Every single American watching tonight who has ever said a disparaging word about the welfare system should say: "That's gone. Now, what is my responsibility to make it better?"

A decade ago, a woman named Lillie Hardin moved from welfare to work with the help of a program in my state. I asked her, "What is the best thing about being off welfare?" She told me: "The best thing about being off welfare is that when my boy goes to school, and they ask him, 'What does your momma do?' he has an answer." Today, Lillie Hardin works in a grocery store in Little Rock. One daughter is an honor student; another

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is a physical therapist. Her oldest son has a job and a family. And her younger son is going to college.

I want every family to have the opportunity and take the responsibility that Lillie Hardin and her family have. And I want every person in America to pledge tonight: We will end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America.

Crime

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 where our children are not killing children . . . where our children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard . . . where a generation of young people is not left to raise itself alone on the streets.

In my first term, we put more police on the street, and began to take guns off the street. In the next four years, we must keep crime coming down.

We all owe a great debt to Sarah and Jim Brady for their courage. We must extend the Brady Bill to say: anyone with a record of violence against their spouse or child should not own a gun.

We must ban cop-killer bullets -- designed for one reason: to kill police. We ask the police to keep us safe. We must do our part to keep them safe.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We should pass a victims' rights Constitutional Amendment because victims deserve to be heard -- and need to know when an assailant is released.

We have made so much progress; even crime among young people is down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man -- and I hate them.

Parents have a responsibility to teach their children this truth: Drugs are deadly, drugs are wrong, drugs may cost you your life.

General Barry McCaffrey, a four star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade at home -- stopping drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and calling on America to turn our children away from drugs and gangs. Congress needs to give him every cent of funding we have requested.

We will say to parolees: If you go back on drugs, you will go back to jail. We will say to gangs: We will break you with the same anti-racketeering law we use to put mob bosses in jail.

My fellow Americans, in the 21st Century, we must make all of our children free -- free of the vise grip of guns, gangs and drugs, free to build lives of hope.

COMMUNITY

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Media Plan for Opinion Day and Following (7 pages)	4/9/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
97-Tobacco/FDA [Food & Drug Administration]

2006-0469-F
sb90

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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draft
4/9/97

April xx, 1997

Note to: WH Press Office, WH Domestic Policy Council
From: HHS/FDA Public Affairs

MEDIA PLAN FOR OPINION DAY AND FOLLOWING

- White House, FDA press offices field (speaking on the record) initial inquiries using prepared talking points
- POTUS statement after DOJ, HHS, FDA attorneys review opinion (if appropriate, will announce a decision to appeal)
- VPOTUS made available for anchor interviews with ABC, CBS, NBC nightly news shows
- DES made available for one of evening opinion shows (i.e., Lehrer NewsHour, Nightline, Larry King Live)
  - Other HHS/FDA officials (Thurm, Schultz, Zeller) used to fill in behind DES
- FDA press office will arrange briefings of major editorial pages (NYTimes, WPost, USAToday, LATimes)

Note: Tobacco control activists, state attorneys generals, former FDA Commissioner DAK can also be expected to be interviewed by these media outlets on the day the opinion is issued

Opinion Day +1

- If a decision to appeal has been made, HHS/FDA can announce filing of notice to appeal
  - HHS/FDA lawyers (Rabb, Schultz, Zeller, Witt) can do on-the-record interviews about legal strength of the rule
  - HHS radio actuality on decision made available nationwide
- FDA press office will be prepared to answer follow-up questions about impact of opinion on rule (i.e., is FDA continuing to contract with states for enforcement, must retailers continue to check photo IDs for anyone under 27, etc.)
- FDA press office will arrange briefings of regional editorial writers

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: DB DATE: 2/24/11
2006-0469-F (2)

4/11/97

FINAL DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL~~

Note to: WH Press Office, Domestic Policy Council

From: HHS, FDA Public Affairs

BACKGROUND

The President announced the FDA rule to protect children from tobacco in August 1996; the rule was immediately challenged by the industry in U.S. District Court in North Carolina. A hearing on the industry's motion for summary judgement was held on February 10, 1997; the judge said he expected to rule on the motion within five to 10 weeks. To be prepared for that ruling, the following scenarios have been sketched out with proposed responses (a statement and back-up questions and answers) to be used by Administration officials. These are draft responses and will be finalized **only after** a court ruling. The statements and Q-and-A's are to be used by White House and FDA press offices for initial responses after the ruling. A statement by the POTUS will be expected later in the day on the day of the ruling.

SCENARIO ONE

The court rules that FDA has jurisdiction over nicotine-containing tobacco products and rejects the industry's challenge to the final rule.

STATEMENT

The children of the United States won a great victory today. The court upheld the Administration's efforts to kick Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man out of our kids' lives. **(Use second sentence only if court upholds advertising restrictions.)** Our children will live healthier and longer lives because of today's ruling.

Q: **What does this mean in everyday terms?**

A: Several of the provisions making it harder for children to buy cigarettes and smokeless tobacco products are already in effect and we are working with states to begin checking for compliance. The provisions to limit the appeal of these products go into effect in August; like we did for the access provisions, we will conduct extensive outreach efforts to educate businesses and the public and will begin working to ensure that these provisions are also enforced.

Q: **What about the education campaign that was also announced last August?**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A: The FDA is working on contacting the affected companies and will begin consulting with them.

Q: Won't the companies appeal this ruling and/or seek an injunction -- and doesn't that mean delay?

A: You'll have to ask the companies what they intend to do, but our position remains the same as it has been: We are going forward with protecting our children by implementing the rule unless the courts tell us otherwise. We would hope the companies would start working with us to protect our children instead of fighting us every step of the way.

SCENARIO TWO
The court rules that FDA has jurisdiction, but that portions (or all) of the rule are invalid.

STATEMENT

This is a landmark day for the nation's public health and our children. With this ruling, we can regulate nicotine-containing tobacco products and protect our children from a lifetime of addiction and the prospect of having their lives cut short by tobacco-related diseases. Obviously, we will review the Judge's decision where he questioned the rule, but the bottom line is historic: the federal government can regulate tobacco products to protect our children's health.

Attorneys from the Justice Department, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Food and Drug Administration are already reviewing the opinion, and we expect to announce later today what legal steps we will be taking.

Q: What are you going to do about the provisions of the rule the court struck down?

A: The bottom line is that we are going to protect our children. We're going forward with the provisions the court upheld. We can appeal the ruling or we can redraft the rule with regard to the provisions the court struck down. We will make that decision after we have studied the ruling. **(Only HHS and FDA officials should use "we" in speaking about rule-making; White House officials should say "the Agency.")**

OR

Q: What are you going to do now that the court has said all the provisions of the rule are invalid?

A: The bottom line is that we are going to protect our children.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We can appeal the ruling or we can redraft the rule. We will make that decision after we have studied the ruling. **(Only HHS and FDA officials should use "we" in speaking about rule-making; White House officials should say "the Agency.")**

Q: Doesn't this mean more delay?

A: Since the FDA began its inquiry into tobacco in 1994, it has shown repeatedly that it will move quickly to protect our children. The Agency reviewed 700,000-plus comments and published a final rule in a year's time. The Administration will continue to move on other fronts: enforcement of the Synar Amendment, enforcement of existing laws such as the ban on television advertising.

Q: Why not seek a legislative settlement?

A: From the beginning, we have said that if Congress wants to put forth a legislative package as strong as our FDA rule with appropriate oversight and enforcement, we remain prepared to work with Congress.

SCENARIO THREE
The court rules against FDA jurisdiction and rule.

STATEMENT

We are very confident in the Agency's assertion of jurisdiction and the soundness of the rule. We knew from the beginning it would be a long and hard road against the entrenched and powerful interests opposing us, and today's ruling is just the first step. We have to act to protect our children. We are committed to continuing this fight to protect our children and believe we will ultimately succeed. We have to. Each day almost 3,000 young people become regular smokers and nearly 1,000 of them will have their lives shortened from the death and diseases of tobacco use.

Attorneys from the Justice Department, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Food and Drug Administration are already reviewing the opinion, and we expect to announce later today what legal steps we will be taking.

Q: Do you think an appeal will be successful?

A: We believe we have a very strong case and we will ultimately prevail.

Q: Isn't it time to seek legislation?

A: We have been open to a legislative solution that is as strong as the FDA rule with appropriate oversight and enforcement since the President announced the proposal in August 1995. We

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

are still open to a legislative solution if it accomplishes our goal of protecting our children.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

draft
potus statement IF appeal decision is made
4/11/97

The tobacco companies are formidable foes, have no doubt about that. They can pay $500-an-hour lawyers for years on end. Their lobbyists and influence peddlers can spread millions of dollars around this town election year after election year. But, in the end, all of their money cannot hide the truth. Nicotine is hooking our children. Our children are their new customers. That has to stop.

Secretary Shalala and Solicitor General Delligner have informed me that the Administration will appeal this ruling. Attorneys from the Department of Justice, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Food and Drug Administration immediately reviewed the district court's opinion. They are convinced that we are on solid constitutional and legal ground.

It is also the right thing to do on public health and moral grounds. Let me remind you of why my Administration has taken on the tobacco industry. Each day, 3,000 young people will become regular smokers. Unless we and the states are allowed to protect our children with effective laws and rules, five million children alive today will have their lives cut short by the deadly diseases caused by tobacco use. We are fighting for the health and lives of our children. It is a fight we cannot afford to lose. It is a fight we cannot afford to stop waging.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our children have the odds stacked against them. The industry spends more than $5 billion a year promoting and marketing its products. Joe Camel tells our children smoking is cool. The Marlboro Man tells them smoking will make them independent. Virginia Slims and Merit promise them glamour.

Our common sense approach is aimed at limiting the appeal of these products and making it harder for children to buy them. Store clerks have a responsibility to make certain they are not selling tobacco products to anyone under 18. Asking for a photo ID is just plain common sense. Keeping tobacco billboards away from schools and playgrounds is just plain common sense.

We are not walking away from this fight with the tobacco companies. I had hoped they would work with us, but they have chosen a different course. They have made a mistake. We will protect our children and our children's children and the generations to come, and we will not stop until we succeed.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Acceptance Speech (10 pages)	8/17/96	P5

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

FOLDER TITLE:
1996 Acceptance - "Building the bridge to the Acceptance speech... ": Notes

2006-0469-F
sb91

RESTRICTION CODES

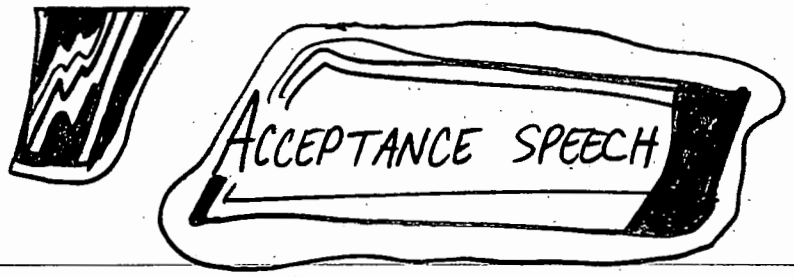
Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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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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Baer 8/17/96

Dick

Amer on rt track, + we need to celebrate // many,

Moving from politics of blame to // wedge issues No Images

Use that as forward mom

Specifics: Amer look like in yr 2000.

- Welf
- HHS
- Coll - BB
- owning home
-
- terrorism

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Maggie – a end of very long epoch

repetition of a line



We are one Am. And we will meet our c + p v.

{We are one Am, + we will...
{w + c p + the v of ~.

SID

- one America

- as he watched the O's.
"We're #1." → we are one

- True consistency
  - not about throwing out those things that are fabric of → they are consent
    // defend med → crit. putative cons.
    // praise BD generation {1/3, 1/3, 1/3 b/c of soc. of generation because of med, elderly

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

{ If we will reach
into ourselves
+ apply the

optimism

debate

creating the

How deficit

[not just about budget]

They left to us an insolvent nation. And
it paralyzed us, to meet our
common objectives. First term: solvency.

They left us an insolvent nation.
Use in ... .
If they go back, we cannot to —, —, —...
to bring ev. day.

For 25 yrs this party has been kept down
by issues like w, —. real probs.
They tried to run us off those issues. Those
are not issues

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/16/96?

FACTS FOR GENE ETC.

✓ * Chicago - economic (transformation) & (revival)

✓ * New facts re: economy doing well
esp. wages and 10M jobs = good jobs.

✓ * "Boosterism" - type facts about cities & locales across America

✓ * Welfare statistics → # of people we can move from welf. to work
any predictions on welfare to work

NEW PAGE OF POVERTY STATISTICS

✓ * Medical inflation — rate? // break in the fever of medical infl.
best K-K stat or facts // stat w/ diabetes, cancer etc. (K-K)

✓ * If we do health care for unemployed, how many ppl?

✓ * need e/p's on educ → what %s in college / trend?
→ get the stats on schools crumbling etc.
→ how many kids now don't read by 3rd grade? 38%?
→ any new facts on what we've done to open up college? #s of students helped? etc.?

every am will have pic a the see of k's that they're not a picnic slipt or stroll on

✓ * Budget — do we have any stats re: interest rates
and how they've dropped and how
people refinanced? // refinancing (#) ✓

* Deadbeat dads

— what progress have we made (e.g. - the 40% increase in collections?) — what are the underlying #s? ✓

— other stats?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

JT –

* Teen gangs – names of gangs (get from a) draft of gangs event; b) as said by POTUS when we finally did it!) ~~stor~~ stories of how we cracked the gangs.

* Community police & patrols – stories of success e.g., the stuff we had but didn't use for SOTU re: Jeff. Parish, LA. ✓
  - NAMES of community watch groups (maybe contrast w/gangs)
* Brady – up to date facts.

* Family leave – statistics re: ✓ 12 mill.
  - success
  - # of people
  - mothers v. fathers?
  - business %s (from Dodd Commission?)
  - letters to POTUS or FLOTUS re: family leave???

* Tobacco – stats re: rate of smoking – biggest public health
  - e.gs. (from the 8/95 E. Room) of Joe Camel etc.
  - can we see letters etc. from
    a) kids submissions to FDA – call the anti-smoking gps.
    b) are there letters to POTUS from kids re: smoking.

✓

* National Service – get, from Steve Waldman, 606-5000 x121, get stories + facts – what are the best e.gs. that Americorps is a success?

* Drugs. Stats on either success or resources.

* Environment – – need tangible evidence of successful action
  - e.g. – what # or % of rivers, waste sites cleaned up.
  - prosecutions of envirn crime?

✓

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

✓

* Homes. Facts - # of homeowners? } I think we have this in the home event
- rate drop since '93

* Pensions. - What we've done.
- Most gruesome egs. or statistics from 1980's re: raiding ✓
- # of Americans who have pensions, IRAs, etc.
- audits - $950 B? what's the #

* Taxes. - Proof that we cut taxes
EITC - other egs? - up to date.
- ~~evidence that small biz~~ ~~used to break that~~
were in the law for them?
- egs of simplification.
- ~~Earned~~
- if you added up our "narrow" cuts, does it add up to 15%?

* Gen

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/16?/96

FACTS FOR GENE ETC.

* Chicago - economic transformation & revival

* New facts re: economy doing well
  esp. wages and 10M jobs = good jobs.

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  → any new facts on what we've done to open up college? #s of students helped? etc.?

* Budget — do we have any stats re: interest rates and how they've dropped ~~cash~~ and how ~~we~~ people refinanced?

* Deadbeat dads

  — what progress have we made (e.g. - the 40% increase in collections) — what are the underlying #s?

  — other stats ?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

JT –

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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- ~~Deficit~~
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Rahm Emanuel to Leon Panetta, Harold Ickes, et al Re: David Axelrod (5 pages)	August 16, 1996	P5
002. memo	Todd Stern to the President re: Rasco / Tyson health Care Policy memo (1 page)	August 17, 1996	P5
003. memo	Richard Socarides to George Stephanopoulos re: President's Speech and Gays and Lesbians at the Convention (1 page)	August 9, 1996	P5
004. memo	Don Baer to Mark Penn re: Speech Ideas (2 pages)	July 31, 1996	P5
005. note	Some Ideas for Discussion (1 page)	8/13/96	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
1996 Acceptance - "Building the bridge to the acceptance speech ...": memos re: Acceptance Speech

2006-0469-F
sb92

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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6-97

August 16, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
George Stepanopoulos
Don Baer
Bruce Reed
Doug Sosnik
Michael Waldman

FROM: Rahm Emanuel

SUBJECT: David Axelrod

I have attached a memo that David did of his thoughts after the GOP convention. I think that his points are worth your time.

312
664
7500

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AXELROD
AND
ASSOCIATES

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1901 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 300
WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 20036
(202) 452-9454 • FAX (202) 296-7532

To: Clinton Team
From: David Axelrod
Date: August 16, 1996
Re: Some Ideas

Dole clearly ceded us some opportunities last night. And even though I'm sure you have more cooks hovering around the broth than you need, I wanted to briefly share a few thoughts and suggestions.

1) Be big where Dole and the GOP were small

If I were you guys, I would have the President magnanimously stipulate his admiration for Dole's years of service, which I believe would play really well with voters who recoiled all week long from the negative and personal GOP hits. (I happened to be in focus groups Wednesday night with suburban swing voters, and they were reeling from the attacks on Clinton the night before. They hated it.)

What if the President includes language in his convention speech such as this:

"Too often in politics, words become harsher than they should, and personal attacks take the place of meaningful debate. We owe the American people more.

"So let me say tonight that while we may differ on many things, I like and respect Bob Dole.

"He's spent much of his life in service to this country, and nearly gave his life in service to this country, for which he deserves our gratitude and admiration.

"I think he's wrong on some important issues, as, I'm sure, he think I'm wrong on those very same points.

"So let's have that debate. Let's join that discussion. But let's do it in a way that elevates rather than demeans. Let's have a contest, not of insults, but ideas."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2) Let's build bridges to the future.

The odd thing about Dole's speech is that, rather than offer a vision for the future, he served up an ode to the past. ("I want to build a bridge to the past.")

Clearly, people yearn for the values and comforts--and sense of control-- of an earlier time. But they also recognize that we can't put the genie back into the bottle. They want a President who confidently meets the challenges of changing times, not one who curses and shrinks from them, or pretends they aren't there.

So I would include in your thinking a section that makes the point and sets up the "vision" thing:

"We all yearn for simpler times, when the world was larger, and economic competition weaker and farther from our shores; when families could live comfortably on one income much less two, and parents had more time to spend with their kids.

"We all yearn for the days when drugs and violence were not so commonplace; when television was not such a pervasive and corrosive force in our lives; when families were less troubled and children were free to be children.

"The values our parents and grandparents taught us, of family and faith and community, are enduring values, which we should embrace and honor and pass on to our sons and daughters.

"And whether it's moderating what our kids watch on TV, or demanding more of them and their schools; whether it's working together to attack the plague of drugs and crime, or replacing a culture of dependency with the opportunity and incentive to work, let us stand united for time-honored values.

"But let's be clear:

"We must build bridges to the future, not the past. Much as we might like to, we can't go back.

"As we enter a new century and a new millennium, wistful reflections about simpler times won't be enough to solve the challenges of today and tomorrow.

"The world is changing. The question for us as a nation is how we handle those changes; which are coming faster with each passing day.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"How do we master them, so that America will be as strong and prosperous in the next century as it has been in the one that's about to end?

"How do we blunt the harsh edges of change and strengthen families and community?

"And in this changing world, how do we maximize opportunity for all our people?

"Is the answer really to once again bury our economy under a mountain of debt, just when we're digging ourselves out from the last such experiment? Is that the best we can do?

"Or is it to insure that every man, woman and child in this country can get the education and training they'll need to compete for good jobs with good wages?

"Is the answer really another broad-gauged giveaway we can't afford?

"Or should we target tax relief to working families, to raise their children and help pay for the college education or technical training they'll need to get their shot at a better future?

"My friends, we have to decide whether we're going to look confidently to the future, and do the things we must to succeed--as America always has--or deny those challenges, and cling to warm memories while counting on the failed ideas of the past.

3) It does take a village. -Just ask Bob Dole!

One of the more discordant notes of the speech was his attack on Hillary's book. What made it stranger still is that if ever there was a person who profited from the value of community--of neighbor caring for neighbor--it's Bob Dole.

So somewhere, someplace--and I'm not sure whom the appropriate carrier of this message would be--we ought to use his own example to illustrate the point:

"When I heard Senator Dole attack Mrs. Clinton's book, a story I had just heard came to mind.

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"It was the story of a young soldier, mortally wounded in battle, who returned home to his small town. And though he had a strong and loving family, they didn't have the money it would cost to finance the medical care he needed.

"So, without prompting, the people of his little town put their nickels and dimes together so this son of their community could get the surgery he needed to make himself whole again. Friends and neighbors, rallying to the side of a young man in need.

"And because of their generosity and sense of community, the medical assistance the government provided, and his own fortitude, that young man made a miraculous recovery.

"And today, he is a candidate for President of the United States.

"That's Bob Dole's story. So he, more than anyone, should know that it often does take a village.

"He ought to exalt that sense of mutual caring and responsibility reflected in the selfless actions of his own neighbors, and acknowledge that strong families are the core to child-rearing, but strong communities are essential, too.

"Not every story is as dramatic as Senator Dole's. But in a thousand smaller ways, all our children benefit from the nurturing of friends and neighbors and community."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

48 hour rule for new mothers -- on Mothers' Day you endorsed rule requiring health care plans to allow new mothers to remain in hospital for 48 hours. *Open VA to Medicare-eligible vets* -- allowing VA to get reimbursement from Medicare. *Eradicate global polio* -- by contributing to WHO's initiative to end polio by 2000.

Three options for new initiatives:

Increased oversight of managed care -- In view of rising concern that cost containment may be coming at expense of quality, (i) support "gag" rule law preventing health plans from restricting what doctors can tell their patients about alternative treatments. OMB and HHS support; (ii) establish public/private advisory board to evaluate managed care shortcomings and recommend appropriate role for federal government. VP, OMB, HHS, DOL support, as do Sweeney and McEntee; (iii) host Presidential forum on problem of managed care's role in declining research and training funds, challenging managed care industry and research community to work together on solutions.

Provide children greater access to affordable insurance -- Four options: (i) legislation for targeted investments to help community health centers and school-based clinics provide preventive and other services (wouldn't increase insurance coverage much); (ii) small tax subsidy for working families who pay for kids' insurance if employers don't contribute to dependent coverage (addresses affordability more than coverage); (iii) provide subsidy to help low-income families purchase insurance for their kids (would significantly increase coverage, but would be costly, inefficient, duplicative of Medicaid and would create incentives for employers to drop kids who have coverage); (iv) increase state flexibility to design programs to expand Medicaid coverage to more children. NOTE -- Options (ii-iv) would require new spending of $15-20 billion over 7 years.

Increase independence of people with disabilities -- (i) to address problem of disabled people who choose to remain on SSI or SSDI rolls rather than risk loss of health insurance, allow disabled to purchase Medicaid or Medicare coverage on sliding scale linked to their income; (ii) evaluate options to address problem that home- and community based care services are "optional" Medicaid services, while nursing home coverage is "mandatory" -- a distinction disabled community hates.

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August 9, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
DON BAER
MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM: Richard Socarides
456-6247

RE: The President's Speech and Gays and Lesbians at the Convention

---

As I have discussed with Harold, the breakdown of openly gay and lesbian people who will have official roles at the convention is as follows:

104	Delegates
25	Alternates
21	Members of standing committees
30	Elected officials and members of finance committee with credentials (approximate)
180	Total

I believe strongly that, given these numbers, when the President speaks at the convention about ending discrimination and making America a place of opportunity "regardless of race, creed, color, ethnicity, etc ..." (or otherwise uses the list of characteristics upon which people should not discriminate) **he must include "sexual orientation" in the list.** He also needs to use the words "gays and lesbians" somewhere in the speech.

Four years ago in New York City, the President included similar language in his remarks. Not to do so four years later would be widely noticed and would create real anger and disappointment among gays and lesbians attending the convention.

cc: Harold Ickes

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To: Don Baer

Fr: Mark Penn

I think that much of the new intro and conclusion go in the right direction of moving him from speaking as a candidate to speaking as a reflective president, aside form having to update the Olympics material.

On page 4, let's make the budget fight it's own expanded paragraph rather than burying it at the end of a paragraph about opp, resp, community.

At the top of page 10, add to he paragraph: "We must meet the challenges of a new age and at the same time protect the values that have guided us for over two hundred years."

At the end of page 4 of the conclusion you should sum up some of the specifics of the agenda that you have presented in concrete terms:

"Some of the basic elements of my vision to prepare America for the 21st Century include:

Higher Education – to ensure that every child has the opportunity to a better future through college, we must make the 13th and 14th years of college free and give significant help to pay the tuition of the 3rd and 4th years.

Public School Education -- to help modernize the facilities at our public schools while offering more public school choice and raising the basic educational standards through comprehensive testing.

Healthcare –to continue to reform healthcare until every American has access to it and ensure that no one is denied it or loses it when they change from employment.

Being a success at home and at work –extend the Family and Medical Leave Act to give every parent 24 hours a year off to attend teacher conferences and medical appointments and give people flex time so they can feel in control of their lives again.

Helping Parents Raise their Kids –continue to fight to reduce teenage pregnancy, teen smoking and the problems of too much violence in the media. We have made progress with the v-chip but we must keep pressing on all of these fronts until parents feel they have greater control in bring up their children.

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Pensions – to keep these safe from corporate raids, and extend new safeguards so that they are protected when people move from job to job.

Environment –to make it our goal to clean up every major toxic waste site in America. They are a threat to our children and to future generations of Americans.

Technology –to make the computers and the internet available to every classroom and every student if we are to compete and win in this changing world

Juvenile Justice –to remove the guns from teens and gangs, try them as adults but still put them in jails where we have a chance at reforming them.

Child Support – adopt zero tolerance for deadbeat dads; people who have children must take responsibility for them. We've increased support payments 40% and now we must go the rest of the way.

America Abroad – remaining the number one power for peace and freedom in the world.

While we meet these emerging new challenges, we must protect many of the programs that are under attack – Medicare because we must fulfill our duty to our elderly, Medicaid, so that poor children and the disabled elderly will have the care they need, the Brady bill that has taken guns out of the hands of 60,000 felons and the assault rifles ban that took these weapons off of our streets. Just one year ago, all of these programs plus everything from Americord to guaranteed student loans to anti-drug programs in schools faced a massive assault from those who have a very different view of how America should look in the next century. These programs are safe for now, but only if we stick together to preserve our fundamental values.

Mine is a progressive vision of the future....

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another house, with another family. And together they make up a neighborhood. And the neighbors come together to create something larger than themselves, to help fill needs they cannot meet on their own, or that they can meet better together: form government, schools, commerce, etc. Picture gets bigger and bigger (like a David Byrne song, only sincere). Shows Clinton understands how we are tied to each other. Understands everyone has a role to play. Small government idea, because government is created by people to do the things we cannot do alone (but it does no more than that). This is something he understood before, but understands even more now as POTUS. (If we do something like this, we won't have to do the dull mentioning of real people. Keep everything at the level of concrete metaphor.)

5) Opening line: Thanks for having me back.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Planning for Tax Proposals (27 pages)	nd	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
1996 Campaign: Dole Speeches

2006-0469-F
sb93

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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Dole – Taxes

PLANNING ~~FOR~~ TAX PROPOSALS

SECTIONS:

I. **Overall Framework For Republican Growth Debate**

II. **Four-Box Strategy For Response**

III. **Description of Possible Republican Tax Proposals**

IV. **Analysis of Current Republican Tax Proposals Under Discussion**

V. **Analysis of Possible Hybrid Approaches**

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I. OVERALL GROWTH DEBATE

Republicans seem likely to pin their new economic message on seeking to contrast what they may call a "Clinton Glass Ceiling" versus what they will call a strong economic growth agenda. In other words, rather than try to convince the nation that the Clinton economy is terrible -- a battle which they are continually losing -- they will suggest that growth is simply mediocre under President Clinton and claim that we believe that the era of 2.3% growth is the best America can do. They will suggest that the only way to return to the bygone era of high growth and rapidly rising wages is to roll-back government and take a new direction on economic growth.

For example, in a speech to the Economic Club of Chicago, Dole said:

> *The White House congratulates "themselves because, in their view, 2.5 percent growth represents the outer limit of America's economic potential. In the Clinton Administration's world, America's economy has hit a glass ceiling. We can see greater prosperity.... Our whole history tells us that America can do better."*
> [Senator Dole, Chicago Economic Club, September 5, 1995]

When Republicans attack the President for believing the American economy has "hit a glass ceiling," they will be aware that the President has his own pro-growth agenda and middle-class tax cut. Therefore, they will seek to deliver an anti-government, excessive tax cut proposal that will give them a distinctive plank. They are telling reporters that they want to be able to tie their tax cut proposals to other defining issues. Their agenda will probably call for a 4-part agenda:

1) Large Tax Cut: Propose a "bold" new tax cut that the President is certain to disagree with. This will be their way of ensuring that there is a clear debate on taxes where they are posited as being for a tax cut and we are against. This is then the context to continue to demagogue the 1993 deficit reduction plan. Significant entrepreneurial tax cuts and Medical Savings Accounts could also be included.

2) Anti-Litigation Theme as Obstacle to Growth: Possible theme of litigation costs having a negative impact on economy growth -- using international comparisons.

3) Non-Environmental Anti-Regulation Proposal: Look for some kind of anti-regulation proposal that does not expose them on the environment.

4) Restructure Federal Government: Dole is likely to adopt some version of ending or merging Cabinet Departments. Calling for eliminating Departments gives a false sense that there are new big savings being called for.

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Prominence of the Tax Cut: The key highlight of the Republican pro-growth proposal will most likely be a dramatic tax cut. This large tax cut would be their clear way of highlighting a defining difference between the two parties. Dole has already casually called for a $150 billion tax cut for $500 contributions to charities addressing poverty. Yet, the Republicans face real risks in proposing such a large tax cut because if they pay for it, that would suggest deep, extreme spending cuts -- and if they don't pay for it, they will look completely false and hypocritical. Not paying for the tax cuts would mean backing-off both a decade of positions Dole has taken on opposing supply-side economics and backing-off of the so-called Republican commitment to a balanced budget certified by the Congressional Budget Office. Because paying for a large tax cut or adopting supply-side economics will be hard for Dole to stomach, we should also consider that his aides may seek a hybrid alternative that is not currently being discussed in the press. The hybrid could be a form of gradually phased-in tax cuts, or a combination of smaller tax cuts, or a variation on a flat tax with a blurred financing scheme that hides the degree that it is unpaid for.

Planning: We need to use the time we have now to not only ensure that we have a response for each possible tax cut that Dole might propose, but also to ensure that those who will be analyzing the Republican proposal are prepared to ask the right questions and to look at their proposals with the right framework. In sum, we have to ensure that everyone understands that they are either:

(a) Giving up on a balanced budget and Dole's number one character point: his willingness to stand up to the Reagan supply-siders.

(b) Ready to heap extreme cuts on Medicare and other key priorities in order to pay for the tax cuts.

Once his proposal is out, we should also be ready to quickly demonstrate why our tax cuts are not only more conceptually attractive, but why millions of families will actually get a larger tax cut under our proposal.

Reiterating the Clinton Growth Agenda: We must make clear in our own remarks that we are not conceding that a Republican style growth agenda is the only "growth" agenda in town and we must emphasize that *we* believe that our growth pro-growth agenda -- that includes education, health care and pension portability, targeted middle-class tax cuts, deficit reduction, and open trade -- is the growth agenda that will deliver for American families. If the economy were to grow 1.0 percentage point faster, the size of the economy would double every 20 years, instead of nearly every 30 years. And if the economy were to grow just 0.5 percentage point faster, average income per four-person family would be $6,000 higher in 2005 (than it would be if we continued at our current growth pace).

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II. FOUR-BOX STRATEGY

WE SHOULD HAVE A FOUR-BOX STRATEGY. The first three boxes deal with the overall conflict they face in proposing a tax cut of enormous costs. The last box goes to the fact that even by proposing a large broad tax cut, they will still have a hard time showing millions of families that their tax cut is superior to the President's proposal -- and without devastating Medicare.

BOX 1:	**Dole's Hypocrisy and the Republican Congress' Hypocrisy**
BOX 2:	**Giving up on Balancing the Budget**
BOX 3:	**Extreme Spending Cuts to Pay for Tax Cut**
BOX 4:	**Our Tax Cut is More Generous for Working Families and Without Devastating Medicare Cuts or Raising Taxes on Hard Pressed Working Families**

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BOX 1: DOLE'S HYPOCRISY AND THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS' HYPOCRISY

Clearly, a large wing of the Republican party wants to return to supply-side economics and simply state that the tax cuts will generate economic growth that will raise enough revenues to pay for the tax cuts. This releases them from the box of deep Medicare and Medicaid cuts, but it presents them with another constraint: complete contradiction of Dole's most clear economic position -- paying for tax cuts and opposing supply-side economics and responsible progress toward deficit reduction. The points that make it harder for Dole to go this way are the following:

1) **A decade of opposing supply-side economics:** The main reason that Dole has earned some respect from inside Washington journalists is that he opposed the reckless supply-side policies of the Reagan economists. He has argued numerous times that it is just plain common sense that you have to pay for tax cuts with spending cuts.

Here are just a few of the many Dole anti-supply-side quotes that have been collected by our friends at DNC Research:

"It's easy to cut taxes but what do you do with that. You have to add it to the deficit unless there is an offset. Now, if they can offset the tax cut with a spending freeze or a spending reduction... that would make good economic sense. But a tax cut by itself, as some of the supply-siders might advocate, would be bad medicine." [Los Angeles Times, 8/17/92; NBC's "Meet The Press," 8/16/92]

"Just our view, just makes good sense if you're going to cut taxes, you have to pay for tax cuts with spending cuts." [CNN's "Moneyline,"1/6/95]

***Larry King Live*, November 4, 1992**

Caller: [H]ave you changed your views on supply-side economics?

Sen. DOLE: I never was in that camp, if you go back and look at the record. I used to tell the story that somebody told me - a good-news-bad-news joke. The good news was a busload of supply-siders went over the cliff. The bad news was there were three empty seats. So, you know-

KING: [laughs] You were never a supply-sider.

Sen. DOLE: I'm a traditional Republican who believes you ought to restrain spending if you're going to cut taxes. I don't think you can just cut taxes alone and get gain without pain.....

KING: And you have long argued that....

Sen. DOLE: That's been my- you know, my firmly-held belief.

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Indeed, many of Dole's quotes opposing supply-side economics reflected a puritan ethic: a no gain without pain philosophy. Reversing positions goes right to his core.

> Dole said supply-side economics was "something I've never understood," and that "it's had a fair chance to work," and that it failed. Dole concluded, *"My view is that there isn't an easy way."* [Washington Post, 11/9/87]
>
> "I'm a traditional Republican who believes you ought to restrain spending if you're going to cut taxes. I don't think you can just cut taxes alone and get gain without pain. [Larry King Live, *CNN*, 11/4/92]
>
> Dole said, ''I don't have any quarrel with supply-siders; I just haven't seen it work yet. There aren't any painless ways to (reduce the debt). You've got to do it the hard way.'' [Columbus Dispatch, 4/16/93]

2) **Degree that Republicans stressed the need for a CBO-approved balanced budget as the only way to do budget:** To this day, Republicans continue to hammer the President on anything that can be seen as the slightest variation from their view of CBO-scored purity. Even when CBO verifies that the President's budget reaches balance -- they still hammer the trigger as not pure enough. In light of this, it should be impossible for Republicans to simply turn around and say that CBO verification is unnecessary.

> **Rep. Kasich:** "Frankly, we don't ask for a lot. We ask for nothing more than a commitment to do this in a seven-year period. The priorities within that seven-year plan are negotiable. But what is not negotiable is negotiating away the principle of the need to exercise fiscal discipline and balance the budget over a seven-year period of time." [Kasich & Domenici Press Conference, *Federal News Service*, November 14, 1995.]
>
> **Sen. Domenici:** "You will find, Mr. President, you will find that we have only one goal in mind. Everything else is on the table, Mr. President, but not the one thing that is sacred to our commitment, and that's a balanced budget in seven years...using the new Congressional Budget Office as our economic source." [Gingrich, Kasich, Dole, Domenici Press Conference, *Federal News Service*, December 15, 1995]
>
> **Rep. Gingrich:** "They owe the country a CBO-scored, seven year balanced budget." [Rep. Gingrich, *Los Angeles Times*, December 13, 1995]

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BOX 2: GIVING UP ON BALANCING THE BUDGET

We must also establish that not only are the Republicans being hypocritical and showing weak character, but that this abandonment of fiscal discipline in the name of tax cuts will actually mean the loss of a balanced budget.

1) **Republicans Lose The $254 Billion Bonus If They Have Large Tax Cut:** One point that has not yet been highlighted in the press is that the Republican balanced budget assumes a $254 billion "fiscal bonus". This "bonus" is granted by CBO because of the benefits they see from the market rewarding a real, certified balanced budget with lower interest rates with slightly higher growth. CBO has said that the fiscal dividend depends on the credibility of the deficit reduction to the financial markets and to the Federal Reserve.

> **CBO wrote:** "[L]ong-term interest rates, for example, might respond to announced future reductions in the deficit if those reductions seemed credible -- and as the Congress proceeds along the path of deficit reduction, credibility is likely to increase." [CBO, *Analysis of the President's Budgetary Proposals*, April 1995, p. 55.]

Once the credibility has been completely undermined, one could state that merely introducing a $250 billion or more tax cut and suggesting it would not be paid for would cost an additional $254 billion.

2) **Must Show that Supply-Side Did Not Work and Its Adoption Means the End of Balancing the Budget:** Senator Abraham and others will be out trumpeting that supply-side economics did work and that tax revenues went up due to the Reagan tax cuts and that they went down due to the Clinton tax increases. This is not true. Republicans come close to lying on this issue by including the increase in Social Security payroll taxes in 1983 in order to make up for the fact that the Reagan tax cut clearly lost revenue and hurt the deficit. Joe Minarik has done excellent work documenting this fact.

> **1981 Tax Cuts Cost Tax Revenue And Helped Explode The Deficit.** After passage of the 1981 supply-side tax cuts, real individual income tax revenue *fell for three consecutive years*, and did not recover to their 1981 level *until 1986*. That is, for 5 years after Reagan's 1981 tax cut, individual income tax revenue were below their 1981 level. This loss in tax revenue helped explode the deficit: in Ronald Reagan's first three years in office, the deficit nearly tripled, increasing from $74 billion in FY80 to $208 billion in FY83.

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Contrary To Republican Claims, Tax Revenue Increased Because Social Security Payroll Taxes Were Raised. To the degree that overall tax revenues went up, it was due to increases in the Social Security payroll tax rate in 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, and 1986, which increased Social Security tax revenues. This increase in Social Security revenues more than offset the loss in individual tax revenues from the 1981 supply-side tax cut.

Economic Growth During Reagan Administration Wasn't So Great. Real GDP grew more slowly during the 1980s than it did during the 1960s and 1970s. And the private sector of the economy has expanded more rapidly under President Clinton (3.2 percent per year) than during the Reagan Administration. Importantly, business investment -- a key ingredient to long-term growth -- during the Reagan era was *weaker* than during the 1960s and 1970s; therefore, the supply-side experiment did not result in an increase in investment.

3) **Balanced Budget Amendment Is Not a Cover For Giving Up on the Balanced Budget Now:** Republicans may seek to use their support for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment as cover for their support of supply-side tax cuts. But we must turn this around by showing that a push for a Balanced Budget Amendment is an attempt to move from serious balanced budget negotiations to giveaways and a 38-state, long constitutional process that will defer progress for years.

4) **Tax Cuts Are Not Even Traditional "Growth Tax Cuts."** At some outside level, we may also wish to show that even under supply-side logic, there is no evidence that an overall across-the-board tax cut will have a major growth impact, since it misses the growth arguments that Kemp and others make about lowering taxes on capital.

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BOX 3: UNPOPULAR SPENDING CUTS TO PAY FOR TAX CUT

Our first approach must be to box them into the simple proposition that tax cuts must be paid for with spending cuts, and the spending cuts they would need are unthinkable. This proposition should be particularly "simple" because it reflects Dole's longstanding position, and because Republicans have been pressing for over a year on the importance of CBO certified balanced budget proposals.

While the particular tax proposals are discussed individually later in this memo, it is important to note that nearly every one they seem to be considering ranges from $300 billion to $600 billion over six years. And it could be more. For instance, the 15% across-the-board cut will cost $550 Billion over six years (FY1997-FY2002), while the Ashcroft deduction is projected at $280 billion (FY1997-FY2002) and $536 billion over 10 years. The 15% cut could be phased in like the Wilson proposal -- 5%, 5%, 5% -- but even then it would still be close to $500 billion. This is still so large that it makes the possibility of Social Security cuts -- probably through CPI adjustments -- a likelihood.

Remember what Senator Lott said on *Meet The Press* just a few days ago:

Russert: All right, Senator Lott, here's your challenge. Identify $600 billion in savings [to pay for a $600 billion tax reduction the Senator just endorsed]. What programs, specifically, would you reduce over the next sever years?

Lott: I would control spending on *every* program.

Russert: Would you freeze Social Security?

Lott: No. But *we would control the rate of increase.*

Russert: You would take Medicare and Social Security and defense all off the table?

Lott: *No, I didn't say that. I think we have got to control the rate of growth in all of these programs, all of these programs,* including defense.

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What they Pay for in their Current Balanced Budget Proposal: Republicans will contend that their current budget resolution can afford a $180 billion tax cut. This calculation comes from adding $122 billion net tax cut, plus about $60 billion in extenders and their version of subsidy cuts. Therefore, if they are at the low end ($300 billion) we will have to show how they pay for the extra $120 billion. If they are at the high end (15% cut worth $550 billion), we will have to show how they would cut an extra $370 billion from the budget to pay for it.

We need to establish that there is nowhere for the Republicans to go, and that even returning to the more extreme reconciliation cuts would be more harsh than they were in 1995 *(due to the change in the CBO baseline).* If they do not give out the details of where the cuts will come from, it would be only fair to assume that they would return to the cuts they have already voted for in the reconciliation bill. We must make clear two things:

1) **They have no where else to go but the cuts they previously made -- the extreme cuts they still criticize the President for vetoing.**

2) **Taking Medicare and Medicaid back to their prior levels of savings would require even deeper and more painful cuts than before.** Why? Because the baseline has gone down. Cutting Medicare at their old cuts of $270 billion would mean cutting hospital payments to far lower levels than in the vetoed reconciliation bill. With projected spending lower, they would be cutting $270 billion from a lower baseline and thus leading to even less spending. *These additional Medicare cuts would reduce the rate of growth in Medicare spending per beneficiary to less than 3%.* Indeed, we currently estimate that in order to make up dropping their premium increases, Republicans may now be calling for cutting hospital payments -- even in nominal terms. This would put them in an unattractive box for two reasons: (1) We would show that their choices were only cutting hospitals deeper and deeper, or that they would need to return to premium increases -- which neither the Senate nor Bob Dole ever specifically denied; (2) They have proposed or voted for several negative Medicare proposals -- $40 Billion From Raising Premiums to 31.5%, $8 Billion From Doubling deductibles -- and it would be difficult for them to contend that such proposals were not very real possibilities.

The Could Save An Additional $91 Billion By Returning To The $163 Billion Level Of Medicaid Savings In The Vetoed Reconciliation Bill. Their vetoed proposal would have saved $109 billion off the current, lower CBO baseline. Thus, $163 billion off the current baseline would be 50% deeper than the vetoed reconciliation bill -- which could have denied nearly 8 million Americans Medicaid coverage in 2002. These figures include just the federal cuts. The total cuts under the vetoed bill could have reached $330 billion, and could exceed $400 billion with a 50% greater federal Medicaid cut. This would greatly strengthen the assumption that states would have no choice but to look to every angle the law allows to cut back benefits.

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Can They Cut Spending Without Opening Themselves Up to Extreme Medicare and Medicaid Cuts? While they will say that they will look at everything when it comes to spending cuts -- they have few other choices. They will undoubtably take Defense off the table. Veterans is being preserved as an area where they spend more than we do, and it seems unlikely that they will cut agriculture or student loans even more. They may seek to go to domestic discretionary spending, but there is little left, and Domenici himself has said that he has doubts about Republicans' being able to deliver on their current level of cuts. *But Medicare and Medicaid account for 35% of the spending left on the table once you protect Defense and Social Security.*

Could they cut discretionary funding by an additional $131 billion over six years without cutting education and the environment further? No. They are already cutting non-defense discretionary spending by at least 25% in real terms in 2002. Because education and the environment account for about 25% of all non-defense discretionary spending, protecting these areas would require about 30% deeper cuts in everything else, including some of their priorities, such as energy and water, veterans, NIH, and transportation.

> Indeed, if the additional $131 billion were applied proportionately to all non-defense discretionary funding, it would require approximately $10 billion more in cuts in the environment (Function 300) and about $20 billion more in education and training (Function 500) -- on top of the $27 billion already assumed in the House FY97 budget resolution. The $60 billion gap between the President and House Republicans in funding for education and training would increase to approximately $80 billion. A research project that I will work on is a clear demonstration of what extra NDD cuts would mean in key areas, so we can show how boxed in they are to cutting Medicare and Medicaid -- and even Social Security if they go for a 15% across-the-board tax cut.

NOTE ON FLAT TAX: If they proposed an unpaid for flat tax, we can either assume the spending cuts needed to pay for it, or assume that it is deficit-neutral and then increase the rate high enough to be deficit neutral -- a move that leads to most middle class families getting a *tax increase*.

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BOX 4: OUR TAX CUT IS BETTER THAN THEIRS -- WITHOUT DEVASTATING MEDICARE OR DEVASTATING EITC

People Like Our Tax Cuts. Some have made the point internally, that Americans like our Clinton Middle Class Bill of Rights tax cuts more than the 15% across-the-board or payroll deduction -- because of a preference for targeted tax relief. Yet, we will likely be able to provide an even more tangible response showing that millions of families will benefit more from our tax cut that theirs.

No matter what they propose, we can immediately be ready with case study examples of typical American families who will be better off under the Clinton plan than under the Republican tax cut proposal.

Both of their most talked-of proposals -- the 15% across-the-board cut and the payroll deduction -- have the benefits of quantity of people: they would apply to virtually every taxpayer each year. That is their advantage.

Yet, neither of these proposals are superior in quality to the tax cut for working families with young children. If Republicans choose an across-the-board tax cut, we can come out immediately with example after example of average families with children who will get a larger tax cut under Clinton than they will get under Dole's plan. Therefore, one of our clear attacks is to show immediately that for millions of families with children, the choice is a Republican tax cut that means a devastation of Medicare and education or a more generous Clinton tax cut that protects Medicare, education and the environment.

Furthermore, all middle-class families are eligible for our $10,000 education tax deduction, so we can say that they get a $1500 to $2800 tax cut whenever they are investing in their own education/training or their family's.

Republicans May Add To -- Not Replace The Child Tax Credit: Of course, this analysis may suggest that the Republicans cannot afford to give up their child tax credit. In this case, they may copy our *Putting People First* plan and give people an option. Yet, this further drives up their costs into more and more unrealistic ranges leading to deeper and deeper Medicare -- and possibly even Social Security -- cuts.

The following examples are not precise estimates, but show clearly enough that we can show millions of families that will do better under our plan.

Family of Four With Young Children Making $24,000 with EITC:

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$223
15% Tax Cut:	$120
Clinton Tax Cut:	$800

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Family of Four with Young Children Making $48,000

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$450
15% Tax Cut:	$667
Clinton Tax Cut:	$1000

Family of Four with Young Children Making $200,000

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$558
15% Tax Cut:	$6222
Clinton Tax Cut:	$0

Family Making $24,000 with $10,000 Education Expense (No Young Children)

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$223
15% Tax Cut:	$120
Clinton Tax Cut:	$1112

Family Making $48,000 with $10,000 Education Expense (No Young Children)

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$450
15% Tax Cut:	$667
Clinton Tax Cut:	$1500

Family Making $200,000 with $10,000 Education Expense (No Young Children)

Social Security Payroll Deduction:	$558
15% Tax Cut:	$6222
Clinton Tax Cut:	$0

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NOTE ON FLAT TAX: We will have to be ready to show how our plan compares to a flat tax that Dole might come up with. If they follow the Forbes route, they will call for a large and unrealistic exemption for families of four. In that case, we can assume the legitimacy of the exemption, and then show how taxes will be significantly raised for the millions of middle families above the exemption or how there is no way they can afford the exemption (up to $36,000 in the Forbes proposal) and how all middle class families will face a tax hike if the plan is deficit neutral. Our ability to make that case is strengthened by the fact that Dole himself strongly questioned the viability of such large exemptions.

> *"Before we talk about flat tax...just keep two things in mind. Not everybody in America can get a tax cut without adding to the deficit. If you exclude everybody who makes less than $36,000 and don't tax investment income, something's got to give. You can't have it both ways."* [The New York Times, March 5, 1996]

NOTE ON EITC: One way we can show the attractiveness of our tax cuts is also to stress the millions who have EITC tax increases in the Republican plan. They may seek to construct their tax cut so that all those who get cuts in their EITC still get a net tax cut. Nonetheless, we may be able to show some getting a net tax increase and we could still do a table showing how the 15% cut applies, and then a separate table showing how much of it is taken away -- only for the most hardpressed families -- through a tax increase by cutting the EITC.

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III. POSSIBLE REPUBLICAN TAX CUT PROPOSALS

1. **15-Percent Across-The-Board Tax Cut:** This proposal -- modeled after President Reagan's supply-side tax cuts -- would lower marginal tax rates across-the-board by 15 percent (e.g., marginal tax rates would drop from 15 percent to 12.75 percent, from 28 percent to 23.8 percent, etc.). This tax cut would cost in the range of $600-700 billion over seven years.

   NOTE: Most Taxpayers Currently Pay at a 15% Flat Tax Rate. More than 70% of taxpayers with tax on taxable income already pay tax at a 15% flat tax rate. Almost 80% of all individual tax filers pay no tax on income or tax at the 15% flat rate.

   Almost 40% of All Taxpayers File The Simplest Returns. Almost 40% of all taxpayers file using the easiest tax forms.

2. **Ashcroft Proposal -- Allowing Deduction of Payroll Taxes from Taxable Income:** This proposal -- first advocated by the Kemp Tax Commission -- would allow workers to deduct their share of the Social Security payroll tax from their gross income when filing taxes. For the typical two-earner family, this proposal would provide a $500 tax cut per year. This plan would cost the Treasury about $280 billion over five years (over ten years, it is estimated that this proposal will cost $536 billion).

3. **Nunn-Domenici USA Tax Plan:** This proposal -- the Unlimited Saving Allowance (USA) plan -- would replace the individual and corporate income taxes with two consumption taxes: a graduated individual consumption-income tax and a flat-rate tax on business cash flow. Under the USA proposal, all businesses would be taxed at a proposed rate of 11 percent on gross receipts less purchases of material inputs, equipment, and structures. Financial receipts, such as interest and dividends, would not be included in gross receipts, and interest and dividend payments would not be deductible. All labor costs -- cash wage and non-pension fringe benefits -- would not be deductible. But businesses would receive a credit for the employer portion of payroll taxes. The Nunn-Domenici proposal would also allow businesses to deduct the full cost of purchased capital assets. Expensing under the business tax -- combined with a savings deduction under the individual tax -- would ensure that the return to capital is not taxed.

   Individual income would be subject to a graduated income tax with deductions for all qualified savings. The top marginal tax rate would be set at 40 percent. Under this plan, all labor compensation (including, for example, health benefits, but excluding pension benefits) would be taxed twice, once at the business and once at the individual level. The USA plan would allow individuals to deduct charitable contributions, educational expenses, and a limited amount of home mortgage interest. This plan maintains the EITC and includes a credit for the employee portion of payroll taxes.

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4. **Armey/Forbes-Style Flat Tax:** Rep. Armey and Steve Forbes have both proposed adopting a two-part flat tax to replace the current corporate and personal income taxes. These proposals include a tax on wage income at 17 percent with $36,000 of deductions for a family of four. A tax would be levied at the same rate on all business cash flows with deductions for purchases of capital and for wages (but not for non-pension fringe benefits, the employer portion of payroll taxes, and State and local taxes.

   Under this proposal, workers would be taxed only on their compensation for labor (including health benefits); interest, dividends, and capital gains would not be included in individuals' taxable income. And businesses would not be allowed to deduct interest and dividends paid to the owners of the business. Moreover, businesses would be allowed to deduct the full cost of purchased capital assets. This expensing provision would mean that income from new investments would be effectively tax-free at both the business level and the individual taxpayer level.

   Treasury estimates that this proposal would cause a revenue loss of $186 billion *per year*. To be made revenue-neutral with Armey' standard deductions, the tax rate would have to be increased to 21 percent.

5. **National Sales Tax:** This proposal would scrap the current income tax system and replace it with a National Sales Tax. Rep. Archer and Senator Lugar have both proposed different kinds of national sales taxes or VATs. These proposals are both pure consumption taxes; income that is saved is exempt from tax until it is withdrawn from savings and spent. There are a number of different methods to collect this sales tax, but none of the methods alters the economic affect of a national sales tax. Since low-income families consume a higher percentage of their incomes than high-income families, a flat-rate consumption tax is regressive. Attempts to make a consumption tax more progressive are difficult and would necessitate a higher sales tax rate. There are also enormous transition costs associated with moving towards a National Sales Tax that would need to be addressed.

6. **Coats Proposals To Provide Charity Tax Credit:** Sen. Coats proposes a credit of up to $500 per taxpayer for charitable contributions. Under this proposal, the taxpayer must volunteered at least 50 hours of service for the charity, the donation must be in cash, and it would have to go to a charity that spends at least 70 percent of its annual program expenses on providing services to people in poverty. The Joint Tax Committee estimates that this proposal would cost $150 billion over seven years. This proposal is supported by Sen. Ashcroft, Coverdale, Craig, DeWine, Smith, Inhofe, and Kempthorne. ***Senator Dole just endorsed a similar Charity Tax Credit.***

7. **McIntosh Proposal To Increase Take-Home Pay:** Under this proposal, workers would be allowed to keep their share of the payroll tax (7.65%), while employers would pay their share of the payroll tax (7.65%) to the employee, instead of to the IRS. Rep. McIntosh says that this proposal would phase-out at $5.25 an hour. Rep. McIntosh asserts that this tax proposal will cost just $8 to $10 billion and will be paid for by reducing spending on welfare.

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8. **Hutchinson-Ballenger Proposal To Increase Take-Home Pay:** This proposal (HR 3441) would modify the Earned Income Tax Credit as an alternative to raising the minimum wage. Rep. Hutchinson and Rep. Ballenger claim that their proposal would increase the hourly wage of minimum wage workers by 19 cents an hour for a worker with one child and 42 cents an hour for a worker with two or more kids. These changes in the EITC would be financed by reductions in the EITC for other workers and eliminate the childless EITC and would reduced the EITC for working families with incomes slightly above the poverty line.

9. **Repeal 1993 Tax Increase:** This proposal would repeal the tax provisions in OBRA '93. This proposal would cost approximately $410 billion over seven years and would provide about 80 percent of its benefits to those with incomes over $100,000.

10. **Repeal 1990 Tax Increase:** This proposal would repeal the Bush tax increase of 1990. This proposal -- like the repeal of OBRA '93 -- is supported by Jack Kemp and Wayne Angell. This proposal would cost approximately $165 billion over seven years.

11. **Repeal the 1993 Social Security Provisions:** The *Contract with America* would have repealed a provision in the President's 1993 plan that subject a greater share of the top 13% of Social Security recipients' benefits to the income tax. All of the revenue from the 1993 provision went to the Medicare Trust Fund. The *Contract* would have phased-out the 1993 provision over five years, but would have immediately redirected all of the revenue from the 1993 provision from the Medicare Trust Fund to the Social Security Trust Fund. Thus, while the proposal would lose $28 billion in revenue over 7 years, the Medicare Trust Fund would have lost $37 billion from 1996 to 2002.

    Despite its inclusion in the *Contract,* this provision was not included in the House and Senate reconciliation bills. *This week, the Senate narrowly passed Senator Gramm's sense of the Senate amendment to the FY97 budget resolution calling for the repeal of the 1993 provision.*

12. **Capital-Gains Tax Cut and Other Targeted Growth Initiatives:** They may seek to strengthen their current capital-gains tax cut proposal with several new ones. For example, they could propose a zero capital-gains tax cut for empowerment zones and perhaps a special capital-gains break for low-income savers or small businesses.

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IV: ANALYSIS

All of the current tax cut plans that are being discussed have serious flaws and vulnerabilities that we could take advantage of.

The main obstacles they face in devising a tax cut will be their difficulty to find a tax cut that simultaneously meets the following five objectives:

1) Broad-based and Bold Tax Cut
2) Pro-growth, Investment Orientation
3) Not Portrayable As An Upper-Income Tax Cut Paid For By Medicare Cuts, Etc.
4) Better than the Clinton Tax Cut For Families With Children
5) Passing The Laugh Test On Paying For It

As seen below, none of the current tax cut proposals successfully meet all of these tests.
["Cons" reflect why the proposal would be hard for them to propose]

1. 15% CUT:

Pros:

- Meets the test of being broad-based and bold.
- Because it cuts marginal rates, will be seen as pro-growth because it increases the incentives for people to work more hours.

Cons:

- Will be vulnerable to attack on being far more generous to the well-off than the middle class. As seen above, a family making $25,000 gets $120; a family making $250,000 makes over $7000.
- We will be able to show that many families will do better on the Clinton plan that this one. Middle class families with young children or with kids in college will prefer the Clinton tax cut.
- So expensive, could simply be off the charts.

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2. Payroll Deduction:

Pros:

- Meets the test of being broad-based and bold.
- While rich Americans will benefit, at least they will not be getting larger amounts than the middle class.
- $280 billion costs is more moderate than 15% cut and could be phased- in.

Cons:

- Hardly an investment or pro-growth tax cut: Does not encourage investment or even make it easier for businesses to hire, as the employers will still pay the 6.2% tax cut.
- Clinton tax cut could provide twice as much tax relief for many families of four at $50,000.
- Tax cut semi-explodes and costs $536 billion over 10 years.
- This proposal is fairly confusing: have to explain that 6.2% is still taken out of paycheck, but now can deduct.
- Works in the opposite direction of tax reform by **adding** another deduction.

3. Armey/Forbes-Style Flat Tax:

Pros:

- Bold plan to scrap the entire current tax code.
- Will claim that it simplifies tax system.
- Taxes all income once; removes double taxation of corporate profits.
- Will claim that it will raise the savings rate
- If give huge exemptions like Armey or Forbes, can claim that families under $36,000 will not pay federal income taxes.

Cons:

- Allows owners of capital to not pay any tax on interest income, while workers pay taxes on labor income.
- Costs the Treasury $186 billion per year at current flat rate and deductions.

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- Dole's has insisted on protecting home mortgage deduction, charitable contribution, and even state and local taxes -- nearly forcing him to accept a flat tax rate that would be well over 20%. The flat tax rate necessary for revenue neutrality is even higher. It is estimated that if Dole chose to maintain the home interest mortgage deduction and the charitable deduction, the revenue-neutral flat tax rate would have to be as high as 23 percent -- more than most American families currently pay.

    - If Dole Maintains Just The Home Mortgage Deduction: Dole has said repeatedly that he would maintain the home interest mortgage deduction. If he kept this deduction, it is estimated that the revenue-neutral tax rate would have to increase by about 1.0 to 1.5 percentage points.

    - *If Dole Maintains Just The Charity Deduction:* Dole has also promised that he would preserve the deduction for charitable contributions. This would raise the revenue-neutral by an estimated 0.5 percentage points.

> *[A]nd I hope that you understand that our commitment has been long time, it's been consistent, and we've never wavered. When we were taking all the heat, as indicated earlier, on the flat tax, millions of dollars of TV advertising directed right at Bob Dole, I stood my ground and said I don't care what happens, we're going to keep the mortgage interest deduction and charitable deductions, and we will."* [Remarks by Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole at National Association of Realtors Conference, Washington, D.C., 4/29/96/]

- Dole lashed out at Forbes' tax plan -- using Treasury's estimates -- for blowing a whole in the deficit. Dole adopted Forbes' flat tax, he would be stuck with the devastating revenue estimates he used in New Hampshire -- $186 billion deficit per year.

- In order to be revenue neutral, the flat tax rate would have to be raised to 21 percent. In this case, income groups under $200,000 would face a tax increase, while those with incomes over $200,000 would get a tax cut.

> *"One thing that will not happen in a Dole administration, we will not pass the burden from the super-rich to middle-class America and if we're going to increase the deficit through some kind of a tax scheme, then I think the American people will have been tricked."* [Union Leader, 2/9/96]
>
> *"When somebody comes riding into town...and tells you he has a plan, everybody gets a tax cut, don't believe it."* [AP Online, March 05, 1996]
>
> *"We're either going to add to the deficit or not everybody's going to get a tax cut. You can't have it both ways."* [New York Times, 2/19/96]
>
> *"The typical New Hampshire household will pay $2,000 more in taxes. And we lose our property tax deduction and our mortgage interest deduction. That's bad for New Hampshire taxpayers and bad for our economy."* [Dole Campaign Ad]

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4. Repeal Clinton 1993 Tax Proposals:

Pros:

- They will see this as pro-investment because it cuts taxes on the most-well off.
- Highlights Clinton tax increases in 1993.

Cons:

- No broad-based appeal: only the 4.3 cent gas tax affects average families, and the Social Security provision could be done separately.
- Would actually help expose the truth they want to hide: More than three-quarters (76%) of the Clinton tax increase hit the top one percent.
- Clinton tax cut in the President's balanced budget proposal would be far more attractive for any middle-class family or anyone in the bottom 98.8% of all taxpayers.

NOTE: We should not worry about this one too much. They will not be that dumb. Instead, they may try to cut taxes by an amount equal to the Clinton tax increase. This would come to about $350 billion over six years.

5. Nunn-Domenici USA Tax Plan

Pros:

- Broad and new: This would be a complete transformation of the tax code and would therefore be the big idea the Republicans are in search of.
  - Has more progressive in tax system.
  - Probably revenue neutral.
  - Would most likely raise the savings rate -- albeit only slightly -- which would help the long-term growth of the economy.
  - Includes detailed transition from current system to new system
  - Includes deduction for education expenses.

Cons:

- Does little -- if anything -- to simplify the current tax system; this is one of the driving forces in tax reform.
  - Double taxes wages.
  - Taxes fringe benefits such as health insurance twice.
  - Raises top marginal tax rate to 40 percent.
  - Could raise tax compliance costs.
  - Allows well-off owners of capital to pay no taxes while their workers face regressive tax.
  - Created incentives for businesses to move operations abroad and export their goods to the U.S.

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6. National Sales Tax:

Pros:

- Bold plan to scrap the entire current tax code.
- Will claim that it simplifies tax system.
- Will claim that it will raise the savings rate because it only taxes consumption.

Cons:

- Will be vulnerable to attack that it provides a tax cut to the wealthy, while raising taxes on the poor. Owners of companies would pay no taxes on capital gains, while their workers would pay high sales taxes on a high percentage of their income.
- Families could find themselves paying 25 cents on every dollar spent -- particularly in cities and states with high state and local sales taxes.
- We will be able to show that many families will do better on the Clinton plan that this one. Middle class families with young children or with kids in college will prefer the Clinton tax cut.
- Complex transition issues would need to be addressed.

7. Coats/Dole Charity Tax Credit:

Pros:

- Provides tax cut to middle- and upper-income taxpayers.
- Promotes volunteerism and community service.
- They will suggest that Republicans trust local organizations while Democrats only trust bureaucratic government.

Cons:

- Costs $150 billion over seven years.
- Provides complete subsidy to people who already provide charitable relief with no proof that people will give dollar for dollar more to charities.
- Won't promote investment or long-term growth
- Creates puts burden on charities to show that they meet the 70 percent expenditure test that is required for the credit. Charities would have to determine whether each person they serve is below the federal poverty line. Charities would have to certify that volunteer provided at least 50 hours of service.
- Expands IRS's role: certifying and auditing non-profits

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8. McIntosh Proposal To Increase Take-Home Pay:

Pros:

- Directly impacts take-home pay.
- Makes it easier for small businesses to hire because it also relieves the employer side of payroll taxes.
- This is not a huge expensive tax cut, so Dole could afford it.

Cons:

- Money comes out of the Social Security system -- not general revenues. A dangerous flaw in their program that is destabilizing to Social Security.
- Only addresses minimum wage workers -- and gives them at least 50 cents.
- Creates opportunities for gaming which could drive up its costs.

8. Hutchinson-Ballenger Proposal To Increase Take-Home Pay:

Pros:

- Would provide large tax relief for some low-income families.
- Popular with restaurant lobby and small businesses, since government assures wage increase.
- Will claim that it doesn't hurt hiring.

Cons:

- Raises taxes for millions of EITC recipients.
- Seems to call for dramatically expanded IRS role in supervising hourly wages.
- If carried out, would increase costs -- not save.
- Generally, not a well thought out proposal, and many would do better with straight minimum wage increase.

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9. Repeal the 1993 Social Security Provisions:

Pros:

- Will highlight the fact that Clinton raised taxes in 1993.
- Will help soften Dole image as tough on elderly after '95 budget fight.

Cons:

- Dole would be hypocritical to try to repeal this tax provision because:
  1. Republicans enacted the first provision taxing Social Security benefits in 1983 when Bob Dole was chair of the Finance Committee and Ronald Reagan was President.
  2. The 1983 provision affects 69% more Social Security recipients.
- Revenue from this provision are deposited in Medicare Trust Fund, so repealing this provision would harm the Trust Fund Dole claims to be trying to save.

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V. POSSIBLE HYBRID SOLUTIONS

As demonstrated, all of the current tax cut plans that are being discussed have serious flaws and vulnerabilities that we could take advantage of. Therefore, we would be wise to discuss some "hybrid approaches" that may be designed to ameliorate some of the obvious flaws in these proposals.

If Senator Dole believes that the character hit would be too large, and goes for a smaller tax cut that he can pay for, he could put together a hodge-podge:

- **15% Cut or Choice of Child Tax Credit:** To address the problem that a 15% tax cut would be less generous than the Clinton tax cut or their previous tax cut for families with children, the Republicans could copy the *Putting People First* proposal of giving people a choice between a tax cut or a child tax credit.

  This would still be enormously expensive -- certainly driving it well-over $600 billion. Yet, once you have given up any hope of paying for tax cuts, why not?

- **Less Expensive Across the Board Tax Cut Plus a Generous Capital Gains Tax Cut**: A 15% across the board allows Democrats to show that well-off Americans do extremely well, while families do worse than the Clinton tax cut and it requires deep Medicare cuts. One solution for them would be to simply lower the 15% bracket to 13%. For most Americans, this would be a like a 15% tax cut, yet it would give not give well-off families more than the middle class families. In other words, a family making $60,000 and a family making $600,000 would both have 13% applied to the first _____ thousand. This would make their tax cut far more politically smart but would mean not having a tax cut that addressed the higher marginal tax cuts of the 1993 tax cut. Therefore, it would likely be combined with a generous capital gains tax cut that would appeal to the well-off Americans who they feel are the key to spurring economic growth. This may also include a zero capital gains tax cut for empowerment zones and for investments in entrepreneurial businesses.

- **Social Security Payroll Deduction Plus Capital Gains Tax Cut**: This option might be the most attractive for them. It allows them to say they are doing something for every American. It would be hard to portray as a tax cut for the rich -- even though the rich would certainly benefit the same from it as a middle class family. The payroll deduction alone would have no growth component and would do little for the well-off Americans they want to help. Yet, if they combined it with a generous capital gains tax cut, they might be able to say that they have a "take-home pay" component for all Americans, while still a strong capital gains growth component. The costs would be $280 billion plus the capital gains tax cut -- so it could be over $300 billion. Yet, far less than the $550-600 billion for the 15% across-the-board tax cut. Again, however, we could argue that average families would do better under the Clinton tax cut for families with children.

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- **Social Security Payroll Deduction/Child Tax Credit Choice plus Capital Gains Tax Cut:** This "choice" is the best alternative they can come up with on the non-cost side. It is broad-based; will seem more fair than most Republican proposals: will be able to give families a cut close to the Clinton tax cut, and will have a capital gains pro-growth component to satisfy the well-off and some of the supply-siders. Yet, it would drive the costs close to the $400 billion amount -- closer to being above the laugh test, and with only the capital gains tax cut to point to as a "growth initiative."

- **Phased In Broad Tax Cut with "BLUR" Financing:** Rather than go for a large tax cut and supply-side approach to paying for it that would make Dole such a big hypocrite, they may go for a "blur." Republicans already have $122 billion paid for in their balanced budget plan -- and up to $185 billion if they use their tax extenders and corporate subsidy cuts to pay for increased tax cut. Therefore, to come through on a $360 billion tax cut, they would have to come up with $180 billion of magic. Their goal would be to provide some new spending cut option -- a freeze, or across-the-board cut or entitlement cap, and make the total magic seem like a smaller part of the package.

    - Phased-in Large tax cut: Under this version the Republicans call for a large tax cut, but they actual plan has a long phase in stage. This keeps the costs down, and there can be promises of speeding it up if spending cuts are passed.

    - Additional Specifics to Show "Courage" while distracting from the fact that the Cut is Not Paid For:

    - Small Entitlement Cap or Across-the-Board Flexible Cut: This cut would be enough to help, but small enough that they could show how they were "just cutting the rate of growth" and they could say it would not include certain controversial cuts.

    - 0.3% Growth Dividend: Even a 0.3% growth dividend, can add up to $30 billion a year seven years out. This extra $150 billion in "magic" would be critical to the proposal, but would be blurred within the proposal.

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- **Flat Tax with "BLUR" Financing And Popular Deductions:** Dole faces three major constraints with proposing a flat tax: (1) it can't look as though is favors the rich, while raising taxes on the middle class; (2) it can't blow a huge whole in the deficit; and (3) it must be consistent with his recent statements (e.g., maintaining the mortgage interest and charitable deductions). This will provide a significant challenge for Dole's advisors.

  - Dole has already said that he would preserve the mortgage interest and charitable deductions. In order to be revenue neutral, Dole's modified flat tax rate would have to be as high as 23 percent. The problem with going with this rate is that it is higher than most Americans currently pay. Dole will have to go with a flat rate around 20 percent. But, at this level, his proposal would blow an enormous hole in the deficit -- probably at least $500 billion [check] over seven years.

  - Dole might still try to construct a flat tax with the following restrictions:

    • Dole calls for a 19% flat tax, but to prevent his plan from being portrayed as increasing taxes on the middle class, Dole could propose a plan that had a very large exemption (possibly even higher than the one proposed by Forbes -- $36,000 for a family of four).

    • To take away the perception that it is a tax cut for the rich and tax increase for the middle class, he agrees to some type of surtax or upper level for the top 5% of Americans.

    • To take away the perception that he is simply relying on supply-side growth assumptions, Dole could admit that there is a $300 billion shortfall -- and then pay for $200 billion with real cuts and then fudge the rest. Even if the real shortfall is $600 billion -- so that he is really $400 billion short, it could take awhile for the scoring of a complete change in the tax code to be established, making a quick, crisp critique on numbers difficult in the initial introduction of the plan. His line would be similar to Forbes': our numbers are bogus, constructed by number crunchers who don't understand how big a positive effect a flat tax will have on the economy. However, Dole will have a difficult time with this line of argument: He relied on our revenue estimates of the flat tax during the New Hampshire primary. **In fact, he cited Treasury estimates in attack ads against Forbes' flat tax.**

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Train Trip Staff Meeting: Re: USSS [partial] (1 page)	8/23/1996	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)
002. note	Re: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
003. note	Re: Personal [partial] (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
004. schedule	Train Schedule (3 pages)	August 26, 1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14461

FOLDER TITLE:
1996 campaign: Train Trip

2006-0469-F
db1952

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]

NEW SCHEDULE

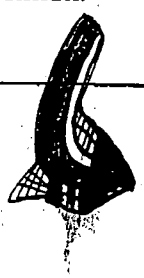
Monday, August 26, 1996		
Possible Stop	Description	Schedule
Huntington, W.VA. (35 min. to Ashland,KY)	Departure Rally in front of old C&O station. Possibly do morning network shows here.	AM Shows from Huntington TBD Arrive C&O 9:00 am Depart Huntington 10:00 am
Ashland, KY (50 min to Minford,OH)	Stage next to train. Site is a picturesque riverfront park.	Arrive Ashland 10:35 am Train side event Depart Ashland 11:35 am
Minford, OH (Muletown) (1 hour 50 min to Columbus)	Rally at grade crossing. POTUS from back of train.	Arrive Minford 12:25 pm Platform remarks Depart Minford 1:25 pm
DOWNTIME/LUNCH ON TRAIN		**1:25-3:15 pm**
Columbus, OH (1hr 25 min to Kenton, OH)	Need to arrive and off-load south side of town, motorcade to event while train is moved thru yards to N. side of town for reboarding. EVENTS: Can do event at Ohio State (1st day of Summer Exams) or wherever, can do photo op and/or drop by at Police academy where train will be reloaded. Or if wish to avoid Police academy , can reload at grade crossing at other location.	Arrive Columbus 3:15 pm Motorcade toEvent Event 3:30- 4:15 pm File-possible OTR 4:15- 5:45 pm Depart Columbus 5:45 pm
DOWN TIME/SPEECH PREP		**5:45-7:10 pm**
Kenton, OH (1hr 15min to Bowling Green)	POTUS on stage next to train in park.	Arrive Kenton 7:10 pm Rally Depart Kenton 8:10 pm
Bowling Green, OH (30 minutes to Toledo)	Suggest motorcade to Courthouse or University venue for Rally. Live cut to convention and Networks.	Arrive Bowling Green 9:25 pm Arrive TBD site 9:40 pm Depart TBD site 10:25 pm Arrive Hotel 10:35 pm

NOTE: If RON in Bowling Green, train departs (empty) for Toledo north side. We CANNOT be on these tracks after midnight Monday. This scenario (RON Bowling Green) allows POTUS to RON with real family, University Dorm or President's residence. Tuesday a.m. can do morning shows from real person's front porch and/or eat breakfast in Main Street diner.

If we do not RON in Bowling Green, train would have to off-load on South Side of Toledo and motorcade to RON hotel in Toledo. After a morning event in Toledo we would motorcade to Train on North side of town.

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TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1996		
Possible Stop	Description	Schedule
Bowling Green, OH (30 min motorcade to Toledo)	Previous RON	A.M. events TBD Depart Bowling Green 9:00 am
Toledo, OH (1 hr 50 min toWyandotte, MI)	Motorcade from Bowling Green to N. Side of Toledo-Jeep Plant. Train departs from event site at Jeep Plant.	Motorcade to Jeep Plant in Toledo Arrive Jeep 9:30 am Brief Tour and Rally Depart Jeep 10:45 am (Lunch on Board)
DOWN TIME/SPEECH PREP		10:45-12:35 pm
Wyandotte,MI (55 min to Pontiac, MI)	POTUS speaks from back of train. Backdrop is pretty old station and train.	Arrive Wyandotte 12:35 pm Rally Depart Wyandotte 1:20 pm
Pontiac, MI (20 min to Holly)	Message Event. Motorcade to site TBD. Press File/OTR Lunch .	Arrive Pontiac 2:15 pm Message Event 2:30-3:15pm Press File and OTR 3:15-4:45pm Depart Pontiac 5:00pm
Holly, MI (20 min to Durand)	Best Town on entire route. POTUS speaks from train to Main Street crowd or from Court house 100 yds away.: Holly is 17 miles from Flint and in Flint Media Market. We can bring Mayor of Flint to Holly on Train for events. Can bus people from Flint.	Arrive Holly 5:20 pm Rally 5:20-5:55 pm Depart Holly 6:00 pm
Durand, MI (40 minutes to E. Lansing)	Stage in front of beautiful old station/museum adjacent to tracks. POTUS off train.	Arrive Durand 6:20 pm Rally Depart Durand 7:20 pm
E. Lansing, MI	Off-load at Amtrack station. Suggest motorcade to Hotel for downtime and motorcade to event TBD to start at 9:30 pm to get live pick-up for Network time at convention. OR do event on arrival a MSU (tracks go thru campus) and tape to Convention.	Arrive E. Lansing 8:00 pm Downtime /Dinner Depart Hotel 9:15 pm Event 9:30 -10:30 pm Depart Event 10:30 pm Arrive Hotel 10:45 pm RON E.Lansing



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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1996		
E. Lansing, MI (1hr to Battle Creek, MI)	Previous RON	Depart E.Lansing 9:00 am
DOWN TIME/SPEECH PREP		**9:00 am-10:00 am**
Battle Creek, MI (30 minutes to Kalamazoo, MI)	Pretty old early 20th century station converted to various state and community agencies, Headstart etc...	Arrive Battle Creek 10:00 am Rally Depart Battle Creek 11:00 am
Kalamazoo, MI (35 minutes to Dowagiac)	Message Event and File and Lunch.	Arrive Kalamazoo 11:30 am Message Event 11:30-12:15 pm File/Lunch 12:15-1:30 pm Depart Kalamazoo 1:30 pm
Dowagiac, MI (1 hr 5 min to Michigan City, IN)	Whistle Stop from Train Platform.	Arrive Dowagiac 2:05 pm Depart Dowagiac 2:50 pm
DOWN TIME/SPEECH PREP		**2:50 pm (EDT)-2:55 pm (CDT)**
Michigan City, IN (3 ½ hours to Navy Pier)	Motorcade POTUS from Train to Old Light house (300 yds) at lakeside. Event off porch of lighthouse and walk toAnita D and Anchors Away. Suggest link up with HRC here.	Arrive Michigan city 2:55 pm (Central Daylight time) Hold POTUS on train (crew photos etc..) Motorcade to lighthouse Begin Event 3:20 pm Conclude event 3:50 pm Depart by Boat 4:15 pm
DOWN TIME/SPEECH PREP		**4:15-7:45 pm(CDT)**
Chicago, IL Navy Pier	Suggest meet Gores and Mayor at Pier. Small Crowd (Convention Volunteers)	Arrive Northside, Navy Pier 7:45 pm Event Depart Navy Pier 8:45 pm Arrive Hotel 9:00 pm

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	State of the Union Address (27 pages)	2/1/97	P5
002. draft	State of the Union Address (7 pages)	2/1/97	P5
003. draft	State of the Union Address (3 pages)	2/1/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14462

FOLDER TITLE:
State of the Union 1997 The Original Drafts Volume 2 [Binder] [1]

2006-0469-F
sb94

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]

Draft 2/1/97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE-OF-THE-UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
FEBRUARY 4, 1997

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, my fellow citizens:

I come before you tonight with a plan of action and a challenge as great as any in our peacetime history – to prepare our people for the next century and a global economic revolution.

We have much to be thankful for. With four years of growth, we have won back the basic strength of our economy. With crime, welfare rolls, ~~and teen pregnancy~~ all declining, we are winning back our basic optimism, the enduring faith of America that we can master any difficulty. We won the Cold War, and now we are helping to bring unrivaled peace and prosperity across the world.

It would be easy to be complacent, to rest at this moment. But we are not a people made for complacency. We must not win the struggles of the past only to lose this moment of opportunity.

Though we face no enemy bent on destroying us, the great enemy of our time is inaction. It is the enemy within. The new promise of the global economy, the Information Age, new

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careers, and life-enhancing technology are ours to seize for our people. But if we do not act, the chance will slip from our grasp or even be turned to our disadvantage in this vigorous new era of competition.

Our moment of opportunity is fleeting. A ~~child born tonight will have almost~~ no memory of the 20th Century. ~~Everything she is likely to know firsthand about the progress~~ of ~~America, she will know because of the work we do now to help build the new century. We must focus on our responsibilities to her and all our children~~. We must be shapers of events, not observers. Our task is not to ask what the future means for us, but what meaning we can give to the future.

My fellow Americans, the State of our Union is strong, but the opportunity before us is even stronger. So tonight, I issue a call to action -- a call to this Congress, to our states, and to all our people to welcome a future that will be what we make of it. [~~To answer this call, we must have a new government for a new century, one that assures every person the means and the power to make the most of their own lives; we must seek a new sense of responsibility among all individuals, a new spirit of community across our nation.~~]

~~This call to action~~ summons us to work for stronger education ~~and harness the forces of technology and science; to build stronger families and stronger communities; to keep America the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity. And above all, to build a stronger, more perfect union here at home~~.

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The spirit in which we approach the work will determine its success. The people of this nation elected us all. They will not tolerate gridlock or acrimony. What matters now is the next century, not the next election. What matters is not the applause when we arrive, but the judgment when we leave.

Here is what I believe we, together, must do for our country:

First we must move quickly to finish the unfinished business before us -- balancing our budget, renewing our democracy, and finishing the job of welfare reform.

Over the last four years, we have brought new economic growth by investing in our people, expanding exports, cutting our deficit and creating 11 million new jobs. Now we must keep our economy the strongest in the world.

We here tonight have an historic opportunity. Let this Congress be the Congress that finally balances the budget.

In two days, I will propose a detailed plan to balance the budget by the Year 2002.

My plan proves we can balance the budget and invest in our people so they can make the most of their lives. We can and must balance the budget and provide tax relief to pay for

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education - to help raise a child -- and buy and sell a home. ~~The middle class deserves tax relief, and we must and we will give it to them~~. We can balance the budget and build on the Vice President's work to make this government work better, even as it costs less.

~~Let me be blunt~~: A balanced budget amendment could cripple our country in time of crisis; it could force unthinkable results such as judges impounding Social Security checks or increasing taxes. Balancing the budget requires only your vote and my signature. It does not require us to rewrite our Constitution.

~~I am ready to sign a balanced budget, I ask you to pass it this year~~.

We must also act together, in a bipartisan process, to safeguard Social Security and reform Medicare so these fundamental programs will be as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

The second piece of unfinished business relates not just to our economy, but to our democracy itself. Tonight, before the eyes of America, we must commit ourselves to enacting bipartisan campaign finance reform.

We have just come through an election in which more money was raised and spent on races for Congress and the Presidency than ever before. ~~Every one involved in this system -- every one of us here -- must take responsibility for this and for changing it.~~

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Revised page 5

[Per Don Baer]

~~[In the last Congress, we passed sweeping reform of lobbying laws, and we did it in a bipartisan way.~~ Now] Senator McCain and Senator Feingold, Representative Shays and Representative Meehan have reached across party lines to craft tough and fair campaign reform. Their proposal would curb spending, reduce the role of special interests, create a level playing field between challenges and incumbents and ban the large soft money contributions that both parties receive. And it would ban contributions from foreign owned companies and people who are not American citizens.

You know and I know that delay will mean the death of reform. So let's set our own deadline. Let's work together to write campaign finance reform into the law, ~~before~~ it by the day we celebrate the birth of our democracy -- July 4th.

There is a third piece of unfinished business for us here: Last year we enacted landmark welfare reform. Now each and every one of us has to fulfill our responsibility to ~~finish the job and help~~ the permanent underclass lift themselves into our growing middle class.

Over the last four years, we moved a record two million people off the welfare rolls. Now we must act to meet a new goal -- one million more people moving from the dependence of welfare to the dignity of work by the Year 2000.

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~~To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it -- but especially those of us who supported it -- I say: We now have a moral obligation to make sure people who must work can work. We cannot blame the welfare system anymore. We have torn the broken system down. Now we must come together to raise our people up.~~

Here is my plan: Tax credits to businesses and other industries that hire people off welfare. Incentives for ~~companies and~~ job placement firms and for states that create jobs for welfare recipients. Transportation and childcare to help people go to work.

~~This is not the responsibility of the federal government alone, this is the responsibility of every American~~. I challenge every state: turn welfare checks into private sector paychecks. I challenge every religious congregation, every community non-profit, and especially every business: hire someone off welfare. If every business in America would do that, we could solve this problem, once and for all. Every employer in this country who ever criticized the old welfare system: ~~should do their part and hire someone from welfare to work~~. you can't blame the old system anymore. We have torn it down. Now do your part. Give someone on welfare the chance to work.

Tonight, I am proud to announce that five major corporations -- Sprint, Monsanto, UPS, Burger King, and United Airlines -- will be the first to join in a new national effort to marshal America's businesses to hire people off welfare.

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And we must join together to do something else -- something that Republican and Democratic governors alike have asked -- and that is to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law. ~~to restore some help for them.~~

We passed welfare reform. We were right to do it. But ~~no one should walk out of this chamber with a clear~~ conscience ~~unless you are prepared to help us~~ finish the job. ~~To those~~ who are well-off, we must say: ~~Count your blessings, but always be ready to reach out to others.~~ And to those who are in need: ~~Always be ready to take personal responsibility, but count on~~ America to offer a helping hand through the dignity, the power and the ethic of work.

~~If we balance the budget, enact campaign finance reform, and finish the job of welfare~~ reform, we will have taken first and fundamental steps on the path ~~to a new century~~.

But the greatest step of all -- the high threshold to the future that we must now cross -- and my number one priority as President for the next four years -- is to insure that America's children will have the best education in the world. Let's work together to meet these goals: Every 8 year old will be able to read; every 12 year old will be able to log on to the Internet; ~~and~~ every 18 year old will be able to go to college;

My balanced budget makes an unprecedented commitment to stronger education -- ~~$42~~ billion next year, the largest ever. ~~We are going to do our part here in Washington. But when it comes to education, that is nowhere near enough~~.

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I have a Plan for America's Schools, based on [four] principles, to which we must commit ourselves tonight. [*hold up booklet*]

First, we must set rigorous national standards for education, and help our children reach them. ~~For the first time in America, every school in every community will~~ say: Fourth graders must be able to read, and read well. Eighth graders must be able to do algebra. All our children must master the basics.

To do this, we must begin a new national ~~education~~ crusade. Every state and every school must ~~dedicate itself to~~ shaping the curriculum and training the teachers to lift our students up. To help schools meet the standards and measure their progress, we will lead an effort over the next two years to develop national tests for student achievement.

Tonight, I issue a national challenge: By 1999, every state should test every ~~student in~~ 4th grader in reading and math to make sure these standards are met.

~~In addition, we will provide the Third International Math and Science Survey -- the TIMSS test -- to every school district that will accept it. Children all over the world have taken this test. It is a reflection of the world class standards our young people must meet for the new era.~~

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~~And every state should require a tough graduation exam, so high school seniors will not get a diploma unless they can pass a test to show they have earned it. No one should be able to graduate without being able to read the diploma they receive.~~

Raising standards will not be easy. Some of our children will not be able to meet them at first. But the point is not to put them down, it is to lift them up. Good tests will help to show us who needs extra help, what changes in teaching we need to make, and which schools need to be improved. And they can help us, once and for all, to end social promotion in America.

They are far more than just tests of our children. This entire endeavor is a test of our nation, of our ability to marshal the will and resources to meet the demands of the global economy and the Information Age. We must make American education, like America itself, the envy of the world.

Last week, I visited schools outside Chicago, ~~where parents are not afraid to test their communities against the rest of the globe.~~ where 8th grade students from 20 school districts, in a project they called "First in the World", took the TIMSS test. They ~~came in~~ tied for first in the world in science and second in math, ~~And~~ Two of them are here today, along with their teacher.

[*introduce students and teacher in First Lady's box*]

They prove what we all know: Our children can achieve excellence. When we aim high and challenge our students, they can and will be the best in the world.

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meet them at first. But the point is not to put them down, it is to lift them up. Good tests will help show us who to help, what changes in teaching to make, and which schools to improve. And they will help us end social promotion, because no child should move from grade school to junior high or junior high to high school until he or she is ready.

These tests are far more than tests of our children. This is a test of our nation, of our will to meet the challenges of the global economy and the Information Age. Tonight, we have the strongest economy and the strongest democracy in the world. But we will not have them fifty years from now unless American education, like America itself, is the envy of the world.

We know our children can do this. Last week, I visited the Chicago suburbs, where students from 20 school districts, in a project they called "First in the World," took the Third International Math and Science Survey, the TIMSS test. This test is given to 4th, 8th, and 12th graders around the world. And those Illinois students tied for first in the world in science, and second in math.

Two of those students are here tonight, with their teacher. [*introduce Kristin Tanner, and Chris Getsla; teacher: Sue Winski*] When we aim high and challenge our students, they will be the best in the world.

The second principle of my Plan is to have the best schools, we must have the best teachers. For years, many educators, led by North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt and the National

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Board for Professional Teaching Standards, have worked hard to establish nationally accepted credentials for excellence in teaching. 400 of these master teachers have been certified since 1995. ~~Under~~ My budget will enable 100,000 more ~~will be able~~ to seek national certification. We should reward our best teachers, quickly and fairly remove those who don't measure up, and challenge our finest young people to consider teaching as a career.

The third part of my Plan will allow every state ~~should~~ to let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation and competition will make our public schools better. Beyond public school choice, we must do more to encourage teachers and parents to start charter schools that set and meet the highest standards, and survive only as long as they do. My balanced budget doubles the funding to help start charter schools, so by the Year 2000, there will be 3,000 -- seven times as many as today.

We cannot raise our children up in schools that are literally falling down. Traditionally, the federal budget has played no role in school construction. ~~But as~~ Part with the student population at record levels climbs, and more #s of school buildings in ~~crisis~~ desperate ~~continue to deteriorate~~ need because ~~is~~ a serious national concern. My budget includes $5 billion to help communities issue bonds that will spur $20 billion in school construction over the next four years. [Moseley-Braun]

Finally, we must make sure character education is a part of every curriculum. We cannot raise standards if we fail to teach our children how to be good citizens. We should continue to promote order and discipline, supporting communities that introduce school uniforms, impose

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curfews, enforce truancy laws, remove disruptive students from the classroom, and have zero tolerance for guns and drugs.

Tonight, I pledge to take this Plan for American Education to the country. All Americans must enlist in this crusade for tomorrow's children. [*mention of Governors who might be present; legislature speeches?*] Statement p. 12

Learning begins long before school, and goes on long after it. We now know much more about children's emotional and intellectual development in their earliest years. That's why my balanced budget expands Head Start to one million children by 2002. The First Lady has spent a ~~lot of time~~ years studying and writing about ~~early childhood learning~~ this issue. And I am pleased to announce that she and I will convene a White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain this Spring. We already know what a difference good preschool can make to later learning.

~~We must do more to help all our children read~~. 40% of Because our 8 year olds cannot read on their own. We have just launched the America Reads initiative -- a national effort to build a citizen army of one million volunteer tutors to make sure every child can read independently by 3rd grade. We will use thousands of AmeriCorps volunteers to mobilize this citizen army. We want at least 100,000 college students in the work study program to help. And tonight, I am proud to announce that 60 college presidents have pledged that tens of thousands of their work study students will serve one year as reading tutors.

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This is a challenge to every teacher and every principal -- to be honest enough to recognize when a child has trouble reading, and committed enough to do something about it. But especially to parents: Read to your children every night. This spring, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will host their sixth annual family conference, to talk about parents and learning -- because parents are children's first teachers, and every home must be a place of learning.

And to prepare our people for the 21st Century, learning must last a lifetime.

We must make the 13th and 14th years of education -- at least two years of college -- as universal in America as high school is today.

To do that, I propose America's HOPE scholarship, a $1,500 tax credit for college tuition, enough to pay for the typical community college tuition, based on Georgia's HOPE scholarship started by Governor Zell Miller. I propose a deduction of up to $10,000 for all tuition after high school; an IRA you can save in and then withdraw from tax free, as long as it's for education; and the largest increase in Pell Grant scholarships for deserving students in 20 years.

With this package, no working family need ever pay a nickel of taxes on money saved for college.

All our people must have the chance to learn new skills. Nearly every American worker lives near a community college, offering a path to a better future. Government doesn't need to

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decide what kind of training workers need; they can decide for themselves. My G.I. Bill for Workers will transform the confusing tangle of federal training programs into a single, simple skill grant that will go directly into eligible workers' hands. For far too long, this bill has sat before you without action -- and I ask you to pass it now.

To prepare America for the 21st century, we must harness the powerful forces of knowledge, science and technology to the benefit of <u>all</u> Americans.

This is the first State of the Union carried live over the Internet. But we have only begun to spread the benefits of ~~the~~ a technology revolution ~~to the lives of all our citizens~~ that should be the modern birthright of every citizen.

① Last yr. I challenged America to We are connecting every classroom and library to the Internet by 2000 so that, for the first time in history, a child in the poorest inner city, the most isolated rural town, the most comfortable suburb, will all have access to the same universe of knowledge at the same time. ~~My plan doubles funding to $500 million to put this future at our children's fingertips.~~ I ask your support for the funds necessary to complete this historic mission.

④ But we cannot stop there. As the Internet becomes our new town square, a computer in every home -- a teacher of all subjects, a connection to all cultures -- will no longer a dream, but a necessity. ~~And~~ Over the next decade, that must be our goal.

② Next I challenge the private sector to help us connect every children's hospital to the Internet as soon as possible, so a child in bed can stay in school and stay in touch with family and friends.

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And we must speed the remarkable advances in medical science. In the last year alone, American scientists have found the gene for breast cancer and ovarian cancer, and have found drug treatments that dramatically lengthen the lives of people with AIDS.

Since I took office, funding for AIDS research has gone up nearly 50%. With these new resources, the National Institutes of Health will now become the primary discovery engine for an AIDS vaccine. Every year we move up the discovery of that vaccine, we will save 65,000 lives. If you approve this plan, scientists from business, universities and our national labs will be able to work together so we can end the threat of AIDS -- among ourselves and around the world.

To prepare for the 21st Century, we must also strengthen our families.

This involves more than material things. ~~There is an~~ Our economy is measured in numbers and statistics. But ~~there is also an economy of~~ it is our values that measures the true worth of America.

In the new century, with new pressures on people in the way they work and live, we must help parents pass on their values to their children.

For four years, the Family and Medical Leave Law has done that for millions of our people. Now we should expand Family Leave so workers can take time off for parent

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~~their children.~~

We should expand the Family and Medical Leave Law so parents can take time off for teacher conferences or a child's checkup. We should pass flextime so workers can choose to be paid for overtime not only in income, but also with time off to be with their families.

We must continue, step-by-step, to give more families access to affordable, quality health care.

We must find a way to work together and cover the 40 million Americans -- most in working families, ~~who pay their taxes and give all of us health insurance, but,~~ who still lack health insurance ~~for themselves. I don't think that's right, and I know you don't either. We cannot rest until we change it.~~

My balanced budget will extend health coverage to five million children -- cutting in half the number of uninsured children in America. It will help all working Americans by ensuring that people who temporarily lose their jobs don't lose their health insurance. No child should be uninsured because a parent is unemployed a job.

My Medicare plan helps millions of families taking care of a loved-one afflicted with Alzheimers -- and for the first time, we would pay for mammograms for older women.

~~And~~ We must enact the bipartisan legislation before you to end the dangerous and

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demeaning practice of drive-through mastectomies. With us tonight is Dr. Kristen Zarfos, a Connecticut surgeon whose outrage at this practice spurred a national movement and inspired this legislation.

And we must protect our children by standing by our action to ban cigarette ads that endanger their lives.

Every parent must uphold their most sacred responsibility -- to their child. I am very proud of the fact that we have increased child support collections by 50% in the last four years. Now we should do more; we should make it a felony for any parent to cross state lines in an attempt to flee from his or her obligations.

We must build stronger communities to prepare America for the 21st Century.

There are still places in America untouched by opportunity. Our approach to renewing urban neighborhoods, and poor communities across America, is to empower communities to create the conditions in which people can live and children can flourish, and to create jobs through investment by business and loans by banks.

Empowerment zones have already brought hope to communities like Detroit, where the unemployment rate has been cut in half in four years. We should double the number of empowerment zones. We should expand the network of community development banks. We

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~~Empowerment zones have~~ already brought hope to communities like Detroit, where the unemployment rate has been cut in half in four years. We should double the number of empowerment zones. We should expand the network of community development banks. We should enact the brownfields initiative to restore contaminated land and buildings to productive use.

And we, together, must pledge tonight that we will use this empowerment approach -- including private sector tax incentives -- to renew this great capital city, so ~~it~~ is once again the proud face America shows the world.

~~As we strengthen our communities~~, we must protect our environment ~~and preserve our natural heritage for the 21st century~~. We cleaned up as many toxic waste sites in three years as in the previous twelve; we cut the amount of toxic pollution in half; we protected the 1.7 million breathtaking acres of the Grand Escalante Staircase in Utah.

Now we should clean up over 500 more toxic waste sites, so that two-thirds of our worst sites are cleaned up by the Year 2000. We should pass my proposal to make big polluters live by this simple rule: If you pollute our environment, you pay to clean it up.

And to strengthen our communities ~~in the 21st Century~~, we must press our fight against crime and violence. Serious crime has dropped five years in a row ~~-- the longest decline in decades~~. The key has been community policing -- and we must finish the job

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~~And~~, for the next four years, ~~our goal~~ we must ~~to~~ mount a full scale assault on juvenile crime. I will submit comprehensive legislation that declares war on gangs, with new prosecutors and tougher penalties; cracks down on gang members who intimidate witnesses; extends the Brady Bill so violent teenage criminals will ~~never have the right to own a~~ not be able to buy handguns, requires gun safety locks to prevent unauthorized use; and ~~provides resources~~ helps to keep schools open late, on weekends, and in the summer, so young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to.

~~And we must help our communities in the battle against drugs.~~ And My balanced budget includes the largest anti-drug effort ever: to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and steer young people away from ~~drug use and addiction in the first place~~ them.

~~In the end, it is not punishing our troubled children that will save America in the 21st~~ Century. ~~We must keep our children out of trouble~~. Because so many of ~~them~~ our children do not have what they need to grow and learn in their homes, schools and neighborhoods, the rest of us must do more. That is why President Bush, General Colin Powell, and former Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros joined Vice President Gore and me to announce the Presidents's Summit of Service, to be held in Philadelphia in April. We ~~want~~ intend to mobilize millions of Americans to serve ~~young people~~ in thousands of ways. Already, AmeriCorps, our national service program, has helped 70,000 young people work their way through college as they serve America. Citizen service belongs to no party or ideology; ~~it is an American responsibility which all Americans should embrace in their daily lives~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Let me say a word directly to you, our children: As we work to build a strong future for you, you have to take responsibility for that future. ~~Succeed in school, stay off drugs, steer clear of gangs. Nothing your parents do~~, Nothing anyone can do, can stop the rise in teen drug use if you don't stop. The school standards won't work if you don't learn. The streets won't be safe if you embrace violence. ~~It's your life~~. Soon America will be in your hands. It's up to you.

[As the new century approaches, we face another opportunity to come together as a community. We can give new life to the ideas and ideals that have shaped our culture -- our arts and music, our great writers and thinkers. I call on all levels of government, on our universities and cultural institutions, on businesses and communities across America: work with us to make the Year 2000 a national celebration of American culture, so we can remain the world's beacon of liberty and creativity, long after the fireworks have faded.]

To prepare America for the 21st Century, we must ~~continue to lead the world~~, to harness the forces of change ~~for the security, prosperity and freedom of our people.~~

Fifty years ago, America led in creating the institutions that secured victory in the Cold War and built a growing world economy. ~~Today~~, more people than ever before ~~share the~~ ideals ~~that define America~~ and the interests ~~we defend~~. [~~For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship~~.]

Now, we face another moment of change and choice. We already have dismantled many

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For 1st time more people live under democracy than dictatorship, making every nation in our hemisphere but one — this day too will come.

of the blocs and barriers that divided our parents' world. But we ~~still must meet~~ a bold ~~new~~ set of challenges -- to change and adapt old institutions for new demands... old thinking for new times... so the world works for our children, and brings America fifty more years of security and prosperity.

Our first task is to build, for the first time, an undivided, democratic Europe. When Europe is stable and at peace, America is more secure. When Europe prospers, so does America.

NATO was created to strengthen Europe's west. Now, we must do the same for Europe's east. This summer, we will hold a summit to expand NATO so that, by 1999, countries that were once our adversaries can become our allies. And we will build a strong NATO-Russia partnership ~~to meet the challenges of a new era~~.

Second, America must look to the East no less than the West. Our security demands it: Americans have fought three wars in Asia this century. Our prosperity requires it: more than 2 million American jobs depend on trade with Asia.

~~We are~~ helping an Asian Pacific community to take shape. But we must not let our progress mask the peril that remains. I call on Congress to fund our contribution to assure that North Korea continues to implement its agreement to freeze and dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Together with South Korea, we must advance peace talks with North Korea and bridge the Cold War's last armed divide.

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We must pursue a deeper dialogue with China -- for our interests and our ideals. An isolated, inward looking China is not good for America. A China playing its rightful role in the world is. I will go to China and I have invited China's president to come here not because we agree on everything, but because engaging with China is the best way to work on common challenges like ending nuclear testing -- and to deal frankly with fundamental differences like human rights.

Third, the American people must prosper in the global economy. We have made it our mission to tear down trade barriers abroad and create good jobs at home. Today, America is again the world's number one exporter -- leading in agriculture and aviation, automobiles and entertainment, semiconductors and software.

Now, we must build on that momentum, especially in the two most dynamic regions on earth, Asia and Latin America. If we fail to act now, these emerging economies will find their economic future with other nations -- and we will be left behind. That's why I will ask Congress to give us the tools to make -- and enforce -- trade agreements that expand America's competitive opportunities. I am announcing tonight that I will travel to Latin America [dates to come] to continue the work we began at the Summit of the Americas in Miami to build a community of democracies linked by shared values and expanding trade. [fast track?]

When Mexico's peso collapsed -- threatening our economic stability -- we came to our neighbor's aid. Last month, Mexico repaid the United States three years ahead of schedule, with

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half a billion dollars profit -- and today our exports to Mexico are at an all time high. We must continue to help nations embrace open markets and improve living standards. But we can succeed only if we meet our obligations to the World Bank and the other organizations that multiply our contributions to progress many times over.

Fourth, America must continue to be an unrelenting force for peace -- from the Middle East to Haiti... from Northern Ireland to Africa. Taking reasonable risks for peace keeps us from being drawn into far more costly conflicts. It encourages other nations to focus on future hopes, not past hatreds. It creates partners willing to seize the opportunities of a new century.

With American leadership, the killing has stopped in Bosnia. Now, the habits of peace must take hold. The follow-on NATO force will help speed reconstruction and reconciliation. Tonight, I ask Congress to continue its strong support for our troops. They are doing a remarkable job for America -- America must do right by them.

Fifth, we must move strongly against new threats to our security: weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... international crime and drugs... environmental degradation. The American people are more secure because we won an historic accord to ban nuclear testing. With Russia, we have cut our nuclear arsenals and stopped targeting each other's citizens. We are acting to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands and to rid the world of landmines. We are working with others, with renewed intensity, to stop terrorists and drug traffickers before they act -- and to hold them accountable if they do.

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Now, we must rise to a new test of leadership: ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. It will make our troops safer from chemical attack. It will help us fight terrorism. This treaty has been bipartisan from the beginning -- negotiated and supported by Republican and Democratic administrations. Together, we must act to outlaw poison gas from this earth.

Finally, we must have the tools to meet all these challenges.

We must maintain a strong and ready military. We will, by increasing funding for weapons modernization and taking care of our men and women in uniform.

We must renew our commitment to America's diplomacy -- and pay our debts and dues to a reforming United Nations. Every dollar we devote to preventing conflicts... promoting democracy... stopping the spread of disease and starvation... brings a sure return in security and savings. Yet international affairs spending today totals just one percent of the federal budget -- compared to sixteen percent when another generation led America to choose engagement over escapism at the very start of the Cold War. If America is to continue to lead the world, we here who lead America must find the will and pay the way.

~~And we must do it together, with the bipartisan support for American leadership that has been a source of our strength in the world.~~

Almost exactly fifty years ago, ~~as America began the long struggle~~ of the Cold War,

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President Harry Truman stood before a Republican Congress and called on our country to meet its responsibilities of leadership. "If we falter," he warned, "we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation." That Congress, led by great Republicans like Arthur Vandenberg, answered Truman's call. Together, they made the commitments that strengthened our country for fifty years. ~~Now, we must~~ do what it takes to keep America strong, secure and prosperous for another fifty years -- ~~to~~ keep America the indispensable nation.

~~Finally, perhaps~~ our ~~most important~~ leadership ~~of the world~~ grows out of the power of our example --and our ability to remain strong as One America.

~~People~~ All over the world are ~~splitting apart because of conflicts of race or religion~~ or ~~ethnicity~~. We are the world's most diverse democracy. And the world looks to us to show it is possible to live and ~~learn~~ together across all differences.

America has always been a nation of immigrants. ~~Throughout our history~~, a steady stream of people, in search of freedom and opportunity, have left their own lands to make this land their home. We started as an experiment in democracy fueled by Europeans, ~~and~~ have ~~evolved~~ into an experiment in diversity fueled by openness and promise.

So much of America's future is tied to how we relate to the rest of the world. Our diversity is not a weakness --it is our greatest strength. People ~~around the world~~ can look to us

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and see the reflection of their greatness. And we must give every one of our citizens the opportunity achieve their own greatness.

But we still see evidence all around us that we have not yet healed our divisions. We see it every day in the sullen, hopeless faces worn by too many of our youth. Too often, we see it in the corridors of business, and the schoolyards and streets of our daily lives. Too many people still spend time trying to drive wedges between us --black against white, haves against have nots, old immigrants against new.

culture

A few days before my second inauguration, one of America's best known pastors, Rev. Robert Schuller, suggested I read Isaiah 58:12. He knew what he was talking about. I placed my hand on that verse when I took the oath of office. It says: "Thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called, the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." That scripture reminds us that no matter what our differences --in our faiths, our backgrounds, our politics --we all must be repairers of the breach. We may not all share a common past, but surely we share a common future.

Along with Rev. Schuller, we are joined tonight by two other Americans, and the spirit of another, who come from different backgrounds but show us how to come together to build a stronger future. Congressman Frank Tejeda was buried yesterday, a proud Mexican-American who earned a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart fighting for freedom in Vietnam, and served Texas and America fighting for our future in this chamber. His son, Frank, Jr., is with us tonight. Gary

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This is a challenge to every teacher and every principal -- to be honest enough to recognize when a child has trouble reading, and committed enough to do something about it. But especially to parents: Read to your children every night. This spring, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will host their sixth annual family conference to talk about parents and learning -- because parents are children's first teachers, and every home must be a place of learning

14

And to ~~prepare our people for~~ the 21st Century, learning must last a lifetime.

we have to expand the ~~for~~ tax ... a ...

We must make the 13th and 14th years of education -- at least two years of college -- as universal in America as high school is today.

for 2 yrs

To do that, I propose America's HOPE scholarship, a $1,500 tax credit for college tuition, enough to pay for the typical community college ~~tuition~~, based on Georgia's HOPE scholarship started by Governor Zell Miller. I propose a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for all tuition after high school; an IRA you can ~~save in and then withdraw~~ from tax free for ed, as ~~long as it's for education;~~ and the largest increase in Pell Grant scholarships for deserving students in 20 years.

My pl

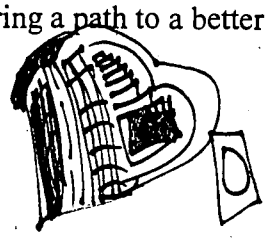
With this ~~package~~, no working family need ever pay a nickel of taxes on money saved for college.

This plan will make it possible for most families to completely eliminate taxes on the $ they save for coll.

All our people must have the chance to learn new skills. Nearly every American worker lives near a community college, offering a path to a better future. Government doesn't need to

[I ask you to pass it, to give ev yA the Cha

~~But in this new world~~



[Chall the schools - pub: the ppl who need help - + matter my $$$.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

decide what kind of training workers need; they can decide for themselves. My G.I. Bill for Workers will transform the confusing tangle of federal training programs into a single, simple skill grant that will go directly into eligible workers' hands. For far too long, this bill has sat before you without action -- and I ask you to pass it now.

To prepare America for the 21st century, we must harness the powerful forces of knowledge, science and technology to the benefit of <u>all</u> Americans.

This is the first State of the Union carried live over the Internet. But we have only begun to spread the benefits of the technology revolution to the ~~lives~~ of ~~all our~~ citizens.

We are connecting every classroom and library to the Internet so that, for the first time in history, a child in the poorest inner city, the most isolated rural town, the most comfortable suburb, will all have access to the same universe of knowledge at the same time. ~~My plan doubles funding to $500 million to put this future at our children's fingertips.~~

But we cannot stop there. As the Internet becomes our new town square, a computer in every home -- a teacher of all subjects, a connection to all cultures -- ~~is~~ will be no longer a dream, but a necessity. ~~And~~ over the next decade, that must be our goal.

I challenge the private sector to help us connect every children's hospital to the Internet as soon as possible, so a child in bed can stay in school and stay in touch with family and friends.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We will build the second generation of the Internet so our leading universities and national laboratories can communicate at speeds 1000 times faster than today, to develop new medical treatments, new sources of energy, and new ways of working together.

We must continue to explore the heavens, pressing our mission of discovery with the Mars probes, the international space station, and the project to discover the origins of life, ~~so we~~ both ~~understand~~ the cosmos and for practical ~~applications~~ on Earth.

And we must speed the remarkable advances in medical science. In the last year alone, American scientists discovered genes linked to breast cancer and ovarian cancer, [stroke research to come] -- and we have discovered drug treatments that dramatically lengthen the lives of people with AIDS.

Since I took office, funding for AIDS research has gone up nearly 50%. With these new resources, the National Institutes of Health will now become the primary discovery engine for an AIDS vaccine. Every year we move up the discovery of an AIDS vaccine, we will save 65,000 lives. If you approve this plan, scientists from business, universities and our national labs will be able to work together so we can end the threat of AIDS ~~in America~~.

To prepare America for the 21st Century, with new pressures on people in the way they work and live, we must build stronger families and help parents pass on their values to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

their children.

We should expand the Family and Medical Leave Law so parents can take time off for teacher conferences or a child's checkup. We should pass flextime so workers can choose to be paid for overtime not only in income, but also with time off to be with their families.

We must continue, step-by-step, to give more families access to affordable, quality health care.

We must find a way to work together ~~and~~ to cover the 40 million Americans -- most in working families, who ~~pay their taxes and give all of us health insurance, but who~~ still lack health insurance ~~for themselves. I don't think that's right, and I know you don't either. We cannot rest until we change it.~~

My balanced budget will extend health coverage to five million children -- cutting in half the number of uninsured children in America. It will help all working Americans by ensuring that people who temporarily lose their jobs don't lose their health insurance.

My Medicare plan helps millions of families taking care of a loved-one afflicted with Alzheimers -- and for the first time, we would pay for mammograms for older women.

And we must enact the bipartisan legislation before you to end the dangerous and

Just as we ended d th ds last yr,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

demeaning practice of drive-through mastectomies. With us tonight is Dr. Kristen Zarfos, a Connecticut surgeon whose outrage at this practice spurred a national movement and inspired this legislation. [T4, Dr. Z)

~~And~~ we must protect our children by standing by our action to ban cigarette ads that endanger their lives.

and marketing

Every ~~parent must~~ uphold their most sacred responsibility -- to their child. I am ~~very~~ proud ~~of the fact that we have increased child support collections by 50% in the last four~~ years. But we can do more.
~~Now we should do more~~; we should make it a felony for any parent to cross state lines in an attempt to flee from his or her obligations.

In the last 4 yrs, we increased by 50%. Now

We must build stronger communities to prepare America for the 21st Century.

Our econ rec has already helped these urban areas, but we have more to do.
our econ recovery.

~~There are still places in America untouched by opportunity.~~ Our approach to renewing those poor urban ~~neighborhoods,~~ rural and ~~poor~~ communities ~~across America,~~ is to empower ~~communities~~ families to create the conditions in which ~~people~~ can live and ~~children can~~ flourish, and to create jobs through investment by business and loans by banks.

~~Empowerment~~ zones have already brought hope to communities like Detroit, where the unemployment rate has been cut in half in four years. We should double the number of empowerment zones. We should expand the network of community development banks. We

Rey Lewis

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urban land & buildings

should enact the brownfields initiative to restore contaminated properties to productive use.

(empowerment)

And we, together, must pledge tonight that with this approach -- including private sector tax incentives -- we will renew this great capital city, so ~~it is once again~~ that once again DC is the proud face America shows the world.

in every community

As we strengthen our communities we must protect our environment ~~and preserve our~~ natural heritage. We cleaned up as many toxic waste sites in three years as in the previous 12; we cut the amount of toxic pollution in half; we protected 1.7 million acres of the Grand Staircase Escalante in Utah, created 3 national parks in the California desert, began the work of restoring the Florida Everglades.

Now we should clean up over 500 more toxic waste sites, so that 2/3 of our worst sites are cleaned up by the Year 2000. We should pass my proposal to make big polluters live by this simple rule: if you pollute, you pay to clean it up.

~~And to strengthen our communities~~, we must press our fight against crime and violence. Serious crime has dropped five years in a row. ~~The key has been community policing~~ -- and we must finish the job of putting 100,000 police officers on our streets. We should pass a Victims' Rights Amendment to the Constitution. We ~~should set a goal to~~ deport a record 100,000 criminals and other illegal aliens this year.

set

and our good work is well

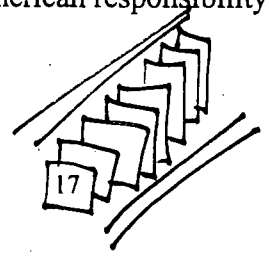
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

we must

~~And,~~ for the next four years, ~~our goal must be to~~ mount a full scale assault on juvenile crime. I will submit comprehensive legislation that declares war on gangs, with new prosecutors and tougher penalties; ~~cracks down on gang members who intimidate witnesses~~; extends the Brady Bill so violent teenage criminals will ~~never have the right to~~ not be able to buy own a handgun; requires gun safety locks to prevent unauthorized use; and ~~provides resources~~ helps to keep schools open late, on weekends, and in the summer, so young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to.

And ~~we must help our communities in the battle against drugs~~. My balanced budget includes the largest anti-drug effort ever: to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and steer young people away from it.

In the end, it is not punishing our troubled children that will save America in the 21st Century. We must keep our children out of trouble. Because so many of them do not have what they need to grow and learn in their homes, schools and neighborhoods, the rest of us must do more. That is why President Bush, General Colin Powell, and former Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros joined Vice President Gore and me to ~~announce~~ in leading the Presidents's Summit of Service, to be held in Philadelphia in April. We ~~want~~ intend to mobilize millions of Americans to serve our ~~young people~~ in thousands of ways. Already, AmeriCorps, our national service program, has helped 70,000 young people work their way through college as they serve America. Citizen service belongs to no party or ideology. It is an American responsibility which all Americans should embrace in their daily lives.



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And we must do it together, with the bipartisan support for American leadership that has been a source of our strength in the world.

in the 1st winter

Almost exactly fifty years ago, ~~as America began the long struggle~~ of the Cold War,

Yet a shortsighted American's words were soon later

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President Harry Truman stood before a Republican Congress and called on our country to meet its responsibilities of leadership. "If we falter," he warned, "we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation." That Congress, led by great Republicans like Arthur Vandenberg, answered Truman's call. Together, they made the commitments that strengthened our country for fifty years. Now, we must do what it takes to keep America strong, secure and prosperous for another fifty years -- to keep America the indispensable nation.

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So much of America's future is tied to how we relate to the rest of the world. Our diversity is not a weakness --it is our greatest strength. People around the world can look to us

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But we still see evidence all around us that we have not yet healed our divisions. We see it every day in the sullen, hopeless faces worn by too many of our youth. Too often, we see it in the corridors of business, and the schoolyards and streets of our daily lives. Too many people still ~~spend time trying~~ to ~~drive wedges between~~ us ~~--black against white, haves against have nots, old immigrants against new.~~

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	State of the Union Address (26 pages)	2/1/97	P5
002. draft	State of the Union Address (6 pages)	2/1/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14462

FOLDER TITLE:
State of the Union 1997 The Original Drafts Volume 2 [Binder] [2]

2006-0469-F
sb95

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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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]

Draft 2/1/97 10:00pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE-OF-THE-UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
FEBRUARY 4, 1997

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests:

Tonight I come before you to present a plan of action to prepare our people for the next century.

For four years, we have worked to get America moving, moving beyond division and gridlock toward the future. And America is on the move, with four years of solid job growth, crime rates and welfare rolls falling, and peace and freedom advancing. Our pursuit of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, community of all Americans is working.

For all this we should be thankful and encouraged, but we must not be complacent. We stand on the edge of a new century in a new millennium, a new era of vast possibility not merely for wealth and power but for building better lives, here and throughout the world.

The global economy, the Information Age, life-enhancing technology, are ours to seize for our people. But if we do not take action, these opportunities could slip from our grasp, or even be turned to our disadvantage, in this vigorous new world of competition. We must ask ourselves here tonight: What kind of an America do we want our children to inherit 50 years from now? The decisions we make -- just as surely as those we do not make -- will answer that question.

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Tonight, unlike so many times in this century, we face no enemy determined to destroy us. The enemy of our times is inaction.

My fellow Americans, the State of our Union is strong, but the opportunity before us is even stronger.

So tonight, I issue a call to action -- action by this Congress, action by our states, action by all our people to prepare America for the 21st Century; action to create a new government for a new century, that gives all our people the means to make the most of their own lives; action to instill a new sense of responsibility among all citizens; action to forge a new spirit of community across our nation.

This call to action summons us to work for stronger education and harness the forces of technology and science; to build stronger families and stronger communities; to keep America the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity. And above all, to build a stronger, more perfect union here at home.

The spirit in which we approach this work will determine its success. The people of this country elected all of us. Regardless of our political or personal differences, the people put us all here in the same boat . . . gave us all oars . . . and told us to row. And that's what we have to do.

We must start by moving quickly to finish the unfinished business of the country:

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balancing our budget, renewing our democracy, and finishing the job of welfare reform.

Over the last four years, our strategy of cutting the deficit, expanding exports and investing in our people has spurred our economy to produce record numbers of new businesses and 11 million new jobs. But to keep our economy the strongest in the world, and to extend our progress to all our people, we must do more.

We here, tonight, have an historic opportunity. This Congress can be the Congress that finally balances the budget.

In two days, I will propose a detailed plan to balance the budget by the Year 2002.

This plan will balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment. It will balance the budget and make government work better, even as it costs less, building on the Vice-President's groundbreaking reinvention project. It will balance the budget and provide tax relief for the middle class -- to buy and sell a home, and to pay for education, to raise a child, and for health care.

Balancing the budget requires only your vote and my signature. It does not require us to rewrite our Constitution. It is ~~not only~~ unnecessary and unwise for us to adopt a balanced budget amendment that could cripple our country in time of crisis, within it and force judges to impound Social Security checks or increase taxes. ~~Let's balance the budget -- and do it the right~~ way. We don't need an amendment - We need action

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But whatever our differences

For the long-term health of our society, we must also come together, in a bipartisan process, to preserve Social Security, and reform Medicare so that they will be as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

There is a second piece of unfinished business for us here. Tonight, with all America watching, we should commit to passing bipartisan campaign finance reform, now.

[More money was raised and spent on Congressional and Presidential campaigns in the last election season than ever before. Every one of us here must take responsibility for fixing the system.]

In the last Congress, we passed sweeping reform of the lobbying laws, and we ~~did it in a~~ bipartisan way. Senators McCain and Feingold, Representatives Shays and Meehan, have reached across party lines to craft reform. It would curb spending, reduce the role of special interests, create a level playing field between challengers and incumbents and ban the large soft money contributions both parties receive. And it bans contributions from foreign owned companies and people who are not American citizens.

Delay will mean the death of reform. We must work together to enact campaign finance reform, and we should do it by the day we celebrate the birth of our democracy, by July 4.

There is a third piece of unfinished business for us here: Last year we enacted landmark

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welfare reform. Now each and every one of us has to fulfill our responsibility to finish the job and lift the permanent underclass into our growing middle class.

Over the last four years, we moved a record 2.25 million people off the welfare rolls. Now we must act to meet this new goal: to lift one million more people from the dependence of welfare to the dignity of work by the Year 2000.

To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it -- but especially those of us who supported it -- I say: We have a moral obligation to make sure people who now must work, can work. We have torn the broken system down. We must give all our people the chance to raise themselves up through the dignity, the power and the ethic of work.

Here is my plan: Tax credits and other incentives to businesses that hire people off welfare. Incentives for job placement firms that create jobs for welfare recipients. Transportation and training and childcare to help people go to work.

~~This is the responsibility of every American~~. I challenge every state to turn welfare checks into private sector paychecks. I challenge every employer in this country who ever made a disparaging remark about the old welfare system: it's gone. Now do your part. Give someone on welfare a chance to work. Indeed, I challenge every business, every community non-profit organization, every religious congregation: hire someone off welfare.

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Tonight, I am pleased to announce that five major corporations -- Sprint, Monsanto, UPS, Burger King, and United Airlines -- will join with ~~my administration~~ us to lead a national effort to marshal America's businesses to hire people off welfare.

And, we must join together to do what Republican and Democratic governors have asked, to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law. They should not be deprived of human disabilities support when misfortune strikes. To do otherwise is unworthy of a great nation of immigrants.

We passed welfare reform. We were right to do it. But no one should walk out of this chamber with a clear conscience unless you are prepared to finish the job.

~~Then~~, the greatest step of all on the path to a new century -- the high threshold to the future we must now cross -- and my number one priority as President for the next four years -- is to help our people have the best education in the world. These must be our goals: Every 8 year old must be able to read, every 12 year old must be able to log on to the Internet, every 18 year old must be able to go to college, and every adult American must be able to keep on learning.

Ensure that no child will

My balanced budget makes an unprecedented commitment to these goals -- $51 billion next year, the largest ever. But far more than money is required.

I have a Plan for American Education, based on [four] principles, to which we must

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commit ourselves tonight. [*hold up booklet*]

First, we must set rigorous national standards for education, and help our children to reach them. Finally ~~For the first time in America, every school~~ must say: Fourth graders must be able to read, and read well. Eighth graders must be able to do algebra. All our children must master the basics.

We must begin tonight a crusade for standards -- not federal government standards, but national standards of what students must master to succeed in the knowledge economy of the 21st century. Every state and school must develop a curriculum that reflects national standards, and train our teachers to help our students ~~teach~~ them. Then, we must have national tests to measure our progress. There are lots of standardized ~~tests; we need tests to measure national~~ standards. Over the next two years, we will lead an effort to develop them.

Jerry Riley

Tonight, I issue a national challenge: Every state should adopt national standards, and by 1999 we should test every 4th grader in reading and every 8th grader in math.

Every state should require a tough standards-based exam in high school, so when seniors get a diploma, that diploma means something. And we should move towards national high school math and science tests, based on world-class standards.

Raising standards will not be easy. When we do, some of our children will not be able to

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meet them at first. But the point is not to put them down, it is to lift them up. Good tests will help show us who to help, what changes in teaching to make, and which schools to improve. And they ~~will~~ can help us end social promotion, because no child should move from grade school to junior high or junior high to high school until he or she is ready.

These tests are far more than tests of our children. This is a test of our nation, of our will to meet the challenges of the global economy and the Information Age. Tonight, we have the strongest economy and the strongest democracy in the world. But we will not have them fifty years from now unless American education, like America itself, is the envy of the world.

We know our children can do this. Last week, I visited the Chicago suburbs, where students from 20 school districts, in a project they called "First in the World," took the Third International Math and Science Survey, the TIMSS test. ~~This test is given to 4th, 8th, and 12th graders around the world. And those Illinois students tied for first in the world in science,~~ and second in math.

Two of those students are here tonight, with their teacher. [*introduce Kristin Tanner, and Chris Getsla; teacher: Sue Winski*] When we aim high and challenge our students, they will be the best in the world.

The second principle of my Plan: to have the best schools, we must have the best teachers. For years, many educators, led by North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt and the National

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Board for Professional Teaching Standards, have worked hard to establish nationally accepted credentials for excellence in teaching. 400 of these master teachers have been certified since 1995. ~~Under~~ my budget, will enable 100,000 more will be able to seek national certification. We should reward our best teachers, quickly and fairly remove those who don't measure up, and challenge our finest young people to consider teaching as a career.

The third part of my Plan: Calls every state should let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation and competition will make our public schools better. Beyond public school choice, we must do more to encourage teachers and parents to start charter schools that set and meet the highest standards, and survive only as long as they do. My balanced budget doubles the funding to help start charter schools, so by the Year 2000, there will be 3,000 -- seven times as many as today.

We cannot raise our children up in schools that are literally falling down. Traditionally, the federal budget has played no role in school construction. But as the student population climbs, and school buildings continue to deteriorate, this is a serious national concern. My budget includes $5 billion to help communities issue bonds ~~and~~ that will spur $20 billion in school construction over the next four years. [Moseley-Braun]

Finally, we must make sure character education is a part of every curriculum. We cannot raise standards if we fail to teach our children how to be good citizens. We should continue to promote order and discipline, supporting communities that introduce school uniforms, impose

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curfews, enforce truancy laws, remove disruptive students from the classroom, and have zero tolerance for guns and drugs.

Tonight, I pledge to take this Plan for American Education to the country. All Americans must enlist in this crusade for tomorrow's children. [*mention of Governors who might be present; legislature speeches?*]

Learning begins long before school, and goes on long after it. We now know much more about children's emotional and intellectual development in their earliest years. That's why my balanced budget expands Head Start to one million children by 2002. The First Lady has spent a ~~lot of time~~ studying and writing about ~~early childhood~~ learning. And I am pleased to announce that she and I will convene a White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain this Spring.

We must ~~do more to help~~ all our ~~children read~~. 40% of 8 year olds cannot read on their own. We have launched the America Reads initiative -- a national effort to build a citizen army of one million volunteer tutors to make sure every child can read independently by 3rd grade. We will use thousands of AmeriCorps volunteers to mobilize this citizen army. We want at least 100,000 college students in the work study program to help. And tonight, I am proud to announce that 60 college presidents have pledged that tens of thousands of their work study students will serve one year as reading tutors.

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This is a challenge to every teacher and every principal -- to be honest enough to recognize when a child has trouble reading, and committed enough to do something about it. But especially to parents: Read to your children every night. This spring, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will host their sixth annual family conference to talk about parents and learning -- because parents are children's first teachers, and every home must be a place of learning

in the 21st

~~And to prepare our people for~~ the 21st Century, learning must last a lifetime.

We must make the 13th and 14th years of education -- at least two years of college -- as universal in America as high school is today.

To do that, I propose America's HOPE scholarship, a $1,500 tax credit for college tuition, enough to pay for the typical community college ~~tuition~~, based on Georgia's HOPE scholarship started by Governor Zell Miller. I propose a deduction of up to $10,000 for all tuition after high school; an IRA you can ~~save in and then~~ withdraw from tax free, as long as it's for education; and the largest increase in Pell Grant scholarships for deserving students in 20 years.

~~With this package, no working family need ever pay a nickel of~~ taxes on money saved for ~~college.~~

All our people must have the chance to learn new skills. ~~Nearly~~ every American worker lives near a community college, offering a path to a better future. Government doesn't need to

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decide what kind of training workers need; they can decide for themselves. My G.I. Bill for Workers will transform the confusing tangle of federal training programs into a single, simple skill grant that will go directly into eligible workers' hands. For far too long, this bill has sat before you without action -- and I ask you to pass it now.

To prepare America for the 21st century, we must harness the powerful forces of knowledge, science and technology to the benefit of <u>all</u> Americans.

This is the first State of the Union carried live over the Internet. But we have only begun to spread the benefits of the technology revolution ~~to the lives of all our citizens~~. ~~I~~ et should be the model for our rights

We are connecting every classroom and library to the Internet so that, for the first time in history, a child in the poorest inner city, the most isolated rural town, the most comfortable suburb, will all have access to the same universe of knowledge at the same time. ~~My plan doubles funding to $500 million to put this future at our~~ I ask for your support to complete this historic mission children's fingertips.

But we cannot stop there. As the Internet becomes our new town square, a computer in every home -- a teacher of all subjects, a connection to all cultures -- will ~~is~~ no longer a dream, but a necessity. And over the next decade, that must be our goal.

I challenge the private sector to help us connect every children's hospital to the Internet as soon as possible, so a child in bed can stay in school and stay in touch with family and friends.

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We will build the second generation of the Internet so our leading universities and national laboratories can communicate at speeds 1000 times faster than today, to develop new medical treatments, new sources of energy, and new ways of working together.

We must continue to explore the heavens, pressing our mission of discovery with the Mars probes, the international space station, and the project to discover the origins of life, ~~so we both understand~~ all of which will have an the cosmos and for practical applications on Earth.

And we must speed the remarkable advances in medical science. In the last year alone, American scientists discovered genes linked to breast cancer and ovarian cancer, [stroke research to come] -- and we have discovered drug treatments that dramatically lengthen the lives of people with AIDS.

Since I took office, funding for AIDS research has gone up nearly 50%. With these new resources, the National Institutes of Health will now become the primary discovery engine for an AIDS vaccine. Every year we move up the discovery of an AIDS vaccine, we will save 65,000 lives. If you approve this plan, scientists from business, universities and our national labs will be able to work together so we can end the threat of AIDS ~~in America~~ and

To prepare America for the 21st Century, with new pressures on people in the way they work and live, we must build stronger families and help parents pass on their values to

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their children.

F

We should expand the Family and Medical Leave Law so parents can take time off for teacher conferences or a child's checkup. We should pass flextime so workers can choose to be paid for overtime not only in income, but also with time off to be with their families.

Four years

We must continue, step-by-step, to give more families access to affordable, quality health care.

to the

We must find a way to work together ~~and~~ cover the 40 million Americans -- most in working families, who ~~pay their taxes and give all of us health insurance,~~ but who still lack health insurance ~~for themselves~~. I don't think that's right, and I know you don't either. We cannot rest until we change it.

My balanced budget will extend health coverage to five million children -- cutting in half the number of uninsured children in America. It will help all working Americans by ensuring that people who temporarily lose their jobs don't lose their health insurance.

My Medicare plan helps millions of families taking care of a loved-one afflicted with Alzheimers -- and for the first time, we would pay for mammograms for older women.

Just as we ended - DT deliveries last year,

And we must enact the bipartisan legislation before you to end the dangerous and

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demeaning practice of drive-through mastectomies. With us tonight is Dr. Kristen Zarfos, a Connecticut surgeon whose outrage at this practice spurred a national movement and inspired this legislation.

And we must protect our children by standing by our action to ban cigarette ads and marketing that endanger their lives.

Over the last 4 years

~~Every parent must uphold their most sacred responsibility -- to their child.~~ I am very proud of the fact that we have increased child support collections by 50% ~~in the last four years~~. But we can do more. Further Now we ~~should do more~~; we should make it a felony for any parent to cross state lines in an attempt to flee from his or her obligations.

We must build stronger communities to prepare America for the 21st Century.

Our economy is strong - but we must be sure our economic recovery

There are still places in America untouched by opportunity. Our approach to renewing these poor urban & rural urban neighborhoods, ~~and poor~~ communities across America, is to empower communities to create the conditions in which people can live and children can flourish, and to create jobs where families through investment by business and loans by banks.

(2) They

~~Empowerment~~ zones have already brought hope to communities like Detroit, where the unemployment rate has been cut in half in four years. (1) We should double the number of the empowerment zones. We should expand the network of community development banks. We

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urban Empowerment Zones

should enact the brownfields initiative to restore contaminated properties to productive use.

With this empowerment approach

And we, together, must pledge tonight that with this approach -- including private sector tax incentives -- we will renew this great capital city, so it is once again the proud face America shows the world.

As we strengthen our communities we must protect our environment and preserve our natural heritage. We cleaned up as many toxic waste sites in three years as in the previous 12; we cut the amount of toxic pollution in half; we protected 1.7 million acres of the Grand Staircase Escalante in Utah, created 3 national parks in the California desert, began the work of restoring the Florida Everglades.

Now we should clean up over 500 more toxic waste sites, so that 2/3 of our worst sites are cleaned up by the Year 2000. We should pass my proposal to make big polluters live by this simple rule: if you pollute, you pay to clean it up.

And to strengthen our communities, we must press our fight against crime and violence. Serious crime has dropped five years in a row. The key has been community policing -- and we must finish the job of putting 100,000 police officers on our streets. We should pass a Victims' Rights Amendment to the Constitution. We ~~should set a goal to~~ deport a record 100,000 criminals and other illegal aliens this year.

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And, for the next four years, our goal must be to mount a full scale assault on juvenile crime. I will submit comprehensive legislation that declares war on gangs, with new prosecutors and tougher penalties; cracks down on gang members who intimidate witnesses; extends the Brady Bill so violent teenage criminals will never have the right to own a handgun; requires gun safety locks to prevent unauthorized use; and provides resources to keep schools open late, on weekends, and in the summer, so young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to.

And we must help our communities in the battle against drugs. My balanced budget includes the largest anti-drug effort ever: to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and steer young people away.

In the end, it is not punishing our troubled children that will save America in the 21st Century. We must keep our children out of trouble. Because so many of them do not have what they need to grow and learn in their homes, schools and neighborhoods, the rest of us must do more. That is why President Bush, General Colin Powell, and former Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros joined Vice President Gore and me to announce the Presidents's Summit of Service, to be held in Philadelphia in April. We want to mobilize millions of Americans to serve our young people in thousands of ways. Already, AmeriCorps, our national service program, has helped 70,000 young people work their way through college as they serve America. Citizen service belongs to no party or ideology. It is an American responsibility which all Americans should embrace in their daily lives.

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Let me say a word directly to you, our children: As we work to build a strong future for you, you have to take responsibility for that future. Succeed in school, stay off drugs, steer clear of gangs. Nothing your parents do, nothing anyone can do, can stop the rise in teen drug use if you don't stop. ~~The school standards~~ Better schools don't matter won't work if you don't learn. The streets won't be safe if you embrace violence. It's your life. Soon America will be in your hands. It's up to you.

[As the new century approaches, we face another opportunity to come together as a community. We can give new life to the ideas and ideals that have shaped our culture -- our arts and music, our great writers and thinkers. I call on all levels of government, on our universities and cultural institutions, on businesses and communities across America: work with us to make the Year 2000 a national celebration of American culture, so we can remain the world's beacon of liberty and creativity, long after the fireworks have faded.]

To prepare America for the 21st Century, we must continue to lead the world, to harness the forces of change for the security, prosperity and freedom of our people.

Fifty years ago, America led in creating the institutions that secured victory in the Cold War and built a growing world economy. Today, more people than ever before share the ideals that define America and the interests we defend. [For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship.]

Now, we face another moment of change and choice. We already have dismantled many

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of the blocs and barriers that divided our parents' world. But we still must meet a bold ~~new set~~ new of challenges -- to change and adapt old institutions for new demands... old thinking for new times... so the world works for our children and brings America fifty more years of security and prosperity.

Our first task is to build, for the first time, an undivided, democratic Europe. When Europe is stable and at peace, America is more secure. When Europe prospers, so does America.

NATO was created to strengthen Europe's west. Now, we must do the same for Europe's east. This summer, we will hold a summit to expand NATO so that, by 1999, countries that were once our adversaries can become our allies. And we will build a strong NATO-Russia partnership to meet the challenges of a new era.

Second, America must look to the East no less than the West. Our security demands it: Americans have fought three wars in Asia this century. Our prosperity requires it: more than 2 million American jobs depend on trade with Asia.

We are helping an Asian Pacific community to take shape. But we must not let our progress mask the peril that remains. I call on Congress to fund our contribution to assure that North Korea continues to implement its agreement to freeze and dismantle its nuclear weapons program. Together with South Korea, we must advance peace talks with North Korea and bridge the Cold War's last armed divide.

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We must pursue a deeper dialogue with China -- for our interests and our ideals. An isolated, inward looking China is not good for America. A China playing its rightful role in the world is. I will go to China and I have invited China's president to come here not because we agree on everything, but because engaging with China is the best way to work on common challenges like ending nuclear testing -- and to deal frankly with fundamental differences like human rights.

Third, the American people must prosper in the global economy. We have made it our mission to tear down trade barriers abroad and create good jobs at home. Today, America is again the world's number one exporter -- leading in agriculture and aviation, automobiles and entertainment, semiconductors and software.

Now, we must build on that momentum, especially in the two most dynamic regions on earth, Asia and Latin America. If we fail to act now, these emerging economies will find their economic future with other nations -- and we will be left behind. That's why I will ask Congress to give us the tools to make -- and enforce -- trade agreements that expand America's competitive opportunities. I am announcing tonight that I will travel to Latin America [dates to come] to continue the work we began at the Summit of the Americas in Miami to build a community of democracies linked by shared values and expanding trade. [fast track?]

When Mexico's peso collapsed -- threatening our economic stability -- we came to our neighbor's aid. Last month, Mexico repaid the United States three years ahead of schedule, with

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half a billion dollars profit -- and today our exports to Mexico are at an all time high. We must continue to help nations embrace open markets and improve living standards. But we can succeed only if we meet our obligations to the World Bank and the other organizations that multiply our contributions to progress many times over.

Fourth, America must continue to be an unrelenting force for peace -- from the Middle East to Haiti... from Northern Ireland to Africa. Taking reasonable risks for peace keeps us from being drawn into far more costly conflicts. It encourages other nations to focus on future hopes, not past hatreds. It creates partners willing to seize the opportunities of a new century.

With American leadership, the killing has stopped in Bosnia. Now, the habits of peace must take hold. The follow-on NATO force will help speed reconstruction and reconciliation. Tonight, I ask Congress to continue its strong support for our troops. They are doing a remarkable job for America -- America must do right by them.

Fifth, we must move strongly against new threats to our security: weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... international crime and drugs... environmental degradation. The American people are more secure because we won an historic accord to ban nuclear testing. With Russia, we have cut our nuclear arsenals and stopped targeting each other's citizens. We are acting to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands and to rid the world of landmines. And we are working with others, with renewed intensity, to stop terrorists and drug traffickers before they act -- and to hold them accountable if they do.

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Now, we must rise to a new test of leadership: ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. It will make our troops safer from chemical attack. It will help us fight terrorism. This treaty has been bipartisan from the beginning -- negotiated and supported by Republican and Democratic administrations. Together, we must act to outlaw poison gas from this earth.

Finally, we must have the tools to meet all these challenges.

We must maintain a strong and ready military. We will, by increasing funding for weapons modernization and taking care of our men and women in uniform.

We must renew our commitment to America's diplomacy -- and pay our debts and dues to a reforming United Nations. Every dollar we devote to preventing conflicts... promoting democracy... stopping the spread of disease and starvation... brings a sure return in security and savings. Yet international affairs spending today totals just one percent of the federal budget -- compared to sixteen percent when another generation led America to choose engagement over escapism at the very start of the Cold War. If America is to continue to lead the world, we here who lead America must find the will and pay the way.

And we must do it together, with the bipartisan support for American leadership that has been a source of our strength in the world.

Almost exactly fifty years ago, as America began the long struggle of the Cold War,

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President Harry Truman stood before a Republican Congress and called on our country to meet its responsibilities of leadership. "If we falter," he warned, "we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation." That Congress, led by great Republicans like Arthur Vandenberg, answered Truman's call. Together, they made the commitments that strengthened our country for fifty years. Now, we must do what it takes to keep America strong, secure and prosperous for another fifty years -- to keep America the indispensable nation.

Finally, perhaps our ~~most important leadership of the~~ world grows out of the power of our example --and our ability to remain strong as One America.

People all over the world are splitting apart because of conflicts of race or religion or ethnicity. We are the world's most diverse democracy. And the world looks to us to show it is possible to live and ~~learn~~ together across all differences.

America has always been a nation of immigrants. Throughout our history, a steady stream of people, in search of freedom and opportunity, have left their own lands to make this land their home. We started as an experiment in democracy fueled by Europeans, and have ~~evolved~~ into an experiment in diversity fueled by openness and promise.

So much of America's future is tied to how we relate to the rest of the world. Our diversity is not a weakness --it is our greatest strength. People ~~around the world can~~ look to us

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and see the reflection of their greatness. And we must give every one of our citizens the opportunity achieve their own greatness.

But we still see evidence all around us that we have not yet healed our divisions. We see it every day in the sullen, hopeless faces worn by too many of our youth. Too often, we see it in the corridors of business, and the schoolyards and streets of our daily lives. Too many people still spend time trying to drive wedges between us--black against white, haves against have nots, old immigrants against new.

A few days before my second inauguration, one of America's best known pastors, Rev. Robert Schuller, suggested I read Isaiah 58:12. He knew what he was talking about. I placed my hand on that verse when I took the oath of office. It says: "Thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called, the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." That scripture reminds us that no matter what our differences --in our faiths, our backgrounds, our politics --we all must be repairers of the breach. We may not all share a common past, but surely we share a common future.

Along with Rev. Schuller, we are joined tonight by two other Americans, and the spirit of another, who come from different backgrounds but show us how to come together to build a stronger future. Congressman Frank Tejeda was buried yesterday, a proud Mexican-American who earned a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart fighting for freedom in Vietnam, and served Texas and America fighting for our future in this chamber. His son, Frank, Jr., is with us tonight. Gary

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Locke, a Chinese-American, is the newly elected Governor of Washington and the first Asian American governor in our history -- a proud reflection of America's promise that have strengthened.

And Vernon Baker. [*detail of heroism to come*] Along with six comrades-in-arms, he waited fifty years for the recognition he deserved -- for bravery, for patriotism, for risking his life for our country during WW II. He was denied that recognition simply because he was black. Last month, I had the privilege of righting that wrong and awarding the Medal of Honor to Mr. Baker, and his six courageous comrades. He is the only one still alive. He is up in that box tonight, and I'd like to ask him to stand.

Rev. Schuller, Kristin Tanner, Chris Getsla, Sue Winski, Dr. Kristen Zarfos, Frank Tejeda, Governor Locke and Lieutenant Vernon Baker -- they are all repairers of the breach. They show us how to build America's common future. And we should thank them all.

The work of staying together as a nation is hard work. But it is America's most important mission. Money cannot buy it. Power cannot compel it. Technology cannot create it. It must rise from the human spirit, the spirit that moved our founders to establish our true creed -- that all of us are created equal, endowed by God with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The future before us can bring us closer to that creed. And we don't have a moment to waste. A child born tonight will have almost no memory of the 20th century. ~~Everything~~ she is

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likely to know firsthand about the progress of America, she will know because of the work we do now to help build the new century.

Tomorrow morning, there will be just over 1,000 days until the Year 2000. 1,000 days to prepare our people. 1,000 days to ~~work~~ be together. 1,000 days to our land of new promise. My fellow Americans, let us seize the days and the century ahead. We have work to do.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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education -- to help raise a child -- and buy and sell a new home. The middle class deserves tax relief, and we must and we will give it to them. We can balance the budget and build on the Vice President's work to make this government work better, even as it costs less.

Let me be blunt: A balanced budget amendment could cripple our country in time of crisis; it could force unthinkable results such as judges impounding Social Security checks or increasing taxes. Balancing the budget requires only your vote and my signature. It does not require us to rewrite our Constitution. We don't need an Amendment; I need action.

I am ready to sign a balanced budget; I ask you to pass it this year.

Whatever our differences, for the long term health of our economy

We must also act together, in a bipartisan process, to safeguard Social Security and reform Medicare so these fundamental programs will be as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

The second piece of unfinished business relates not just to our economy, but to our democracy itself. Tonight, before the eyes of America, we must commit ourselves to enacting bipartisan campaign finance reform.

We have just come through an election in which more money was raised and spent on races for Congress and the Presidency than ever before. Every one involved in this system -- every one of us here -- must take responsibility for this and for changing it.

We have all been part of this system

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[In the last Congress, we passed sweeping reform of lobbying laws, and we did it in a bipartisan way. Now] Senator McCain and Senator Feingold, Representative Shays and Representative Meehan have reached across party lines to craft tough and fair campaign reform. Their proposal would curb spending, reduce the role of special interests, ban contributions from foreign owned companies and people who are not American citizens, create a level playing field between challenges and incumbents and ban the large soft money contributions that both parties receive.

You know and I know that delay will mean the death of reform. So let's set our own deadline. Let's work together to write campaign finance reform into the law, let's do it by the day we celebrate the birth of our democracy -- July 4th.

There is a third piece of unfinished business for us here: Last year we enacted landmark welfare reform, Now each and every one of us has to fulfill our responsibility to finish the job and help the permanent underclass lift themselves into our growing middle class.

Over the last four years, we moved a record two million people off the welfare rolls. Now we must act to meet a new goal -- one million more people moving from the dependence of welfare to the dignity of work by the Year 2000.

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To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it – but especially those of us who supported it -- I say: We now have a moral obligation to make sure people who must work can work. We cannot blame the welfare system anymore. We have torn the broken system down. Now we must come together to raise our people up.

Here is my plan: Tax credits to businesses that hire people off welfare. Incentives for companies and job placement firms that create jobs for welfare recipients. Transportation and childcare to help people go to work.

This is not the responsibility of the federal government alone; this is the responsibility of every American. I challenge every state: turn welfare checks into private sector paychecks. I challenge every religious congregation, every community non-profit, and especially every business: hire someone off welfare. If every business in America would do that, we could solve this problem, once and for all. Every employer in this country who ever criticized the old welfare system should do their part and hire someone from welfare to work.

Tonight, I am proud to announce that five major corporations -- Sprint, Monsanto, UPS, Burger King, and United Airlines -- will be the first to join in a new national effort to marshal America's businesses to hire people off welfare.

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And we must join together to do something else -- something what Republican and Democratic governors alike have asked -- and that is to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law.

We passed welfare reform. We were right to do it. But no one should walk out of this chamber with a clear conscience unless you are prepared to help us finish the job. To those who are well-off, we must say: Count your blessings, but always be ready to reach out to others. And to those who are in need: Always be ready to take personal responsibility, but count on America to offer a helping hand through the dignity, the power and the ethic of work.

If we balance the budget, enact campaign finance reform, and finish the job of welfare reform, we will have taken first and fundamental steps on the path to a new century.

But the greatest step of all -- the high threshold to the future that we must now cross -- and my number one priority as President for the next four years -- is to insure that America's children will have the best education in the world. Let's work together to meet these goals: Every 8 year old will be able to read; every 12 year old will be able to log on to the Internet; and every 18 year old will be able to go to college.

My balanced budget makes an unprecedented commitment to stronger education -- $42 billion next year, the largest ever. We are going to do our part here in Washington. But when it comes to education, that is nowhere near enough.

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I have a Plan for America's Schools, based on [four] principles, to which we must commit ourselves tonight. [*hold up booklet*]

First, we must set rigorous national standards for education, and help our children reach them. Finally, we must say, ~~For the first time in America, every school in every community will say~~: Fourth graders must be able to read, and read well. Eighth graders must be able to do algebra. All our children must master the basics.

To do this, we must begin a new national education crusade. Every state and every school must dedicate itself to shaping the curriculum and training the teachers to lift our students up. To help schools meet the standards and measure their progress, we will lead an effort over the next two years to develop national tests for student achievement.

for stds. Not fg stds, but nat'l stds, reflect every state must live to the

Tonight, I issue a national challenge: By 1999, every state should test every student in reading and math to make sure these standards are met.

In addition, we will provide the Third International Math and Science Survey -- the TIMSS test -- to every school district that will accept it. Children all over the world have taken this test. It is a reflection of the world class standards our young people must meet for the new era.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And every state should require a tough graduation exam, so high school seniors will not get a diploma unless they can pass a test to show they have earned it. No one should be able to graduate without being able to read the diploma they receive.

Raising standards will not be easy. Some of our children will not be able to meet them at first. ~~But~~ but the point is not to put them down, ~~it is~~ to lift them up. Good The tests will help to show us who needs extra help, what changes in teaching we need to make, ~~and~~ which schools need to be improved. And they will help us, once and for all, to end social promotion in America.

Go BACK TO earlier lang.

~~They~~ tests are far more than just tests of our children. This entire endeavor is a test of our nation, of our ability to marshal the will and resources to meet the demands of the global economy and the Information Age. We must make American education, like America itself, the envy of the world.

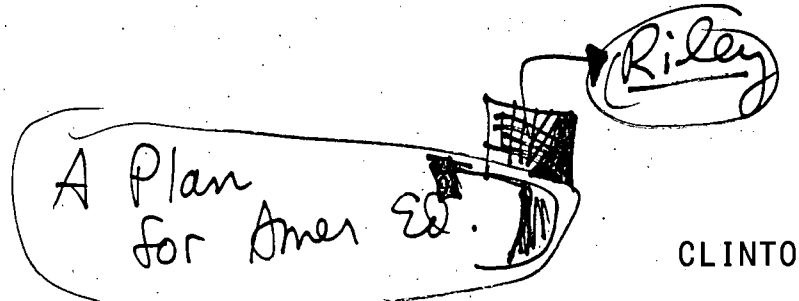
8th gde students

Last week, I visited schools outside Chicago, where parents are not afraid to test their communities against the rest of the globe. Their children took the TIMSS test. They came in first in the world in science. And two of them are here today, along with their teacher.

This test is designed to —. These 8th grdrs came in 1st — very old +

[*introduce students and teacher in First Lady's box*]

They prove what we all know: Our children can achieve excellence. When we aim high and challenge our students, they can and will be the best in the world.



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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	State of the Union; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. fax	Notes and comments by Gordon Adams, OMB (1 page)	nd	#Error
003. fax	Michael Waldman from Chuck Kiefffer re: SOTU edit (1 page)	1/31/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14462

FOLDER TITLE:
State of the Union 1997 The Original Drafts Volume 2 [Binder] [5]

2006-0469-F
db1957

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).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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by supporting a supplemental request I am sending with the budget.

slow to take hold. That is why I agreed for our troops to take part in a smaller follow-on force that should complete its mission by June 1998. The force will help prevent hostilities from resuming so economic reconstruction and political reconciliation can accelerate -- and Bosnia's peace can become self-sustaining. Tonight, I ask Congress to continue its strong support for our troops. They are doing a remarkable job for America -- America must do right by them.

Fifth, we must move strongly against new threats to our security that respect no borders: weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... international crime and drug trafficking. The American people are more secure -- and should be proud -- because we have dramatically reduced the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We reached an historic accord to end nuclear testing for all time. We extended the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. With Russia, we made deep cuts in our nuclear arsenals and agreed to stop targeting each other's citizens. We are working to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands and to rid the world of landmines.

But the American people will have no cause for pride if we fail the test of leadership that lies ahead: ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. The Convention will make our troops safer from chemical attack. It will help us fight terrorism and isolate rogue states. That is why the Reagan Administration negotiated the Convention... the Bush Administration signed it... and XX nations have approved it. Together, let us make the Chemical Weapons Convention law -- and begin to banish poison gas from this earth.

nearly 30%

Preparing America for the 21st century cannot be done on the cheap; the price of neglect would be far greater. We must maintain a strong and ready military -- and we will, by increasing weapons modernization funding 30 percent by the Year 2000. Our men and women in uniform have preserved our freedom in the past. They must have the equipment and training to preserve it in the future.

and by fully supporting their readiness requirements.

also

We must renew our commitment to America's diplomacy. Every dollar we devote to diplomacy and to the international financial institutions brings a sure return in security and savings. Yet international affairs spending totals just one percent of the federal budget -- versus sixteen percent when Harry Truman asked America to choose engagement over escapism. We have to do better.

See Insert (A)

The United Nations can help us spread the risks and the costs of leadership -- saving children's lives, sheltering refugees, giving peace a chance to take hold. Its new Secretary General is committed to reform. As the UN cuts waste and streamlines staff, the United States should pay our debts and our dues.

At the key points of the second half of this century, Republicans and Democrats have disagreed on specific policies. But we have always agreed on the need for American leadership. That bipartisan support has fortified our strength.

Before this month is out, I will ask the leadership of both houses and both parties to meet

Comments provided by Gordon Adams, OMB x54657

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national challenge: By 1999, every state should require these national tests of basic skills. And to help make sure a high school diploma means something, we should provide the Third International Math and Science Survey -- the TIMSS test -- to every school district that wants it. Children all over the world have taken this test. We should give more of our high school students the chance to test themselves against students around the world.

Raising standards will not be easy. Some of our children will not be able to meet them at first. But the point is, this is how we will lift them up. These tests will help show us who needs extra help, and which schools need improvement. And these tests will help us end social promotion in America, so children move from grade to grade only when they are ready.

This is a bad combination of thoughts. $2.75 billion for a million volunteers.

To help all our children read, I want a citizen army of one million volunteers to tutor those who need extra help. ~~My balanced budget invests $2.75 billion for this.~~ Tonight, I am proud to announce that 60 college presidents have pledged tens of thousands of work study students to work one year as reading tutors. You should strike the reference to the dollars. Reubs will raise the pay for buying volunteers just like they have on AmeriCorps.

These tests are far more than just tests of our children. This entire endeavor is a test of our nation, of our ability to step up to the challenges of the global economy and the Information Age. We must make American education, like America itself, the envy of the world.

We know our kids can learn. They can do this. But we have to make it possible for them to succeed. This is a challenge to every governor, every teacher, every educator, every parent, every business person in America. We know we can make this work, because we see examples of what works all across this country. Tonight, I am very pleased to have with us two students who scored among the best in the country on the TIMSS test, and their teacher. [Intro TIMSS]

[Teacher] reminds us why the second part of my plan is so important. My budget will help more than 100,000 teachers get national certification as master teachers. We must reward good teachers, and find ways to quickly and fairly remove those few who don't measure up. Now we have to do more to challenge the best of our young people to look at teaching as a career.

The second part of my plan calls on every state to let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation and competition will make our public schools better. We must do more to encourage teachers and parents to start public charter schools that set and meet the highest standards. My balanced budget doubles the funding set aside to help start charter schools, so by the Year 2000, there will be 3,000.

We cannot raise our children up in schools that are literally falling down. My budget includes $5 billion to spur $20 billion in school construction and modernization over the next four years.

Finally, we must press forward to make sure character education is a part of every curriculum. We cannot raise standards on every other subject if we fail to teach our children how to be good citizens. We should continue to promote order and discipline, supporting communities

(K54790)
Comment provided by Chuck Kieffer, OMB
1/31 @ 11:30am

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Stan Greenberg, Don Baer, Michael Waldman, Gene Sperling and Mandy Grunwald, to The Economic Team, Re: The Clinton Economic Message (6 pages)	June 30, 1994	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Micheal Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
Econ [Economic] Message 1994

2006-0469-F
sb96

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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GREENBERG
RESEARCH
INC

515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020

Date: June 30, 1994

To: The Economic Team

From: Stan Greenberg
Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Gene Sperling
Mandy Grunwald

RE: THE CLINTON ECONOMIC MESSAGE

The National Economic Council, the economic team (broadly defined), White House communications and the political advisors have labored over a number of weeks to distill the economic message of the administration. We all work against the backdrop of a successful economic policy and a robust recovery, only barely recognized by the American people. Our goal here is clarity and a common purpose that will allow the President to break through the pervasive cynicism to communicate his effectiveness in managing and moving the economy forward.

This memorandum sets out a road map -- rooted in our policies and common assumptions, reflecting the articulated vision of the President. It is followed by a series of economic "facts" and a story that allow us to demonstrate our accomplishments and goals. Our hope is that this road map and skeletal story provide the basis, both for a simplified presentation of the message and accomplishments and for an amplified mission statement to inform the President's broader addresses.

The Road Map

The "facts" of the economic recovery only take on meaning and significance and only help the President when they are situated within a story. It is not enough to keep asserting our economic successes. The story allows people to overcome their cynicism, to believe that we are doing something real that people can depend upon in the future. That is the experience of the NAFTA period when good economic news and a forward-looking Presidential vision combined to produce real public confidence. By showing that we have a road-map to a better life, we reinforce confidence in a President who knows where he wants to take the country.

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- Recent research at the University of Wisconsin indicates that assessments of the economy *in the coming year* are three times as important as assessments *of the past year* in determining the President's overall job approval. (The opposite was true for Bush in his last 2 years.)

- The economic "facts" and accomplishments presented in the Greenberg Research survey are considered more "real" when people have first heard the message statement. This is particularly true of deficit reduction: without the story, a plurality doubts that the deficit decline was "real change" (minus 9 points); with the story, a plurality accepts the deficit decline as "real change" (plus 5 points). (See attached graph.)

All of those involved in the discussion of the President's economic message agreed on a number of central elements:

Renewal. The administration's mission is renewal of the country: 1) so people can prosper in a changing world, and 2) so that work, responsibility and family are again the route to the American dream.

Diagnosis: Why renewal? Because government failed: it created big problems while people fell behind and the country drifted. People elected Bill Clinton to renew the country because of the failures of government that hurt the middle class.

Note: The proper backdrop, according to the research, is an era when problems were ignored and people were hurt. Overcoming gridlock and inaction is an insufficient backdrop for the project of this Presidency.

Means. First, we are working to put our house in order -- deficit reduction, reduced spending and a better balance of tax burdens. Second, we seek to give people the tools – the education and job training and, in the end, the confidence -- to prosper and build strong families in a changing country.

28-S

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Note: In the research, a "house in order" vision alone was significantly less compelling than one that also talked about giving people the tools to master change. **People want to know the President has a strategy to make a better future.**

Note: While the administration has policy initiatives in a broad range of areas, we have focused on education and job training and on moving people from welfare to work -- the initiatives that allow people to get better jobs and build strong families, that allow the middle class to reclaim its future. In effect, education and training are the keys to renewing middle class confidence and aspirations.

New world economy. The President casts our country's future with open and expanded trade -- by welcoming, leading and mastering a changing economy that holds the prospect of greater prosperity -- if we can give our people the tools to succeed.

Optimism. The message must be optimistic and express confidence in the American people to compete and win -- contrasted with a pessimism and negativism that denies our ability to put our house in order and master this changing world. Our emphasis is on possibility, confidence, embracing change and demonstrating leadership.

Accomplishments

The vision gives the facts meaning and significance, but we also need to repeat and emphasize the "facts" that make the strongest possible case for our accomplishments. The public will give the President greater credit for the economy when they know where he is going and what he has done.

Cut federal spending by $255 billion -- one of the biggest spending cuts in history
Produced 3 years in-a-row of lower deficits for the first time since Harry Truman
Cut taxes for 15 million working families with modest incomes
Created 3 million new jobs in just 16 months

There is a lot more good news to talk about, but we should restrain ourselves and focus on the most powerful facts available to us.

28-S
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The public has trouble believing the deficit has been reduced; more believable are the measures that seek to restrain spending and promote growth, which should be emphasized first.

1. **Cut federal spending by $255 billion -- one of the biggest spending cuts in history.** If further elaboration is necessary, one should emphasize that the administration **cut 250,000 federal bureaucratic positions.**

2. **Cut taxes for 15 million working families with modest incomes.** And the administration's economic policies **gave tax cuts and incentives for 94 percent of small businesses.** The two facts are very close in importance and reinforce the same point.

3. **Produced 3 years in-a-row of lower deficits for the first time since Harry Truman.** The point is equally strong, if one is less rhetorical and says, "for the first time in 50 years." If further elaboration is necessary, one can add, **reduced the federal deficit by 500 billion dollars.**

These policies have started to produce real results -- an improving economy for most Americans:

4. **Three million new jobs created in the last 16 months.** To further elaborate, one can add, **reduced unemployment from 7.7 to 6 percent.** It is also important to note that adding the phrase, "3 times as many jobs as created during the 4 years of the Bush administration," adds nothing to the power of the argument -- underscoring that President Clinton is being evaluated based on perceptions of future well-being.

5. **Increased support/spending for education and job training.** It is important for voters to know that President Clinton is working to give people the tools to prosper in the future.

<u>Communication</u>

The road map and its premises and the facts allow us to outline a story which forms the center of our communication on the economy. (See next page).

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DIAGNOSIS-BACKDROP

* Government Failed Us
* People Struggled To Make Ends Meet

PURPOSE

* Make America Work For Ordinary People
* Give People The Tools To Compete And Win In Global Economy
* Allow People To Achieve A Better Life And Rising Living Standards
* Renew The American Dream

ACTIONS

* Put Our Economic House In Order
  - $255 billion in spending cuts
  - tax cuts for 15 million working families
  - tax incentives for over 90% of small businesses

RESULTS

* Making America Work For Ordinary People
  - new markets opened to American products
  - 3 years in a row of declining deficits
  - 3 million new jobs in 16 months

BATTLE CRY

* Renew The American Dream
  - compete and win
  - we must renew the promise of America

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Mission Statement

We have taken a rough and collective hand at a mission statement -- which none of us feel committed to at this point. It is not sufficiently crisp, elevated, or combative. Nonetheless, we include it here as an example of work in progress.

> **For decades, our leaders mishandled the economy. Most people fell behind and the nation drifted in the face of vast change. Our mission today is to put our house in order and enable all Americans to prosper again. We started first by cutting the deficit and government spending and restoring some balance to our tax burdens. The deficit is down and the economy has started to create jobs. Now, we must make it possible for hard working Americans to reap the potential of a vastly changing world economy. We do not want to hand anyone anything. We want to help Americans get the tools they need to take up good jobs and have strong families. That means committing to education and job retraining, moving people from welfare to work. Our mission is to restore pride in a nation where responsibility, work and family are again the route to the American dream.**

- A very strong majority of 63 percent finds this mission description a convincing statement about Bill Clinton and the economy.

- A quarter of the open-ended recall on this message focused on the future-oriented, empowerment elements: "We want to help Americans get the tools they need to take up good jobs and have strong families. That means committing to education and job retraining, moving people from welfare to work."

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Draft Presidential Statement on NAFTA, draft 3 (8 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. memo	Micheal Waldman to Bill Daley, et al.; RE: Phone number and personal [partial] (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
POTUS Remarks

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]
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NAFTA - POTUS remarks -

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON NAFTA

DRAFT 3

[intro remarks tailored to event: bipartisanship; supplementals?]

We are here today to place the capstone on a historic trade accord. Perhaps more significantly, we are here to plant the cornerstone of a new way of thinking about trade.

Let there be no question about where my Administration stands in the upcoming debate over NAFTA. The NAFTA will create 200,000 new jobs for Americans in its first two years; tear down trade barriers; protect the environment; and demonstrate American leadership in the post Cold War world.

For the next four months, I'll be fighting to secure these benefits for Americans. Today I want to talk about why this agreement is so important.

Most Americans start thinking about NAFTA with a question -- a fair question: What's in this for the United States?

NAFTA will create a free trade zone stretching from the Arctic to the Tropics -- the largest in the world -- a $6.5 trillion market of 370 million people. The NAFTA will give American businesses and workers a leg-up in a market sought after by our Japanese and European competitors.

Here's something you probably didn't know: Mexico already is the second largest market for U.S. manufacturing exports, and the third largest market for U.S. agricultural products. On average Mexicans today buy more from us than the Japanese, the Germans, or the British.

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NAFTA breaks down the barriers that keep Americans from profiting fully in this important and growing market. The details in this debate are sometimes arcane, but the bottom line couldn't be clearer.

NAFTA is about tariffs, and a tariff is nothing more than a tax -- a tax on what you make as a worker and a tax on what you buy as a consumer. I'm for NAFTA because it will provide a tax cut for American workers and consumers. NAFTA's opponents want to leave those taxes in place -- even though most of the revenues go Mexico -- not our own country.

argh!

When NAFTA takes effect, half of all U.S. exports to Mexico will enter without paying any tariffs. Within 15 years, NAFTA will abolish all tariffs on both sides of the border.

no

You have no doubt heard the hot air hucksters talking about U.S. jobs moving to Mexico. Contrary to what you've heard, NAFTA actually will keep American jobs in the United States.

For example, NAFTA will abolish a Mexican law that requires U.S. automakers to move their plants to Mexico if they want to sell in Mexico. Because of this law and high Mexican tariffs, the Big Three this year will export only 1,000 cars to Mexico from U.S. plants. With NAFTA, the Big Three expect to export 60,000 cars to Mexico in the first year alone.

When Americans think about NAFTA, no issue is more important to them than jobs.

NAFTA's opponents have launched a campaign to scare you into

will Gregg a hum

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thinking that the agreement will cost American jobs. They think our workers need to be shielded from competition. I think America's workers can go toe to toe with anyone in the world. Our workers earn more because they're worth more -- that's why more firms choose to locate here. Like any good shopper, they know that cheaper isn't always better.

Every credible study of the job effects of NAFTA has come to the same conclusion -- NAFTA will result in more jobs for Americans -- not fewer. Last week, 300 leading economists, including [ ] Nobel Prize winners, came out strongly in support of NAFTA. NAFTA will create 200,000 new jobs for Americans in its first two years alone.

In the past seven years, we have seen a preview of NAFTA's benefits. In 1986, President Salinas and the people of Mexico undertook a program to liberalize their economy. Part of Mexico's reform involved lowering its trade barriers.

What were the effects of freer trade? It turned a $5.7 billion trade deficit with Mexico into a $5.4 billion U.S. surplus, and created a half million new U.S. jobs in the process. Some of those Americans are here today. Ask them about NAFTA.

Ask the workers at the Quaker Fabric Corporation in Fall River, Massachusetts. Quaker estimates that sales to Mexico have created 125 new jobs in Fall River.

Ask the workers at Stockham Valves and Fittings in Birmingham, Alabama. Stockham's strong sales to Mexico contributed to a recent decision to build a second manufacturing facility in Birmingham. Ask Doug Stockham, the company's director, why he built his new plant in

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Birmingham instead of [Mexico City].

Despite examples like these, many Americans remain skeptical about the NAFTA. And you know, it's no wonder. When it comes to talk about trade, all that Americans have heard for the past decade are the old failed policies from left and right.

? Bush did NAFTA.

On one extreme are the old voices and narrow interests peddling the placebo of protection. In the face of an ever more global economy, they would sound retreat and raise walls against a changing world. At the other extreme are the well-heeled advocates of market mayhem, who say the market solves everything. They would naively subject their countrymen to rules ignored by the rest of the world, neglect the environment, and do nothing to prepare American workers to master the winds of global change.

] good - but be careful!

I support NAFTA because I believe there is a third path. I believe that we should aggressively seek the benefits of freer trade. But we also must be honest in confronting the costs. We need to invest in our people and protect our environment. We must make trade work for America's workers.

For the past several months, my Administration has been working hard to make sure that expanded trade does not come at the expense of workers or the environment.

We've negotiated tough new side agreements to the NAFTA. The agreements will ensure that Mexico enforces its laws in areas including health and safety, child labor and minimum wages.

Some may ask why we care about Mexico's environment. We care

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because we don't want their lax environmental practices to be the source of a cost advantage. And we care because each day in Nuevo Loredo and a thousand places like it, raw sewage flows into the Rio Grande within yards of mothers and children playing and working on both sides of the border. With the side agreements, the U.S. can make sure that Mexico enforces its laws. If they do not, we can hit hard -- with fines and even trade sanctions.

My Administration also is tackling the tough issues of border pollution and conservation. We are negotiating with Mexico to establish a revolutionary new Border Environmental Authority to fund billions of dollars worth of new cleanup projects.

Never before has a trade agreement gone so far to ensure that expanded commerce complements the protection of the environment. In fact, our work on NAFTA's side agreements has placed environmental issues squarely in the center of future trade negotiations.

We are also making sure that all U.S. workers are prepared to compete in the global economy. There is no question that NAFTA will create far more jobs than it costs. But let's talk straight. Whether or not we pursue NAFTA, changes in the world economy will mean that some workers in sensitive industries will face adjustment.

[NAFTA will be complemented by a comprehensive program to help displaced workers, regardless of the cause of their unemployment. The program will include training for new employment and income support while training occurs. I also will work with Congress to pass a special provision in NAFTA's implementing legislation to make the benefits of this program immediately available for any worker who loses his or her job because a plant moves to Mexico.]

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All told, the efforts of two Administrations have resulted in a NAFTA package that goes far beyond traditional concepts of a free trade agreement. It's a bipartisan agreement that has won the endorsement of every living President of every political persuasion: Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush.

It's an agreement that has won the support of groups ranging from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to [the Audubon Society.] It's an agreement supported by American farmers and American workers, in businesses ranging from ranching to rockets. It's an agreement that's worthy of the support of all Americans.

I am well aware of organized labor's opposition to the NAFTA. I am disappointed that we find ourselves on opposite sides of this debate. But I must say to my friends in labor that the time has come to speak frankly about our goals.

If labor's aim is to build up walls of domestic protection, this Administration will not be a party. Whether we like it or not, we cannot divorce our ability to create new jobs from our ability to compete and win in global commerce.

But if labor's aim is to create new jobs by breaking down the walls that keep U.S.-made goods from selling abroad -- they will find no more enthusiastic partner than me. Whether it's tariffs in Mexico or anticompetitive practices in Japan -- I am committed to breaking down the barriers to American goods and services.

Let me also speak to my friends in the environmental community. For those groups that have worked in good faith to improve NAFTA, I

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pledge my continued efforts. But I cannot find common cause with those groups that believe no trade agreement can ever promote the environment, that commercial gain can come only at the expense of the environment.

Having won the Cold War, today we face the more subtle challenge of consolidating our victory.

For decades, we have talked about promoting democracy and open markets in Latin America. The NAFTA provides us a tangible opportunity to do both. Passage of NAFTA will lock-in a market economy throughout the continent, and set the tone for a hemisphere. At the same time, increasing ties between labor and environmental groups in Mexico and the United States will foster democracy through first-person exchange and contact.

What happens if NAFTA goes down? Rejecting NAFTA would push away our friends at the very moment they seek to embrace our lead. It would send shock waves throughout the hemisphere, reduce the ability of Mexicans to purchase American goods, stimulate immigration, and undermine cooperation on issues like drugs and oil. That's why every former Secretary of State alive today supports NAFTA.

We have arrived at a critical juncture in our history. On the doorstep of a new century, we confront as a nation an era of unprecedented change. I am committed to channeling change for the benefit of America's working people. In the best tradition of our parents, I am committed to passing our children a better America.

The debate over NAFTA is too important for bumper stickers and one-liners. For what's at stake in NAFTA is more than trade; it's a choice about our future.

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It's a choice between retreating and competing in the world.

It's a choice between the politics of fear -- and the politics of hope.

It's a choice between diminishing horizons -- and expanding markets.

It's a choice between the old politics of special interest -- and a new mandate for change.

Some people have told me this will be an uphill battle. So be it. I don't mind battling uphill when what's at stake are American jobs, American workers, American businesses, American growth, and American leadership.

In every generation, Americans have risen to the challenge of their time. NAFTA embodies today's challenge, and we are going to win.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Tribute to Franklin Roosevelt Time Magazine (14 pages)	3/3/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
FDR Tribute

2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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Draft 3/3/98 3pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

TRIBUTE TO FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

TIME MAGAZINE 75th ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK, NY

March 3, 1998

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WJC HANDWRITING

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Acknowledgments: Gerald Levin, Norman Perlstine, Walter Isaacson, President Gorbachev, other speakers and guests:

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 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.

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

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

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

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.

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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.

Today, with the happy outcome known to all, it is tempting to look back and say the victory ~~would be easy to say that the march~~ of freedom was inevitable. ~~But freedom need not have prevailed~~. ~~At the greatest crisis this nation faced~~ in the 20th Century's greatest crisis, it wasn't. After facing the decisively and irrevocably, President Roosevelt committed America to lead the world toward freedom.

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And because of that commitment, today, for the first time in human history, the majority of the world's people live in freedom. ~~If we are able to give thanks for this celebration of the American Century, it is because of FDR~~.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He was born to privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. ~~He was confined to crutches or a~~ wheelchair ~~for all of his presidency~~, but he lifted our nation to its feet.

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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 ~~he was a~~ 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 ~~and~~ or his fellow citizens. Because he always was true to the essential goodness of us.

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.

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And he completed the mission of his ~~forebear~~ (seminar), Theodore Roosevelt, forging a progressive government that tamed the savage cycle of boom and bust, built a modern economy, and gave ~~every~~ our citizens the economic security and skills they needed to become the great American middle class.

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.

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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 taught us that free markets require an effective government, responsive to its people and to opportunity for all.

~~And~~ By confronting the gravest threat to personal & political liberty the world had ever faced, mobilizing America's military and moral might to ~~to~~ stand up & ~~fight~~ defeat the forces of fascism, he forever committed our nation to the front lines of the struggle for freedom.

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He taught us that even the expanses of two great oceans could not shield our nation from danger -- or absolve us from ~~the~~ responsibility. From his day forward, we have ~~recognized~~ Underwood that our destiny is forever linked to the destiny of the world; that we ~~are not~~ cannot be truly free until all the world is free; that ~~the~~ humanity's cause ~~of humanity demands~~ must be America's ~~unwavering commitment~~ American cause.

We know what came of the Roosevelt generation's "rendezvous with destiny." What will come of ours? To our generation, the generation of the millennium, "much has been given." But also, "much is asked." If we ~~are to be true to the spirit of FDR, then we must assume that mission~~ of ~~"bold, persistent experimentation," the mission~~ of ~~deepening freedom in a new era~~.

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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 be a progressive force for freedom in a new era.

Now, ~~we have sought~~ we work to modernize government, to save it from its worst excesses, so that it ~~could~~ is again ~~be~~ a progressive force for freedom in the next new era. ~~An economy that offers opportunity to all Americans can thrive only in a society that demands responsibility from all Americans~~. Just as ~~he~~ FDR gave Americans security in the Industrial Age, now we ~~must~~ work to give them opportunity in an Information Age.

~~Just~~ As FDR called us to meet the crushing problem of the Depression w/ "bold, persistent experimentation," Now we must bring bold ~~persistent~~ experimentation, to the challenges + unrivaled opportunities of this age ~~to~~ to our schools and Kids and our neighborhoods, ~~to~~ to our fight against disease ~~to~~

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Just as FDR established that security and opportunity for ordinary Americans ~~was the foundation of national prosperity, we must establish that security and opportunity for ordinary people around the world is the foundation of international prosperity.~~ and 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.

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.

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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.

And for our generation, freedom from fear must mean a fair chance for people in every land, to develop their minds, fulfill needs in health & labor, and live in dignity & peace & security to the dictates of their conscience.

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

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Backed by the military might of America, Britain and nearly 20 other nations, bearing an unequivocal message from the international community, he ~~made it clear to~~ convinced Iraq ~~that it must abide by the will of the world~~ to agree to honor the UN resolutions and respect its obligations. 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. ~~America will stand watch to make sure that it does.~~ In the tradition of FDR, America and its partners must make sure that is done.

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."

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Tonight, with barely 700 days before the new century and the new millennium, it falls to us in this generation to carry on ~~our~~ America's mission, ~~to rise to our responsibility and to widen the reach of liberty~~.

Now as they gathered at Philadelphia, FDR fulfilling the mandate of our founders. He pledged, in the darkest hours, our lives, our fortunes 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. ~~But if we act in the spirit of~~ as our founders, as a legacy of us to Him to ~~Franklin Roosevelt and all who came before us — if we follow His will: to deepen the roots renew our oldest values in each new time — if we make~~ of freedom, widen the circle of opportunity, and strengthen the ~~this new century another century of freedom, then the 21st~~ bonds of union, God willing we will. Then 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	"America's Challenge", State of the Union Address (10 pages)	January 16, 1996	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Draft January 16, 1996 9pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"AMERICA'S CHALLENGE"
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 23, 1996

96 JAN 16 P9:22

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. 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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working for families

the budget while still providing a modest tax cut. And ~~[illegible]~~ without raising taxes on any working families.

shouldn't imply we can balance budget by using line item veto

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.

Move down?

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. And the Am people trust

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~~ democracy is 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

this or some other gesture somehow expressing this idea

their leaders to assure that the benefits

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people -- and I -- lost a great friend and partner when Yitzhak Rabin was taken from us. We can be proud, though, that the people of the Middle East have found the strength to go forward, in part because they know that America will stand with them, now and forever.

And, in Bosnia, the most terrible conflict in Europe since World War II is over -- because America stared down aggression and stood up for peace.

We have been able to do all of this because we kept our military strong... we invested in diplomacy and foreign assistance... we built alliances to share the risk and the cost of fulfilling our responsibility. We know we can't be everywhere. We can't do everything. But where we can make a difference -- and where our values and interests are at stake -- America must lead.

Our leadership is more important now than ever. Old threats have assumed new and dangerous dimensions -- ethnic and religious hatreds and aggression by rogue states. New threats are equal opportunity destroyers with no respect for borders -- the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking. We must confront them.

If we do, we can cut the world's nuclear stockpiles by another XX percent -- and we will if Congress ratifies the START II treaty -- this year.

We can stop the development of an entire new generation of nuclear weapons -- and we will by signing a truly Comprehensive Test Best Treaty -- this year.

We can better control chemical and biological weapons -- and we will if Congress heeds my call to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention -- this year.

We can enact stronger laws to fight terrorism and organized crime -- and we will if Congress finally passes legislation I proposed after the bombing in Oklahoma City to give our law enforcement even stronger tools to fight terrorists.

We can help more people move from hatred to hope -- and we will, if Congress gives our diplomats the resources they need to remain leaders for peace.

We can do all of these things -- but only if we continue to lead. It has never been -- and it must never be -- the American way to hide behind the curtain of our fears. If we hold to that truth now, the next century will be an American Century too.

If we are to be strong abroad, we must remain strong at home. So America's third challenge is to crack down on violent crime, and turn our young people away from drugs and gangs.

For 3 years in a row, crime has gone down in this country. In New York, the murder rate dropped 25% in one year; in St. Louis, 18%; in Seattle, 32%. Government is living up

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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.

Too many Americans still fear for their safety and that

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.

first,

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.

their children.

It also or ~~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 tries to gut the law that ~~will put~~ 100,000 more police on the street, I will veto ~~it~~ that.

a real commitment to community policing -- is putting

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.

But

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. explain?

Federal?

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.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must slam shut the revolving door that lets violent criminals go free. I am proud that we passed the Violence Against Women Act, 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 that, by the year 2000, every violent criminal will serve out at least 85% of his sentence.

All of this will make a difference. But, my friends, we could put a million new police on the streets 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 -- to fight this fight.

what about drugs?

America's fourth challenge is to give our people the tools they need to make the most of their God-given potential and become the winners of economic change.

These are good times for America. For three straight years, we have had the strongest growth of any major economy. Businesses have created nearly 8 million American jobs. Three years ago, our auto industry was losing jobs. Today, it has gained over 700,000 jobs, and Detroit is beating Japan for the first time since the 1970s. Three years ago, we were losing jobs in construction; today, we have gained over 700,000. Small businesses started by women now employ more people than the Fortune 500. Home ownership is expanding more rapidly than ever before. (ck) Thanks in no small measure to the work of Vice-President Gore, we have cut 16,000 page of unnecessary rules and regulations -- so government costs less and works better to build our economy. And from coast to coast, remarkable new industries like biotechnology and telecommunications are leading the world into the 21st century.

In the industrial economy dominated by big companies, people got their health care, their pensions and their training where they worked. Today, in the information age, more and more people work in small businesses or at home. More than ever, we need to help people carry with them the fruits of their work -- their training, their health care, their retirement benefits -- so they can thrive in the new economy. We must not fear economic change. We must conquer it.

We can do this, if Congress passes my GI Bill for workers, which will give people a training voucher they can take to a community college or their next job.

We can do it, if we 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. We should help give small businesses the same purchasing power to buy health care as big businesses, make it easier for 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.

hearts

We can do this, if we cut through red tape to make it easier for small business to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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.

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.

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~~ computer.

To make our schools 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.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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*)

Finally,

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~~ can 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.

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.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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.

- 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 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~~ their actions. Sell your products to adults, if you wish. But draw the line on children.

- 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~~ his or her 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

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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.~~ And 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.

another volunteer activity (easier than AIDS clinic)

And let me say this above all: 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/Olympic torchbearers

That is what we will see this summer in Atlanta, when we are hosts to the centennial of the modern Olympics. I am not just talking of our athletes, who show us all how to work hard to make our dreams come true. I also mean the shared effort of the entire community of Atlanta -- the City Too Busy to Hate. One community, pulling together. That is what's right with America.

But there is another group of Americans I want to call your attention to tonight. They are the ones who will hold high the Olympic torch and carry it on its path across America, from Los Angeles, across mountains, concrete canyons, unbroken desert and lush farmland. They will even carry the torch across the White House lawn, and I'll be there to greet them.

These are not celebrities or heroic athletes, but they are heroes nonetheless. Thousands of them are being selected because they are community heroes -- Americans who have used their energies to make our world better, one community at a time. Most of these people will be announced next month. But I am proud to say that the first three of them have been chosen, ~~so they can be~~ and are here with us tonight. [insert on two or three heroes]

Let us strive to be like these everyday champions. They show us a different kind of strength and endurance and a lot of heart. They show us that if we each do our part, we are sure to reach our destination. Together. And when we do, we will know the joy of a special victory -- where every American has a chance to win.

We are going to show the world this summer what happens when America pulls together. And I believe, my fellow Americans, we are going to show it time and time again in the century that lies ahead. That is, and forever will be, America's challenge.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	"A New Direction" Address to Joint Session of Congress by President William Clinton (5 pages)	February 17, 1993	P5
002. draft	[Address by the President to Joint Session of Congress] (2 pages)	2/16/93	P5
003. memo	Michael Waldman to David Gergen, George Stephanopoulos and Mark Gearan, Re: State-Of-The-Union (2 pages)	December 21, 1993	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
State of the Union 2-17-93

2006-0469-F
sb99

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.

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]

"A NEW DIRECTION"
ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM CLINTON
February 17, 1993

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker

Our nation needs a new direction. I ask you to join me in charting it. For America has chosen change.

America cannot afford to continue down the path of the past, where narrow interests come before the national interest; where tomorrow's prosperity is stifled by the depleted dogmas of yesterday; where big ideas were called for, and only small ideas were heard.

At this historic moment, we dare not shrink before this task.

We must compete in a global marketplace, where investment capital and jobs can travel across the world with a keystroke on a computer. More than ever, our prosperity depends upon what's real -- the skills of our workers and the strength of our communities.

The world changed, but gridlock left America unchanging. Even today, there are those here who think we do not need to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

protectionism to insist on fair trade rules in international markets.

But we must be in a position to compete. Our job base has eroded. I pledge that business, government, and labor will work together to promote American industry.

We have left our people to face this new world without the new skills necessary to win. And yet, we should welcome a world economy in which winning depends on our people. After all, America has the best people in the world.

Perhaps the most fundamental change offered by our New Direction is its focus on the future. We have paid an awful price for neglecting our children. We will replace inattention

We'll start by making sure that every girl and boy born in the USA has the chance to start school healthy and hopeful and ready to learn. We'll build on proven success.

Half the two year olds don't receive immunizations against deadly diseases. Our plan will provide them for every eligible child. And we'll save ten dollars for every one we'll spend.

PUT @ END OF HEALTH CARE

one of the ways we will help Amer industry, —, —.
We will come w/ a plan later this spring
~~but~~ not only bc it's the right thing but bc it's

hundreds of billions $ in R&D investment for infrastructure and security, family, biz sector.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We will ask the Congress to add $2 billion to the existing worker training programs, and to create SWAT teams that will visit worksites when layoffs occur, rather than wait for dispirited workers to find the right window at the right government bureaucracy.

And for all young Americans, including those whose minds are afire with the thirst for knowledge, but whose pockets are empty, we will offer the opportunity to take their education to the highest level -- and to serve.

As you know, our national service plan is at the core of my commitment to opportunity and upward mobility. And to launch this national service initiative, our plan asks for $5.8 billion over four years to begin a national service program.

We seek to make college affordable again for every daughter and son of the middle class. Then we will challenge them to give something back to their country -- as teachers, police officers, community service workers. Like the GI Bill, which built the broad middle class in the years following World War II, this will be the best money we ever spend.

We believe in jobs, we believe in learning, and we believe in rewarding work. We believe in restoring the values that make America special.

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Worse yet -- unless we change -- we will condemn our children and our children's children to a lesser life and a diminished destiny.

Tonight, the American people know how we must change. But they are also likely to ask whether we have the fortitude to make those changes happen. So we must scale the walls of their skepticism, not with our words, but by our deeds. After so many years of gridlock and indecision, after so many hopeful beginnings and so few promising results, Americans will be harsh in their judgements of us, if we fail to seize this moment.

Ultimately, our New Direction will depend upon a compact between the Congress and the White House; one of cooperative action producing results. Let us debate vigorously, as we will. Let us disagree amicably, if we must. But let us decide promptly.

There are big stakes in what we've talked about tonight. As I have traveled this country over the last year and a half, I met people with aches in their hearts. Their country's promise of prosperity had been broken. The system has let them down. But if we work hard -- and work together -- if we rededicate ourselves to strengthening families, creating jobs, rewarding

There's something in these cuts to anger everybody.
left out[18] to disappoint.
But we must play the hand we've been dealt.
+ So much to do

investment packages

BC - + nobody likes the tax increases.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

work and reinventing government, we can lift America's fortunes once again.

There is so much good, so much possibility, and excitement in this world, it would be tragic to let this precious season of promise pass.

Tonight, I ask all Americans to look into their hearts, to summon their hopes and imaginations, to ask the most profound and timely question of all: When our days here are over, what kind of country do you want to wake up to, to have your children wake up to? A country which summoned its highest ideals, or caved in to its basest appetites? One which renewed its promise and reinvigorated its institutions during our stewardship, or one which broke faith with its historic mission and missed its moment forever?

Finally, on that not all too distant morning, do you want to find yourself a citizen of one proud, united nation, or the pawn and victim of a thousand separate special interests? Upon your answers and resolve will depend all of our futures.

May God Bless you. And May God Bless America.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Not communicating drama of waging war country's decline
- not elevating the problem
- not joining the battle against the complacency
or the special interests

Kusnet
2/16/93, 5:00 pm
4067 words

Tonight, for the first time as President, I am honored to address both houses of Congress.

I am here to address the economic problems that are first on the minds of America's families, who are watching us tonight from their homes all across our country. I dream, as you dream, of an America where we can look our children in the eye and tell them:

"This country is a special place. If you work hard and play by the rules, there is no limit to what you can do and how far you can go. You'll have the chance to do work that makes you proud, to build a business from a dream, and to give something back to your community and your country. And, when you raise a family of your own, you'll be able to tell your children that they'll have the chance to build even better lives."

To achieve our dreams, we need to face up to our challenges.

I'm going to tell it to you straight.

I am here to present a plan to generate jobs, get the economy moving, and build a future of stable, longterm growth.

Just as we offer every American the opportunity to share in the benefits of a growing economy, we ask every American to share in the responsibility for building our future. From those to whom the most has been given, the most will be asked.

We will ask those who serve in government: Never forget that we work for the people.

We will ask the wealthiest Americans: Carry your fair share of the burden.

We will ask our businesses: Invest in America, and profit from the prosperity you build.

And we will ask every American: Contribute to this effort, because America is strongest when we stand together.

There are those here in Washington who think we do not need change. They point to the good news that consumer confidence is climbing. More people are buying new homes. And our working men and women are producing more than ever before.

This is cause for optimism -- but not complacency.

NEED TO CAPTURE
we are raising $ from upper class cuts + tax increases
instead of middle class cuts to lower the def.

- Define the SQ
- Our plan

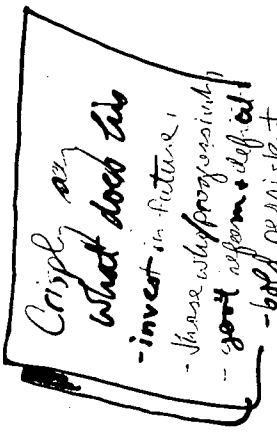
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CHANGE VS. STATUS QUO
NATIONAL INT. N. SPECIAL INTEREST

- DRAMA - this is our moment status quo.
We speak at time of risk.

DRAMA of the room.
status quo

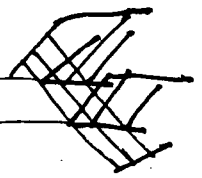
- we must choose change



- no challenge to Cong
- time
- veto

characterize plan for economic renewal

(topic sentences → call it change + drama



have a list



- people first, not trickle down

Two nights ago we

Big change

~~Our country~~ The country we love needs a new direction.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NEW DIRECTION

December 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: STATE-OF-THE-UNION

I understand that you have begun to plan the message and content of the State of the Union address, and, by extension, the year. I'm sure you have gotten plenty of input on what should be in the speech, and while you may not need more free advice, I have put some thoughts down on paper and wanted to share them with you.

I do think it is imperative that this speech not be a laundry list. It will only be memorable -- and have a significant impact -- if it holds together as an argument based on a distinct and memorable theme. Last year's speech had the convenient organizing principle of unveiling the economic plan (even then, it threatened to become a laundry list); this year it will be much harder. I see a few options:

* **Preparing the U.S. to win in a changing world** -- This is the one that I would recommend. It has the advantage of roping in both domestic and foreign policy. It would carry forward some of the visionary themes used during the NAFTA fight (hope vs. fear; future vs. past; we can't ignore a rapidly changing world, we must make it work for us). It would take into account the disorder in the world, geopolitical as well as economic. And it builds on the work of the first year ("We began by getting our economic house in order").

> Now, we will only be able to compete in the new, changing global marketplace if we provide health security and personal security for our people; if we reinvent our government and reform our politics; if we give our workers the best training and education in the world; if we fight to open markets to our products (i.e., GATT); and if we are not hobbled by a dysfunctional underclass (i.e., welfare reform). And we will only lead the world if we preserve a strong military; etc.

It risks being elitist in tone, however. So if this approach is chosen, the President would have to stress that the reason we need to be ready to compete and lead is because that is how to protect the middle class and ensure its prosperity.

* **Security**. This message played well among consegnienti, but the American people never heard the arguments or speeches. This works especially well on

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

health care, crime, worker training; but it's more of a stretch when it comes to welfare reform, reinventing gov't/political reform, or foreign policy generally.

* **Health care**. A third option would be to focus heavily on health care -- to make the speech 60% health care, 40% everything else. "Above all else, this year we must provide health security for all our people. Everything else we must do -- no matter how important -- will pale in significance."

* **The middle class**. There may be no need to have a unifying theme more complicated than "This year, we will dedicate our efforts to the security and advancement of the middle class." This would particularly encompass health care, worker training, crime and, I would argue, making government work for the middle class (i.e., political reform).

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	1998 State of the Union Address, Outline of Policies (1 page)	January 19, 1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1999 - High Points of American Achievement 20th Century]: SOTU
[State of the Union] Outlines & Notes

2006-0469-F
sb100

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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reference to race initiative throughout

crib Gore's

wk tog. lean tog. + serve tog.

(in our policies – the work

no discn in hsg

Dnt you think that if we open doors, that will build IA?

+ ownership + build loans

We just told you re IA.

must model our IA – the world

Calls to the future

invest

not just reg. but part explosive growth next gen. net.

new media com

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. transcript	SOTU Prep Section Transcript (5 pages)	nd	P5
002. notes	SOTU meeting (15 pages)	12/8/97	P5
003. notes	White House notepad, "All the balls up in the Air" (7 pages)	nd	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address (5 pages)	1/17/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1999 - High Points of American Achievement 20th Century]:
POTUS SOTU [State of the Union] Notes

2006-0469-F
sb101

RESTRICTION CODES

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1/17/98 5PM

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.

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 people born of 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 over two centuries, America has remained young by finding new means and methods to extend the values and virtues of our Constitution to each new time.

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My fellow Americans, we are all the heirs of Geo. W., Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall who gave us a nation, independent and wise; of Thomas Jefferson who gave us guaranteed liberties and dimensions on authority for the people; of Abraham Lincoln, who gave his life to preserve our Union from separation and freed us all of the stain of slavery; of TR and WW, who harnessed the power of the trusts age and ensured the responsibility of protecting our citizens from its abuses; of FDR, who led us out of depression and war with the admonition that fear is our only adversary; and of bold persistent experimentation all challenges can be met; of 50 yrs of Republican Democratic leadership ~~modernizing~~ our Nation in the cold war, and ~~winning~~ ~~against~~ a divided Europe, protected the environment, and brought the entire ~~Free~~ Western nations in victory to the ~~brink~~ ~~of the 21st Century~~. And yet, we are the heirs of MLK, who taught us again that we at least a nation of dreamers who saw only with our dreams when all our fellow citizens have the same chance to live theirs, and when we are dedicated to making our dreams real together.

~~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.

5 yrs ago America was not living up to that legacy. Our

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~~ trapped in a polarizing debate between those who ~~that America would enter the next century drifting, divided, in decline.~~ saw gov't was the problem and those who thought more of the same kind of gov't was the answer. It was a prescription for drift, division & 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 to the nation ~~We acted to strip away programs that didn't work, and experiment boldly on new ideas that would. Because~~ what some have praised and others have criticized as a third way, grounded in ~~of the Vice President's efforts to reinvent our government so it does more with less, the federal~~ the principle of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, & community bureaucracy is now the smallest since John F. Kennedy was President.

Of all Americans. We ~~returned to basic principles. That we, the people, are~~ ~~the best source of solutions to problems. We~~ ~~entrusted citizens~~ with the responsibility to solve their own problems and by acting ~~as citizens, not subjects~~ to meet our common challenges.

SIGNATURE PHOTOGRAPHY

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, to be a catalyst for new ideas, ~~and~~ to ~~call forth~~ the creativity of our people, and to forge unity, purpose, and community in the face of change that threatens to tear us apart.

We recognized, in the words of George Washington, ~~that America must be~~ "an indissoluble community of interest as one nation."

My fellow Americans, ~~we see the results all around us~~. Unemployment ~~remains~~ is 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 there's ~~an old 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.

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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. 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.

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Empowerment Zones, spearheaded by Vice President Gore, which have revitalized our cities and rural areas. Empowerment works, and we should bring the urban renaissance to every corner of the nation.

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 the new global economy -- driven by new technology -- poses new challenges for our people.

More trade demands more training and job opportunities, and quick, coordinated response when factories close or jobs move. We must insist that our trading partners enforce basic labor

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Race & leadership Insert (v. 3) (2 pages)	nd	P5
002. memo	Anthony Blinken to Micheal Waldman, re: SOU Edits (4 pages)	01/23/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
[State of the Union 1999 - High Points of American Achievement 20th Century]: Inserts

Dan Brogden
2006-0469-F
sb102

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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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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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)

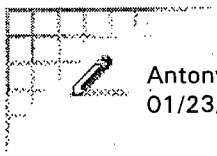
On page 2 --- lead sentence George Washington (I am struck by the fact that we named 7 Presidents and what they did or tried to accomplish) we should try to link the 7 with the President. This paragraph can prove to be interesting and where we can espouse on the difficulty of leading a nation to greatness : (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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Antony J. Blinken
01/23/98 12:28:33 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP, Paul A. Tuchmann/WHO/EOP

cc: Wendy E. Gray/NSC/EOP
Subject: SOU Edits

[Paul -- please make sure Michael sees this. Thanks].

Michael -- sorry if I was testy before. I know the difficulty of your task even if I don't bear it (And, for what it's worth, the draft reads really well). Understand that Berger has designated me his eyes and ears in this process. If I represent to him that nothing has changed and/or that I agreed to any changes and then he sees a new draft with a (to him) problematic cut, then I, er, hear about it. To that point, a couple of other changes were made after our phone call yesterday that rise to the level of problematic. If I may:

[Not problematic but: 1. Page 14, last line. This is stylistic, not substantive (and so not problematic), but we now use "predator" twice in a row. Can't we just say "they"?]

2. Page 15, line 2. I would strongly argue for reinstating the instrumentalities. People have no understanding how all these seemingly disparate elements of our policy come together into a coherent strategy. Also important to reference military might here, so we don't fall victom to charges of "assertive multilateralism. I would propose: "To meet these challenges, we are adapting old institutions to new demands... forging strong partnerships to meet common challenges... and modernizing the insturments of our influence, military and diplomatic. Through this new security strategy, we are writing international rules of the road for he 21st century, protecting those who join in the family of nations, isolating those who do not.

3. Page 15, line 3. Regardless of previous point, would urge you to change "isolating outlaw regime" to "isolating those who do not." Those we're trying to isolate go beyong rogue states (e.g. terrorists, criminals, drug traffickers etc...)

4.. Page 15, line 4. Urge you to return to "Here are some of the key elements of that strategy we must put in place together -- this year." Sandy wants to make very clear that stuff we're singling out is not the sum total of our foreign policy, but rather stuff Congress has a hand in and that we can act on this year. This is our way of defending against failure to mention lots of other important things.

5. Page 15, line 11. It's a mistake to take out line about asking Congress to continue its support for our troops in Bosnia. Our strategy in getting Congress to okay a supplemental is to turn it into a test of support for our troops. At the least, I would restore the first line. And ideally, I would restore the next two, to remind people where Bosnia was and to elicit applause after "peace." So: "I will ask 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."

6. Page 16, line 11. Please insert word "help" so sentence reads "and HELP lift the nuclear cloud that has shadowed our lives for fifty years." Even with CTBT, nuclear threat will still be there.

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7. Page 17, last graf in section. As discussed, reinstate language on trip, pending new efforts to delete it.

ELSEWHERE

1. Page 9, line 13. Steinberg strongly urges adding to sentence, after Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea "and other friends in Asia." Several other countries are having serious problrems and we're helping. Shouldn't write them off.

2. Page 13. Maybe I missed it, but no reference to drugs in responsibility section or in speech? Humbly, I submit this is a mistake. We've got very good interdiction stuff -- record cocaine seizures and the like.

3. Page 20, first graf. Steinberg strongly urges reference to getting developing countries to do their bit re. climate change. This, as you know, is the major hang up with Congress. POTUS should make clear he's fighting this battle.

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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.~~

Julian

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.

crystalline waters of Lake Tahoe.

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.

Shelly

Yesterday, our new plan to protect our meat and poultry took effect, using cutting-edge science to protect consumers from e-coli and salmonella.

burgers bites

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~~ coastal waters.

And I again challenge Congress to pass my legislation so that any time toxic waste threatens a community, the polluters, not the taxpayers, pay to clean it up.

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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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, and energy efficient homes. renewable energy,

Every time we have acted to heal our environment, the 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.

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.

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.

What can we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more diverse?

I have launched an initiative on race, not to dwell on our differences, but to underscore our shared strengths.

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.

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.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Thomas P. Malinowski to Michael Waldman, Re: outline (5 pages)	02/18/99	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
For [Foreign] Policy Speech 2/99

2006-0469-F
sb103

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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FOR FOR. POL Speech

Tomasz P. Malinowski
02/18/99 07:33:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: outline

Michael:

Here's my current draft of an outline. Please treat it as a work in progress -- and as something that should not be broadly distributed. Some issues are fleshed out more than others; obviously we would choose a few to focus on, with others mentioned in passing.

4

Speech Outline

- End of Cold War resulted in uniquely favorable international environment for the United States.

  - No immediate threat to our nation

  - first great power peace in over 100 years

  - globalization is dominant force of our age:

    spread of open markets benefits an American economy that is uniquely suited to compete globally; if we manage wisely, it holds out long-term promise of lifting millions in developing world out of poverty.

    spread of open societies has left more people living in freedom than ever, means more nations than ever share our basic values and interests; tyranny still possible, but with revolution in communications and trade, no longer possible to isolate societies from knowledge of alternative ways of life.

- But globalization also carries with it new dangers of disintegration, and makes us more vulnerable to old problems that were once easier to isolate and contain. (economic crises, terrorism, drugs, population movements, ethnic tensions once artificially suppressed by communism, etc.)

- Essential that we avoid strategic complacency

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- 100 years ago, hopes expressed in leading nations about 20th century not much different from hopes expressed today about 21st (we can find plenty of old quotes here about how globalization, a clear and recognized force in 1900, would produce perpetual peace and understanding.)

- Rise in global trade and communications did not avert WWI or WWII or rise of fascism or communism. Can't assume today that globalization will inevitably wash away forces opposed to openness, progress and peace - and that all we have to do is ride the wave. Can't assume that because we are secure, we don't need military strength or alliances, or that because we are prosperous we are invulnerable to global financial turmoil.

• No nation has had opportunity we now have to shape a peaceful, prosperous, democratic world. Must seize it to preserve a moment in history that is favorable, but fragile; to extend its blessings to nations willing to play by the rules, and to protect it against emerging threats while it is still possible to prevent them.

We must lead with a clear vision of what we want to achieve:

1. Building a peaceful 21st century world

- no major inter-state conflict since Gulf War - first such decade since ?? (19th century, I think). But still many potential flash points of large scale conflict. India-Pakistan shows next big war could still be nuclear.

- What we must do:

- First, expand the area in the world where wars simply do not happen, and where reliable allies will join us in building/defending peace.

  Starts in Europe: central goal of my Administration has been building, for the first time in history, peaceful, undivided Europe. Implication: we're building in all of Europe what we have helped build in Western Europe in the last 50 years: a community that upholds and enforces common standards of human rights, where borders are increasingly open to people and to trade, where nations cooperate to make war unthinkable.

  NATO summit, goals

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[We could say we don't have anything like this in Asia, elsewhere, but need to start taking modest steps]

- Second, work with our allies to bring peace to troubled nations so that small wars do not become big wars:

  Middle East, Northern Ireland, Africa, **focus on Kosovo.**

2. A world in which our former great power adversaries are part of the international system.

   - Huge differences between Russia and China; but in both cases, danger for US is not so much that these nations will become too strong, more realistically, it is that they will be weak - unable to maintain stability at home or to stop flow of weapons and technology abroad.

   - Dimensions of that problem clear in Russia. Evident in China as well: growth declining just as it's most needed to create jobs for rising army of unemployed, economy still mostly in state hands, banks in bad shape, gov't hesitant to reform for fear of sparking unrest. Growing problems of crime, drugs, population movements, freewheeling enterprises selling weapons.

   - In Russia's case, challenge is largely economic -- summarize policy, goals for 2000.

   - In China's case, it's economic and political: need for more openness, giving people peaceful outlets for expressing dissent.

   - Our policy guards against any outcome (troops alliances in Asia, strict export controls, Taiwan policy). But takes into account that problems of China's weakness can't be contained. Need engagement at every level (gov't-gov't, people-people to spark growth of civil society); encourage China to adopt global rules - WTO, proliferation, human rights conventions, rule of law; work together where we can, speak clearly and act firmly to protect our interests.)

3. A world in which our people are safe on our own soil, from terrorism, from drugs, from the multiple catastrophes that would arise from significant changes in our climate.

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- Each generation faces the challenge of not trying to fight the last war.

- In our case that means recognizing, in part, that the the most likely existential threat we will face in the future is not a strategic strike from Russia or China, but the use of WMD by an outlaw nation or a terrorist group that cannot be deterred by traditional means. Made this central part of our foreign policy.

- Must stop weapons from spreading at the source - CTR; keep new nations from developing them - India/Pak, CTBT; keep them from the rogues - Iraq, N. Korea; protect the home front from chemical, biological attacks and cyber-terror.

- drugs

- global warming (could do under #4, too)

4. A world in which our nation continues to prosper in the global economy.

   - completing unfinished agenda of market opening agreements

   - reforming international financial architecture to tame cycles of boom and bust

5. A world in which freedom is ascendant.

   - For now, financial crisis has strengthened global consensus for democracy, good governance, free markets - Korea, Thailand examples. But if elected gov'ts are unable in the long run to meet the needs of their people, crisis could have opposite effect - could shatter confidence in democracy and the values associated with America, just as depression did in 1930's. Pendulum could swing back, and next century could begin as badly as this one did.

   - Need to deepen democracy where it is taking root - help narrow income gaps, fight corruption, promote education.

   - Also need to support troubled nations where democracy

   is most fragile or just emerging. No more important or hopeful development on world stage this year than the emergence of democracy and good government in Indonesia, Nigeria, [Colombia]. Each country has potential to help lift entire regions if it succeeds, sink them if it

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fails. Key priority in next two years will be concentrated U.S. effort to help them succeed.

- End with bipartisan challenge to Congress to embrace this agenda, and to fund U.S. leadership. Without adequate funding, only effective tools we have are sanctions and force.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	Budget Working Group Preliminary Action Plan (3 pages)	February 18, 1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
Budget 1997

2006-0469-F
sb104

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Budget Working Group
Preliminary Action Plan
February 18, 1997

FIVE STRATEGIC GOALS

- Protect credibility of the budget
- Emphasize soundness of major items
- Make our priorities untouchable
- Defend against "net tax hike" argument
- Demonstrate our progressive budget

"TO DO" LIST FOR REACHING STRATEGIC GOALS

I. Protect Credibility of the Budget

A. Backloading
B. CBO
C. Home health care
D. "New" entitlements
E. Programs end in 2001

- Lew, Cohen, Orszag sign off on common tough Q&A and talking points; distrubution to appropriate Hill Democrats, Romer, talkers, cabinet and subcabinet, mayors, and key governors

- Siewert to draft 1-pager on key points that must be made in all press interviews

- Validation strategy:
  - -- Lew, Cohen, Orszag, and CEA do detailed version of Q&A and talking points for budget validators
  - -- OMB, CEA, Cohen, Orszag, and Jennings compile list of top budget validators and economists and suggest outreach assignments
  - -- Outreach to top budget validators and economists

- Media strategy:
  - -- Validation op-eds and regional op-eds: Siewert, Haas, and McHugh develop plan
  - -- Tongs; meetings with all key reporters (Pianin, Weinstein, Milius)

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II. Soundness of Major Items

A. Medicare Package

- Medicare walk-through document, including home health care, HMO attack, Marilyn Moon op-ed (Jennings)
- Jennings to work on validator and press strategy for Medicare and Medicaid

B. Medicaid

- Medicaid document, including per capita cap (Jennings)
- Use Blue Dog budget as validation for per capita cap

C. Discretionary Line

D. Defending Corporate Subsidies

- Put corporate subsidies talking points into plain English (Treasury/Mazur)

III. Making our Priorities Untouchable

A. Defending Higher Education Tax Cuts

- Endorsement letter from community college presidents (DoEd)
- Regional op-eds by College presidents, including historically Black College presidents, and other outside validators/economists (DoEd)
- Treasury drafts 1-pager and chart on how using IRA and tuition tax deduction together creates tax-free savings for education
- Secretary Riley speech on education in Atlanta on February 18
- State-by-state analysis of Pell Grant and education tax proposals to be discussed at February 20 education tax meeting
- POTUS ACE ~~speech on February 24~~ -- possible endorsement
- Secretary Riley testifies on education proposals on February 27
- VP or First Lady attends Direct Loan 2000 event on March 3
- DoEd compiles list of all higher ed events for NEC/scheduling
- Gov. Zell Miller writes op-ed on HOPE in Georgia (Siewert)
- Op-ed on how higher ed package works and its long-term economic benefits (Treasury)
- VP, Riley conduct telephone press conference with student newspapers

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B. Case for General Education Priorities in Budget

1. School Construction

- School construction memo to POTUS by February 20 (NEC)
- Treasury compiles state-by-state on school construction budget numbers
- Develop event for legislative announcement
- Possible event in Florida with Sen. Graham
- Call to Executive Director of Council of Great City Schools

2. America Reads

- OMB circulating legislation
- POTUS event with Jump Start in Boston on February 19
- POTUS event with DC college presidents on February 21 (DoEd; CNS)
- Possible announcement of college president pledges in ACE speech on February 24 (DoEd)
- Create event here with George Farkus's one-to-one group in Texas (invite Goodling)

3. Ed Tech

- NetDay on April 19
- Create event for children with disabilities

C. Children's Health Coverage

- Jennings and Public Liaison draft outreach plan
- Possible Shalala/Daschle op-ed

D WELFARE

IV. Response to Likely Republican Attack on Tax Cut

- Draft overall talking points on CBO; 10-year tax cut (Orszag)
- Put corporate subsidies talking points into plain English (Treasury/Mazur)

V. Progressive Budget

- Draft 1-pagers on how the budget is good in various specific areas, including cities; children; the environment (OMB)

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JOHN —

MAYBE THE SIMPLEST THING IS TO PACK THE CAFETERIA AT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE WITH SENIOR SUPPORTERS. LET 'EM GATHER at A TABLE W/ THEIR MAC 'N CHEEZ ON THEIR PLASTIC TRAYS AND TALK ABOUT SOC. SEC. POOL COVERAGE (esp. CAMERAS).

SOCIAL SECURITY IS...

1) RETIREMENT PROGRAM;
2) LIFE INSURANCE POLICY;
3) DISABILITY POLICY;
4) ANNUITY. (?)

*CERTAINTY v. RISK

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98 Apr. 6 PM 7:30

Draft 4/6/98 6:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-7-98

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS AT SOCIAL SECURITY FORUM

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

S.S. File

April 7, 1998

15 M out of pov
1 N unlikely

cc: Laura Capps

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-7-98

~~Acknowledgments~~: Gov. Carnahan; Sens. Kerrey & Santorum; Reps. Hulshof & Pomeroy; Rep. Karen McCarthy; AG "Jay" Nixon; Mayor Cleaver, Mayor Marinovich; John Rother; Tim Penny.

Let me thank the AARP – ~~America's leading~~ a leading voice for the elderly – and the Concord Coalition – ~~America's~~ a leading voice for fiscal responsiblity – for hosting this forum. And let me thank the Members of Congress, representing the Speaker of the House, the Senate Majority Leader, and the House and Senate Democratic Leaders.

This is a time of great hope for America. Our economy is the strongest in a generation. Our social fabric is on the mend. Our leadership in the world is unrivaled.

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IF PRESIDENT HAS NEED
4-7-98

And because we replaced decades of deficits with five years of fiscal responsibility, within the next year America will have a balanced budget. Where once there were deficits as far as the eye can see, now we will have surpluses as far as the eye can see – $1 trillion over the next decade.

Yes, this is a sunlit moment. But it is not a time to rest; it is a rare opportunity ~~to build.~~ ~~There is an old saying: "The time~~ to fix the roof ~~is~~ when the sun is shining." ~~Because of the steps taken by our~~ generation ~~at the edge of the 21st Century, we have it within our power to build for the next~~ generation.

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OUR PRESIDENT WAS HERE
4-7-99

In the coming century, ~~Americans will live longer and be retired longer.~~ ~~The challenge of an~~ The challenge of our aging society will present challenges and opportunities. Because we live longer ~~will affect every aspect of our lives.~~ And our greatest opportunity and most profound obligation ~~as a nation~~ is to use this moment of prosperity to save Social Security.

~~As you know~~, in my State of the Union Address, I called on Congress to set aside every penny of any surplus until we Save Social Security First. Both parties in both chambers of Congress have joined this call. That is very good news. Now we turn to the business at hand — ~~We have shown the will to set aside the surplus. In the coming years we must show the will to~~ build public awareness of the nature and scope of the challenge to the present SS system and build public awareness for the best ways to ~~save Social Security~~.

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4-7-98

~~I want to do three things this morning. First, I want to explain how I intend to approach this issue -- not just today, but throughout this year. I want to talk about the importance of Social Security, and the nature of our challenge. And I want to spell out the principles that I believe must guide any changes to Social Security we may choose to make.~~

~~First, let me talk about how we should proceed~~. We will strengthen Social Security only if we reach across lines of party, philosophy, and generation – with open minds and generous spirits. ~~I ask everyone to set aside normal political responses,~~ to listen, and to learn.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4-7-98

For far too long, politicians have called Social Security the "third rail of American politics." This year we must prove them wrong. ~~I believe~~ this conference, with its wide participation, is a ~~very~~ hopeful start. ~~I know that~~ On the political calendar, 1998 is an election year. But on the Social Security calendar, let's resolve that 1998 will be an education year – ~~a year~~ when we come to grips with the problems of the system, and come together to find the answers.

~~I pledge to do what I can to build a climate of broad support for necessary action~~. This issue is so complicated, we need the best ideas -- whatever their source. This issue is so controversial, we need a national consensus on the nature of the problem and the general direction we must take.

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4-7-94

That is why I have asked members of Congress to host ~~a~~ town meetings in ~~his or her~~ their districts – and I will be talking by satellite with several of them later today. We will hold ~~two~~ 3 additional more forums around the country. We will host a White House conference in December. And in January, I will convene the leaders of Congress to draft a plan to save Social Security.

With this effort, we can forge a consensus on Social Security. And we must. ~~It won't be easy – but the stakes couldn't be higher. Let me tell you why this is so important~~.

For 60 years, Social Security has meant more than an ID number on a tax form; more than a monthly check in the mail.

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4-7-98

It reflects our deepest values – the duty we owe to our parents, ~~the duty we owe~~ to each other, ~~the duty we owe~~ to our children and grandchildren, ~~our determination~~ to move forward as one America.

Missouri's ~~great gift to America~~ native son, Mark Twain, once said, "I've come loaded with statistics, for i've noticed that a man can't prove anything without statistics." So I thought that a few statistics wouldn't hurt.

Today, 44 million Americans depend upon Social Security. For two thirds of senior citizens, it is the main source of income. [*chart #1*]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-7-98

But Social Security is more than just a retirement program. Today, one out of three beneficiaries are not retirees. They are children and spouses of working people who die in their prime. They are men and women who ~~suffer from a disability~~ BECOME DISABLED. So Social Security is a life insurance policy ... a disability policy ... and a rock solid guarantee of support in old age. That is why we must act with great care as we make needed repairs to this program.[*chart #2*]

Since its enactment over 60 years ago, Social Security has changed the face of America. When President Roosevelt signed the bill creating Social Security, most seniors were poor.

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1-7-98

One typical elderly person sent a letter to FDR begging him to eliminate "the stark terror of penniless old age." Since then, the elderly poverty rate has dropped sharply. [*Chart #3*] In 1959, more than a third of all seniors were still poor. But today, thanks to the expansion of Social Security, that number has dropped to 11%. Even ~~in this prosperous time~~, if Social Security did not exist, half of all elderly Americans would plummet into poverty.

Today, Social Security is sound. But a demographic crisis looms if we fail to act. The Baby Boomers, 76 million of us, are preparing for retirement. [*"You and that young man" joke re: Gore*] And people are living longer. By 2030, there will be twice as many elderly as today.

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R

4-7-98

All these trends will impose heavy strains on the system. [*Chart #4*] In 1960, there were 5 active workers paying for each Social Security beneficiary; in 1997, 3.3 active workers; and in 2030, there will be only two people working for each person drawing a Social Security check.

[*Chart #5*] Here is the bottom line. If we fail to act, the Trust Fund will be depleted by 2029 -- and payroll contributions will only be enough to pay 75 cents on the dollar of current benefits. The good news is: we have a rare opportunity to act -- not because we are in a crisis today, but to avoid a crisis tomorrow. If we act now, we can ensure strong retirement benefits for the Baby Boomers without placing an undue burden on our children and grandchildren.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-1-98

~~I believe Social Security is a sacred trust, and I believe it is an obligation -- and an opportunity to act to keep it sound.~~ And ~~I am determined that we begin now, for~~ the changes necessary will be far easier, far simpler, than if we wait until the problem is close at hand. For example ~~Each~~ $100 billion of the budget surplus, if used for Social Security, could add 1 year or more to the solvency of the Trust Fund. And other changes can be phased in over time.

So, how should we judge proposals to save Social Security? Here are the principles I will bring to this task.

[CHART] #6

First, any reform should strengthen and protect Social Security for the 21st Century. We cannot abandon the basic core program that has been one of the greatest successes in our nation's history.

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Second, we must maintain the universality and fairness of Social Security. For half a century, this program has been a progressive guarantee for citizens – and we must keep it that way.

Third, Social Security must provide a benefit that people can count on. Regardless of the ups and downs of the economy or financial markets, we must make certain that Social Security will provide a solid and dependable foundation of retirement security.

Fourth, Social Security must continue to provide financial security for disabled and low-income beneficiaries. We can never forget the 1 out of three Social Security beneficiaries who are not retirees.

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Fifth, any strengthening of Social Security must maintain America's hard-won fiscal discipline.

These are the principles that will guide me ~~on Social~~ Security. ~~They are the principles by which I will judge possible proposals. And they are the principles that~~ I ~~believe can and should guide the country~~ as we forge a consensus for reform.

~~I believe~~ This national effort to strengthen Social Security will call on the best in our people. It will ~~ask~~ us to rise above partisanship and petty politics. It will ~~ask~~ us to plan for the future, to ~~be willing to~~ consider new ideas -- to act, as President Roosevelt said, in a spirit of "bold, persistent experimentation." It will remind us that there are some challenges that can only be met as one nation through our national government,

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4-7-98

This is a challenge for each generation. To the older Americans here today, let me say: you have nothing to worry about. For you, Social Security is as strong as ever. To the younger people here today -- who may believe you will never see a Social Security check -- I say: that skepticism may have been well founded in the past. But just as we put our fiscal house in order, we can and will make sure that Social Security is there for you. And above all, to my fellow Baby Boomers: None of us wants our retirement to be a burden on our children. It would be unconscionable if we fail to act, ~~especially when acting early will have a bigger impact. And if we do, we will act~~ as one nation, renewing the ties that bind us across the generations. I look forward to hearing from all of you.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Final draft, President William J. Clinton Remarks on Social Security and medicare, Tucson Convention Center Music Hall (13 pages)	2/24/99	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
Tucson 3/99

2006-0469-F
sb107

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-25-99

Final 02/24/99 7:30pm

Jeff Shesol MTO

'99 FEB 24 PM 8:42

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON SOCIAL SECURITY

AND MEDICARE

TUCSON CONVENTION CENTER MUSIC HALL

TUCSON, ARIZONA

February 25, 1999

Soc Security
2/24/99

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-25-99

Acknowledgments: Gov. Jane Hall [redacted] Reps. Ed Pastor and Jim Kolbe; Mayor George Miller [redacted]; Esther Don Tang (& husband David Tang & family); Marian Lupu, Dir. of Pima Council on Aging, and her staff; and all the representatives from senior organizations here today; Linda Ronstadt; CeCe Penniston [Cee-Cee PENN-us-tunn]

- AG Janet Napolitano

[redacted]

I am pleased to be back on America's frontier. ~~Whenever I come to~~ Arizona ~~I am reminded~~ that the great era of Westward expansion didn't end a century ago; it continues to this day. ~~The vistas today are every bit as wide, and~~ when our nation looks West it still sees its future.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-25-99

~~The great changes~~, the seismic shifts in population ~~and profession~~ you are undergoing ~~in Arizona, are what most of America will undergo in the 21st Century.~~

~~So Arizona is already facing some of the challenges I spoke of in my State of the Union Address one month ago. As your communities and your regional economy grow, you are working~~ to maintain your high quality of life and preserve ~~the~~ spectacular landscapes ~~that mean so much to your history and culture~~. ~~And we will work with you to meet that challenge~~: Vice President Gore and I have proposed a new Livability Agenda, to give communities new tools and resources to reduce traffic congestion, save green space, and promote smart growth.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-25-99

There is much more we must do to prepare for the 21st Century. My budget also makes historic investments in the future of education --~~from quality teaching to school modernization~~, from the afterschool programs ~~that keep kids safe to the summer school programs that keep kids learning~~.

In my State of the Union Address, I spoke about another great challenge: the aging of America, and the pressing need to save Social Security and strengthen Medicare. And that is what I want to talk a little more about today. On this issue, like the others I have discussed, the people of Arizona have a special sensitivity. Here in Pima County alone, the number of people over 65 has more than doubled since 1980.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-25-99

Nationally, the number of people over 65 will double by the year 2030. The retirement of the Baby Boomers -- all 76 million of us -- will change not only Arizona but the face of America.

The aging of America means that, more than ever, we must think about and plan for and save for the future. Families and public figures, communities and states and the national government, we must all plan for the future. ~~And we must do so in a way~~ consistent with our national ~~value~~s -- a way that renews our shared responsibility to one another, across generational lines. Because the decisions we make today about what to do with the budget surplus, and about how to save Social Security and Medicare, are every bit as important to younger Americans as they are to older Americans.

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2-25-99

So the decisions we make today, we must make wisely -- if we're going to make good on the truly historic opportunity before us. And it is an unprecedented opportunity. We live in a time of economic renaissance, the longest peacetime expansion in American history. Since I took office we have nearly 18 million new jobs; the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957; and wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation. Opportunity is abundant. America is working again.

It should not surprise us if at times like this, at times of profound prosperity, some Americans might wish to relax, to coast, to let the future take care of itself. But I do not believe that any of us have worked this hard for this long to leave our children, and our grandchildren, with our own unfinished business.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

That is why, in my State of the Union Address, I proposed that we invest the budget surplus in saving Social Security and strengthening Medicare. Saving 62 percent of the surplus for Social Security for 15 years, and investing a modest portion in the private sector, will not only increase the rate of return but will keep Social Security a rock-solid guarantee for 55 years. And if we work together and make the tough choices, we can extend the life of Social Security for 75 years, while doing more to reduce poverty among elderly women and lifting the limit people on Social Security can earn.

I am encouraged that more and more members of Congress, members like Jim Kolbe and Ed Pastor, on both sides of the aisle, are pledging to put first things first.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-25-99

~~Even in the majority party~~, there is agreement that setting aside the lion's share of the surplus to save Social Security is the right thing to do -- and that we should do it right now. I am also pleased that Republican leaders are rethinking ~~their indiscriminate~~ tax cut that would squander our surplus, and are instead moving toward the ~~kind of~~ targeted tax cuts ~~proposed~~ in my State of the Union Address.

~~THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE PACKAGE OF TAX CUTS —~~
[redacted] -- no matter how targeted, no matter how appealing, -- [redacted]
~~APPARENTLY WILL SHUT CROWD OUT MEDICARE —~~
[redacted]
save from their across-the-board tax cut [redacted]
[redacted]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the balanced budget agreement I signed in 1997, we extended the life of the Medicare trust fund for a decade. But we know we must do more: Every independent analyst says that without new revenue, we can't extend the Medicare trust fund for any meaningful length of time. This is a complicated problem to resolve -- more complicated, in some ways, than Social Security. But strengthening Medicare is every bit as central to our responsibility to older Americans. Now, I want any solution to be bipartisan, but make no mistake about it: we must save Medicare. Then we can talk about the rest of the surplus.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

By setting aside 15 percent of the surplus for 15 years, as I have proposed, we can strengthen Medicare for the next 20 years. And we should aim higher. Working together, we should look at new ideas, including the upcoming report of the bipartisan Medicare Commission. While strengthening Medicare, we should also modernize it -- making it more efficient. And as many of you can attest, seniors have no greater growing need than affordable prescription drugs. That is why we must provide all seniors with a long-overdue prescription drug benefit.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

There is some common ground in this great debate. There are signs, welcome and promising signs, that we can make the right choices for our future in a bipartisan way. I am very pleased that both parties agree to use the surplus to save Social Security. I am very pleased the Republicans are rethinking their indiscriminate, across-the-board tax cut in favor of sensible, sound, targeted tax cuts. But until we agree to use the surplus to strengthen Medicare, we cannot say we have met the test of future generations.

Now, some of the younger members of this audience may feel a little left out of this discussion: We are talking about retirement benefits; we are talking about health care for the elderly.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But the decisions we make about Social Security and Medicare are critical to the future of every young person in this room and every young person in America. Here is why: We have a debt. A national debt. My generation is either going to pay it down now, or leave it as a burden on our children.

Let me put it in simple terms. When I took office in 1993, America was paying 14 cents of every taxpayer dollar in interest on the debt -- just on the interest. That's eight times more than we were spending on education and training. Now, if we do nothing to pay down the debt itself, interest rates will be higher, our economy will be weaker, and the burden on our children and grandchildren will be heavier.

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2-25-99

But if we save Social Security now, and strengthen Medicare in the way I proposed, then in 15 years we will be paying only 2 cents of every tax dollar, and by 2018 we will completely erase the national debt.

So the choice we must make is clear. By saving Social Security. . . strengthening Medicare. . . and paying down the debt, we will meet the critical first tests of the 21st Century. None of us wants choices deferred today to burden our children tomorrow. Instead, the decisions we make here and now should empower our children, should give them the strength and freedom to make their time even better than our own. Thank you.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William Jefferson Clinton New York Times Op-Ed on Kosovo (6 pages)	May 23, 1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
Kosovo

2006-0469-F
sb108

RESTRICTION CODES

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President William Jefferson Clinton

New York Times Op-Ed on Kosovo

for Sunday, May 23, 1999

Why are we in Kosovo? To defend America's enduring national interest in the stability of Europe. And to uphold a fundamental principle: the right of a people to exist on their land, without being singled out for destruction, displacement and deportation for no other reason than their ethnicity and faith.

The violence in Kosovo is the result not just of ethnic hatred, but the manipulation of hatred by leaders to hold on to power. The tools of this manipulation are familiar now. Spreading hate through the media. Killing moderate leaders. Destroying records. Arming paramilitaries and ordering soldiers to conduct planned campaigns of murder and expulsion. Refugees are not a byproduct of this fighting; the fighting is designed to create refugees.

When governments adopt as systematic policy the dehumanization of an entire people, the potential for destruction is limitless. The conflicts that result leave legacies of anger and instability that last generations and become self-perpetuating. Our ability to prevent them, and to end them, will help decide the future of much of the world in the next century, from central Europe to Russia to the Middle East to South Asia to most of Africa -- for across much of the world ethnic differences exist, to be resolved by statesmen, or exploited by demagogues.

We cannot respond to ethnic violence everywhere, but this does not mean that we must, for the sake of consistency, respond to it nowhere. Had we faltered in Kosovo, at the doorstep of NATO where we have forces deployed and allies willing to act, the result would have been a moral and strategic disaster. The Kosovars would have become a people without a homeland, living in difficult conditions in some of the poorest countries in Europe, overwhelming new democracies with their presence and their grievances. The Balkan conflict that began when Yugoslavia

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collapsed would have continued indefinitely, posed a real risk of a wider war, and led to a permanent state of tensions between NATO allies and Russia. NATO itself would have been discredited for failing to defend the very values that bind its members and give it meaning. Those who say Kosovo is too small to be of great importance forget these simple facts.

President Bush understood that a conflict in Kosovo could spark a larger Balkan powder keg, and warned President Milosevic in 1992 that we would respond to the use of force. For six years, my administration pressed Milosevic to restore autonomy to the Kosovars, and made clear that Serbia would not be fully free of economic sanctions until he did. When the violence in Kosovo began in early 1998, we exhausted every diplomatic avenue for a settlement.

Last October, under the threat of force, Mr. Milosevic agreed to withdraw some of his forces from Kosovo and to allow an unarmed international presence. That is the solution advocates of compromise with the Serbian leader propose today. But it failed last fall. Milosevic broke his promises, poured more troops into Kosovo, poised for an offensive he had been planning for months. When it began, we had to act – to stop it if possible, to reverse it if necessary.

We are seeking to achieve several related objectives in Kosovo, and our strategy must embrace each.

First, and most important, we must restore the Kosovars to their homes, so their lives can resume, so history will record that Mr. Milosevic failed in his design. For this to happen, Serbian forces must leave Kosovo. An international security force must deploy to protect all the people there. Such a force must have NATO at its core, which means it must have NATO command and control and NATO rules of engagement, with special arrangements to accommodate non-NATO countries, just like our force in Bosnia. Our military campaign will continue until these conditions are met – not because we are stubborn or arbitrary, but because these are the only conditions under which the refugees will go home in safety and the only

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conditions under which the insurgent Kosovo Liberation Army will have any incentive to disarm -- the basic requirements of a resolution that will work.

Second, NATO must meet these objectives as an alliance. This is not an American effort; it is a transatlantic enterprise conducted by 19 diverse democracies. While there may be differing domestic circumstances, cultural ties to the Balkans, and ideas on tactics, there is no question about our goals and our will to prevail. I have worked hard to shape our present consensus; 60 days into the air campaign, NATO is even more unified on Kosovo than it was a month or a year before it began.

Third, we must do this in a way that at the very least seeks to avoid feeding Russian nationalism and a dangerous confrontation, and at best, as in Bosnia, ultimately strengthens our relationship. That means trying to involve Russia in a diplomatic solution to the crisis as an intermediary working out a way for Belgrade to meet our conditions. It means turning a source of tension into an opportunity for cooperation by including Russian troops in the force that will keep the peace in Kosovo

Finally, in the end, we must build arrangements to ensure that the forces pulling southeastern Europe together are stronger than the forces tearing it apart. We must do for this region what we did for western Europe after World War II, and for central Europe after the Cold War. That means supporting democratic governments and institutions, ~~rebuilding struggling economies, relieving debts,~~ encouraging trade and investment, and helping the nations of the region join NATO and the European Union. Already, the region's democracies are responding to the pull of integration, by sticking with their reforms, taking in refugees, and supporting NATO's campaign. A democratic Serbia that respects the rights of its people and its neighbors can and should join them. If it does, we will help to restore it to its rightful place among European nations.

But first we must bring this conflict to a successful conclusion.

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Second, NATO must meet its objectives as an alliance. For that to happen, every ally must sometimes be willing to give ground to preserve our common ground, and that is fine as long as there is no question about our goals and our will to prevail. I have worked hard to shape our present consensus; 60 days into the air campaign, NATO remains far more unified on Kosovo than it was a month or a year before it began.

Third, we must do this in a way that preserves our relationships with Russia and China. That means involving Russia in a diplomatic solution to the crisis, not as a messenger, but as an intermediary working out a way for Belgrade to meet our conditions. It means turning a source of tension into an opportunity for cooperation by welcoming Russian troops in the force that will keep the peace in Kosovo. It also requires meeting China's legitimate concerns about our accidental bombing of its embassy and not losing sight of our mutual interest in a constructive relationship, without conceding anything fundamental because of the tragedy.

Finally, we must ensure that the forces pulling southeastern Europe together are stronger than the forces tearing it apart, by doing for this region what we did for western Europe after World War II, and for central Europe after the Cold War. That means supporting democratic institutions, promoting regional integration, rebuilding struggling economies, encouraging trade and investment, and helping the nations of the region join NATO and the European Union. Already, the region's democracies are striving to act as the allies they wish to be, sticking with their reforms, taking in refugees, and supporting NATO's campaign. A democratic Serbia that respects the rights of its people can and should join them. If it does, we will help to restore it to its rightful place among European nations.

But first we must bring this conflict to a successful conclusion. There is no question in my mind that we will.

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Sometimes, we are so preoccupied with the challenges we face that we fail to see the predicament our adversary is in. We should remember that when the NATO campaign began, Mr. Milosevic thought he could divide or outlast us. He has failed. Instead of disunity in Brussels, there is disaffection in Belgrade. More Serbian soldiers are abandoning their posts; more Serbian civilians are protesting the dead-end policies of their leader. Our air campaign has already destroyed a brigade's worth of Serbian tanks, and one of every three Serbian military vehicles in Kosovo. The KLA, far from being eliminated, is winning new recruits and has begun to go on the offensive against Serbian forces that are hunkered down to hide from air strikes.

Mr. Milosevic faces the certainty of a steadily intensifying air campaign, and the prospect of explaining to his supporters why they had to sacrifice so much, when in the end the outcome will be the same. The question before him is not whether his ethnic cleansing will be reversed, but how much of his military he is willing to see destroyed along the way.

That we have been able to do this without putting our troops on the ground in Kosovo is good for us, and probably a source of great frustration for Serbian commanders in Kosovo, who keep taking damage without being able to strike back effectively. I believe our air campaign will succeed. But I have not taken any options off the table. The means we use will be determined by the outcome we seek, not the other way around.

This will not be easy, and it may take more time. But we should remember that the last time we faced ethnic cleansing in the Balkans – in Bosnia – it took three years for NATO to get organized to respond. By then, 250,000 people were dead; over 2 million had fled – and many have still not returned. When all is said and done, people will look back on Kosovo and say that this time, because we acted soon enough, more lives were saved, and the refugees came home. The Balkan conflict that began 10 years ago in Kosovo will have ended in Kosovo – a goal worth every measure of our common effort.

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For all these reasons, I believe NATO's air campaign is working, and we are determined to continue it. I do ~~not rule out other means.~~ The bottom line is that we will prevail.

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001. draft	President William J. Clinton, One America in the 21st Century, University of California at San Diego (5 pages)	6/12/97	#Error
002. note	edits on 2:30 pm draft of reconciliation speech (2 pages)	nd	P5
003. note	edits on 2:30 pm draft of reconciliation speech (2 pages)	nd	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]
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(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]

Draft 6/12/97 5pm [draft 3]

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO
JUNE 14, 1997

[Acknowledgments]

Today, ~~you take your places as citizens of the great American community in~~ we celebrate our achievements at a golden moment for our nation. The Cold War is over, with freedom ascendant around the globe. Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology are on the cutting edge. Social problems -- from crime to poverty -- which for so long seemed destined to deepen, are now bending to our efforts.

~~On these issues, we have made more progress, in a shorter time, with less rancor, than many thought would ever be possible. Sooner, and to a greater degree than any other nation, we have made the transition from the old economic order to the new world of technology, information and free trade. Without fanfare, without crisis, quietly and in that very practical American way -- at the very moment when~~ Not so long ago some were predicting our decline, we have entered a new era of American leadership. ~~Today we stand on~~ Plunging into the eve of a second American century.

But our greatest challenge is also our greatest opportunity: Can we become the world's 1st truly multi racial democ? Can we be one America in the 21st century? To succeed we must face challenges at home and abroad.

But there is one thing that can still hold us back -- ~~a contradiction not yet resolved~~ that lies at the heart of our history. ~~More than 200 years ago this nation began with a pledge~~ of equality, ~~but then long continued to condone slavery. More than 30 years ago, at the high tide~~ of civil rights, the Kerner Commission said that we were becoming ~~two Americas, one black, one~~

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white, separate and unequal. Now, in this new era of American leadership, there is one place where we continue to lag behind: we are in danger of becoming many Americas, separate, unequal, and isolated. Lincoln warned us, quoting the Scripture, that a house divided against itself cannot stand. And a nation not at peace with its identity cannot continue to move forward. We must be one America -- or we won't be America at all.

The great civil rights leader W.E.B. DuBois said that "the problem of the 20th century will be the problem of the color line." In so many ways, he was right. At times, in flames and in anger, racial conflict almost consumed us. And it was only during those hours of maximum danger that we faced this issue squarely. Now, at a time of gathering hope, when there is no firebell in the night, we must pledge: Our great and growing diversity will not be "the problem of the 21st Century." It falls to us to fashion for the next century the greatest multiethnic, multi-religious, multiracial democracy the world has ever known.

We must find our new unity in the face of stunning change: Within the next three years, right here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. And a half century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, it is entirely conceivable that a majority of the population will be Latino, African American, Asian American, Native American and other people of color.

It is clear: the face of America is evolving. And, I will tell you, we cannot greet that fact with indifference; we cannot run away from it, we cannot retreat into racial and ethnic enclaves

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of isolation. And we cannot pretend that the changing face of America is invisible. We must look in the mirror and ask the question anew: What does it mean to be an American? The face of America is changing, and the soul of America must rise to the challenge.

We know what we will look like, but what will we be like?

I want us to define our greatness as a country based on our extraordinary achievements, the great freedom we enjoy, the texture of our relationships with the world and each other.

Can we be one nation, respecting even celebrating our differences but embracing even more strongly what we have in common?

Our heart begs to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard.

Alone among nations, America was founded not on race, or religion, or geography, but on an ideal — an ideal so revolutionary and so profound it guides us still. "We are all created equal."

We were born with a declaration of independence claiming that

This was the proposition to which Abraham Lincoln rededicated our nation at Gettysburg. This is a self-evident truth we are all created equal, and a Constitution that

was the true meaning of our creed to which Martin Luther King summoned us a century later.

embraced slavery. We fought a bloody civil war to abolish that

slavery and to keep the Union together; preserve the union

but we failed to live up to our founding ideal. We remained a work unequal and divided for another

For two centuries, wave upon wave of immigrants have come to our shores, to work, to

century. Our statue of liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of

raise their families, to build a new life, speaking many tongues, wearing the garb of many

immigrants to our shores, but each new wave of them has felt the sting

cultures, but all drawn here by those same ideals. We have never lived up to our founding vision,

of discrimination. In WW II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly in war, to many get

but we have never stopped trying -- and our people, even those who have suffered the most, have

countries, while their families back in America were locked in internment camps.

never lost faith in the American creed.

For more than a few, we are closer to our ideal than

before our time, more Americans claim that there is less discrimination,

in part, but no doubt there remain that there is more discrimination,

stereotyping, and misunderstanding in America than there was

For four years, as your President, I have worked to offer opportunity to all Americans, to

a hundred. The complexity of this issue has grown as our country

N.A. demand responsibility from all Americans, and to bring our people together across all the lines

diversity — To be sure, there's old unfinished business between black

that divide us, in a true national community. To that effort, we must turn as a nation with even

Americans — we see it in discrimination claims filed with the federal gov't, in

greater fervor.

the assault on affirmative action without any effective alternative, in the

growing disparity between [illegible] in the functioning of the criminal justice system.

But beyond our woes is tension between black [illegible] and

Korean [illegible] a resurgent anti-Semitism [illegible]

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~~So today, and for the next year, and for the years to come, I want us to face honestly those things that divide us -- to embrace those things that unite us -- and to join in a national effort, aimed at action, that will move us forward.~~

The divisions in our land

We must begin by acknowledging that our house is divided.

Scripture teaches us, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." ~~Too often in our past, and sadly~~ even today, we have defined our greatness not by lifting each other up, but by putting each other down -- the sufferings heaped upon Native Americans, the enslavement of ~~Africans, and~~ the ~~tragic litany of injustices inflicted upon immigrants of every race and color at various times in our history.~~

I am a son of the South and the grandson of a man who taught me a valuable lesson at a young age. He told me, yes, I was different than the black children who came into his small grocery store, but I was no better. But I could see that on the black side of town streets were left unpaved. And segregation was legally sanctioned. There were "whites only" signs at public restrooms. Blacks and whites could not swim together, we could not drink at the same water fountain, we could not even sit in the same section at the movies. I was 11 years old when President Eisenhower ordered troops into Little Rock so that nine black children could integrate Central High. And when I was your age and in school in Washington, DC, Martin Luther King

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was killed and the streets exploded in flames. My memory is forever singed by the pain and anger I saw.

~~In the time and place where I grew up, the color line was black and white. In other communities, the targets were different, but the hatreds were the same.~~

We have torn down the barriers in our laws. Now we must tear down the barriers in our minds, our hearts. Even with more of us working together, ~~living side-by-side, and intermarrying more than every before~~, we know there is still more than one way of looking at an event, at the world, at each other. We know that ~~blacks and whites~~ people of different races can look at the same reality and see two different things; hear the same remark and hear two different meanings. And we know that stereotypes -- some of them ugly, some mild, but all destructive -- ~~still~~ not keep us apart.

Many whites believe that the problem of racism is over. They honestly believe that the playing field is equal and blacks have the same opportunities as they do when in comes to jobs, and housing and education. But, ~~feelings and~~ reality ~~are starkly~~ different for blacks. ~~We must tell the truth.~~

The truth is that more people than ever are benefitting from our strong economy. But there is another truth that must be told. African American and Latino workers still earn markedly less than what whites in the same jobs make. [In Los Angeles, unemployment east of the highway is *x*, and west of the highway is *x*.] And for many minority communities, there are still

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Edits on 2:30 pm draft of reconciliation speech
NOTE – I numbered the paragraphs. That way you can see what paragraphs I am referring to

paragraph 1

paragraph 2

Lose "we cannot allow our ugly history to play out again." This has been a century of remarkable progress on race – that's our theory, anyway – and our mission must be to make sure that the issue does not worsen in the 21st Century. Maybe: "The great civil rights leader WEB DuBois famously predicted that race would be the number one problem of the 20th Century. The great question of race – and the painful and heroic struggle to live up to our ideals and address this American dilemma – have been among the great achievements of this century. we cannot allow race to become the number one problem of the 21st Century. We have only addressed these issues at a time of crisis. Now, at a time of great hope, there is no crisis – it falls to us to come together to prevent the crises that may come. We will only do that if we are willing to learn together, talk together, and act together. Together, we can make our diversity our greatest strength – or allow it to become our most devastating weakness." (I KNOW THE CRISIS LANGUAGE IS USED BELOW, BUT I THINK THIS IS A MORE MEANINGFUL POINT - MOST PEOPLE DON'T THINK THERE IS A CURRENT RACE "CRISIS." WE NEED TO ANSWER THE QUESTION: WHY NOW?)

BETWEEN 9 and 10, I think we need to do a moral declaration about racism (like the passage written for an earlier outline, or the passage written by potus for the inaugural) – there's no moral fervor in this speech.

10 – Then, I would do this:

> America is always becoming, always changing. Herman Melville said: "You can not spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world. On the Western Hemisphere all tribes and people are forming into one federated whole." How people from different backgrounds live togehter has been the story of our history, sometimes bloody, sometimes exalted.
>
> THEN, [INSERT PARAGRAPH 15]
>
> THEN: Our first step must be to acknwoledge that in the 21st Century, America will not look as it does today. Already, there are more Jews etc.
>
> > plus - on the "Whites who are not hispanic will be a bare majority" – is that actually terribly meaningful? Do we really think that the grandchildren of today's 2d or 3rd generation Hispanics will actually be different from the way 5th or 6th generation Italians or Poles are today? i.e., they may celebrate Cinco de Mayo, but how many of them will speak Spanish at home?

THEN .... I think the ordering of paragraphs is wrong.

I think you want to have it be:

a) america is very diverse – always has been (e.g., Little Rock central), but will be more so.
b) diversity can be a strength
c) but it can also be a weakness – and here's where you do 209
d) so what must we do?
    1) we must do 2 things - respect diversity yet remember our unity
    2) we must create opportunity for all - jobs&opp, because that's what creates resentment
    3) we must fight discrimination
    4) and we must have a national conversation

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IN OTHER WORDS, paragraph 26 needs to be more – more than just 2 sentences.
here's what I'll be doing etc.

THE "diversity is a strength" stuff is still very weak. What about the stuff I wrote last night? That was an argument, not just anecdotes about how some diverse elementary school did well at a spelling bee. WE MUST MAKE THIS POINT, AND PROVE IT.

FINALLY, the conclusion leaves out the conclusion that I believe we must have: the material, which was in an early outline, about how America has alwyas been the leader of the world, a beacon to the world, the last best hope of man on earth, etc., and now how we handle this kind of change will determine whether we continue to be. (IT may even make sense to do the Little Rock Central stuff here – because that was at a time of Cold War tension, and how we were seen by the world was a prime argument to whites at the time made by civil rights advocates (see the legal arguments in *Brown v. Board*). PS – I do not think the Thurgood Marshall stuff works as it is done in this draft. THIS IS EXPLICITLY WHAT THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID, AND WE MUST DO IT.

AS FOR THE STEREOTYPES issue – which you seek to address in paragraph 13 on page 3 – I dont think that's the right place for it – it doesn't adequately address it the way the President clearly and explicitly wants to.

You do it on paragraph 13, and also on paragraph 18; and you deal in 17 with the "objective" issues. There I think that you need to move that material down to around paragraph 26 – and say:

> Today, we live together more closesly than ever before; minorities have attained greater prominence than ever before, in fields from goverment to business to science to the arts. The legal barriers have been torn down. But too often there are barriers in our minds.
>
> PARAGRAPH 16
>
> So we must examine, honestly and in detail, what the reality is. We must pierce the stereotypes, some ugly, some benign, that we have about each other – and which always hold us back by keeping us apart.
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paragraph 1

paragraph 2

Lose "we cannot allow our ugly history to play out again." This has been a century of remarkable progress on race – that's our theory, anyway – and our mission must be to make sure that the issue does not worsen in the 21st Century. Maybe: "The great civil rights leader WEB DuBois famously predicted that race would be the number one problem of the 20th Century. The great question of race – and the painful and heroic struggle to live up to our ideals and address this American dilemma – have been among the great achievements of this century. we cannot allow race to become the number one problem of the 21st Century. We have only addressed these issues at a time of crisis. Now, at a time of great hope, there is no crisis – it falls to us to come together to prevent the crises that may come. We will only do that if we are willing to learn together, talk together, and act together. Together, we can make our diversity our greatest strength – or allow it to become our most devastating weakness." (I KNOW THE CRISIS LANGUAGE IS USED BELOW, BUT I THINK THIS IS A MORE MEANINGFUL POINT - MOST PEOPLE DON'T THINK THERE IS A CURRENT RACE "CRISIS." WE NEED TO ANSWER THE QUESTION: WHY NOW?)

BETWEEN 9 and 10, I think we need to do a moral declaration about racism (like the passage written for an earlier outline, or the passage written by potus for the inaugural) – there's no moral fervor in this speech.

10 – Then, I would do this:

> America is always becoming, always changing. Herman Melville said: "You can not spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world. On the Western Hemisphere all tribes and people are forming into one federated whole." How people from different backgrounds live togehter has been the story of our history, sometimes bloody, sometimes exalted.
>
> THEN, [INSERT PARAGRAPH 15]
>
> THEN: Our first step must be to acknwoledge that in the 21st Century, America will not look as it does today. Already, there are more Jews etc.
>
> > plus - on the "Whites who are not hispanic will be a bare majority" – is that actually terribly meaningful? Do we really think that the grandchildren of today's 2d or 3rd generation Hispanics will actually be different from the way 5th or 6th generation Italians or Poles are today? i.e., they may celebrate Cinco de Mayo, but how many of them will speak Spanish at home?

THEN .... I think the ordering of paragraphs is wrong.

I think you want to have it be:

a) america is very diverse – always has been (e.g., Little Rock central), but will be more so.
b) diversity can be a strength
c) but it can also be a weakness – and here's where you do 209
d) so what must we do?
    1) we must do 2 things - respect diversity yet remember our unity
    2) we must create opportunity for all - jobs&opp, because that's what creates resentment
    3) we must fight discrimination
    4) and we must have a national conversation

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IN OTHER WORDS, paragraph 26 needs to be more – more than just 2 sentences.
here's what I'll be doing etc.

THE "diversity is a strength" stuff is still very weak. What about the stuff I wrote last night? That was an argument, not just anecdotes about how some diverse elementary school did well at a spelling bee. WE MUST MAKE THIS POINT, AND PROVE IT.

FINALLY, the conclusion leaves out the conclusion that I believe we must have: the material, which was in an early outline, about how America has alwyas been the leader of the world, a beacon to the world, the last best hope of man on earth, etc., and now how we handle this kind of change will determine whether we continue to be. (IT may even make sense to do the Little Rock Central stuff here – because that was at a time of Cold War tension, and how we were seen by the world was a prime argument to whites at the time made by civil rights advocates (see the legal arguments in *Brown v. Board*). PS – I do not think the Thurgood Marshall stuff works as it is done in this draft. THIS IS EXPLICITLY WHAT THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID, AND WE MUST DO IT.

AS FOR THE STEREOTYPES issue – which you seek to address in paragraph 13 on page 3 – I dont think that's the right place for it – it doesn't adequately address it the way the President clearly and explicitly wants to.

You do it on paragraph 13, and also on paragraph 18; and you deal in 17 with the "objective" issues. There I think that you need to move that material down to around paragraph 26 – and say:

> Today, we live together more closesly than ever before; minorities have attained greater prominence than ever before, in fields from goverment to business to science to the arts. The legal barriers have been torn down. But too often there are barriers in our minds.
>
> PARAGRAPH 16
>
> So we must examine, honestly and in detail, what the reality is. We must pierce the stereotypes, some ugly, some benign, that we have about each other – and which always hold us back by keeping us apart.
>
> To do that, PARAGRAPH 27

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
[University of California at San Diego] (UCSD) & Misc. Speeches & Drafts] [3]

2006-0469-F
sb110

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
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Draft 6/13/97 noon draft 1c

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ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO
June 14, 1997

[Acknowledgments]

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Today, we celebrate your achievements at a golden moment for our nation. The Cold War is over, ~~with~~ freedom ascendant around the globe. Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology are on the cutting edge. ~~Social problems -- from crime to poverty -- which for so long seemed destined to deepen, are now bending to our efforts.~~

Not so long ago, some were predicting our decline. ~~Instead, we have entered a new era of American leadership, bringing us to the eve of a second American century.~~

~~Admittedly~~, we face ~~serious~~ threats to our forward march. At home, ~~we must find ways to build our economic strength~~; we must prepare for the ~~moment when your parents~~ generation;

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retires; we must harness the powerful forces of science and technology so they serve the public good. Abroad, we must build new institutions and new alliances for peace, and do endless battle against terrorism and drugs to the spread of new and deadly weapons of mass destruction,

But the greatest challenge we face is also our greatest opportunity: Can we become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy? Will we be one America in the 21st Century?

Within the next three years, right here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. Already 5 of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. At this campus, 12 Nobel Prize winners have taught or studied -- from 9 different countries. And half a century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, it is entirely conceivable that a majority of the population will be Latino, African American, Asian American, Native American and other people of color.

We know what we will look like -- but what will we be like? Can we be one America, respecting, even celebrating our differences, but embracing even more strongly what we have in common?

Our hearts long to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard. The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but the forces that would pull us apart are not new

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positioned to link our land with the rest of the globe through currents of commerce and communications. ~~This new era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe. We can prove to the people of the world, torn by modern rivalries and ancient ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy are the best organizing principles for a multiracial society.~~

~~So even though our past was poisoned by racial division -- and our present remains infected with it -- and the rest of the world, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa, shows how deep the destructive impulse of racial division is -- there is still more cause for hope than fear. If we face the facts, if we speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and if we work together in concrete ways to build our One America, we can go beyond the darker side of our own history. We can lead the world away from its racial hatred. We can build one America.~~

The problems we face

We have to start by facing the facts and facing up to our problems.

Three decades ago, when I was the age of those graduating today, all America saw the brutality of police dogs set on civil rights marchers in Birmingham, and they saw the dignity of

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Moreover, our n's diversity

This new era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe. We can prove to the people of the world, torn by modern rivalries and ancient ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy are the best organizing principles for a multiracial society

we can also show rise as One n.

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we face new racial pts

do chart a course for all of us

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Here's

A. lets get the facts. a lot of misperceptions — here are a few. lest you think we have all the facts

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Cesar Chavez fighting for workers rights in the farm fields, and they saw the streets of cities in flames during urban unrest. Most Americans agreed then on what the problems were. But, while we know we still have problems, we're not sure what they are or why we still have them.

[*We will insert more from Don't Believe the Hype, as we look through it.*]

It is a myth that people in the inner cities don't want to work. When work has come, the response has been overwhelming. When a new hotel opened in Chicago 4 years ago, 3 thousand people lined up in bitter cold, some of them waiting overnight to be the first to apply for work. In Harlem, New York, a study found that there were 14 applicants for every fast-food job.

It is a myth that most Hispanics are immigrants. They are not. Two-thirds of Hispanics in our nation are U.S.-born, and many have been here for generations.

It is a myth that new immigrants don't want to learn English. They do. In fact, the demand for English as a second language classes is so great, that keeping up is a challenge. In Los Angeles, classes are offered round the clock; in New York, there is a X month waiting list; in xxxx. And most Latino immigrants see bilingual education as a way not to reinforce Spanish, but to learn English.

We need to get past the myths if we are going to understand each other, and we need to

People need to be — counter-intuitive. // CJ fact // (cocaine? No.)

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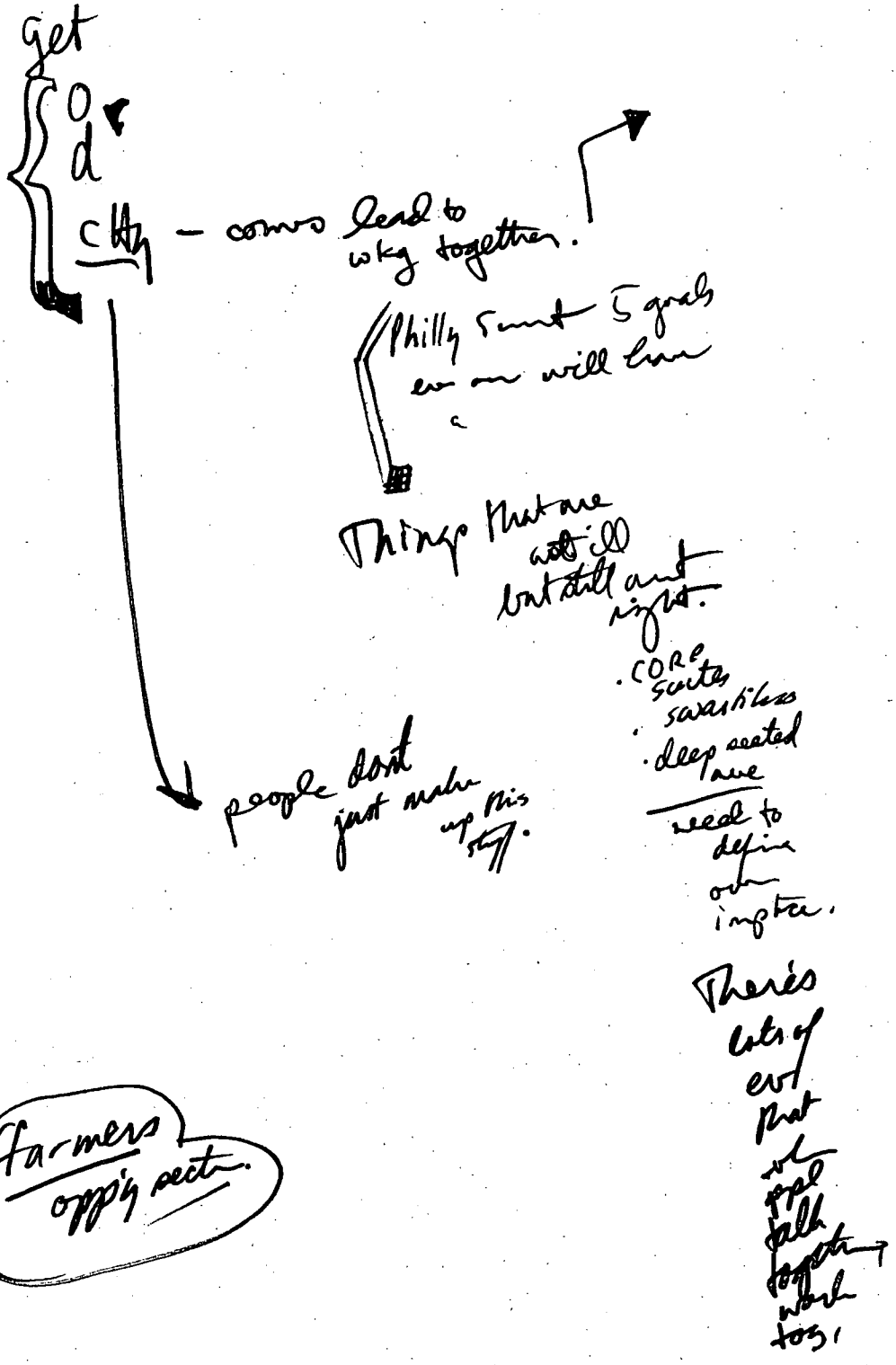
For two centuries, wave upon wave of immigrants have come to our shores, to work, to raise their families, to build a new life, speaking many tongues, wearing the garb of many cultures, but all drawn here by those same ideals. We have never lived up to our founding vision, but we have never stopped trying -- and our people, even those who have suffered the most, have never lost faith in the American creed that unites us.

Today, we are all, in Martin Luther King's words, woven into "one garment of destiny." We rightly celebrate the multiplicity of America -- our marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races. Yet despite this diversity, or above it, we possess a common identity -- as Americans and as human beings.

We must recognize that the same ethnic and racial ties that can offer us a sanctuary of meaning and personal strength also contain the possibility of a frightening fragmentation. We must honor our diversity; we must cherish the uniqueness of each culture that feeds into the American experience; we must find new ways of talking to one another with respect instead of disdain. But we must reach with even greater fervor across those lines that divide us, to honor and strengthen those bonds of community and shared values that have always united us.

It was almost exactly one hundred [forty nine] years ago, Abraham Lincoln, quoting Scripture, warned, us that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

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get
o
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city – comms lead to wkg together.
Philly smart 5 goals
Things that are still but still smt right.
. CORE
. deep seated
people dont just make up his
farmers
opp'y sects.
There's
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America does not believe in guaranteeing equal outcomes, but we do believe in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all who will work for it -- and that means education. We cannot abandon any efforts to expand access to higher education. We cannot abandon affirmative action.

I know that many people in this state voted to abandon affirmative action last year, and did so with no intention to hurt their fellow citizens. But it is a stunning and sobering fact that African-American and Latino enrollments at this university and all across California and Texas are plummeting, for the first time in decades. Call it what you will -- I call it resegregation. We cannot afford to turn back the clock. To this day, the South is still recovering from the self-inflicted wound of segregation. America cannot make that mistake again.

This past week we learned that our fourth grade students, the most diverse student body in the world, are among the leaders in the world in math. Diversity and excellence go hand in hand.

To all of America, I say, we must make sure that only qualified students are accepted. But if only qualified students are accepted, I also say: our universities will provide a stronger education – a better preparation for the new world – and a more enjoyable experience – if its student body reflects our diversity as yours does here at UCSD. The purpose of affirmative action is not to help any one group or individual. It is to help America -- for we don't have a person to waste.

And to those who say that race and ethnicity should not be factors, that scores on standardized tests should be the sole measure of qualification, I say: We take into account whether someone is an athlete, a musician, or a child of an alumnus. And we know when given a chance, students who enter with the help of affirmative action do just as well as any other student.

I want to be clear: We will continue to fight the rollback of affirmative action in higher education because it is wrong, it is hurtful to our progress and it divides our people.

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Our second imperative must be to break down the walls of discrimination wherever they exist. Racism is wrong; discrimination is wrong; and moreover, it is illegal. Our civil rights agencies are among the most critical law enforcement agencies in the government -- and we must give them the resources they need to end the crushing backlog of cases and get the job done. It's time for Congress to put our money where our ideals are. [*housing discrimination?*]

And our third imperative is in many ways the most difficult of all: we must begin a candid, far-ranging examination on the issues of race and our diversity.

We must recognize that we cannot come to solutions or even truly identify our problems unless we are willing to be honest with each other. It's time to let down our guards, and to be honest with people different from ourselves. We have talked at each other and about each other. It is high time we begin talking with each other.

Over the coming year, I want to lead the American people in a great and unprecedented conversation about race. I have asked one of America's greatest scholars, Dr. John Hope Franklin to chair an advisory panel of seven distinguished Americans. He will be joined by former Governors Tom Kean and William Winter, Linda Chavez-Thompson, Suzan Hope Johnson, Angela Oh, and Robert Thomas -- distinguished citizens, leaders in their community, who will work with me in a searching examination of the truth about the changing face of America.

We will examine the stereotypes and the facts – the myths and the reality – that hold us apart. ~~We do this because we cannot move forward together, and act together, if we do not agree together on what action is needed.~~

We will ask Americans to talk to one another everyday, at home, in their communities, in school, at work – and help us develop plans of action. I will join this conversation with Americans across our nation at town meetings over the next year.

The town meetings I will hold are just the start. I call on Americans of all colors to begin a "table fellowship" within their communities, to break bread together and begin to know each other. And I want every American to see this as an opportunity to learn about each other by working with each other. Tutors are needed in many communities to teach reading and other skills; that kind of interaction pays dividends in many ways. Churches, mosques, synagogues could consider exchanging congregations for a day. And the best chance for dialogue is among the young. I call on the nation's congregations to link up the young people in the suburbs with those in the cities.

And in one year's time, I will report directly to the American people about what I have found and the what actions we must take to move our nation forward.

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004. draft	President William J. Clinton, One America in the 21st Century, University of California at San Diego, 6:20 am draft (35 pages)	6/14/97	P5
005. note	To Come: What we must do [edits] (2 pages)	6/30/97	P5

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[University of California at San Diego] (UCSD) & Misc. Speeches & Drafts]: UCSD Drafts w/ POTUS remarks

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~~So today, and for the next year, and for the years to come, I want us to face honestly those things that divide us -- to embrace those things that unite us -- and to join in a national effort, aimed at action, that will move us forward.~~

The divisions in our land

We must begin by acknowledging that our house is divided.

Scripture teaches us, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." ~~Too often in our past, and sadly~~ even today, we have defined our greatness not by lifting each other up, but by putting each other down -- ~~the sufferings heaped upon Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans, and~~ the ~~tragic litany of injustices inflicted upon immigrants of every race and color at various times in our history.~~

I am a son of the South and the grandson of a man who taught me a valuable lesson at a young age. He told me, yes, I was different than the black children who came into his small grocery store, but I was no better. But I could see that on the black side of town streets were left unpaved. And segregation was legally sanctioned. There were "whites only" signs at public restrooms. Blacks and whites could not swim together, we could not drink at the same water fountain, we could not even sit in the same section at the movies. I was 11 years old when President Eisenhower ordered troops into Little Rock so that nine black children could integrate Central High. And when I was your age and in school in Washington, DC, Martin Luther King

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

Draft 6/13/97 noon draft 1c

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

-- and the striving to surmount them is the story of America.

We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that ~~it is self evident~~ that we are all created equal -- and a Constitution that enshrined slavery.

We fought a bloody civil war to abolish that slavery and preserve the union -- but we remained a house unequal and divided by laws for another century.

We advanced across this continent in the name of freedom – yet in so doing we pushed the Native Americans off their land and into reservations, often crushing their cultures and ~~destroying~~ their livelihoods.

Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our shores -- but each new wave of them has felt the sting of discrimination.

In World War II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly for freedom in Europe, taking great casualties -- while their families back in America were herded into internment camps.

In our own time, minorities have more opportunities than ~~the last~~, ~~no one doubts we are closer to our ideal of one America than in the past~~, but ~~no close observer denies that there is still discrimination, stereotyping and misunderstanding in America~~ a that keeps our house divided.

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The complexity of these issues has multiplied with our growing diversity. To be sure, there is old, unfinished business between black and white Americans. We see it in acts of discrimination, in the assault on affirmative action without any effective alternative, in grossly disparate views held by blacks and whites about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

But the classic American dilemma ~~in many ways~~ has become many dilemmas ~~a new dilemma~~. We see tension between black and Hispanic customers and their Korean or Arab grocers. We see a resurgent anti-Semitism, even against college students. We see stereotyping of immigrants, Asian Hispanic, even those ~~who~~ through hard work and family spirit, they have succeeded in their new land.

In spite ~~of~~ these difficulties, our society is more integrated than ever. More of us share neighborhoods, work, school, social ~~and community~~ activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines, ~~than ever before.~~ More of us enjoy each other's distinctive cultures ~~-- and learn from each others varied~~ and learn from one another's varied experiences ~~than ever before~~.

Our diversity is growing
And ~~that is~~ more important ~~than ever before~~, for all of us. Fair as our ~~nation of many nations now competes in a global economy~~. America has just one 20th of the world's population, but one fifth of its wealth. The only way for our economy to continue to grow is to export -- to sell the fruits of our enterprise and creativity to the 95% of the world's consumers who live beyond our borders. Americans, drawn from every country and every culture on earth, are uniquely

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positioned to link our land with the rest of the globe through currents of commerce and communications. Moreover, our nation is uniquely endowed and clearly obliged to lead the world into a new era of cooperation against ~~global~~ disease and environmental threats, against international drug trafficking that knows no national borders, ~~and~~ racial and ethnic conflicts that can destroy democracy's advance. ~~We can only do this~~ We can only do this through as one America.

~~This new era can be a time when America's brilliant diversity illuminates the entire globe. We can prove to the people of the world, torn by modern rivalries and ancient ethnic hatreds, that freedom and democracy are the best organizing principles for a multiracial society.~~

That is why I ask the American people to join me now, over the next year, in rededicating ourselves to the fundamental principles of our founding — ~~infected with it -- and the rest of the world, from Bosnia to Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa, shows how deep the destructive impulse of racial division is -- there is still more cause for hope than fear. If we~~ face the facts, ~~if we~~ speak with and listen to each other respectfully and honestly, and ~~if we work together in concrete ways~~ to build our One America, ~~we can go beyond the darker side of our own history. We can lead the world away from its racial hatred. We can build one America.~~

The problems we face

We have to start by facing the facts and facing up to our problems.

Three decades ago, when I was the age of those graduating today, all America saw the brutality of police dogs set on civil rights marchers in Birmingham, and they saw the dignity of

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Cesar Chavez fighting for workers rights in the farm fields, and they saw the streets of cities in flames during urban unrest. Most Americans agreed then on what the problems were. But, while we know we still have problems, we're not sure what they are or why we still have them.

[*We will insert more from Don't Believe the Hype, as we look through it.*]

It is a myth that people in the inner cities don't want to work. When work has come, the response has been overwhelming. When a new hotel opened in Chicago 4 years ago, 3 thousand people lined up in bitter cold, some of them waiting overnight to be the first to apply for work. In Harlem, New York, a study found that there were 14 applicants for every fast-food job.

It is a myth that most Hispanics are immigrants. They are not. Two-thirds of Hispanics in our nation are U.S.-born, and many have been here for generations.

It is a myth that new immigrants don't want to learn English. They do. In fact, the demand for English as a second language classes is so great, that keeping up is a challenge. In Los Angeles, classes are offered round the clock; in New York, there is a X month waiting list; in xxxx.. And most Latino immigrants see bilingual education as a way not to reinforce Spanish, but to learn English.

We need to get past the myths if we are going to understand each other, and we need to

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understand each other to work together. For all the progress we have made, whites and blacks, Anglos and Latinos, Asians and others -- we still live in different worlds, and we see the same realities in very different ways.

[Today, one third of blacks surveyed, and more than half of whites surveyed, believe that blacks make up as much as half of our population, instead of the 12% that is reality.] [*we don't think this proves much*]

Today, most whites believe that blacks have achieved equality with whites on the issues that set off the civil rights movement. But the numbers tell a different story:

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites earn 60 percent more than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are xx times more likely to have access to health care for their families.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that whites are twice as likely to graduate from college than African-Americans.

Every American should know -- but few do -- that the problems of black and white are

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not the problems of three decades ago. The black middle class has grown fourfold since Dr. King's murder. But the rate of poverty among black children is the same -- cut off from the work and values that shape our society, falling prey to the many pathologies of poverty.

How we solve the glaring disparities in our society, how we bring every person to the table of opportunity, and how we learn to better live together will ultimately determine how we do as a nation in the generations to come and whether we can truly come together as One America.

What we must do

~~Our first imperative must be to expand opportunity.~~ Our basic bargain is unchanged, and has been the source of our strength for two centuries. By offering responsibility to all Americans and demanding responsibility from all Americans, we can forge the ties of a strong community of common values.

Since we know most Americans live already in the world, our 1st imperative is to expand opportunity.

For four and a half years, we have worked to create an economy that offers all our people the chance to live out their dreams. ~~A strong and growing economy is~~ the best antidote to envy and despair and racism. ~~Today, our prosperity is unrivaled in the world, and it is America that stands ready to lead the new global economy of the 21st Century. Now we must redouble our efforts to bring that prosperity to those places~~, in our cities and in our rural areas, ~~that prosperity~~

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who have no jobs, no ed, who live in area bombed by gangs, drug, violence
ha~~s not yet touch~~ed. We must press forward with our efforts to bring private capital, jobs and
they must do more to empower welfare recipients to work, to provide access to
hope to the inner cities. [*more on urban policy?*]
cop for more mini enterprises, to help the hungry & uninsured & poor.
EZs, CDFIs, Ruffels, Credit Ch, welfare-work $/Tax; Young
single moms, housing—

~~And the most important thing we can do to expand opportunity – the passport to~~ the

~~future for all our people – and our most critical task as a nation is to give all our people the best~~
Schools, Tech, teacher, Info Network → Classrooms
~~education in the world.~~ We are demanding that all our children meet high standards -- and we
Keep it — Business only cop is to help — drug our
must give all our children the tools to meet those standards, through trained teachers and modern
classrooms.

Bill —

For you, the college education you have earned reflects the fulfilment of your parents dreams and your hard work. For America, an educated citizenry is the key to our strength. So we must open the doors of college wider than ever -- and we can never allow them to be slammed shut. A college education means stability, better jobs, a chance to join the middle class, another stakeholder in America.

America does not believe in guaranteeing equal outcomes, but we do believe in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all who will work for it -- and that means education. We cannot abandon any efforts to expand access to higher education. We cannot abandon affirmative action.

I know that many people in this state voted to abandon affirmative action last year, and

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DRAFT 6/14/97 ~~4:30~~ AM

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO

June 14, 1997

(B)

Across generations, centuries over the APEC countries - think back to the terrible days when many were killed & wounded, too many faced hunger without in the beginning, the days that ended - so we must remember them as we look across. Their sons in their last days from Cal. to Asia to East coast. When thousand miles we are now Asia - let us take that spirit with our daily life

(A)

I know that for many with Americans their conversation may seem either to celebrate them or to threaten them - I am aware of these concerns, but there is much to be gained for many with Americans in achieving the heritage of all Americans with American values as much to gain as any group in creating America we can finally take pride for all our children as Judge Learned Hand together with Color of their skin but by the content of their character

CSDlh.3FT

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Acknowledgments: Members of my Cabinet -- Sec'y Slater, Herman, Brown, RILEY, AMB. RICHARDSON, ADMIN. ALVAREZ) Sen. Boxer, Sen. Akaka, Rep. Maxine Waters, Rep. Patsy Mink, Rep. Jim Clyburn, Rep. John Lewis, Rep. Bob Filner; Rep. Carlos Romero-Barcelo, Lt. Gov. Gray Davis. Chancellor Robert Dynes, President Atkinson, Distinguished University of California Regents, Faculty, Students. JUANITA MILLENDER-MCDONALD COLEEN SABATINI HRC-ERCOT THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR.

[Special thanks to Dr. Connie Mariano, UCSD '77, who keeps me healthy, keeps me on my diet, and is helping me to walk again.]

Dr. Nicolaou
or Mary Hall knows on chin face

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Thank you for inviting me here. Congratulations to the graduates and their families, and thank you for offering our nation a shining example of ~~diversity and strength~~ excellence, rooted in the many backgrounds and traditions that make up California's rich mosaic. ~~Here, you have overcome old boundaries of race and national origin~~. You have blazed new paths in science and technology, and explored the new horizons of the Pacific Rim and Latin America. All that and more mark UCSD as a great university for the 21st Century.

Today, we celebrate your achievements at a golden moment for our nation. The Cold War is over. Freedom is ascendant around the globe, with more than half the world's people living under government of their own choosing for the first time.

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Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology promise unimagined advances and exciting new careers. Our success from crime to poverty — ~~In the last three years, we have seen the largest drop in the welfare rolls in 50 years, and last year, the largest drop in violent crime in three decades. Those achievements are a testimony to the strength and resources of the American people.~~

Of course, we are not free of challenges. Beyond borders We must battle terrorism, organized drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the prospect of new diseases and environmental disaster.

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Hw at home

^We must ensure that every child has the chance you have had to develop your God-given capacities; we must continue to fight crime, gangs, drugs; we must prepare for the retirement of the baby boom generation; we must harness the forces of science and technology for the public good.

we cannot wait for them to get intrinsic to motion

But the greatest challenge we face is also our greatest opportunity: Can ~~we become the world's first truly~~ Can we fulfill the promise of America by embracing all of our citizens, of all races, to be ~~multiracial, multiethnic democracy? Will we be~~ one America in the 21st Century?

~~I believe that building one America is our most important mission. And we will achieve it not by power or technology, but by evoking the best in our nation.~~

And I know, as I've said before, that money cannot buy it. Power cannot compel it. Technology cannot create it. It can come only from the human spirit.

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Today the State of Hawaii has no majority racial or ethnic groups. It is a wonderful place of extraordinary freedom, opportunity, & patriotism.

Within the next three years, here in California, no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. Already 5 of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. At this campus, 12 Nobel Prize winners have taught or studied -- from 9 different countries. Half a century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, there will be no majority race in America.

We know what we will look like -- but what will we be like? Can we be one America, respecting, even celebrating our differences, but embracing even more strongly what we have in common? Can we define what it means to be an American, not in terms of the happenstance ~~of~~ ethnic origins, but in terms of our primary allegiance to the values America ~~stands~~ stands for and we must work?

5

& In a country that celebrates freedom, diversity, individual opportunity, personal responsibility, tolerance, and community

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Our hearts long to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard. The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but so are the forces that would pull us apart. Our Founders sought "to form a more perfect union." ~~The humility and hope of that~~ ~~phrase is~~ the story of America, and our mission today.

We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that we are all created equal -- and a Constitution that enshrined slavery.

We fought a bloody civil war to abolish that slavery and preserve the union -- but we remained a house divided and unequal, by law, for another century.

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We advanced across this continent in the name of freedom – yet in so doing we pushed the Native Americans off their land, often crushing their culture and their livelihoods.

Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our borders -- but each new wave has felt the sting of discrimination.

Refugee In World War II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly for freedom in Europe, taking great casualties -- while at home their families were herded into internment camps. The famed Texas Airmen lost more of their bombers than they gave in war, but they lost a lot of their kids when they came back home.

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Though minorities have more opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of bigotry, from desecration of houses of worship to demeaning talk in corporate suites.

There is much work to be done. But those who say we cannot transform the problem of prejudice into the promise of ~~diversity~~ unity forget how far we have come.

The
Members of Congress and ~~members of~~ my administration, whose they widely reflect here today: ~~You~~ know how far we have come. Many ~~of you~~ helped to lead the way. They ~~actually have participated in~~ I ask them to stand

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I grew up in the high drama of the Cold War, in the patriotic South ~~when~~, blacks and whites, Southerners alike wore our nation's uniform in defense of freedom against Communism, and fought and died together in Korea and Vietnam. But back home, I went to segregated schools, swam in segregated public pools, sat in all white sections at the movies, and traveled through small towns that marked restrooms and water fountains "white" and "colored."

~~Seven years after President Eisenhower sent in troops to integrate Little Rock Central High School, there were still no blacks in my graduating class, and no paved roads in some of the black neighborhoods of my city.~~

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By the grace of God, I had a grandfather with a grade school education and a heart of ~~gold~~ a true American, who taught me that it was wrong. By the grace of God, there were brave African Americans like Congressman John Lewis, who risked their lives to make it right, and white Americans like Congressman Bob Filner, a Freedom Rider on the bus with John Lewis in the long, noble struggle for civil rights.

To be sure, there is old, unfinished business between black and white Americans. But the classic American dilemma has become many dilemmas of race and ethnicity.

The tension between black and Hispanic customers

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and their Korean or Arab grocers. A resurgent anti-Semitism, even on college campuses. A hostility toward new immigrants, even those who through hard work and family values, have succeeded in their new land.

We also see a disturbing tendency to wrongly attribute to whole groups, including the white majority, the objectionable conduct of a few members. If a black American commits a crime, condemn the act -- but remember that most African-Americans are hard working, law-abiding citizens.

If a Latino gang member deals drugs, condemn the

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act, but remember that Hispanics are responsible citizens who also deplore the scourge of drugs in our life. If white teenagers beat a young African-American boy almost to death , just because of his race, abhor the act, but remember, the great majority of white people will find it just as abhorrent. If an Asian merchant discriminates against her customers of another minority group, call her on it, but remember, too, that many Asians have born the sting of prejudice and do not want anyone else to feel it.

Remember, too, in spite of the persistence of prejudice ~~and these difficulties~~, we are more integrated than ever.

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More of us share neighborhoods, work, school, social activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines, than ever before. More of us enjoy each other's distinctive cultures than ever before.

And more than ever, we understand the benefits of our racial, linguistic & cultural diversity in a global society, when networks of commerce and communications are drawing us closer together, and bring rich rewards to those who understand life beyond their national borders.

With just one 20th of the world's population but one fifth of the world's income, to maintain our standard of living, we have to sell to the other 95% of the world's consumers ~~who live beyond our borders.~~

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Because we are drawn from every culture on earth, Americans are uniquely positioned to ~~build ties~~ do it. of ~~commerce and communications to the world~~.

Beyond commerce, ~~Moreover,~~ our ~~brilliant diversity~~ richness of background & talents of all our citizens can help America light the entire globe, showing nations deeply divided by race, religion, and tribe that there is a better way. ~~But we can only make the most of our own future and unite the world if we are united ourselves~~.

Finally, our diversity will enrich our lives in non-material ways, ~~depending~~ deepening our understanding of human nature and human differences, making our communities more exciting, more enjoyable, more meaningful.

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That is why today I will ask the American people to join me ~~over the next year~~ in perfecting the promise of America for this new time, as we seek to build "a more perfect union." Now, when there is more cause for hope than fear, is the time to learn together, talk together, and act together, to build one America.

For four and a half years, I have worked to prepare America for the 21st Century with a strategy of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community of all our citizens. To succeed in each of these areas, we must deal with the realities and the perceptions affecting all of our racial groups.

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What we must do

First, we must continue to expand opportunity. Full participation in our strong and growing economy is the best antidote to envy and despair and racism. Now we must press forward -- moving millions more from welfare to work, bringing the spark of enterprise to our inner cities, redoubling our efforts to reach those rural communities that prosperity has passed by.

And we must give all our young people the best education in the world. There are no children who cannot meet the highest standards, if we set these standards and measure students against them, give them well-trained teachers and well-equipped classrooms, give parents, like Charter schools

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And at a time when college education means stability, a good job, a passport to the middle class, we must open the doors of college ~~wider than ever before~~ to all Americans. And we must make at least two years of college as universal at the dawn of the next century as a high school diploma is today.

I know that ~~many~~ people in California voted to repeal affirmative action, and did so without ill motive. But the ~~results are dramatic and devastating.~~ When the courts overturned the results, but with correction that discriminated against no longer wanted to see achievement minority Enrollments in law school and other graduate programs are plummeting for the first time in decades.

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Some of the brightest students won't even apply -- they feel so unwelcome. Soon the same will likely happen in college. ~~Call it what you will -- but I call it resegregation~~. I have seen the damage segregation does ~~brought to my native South~~. America cannot make that mistake again.

I know affirmative action is not perfect; that's why two years ago, we began our effort to fix the things that are wrong with affirmative action. But affirmative action, when used the right way, does work.

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It has given us a whole generation of professionals in fields that used to be exclusive clubs. There are now more women-owned businesses than ever before. More African-American, Latino and Asian-American lawyers and judges than ever before. But the best example of what affirmative action can do is in our military. Our armed forces are diverse from top to bottom -- and they are the best in the world.

There are those who say that scores on standardized tests should be the sole measure of qualification. But ~~they~~ do not apply that ~~equally~~ to the children of alumni, or those with athletic ability.

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~~Today~~ A student body that reflects excellence and ~~diversity~~ has ~~value~~, too. When young people sit side by side with people of many backgrounds, ~~that enhances their education, it does not undercut~~ it.

~~These young people~~ work hard. They achieve. And then, many of them go out and serve communities that need them for their expertise and as role models. Close the door on them, and we will weaken our great universities, and ~~we will never build~~ the society we need in the 21st century.

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And at a time when college education means stability, a good job, a passport to the middle class, we must open the doors of college wider than ever before. And we must make at least two years of college as universal at the dawn of the next century as a high school diploma is today.

I know that ~~many~~ people in California voted to repeal affirmative action, and did so without ill motive. But the ~~results are dramatic and devastating~~. Enrollments in law school and other graduate programs are plummeting for the first time in decades. ~~Soon the same will likely happen in college~~ — We must not desegregate Higher Ed → ok — The very time we need to do a better job of learning and living together — we must not stop trying to fix to oppose —

To those who oppose my Act → I ask you to come up w/ an alternative — Meantime those of us who support it must continue to stand up for it —

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Our second imperative must be to demand responsibility from every American. Our strength as a society depends upon all of us taking responsibility for ourselves and our families, teaching our children right from wrong, working hard and obeying the law, giving back to those around us.

The new economy offers fewer guarantees, more risks but more rewards. And it calls on all of us to take even greater responsibility than before. For example, in the current economic boom, only one group has experienced a decline in income: Hispanic Americans.

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One big reason is that Hispanic dropout rates are well above those of whites and blacks. Some of the dropouts actually reflect a strong commitment to work -- taking difficult jobs, at long hours, for low pay. In the old economy, that was responsible -- but now, in the new economy, education is key, and responsibility means staying in school.

No responsibility is more fundamental than that of obeying the law. It is not racism when we insist that every American do so. The fight against crime and drugs is a fight for the freedom of all of our people -- including those, perhaps especially those minorities, living in the poorest neighborhoods.

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Respect for the law runs both ways. The shocking differences in perceptions of the fairness of our criminal justice system grows out of real experiences that too many minorities have had with law enforcement officers. Part of the answer is to have all our citizens respect the law. But the basic rule must be that the law must respect all our citizens.

That applies, too, to the enforcement of our civil rights law. For example, the equal employment opportunity commission has a huge backlog of cases, though we have reduced it by 25% over the last four years.

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It is imperative that Congress -- especially those members who say they are for civil rights but against affirmative action -- give us the funds necessary to enforce the law. Those funds are in my balanced budget, ~~and~~ they should be appropriated, and soon.

Our third imperative is in many ways the most difficult of all:, we must build ~~our community~~ our American Community, based on respect for ~~diversity~~ our mother and shared values.

We must begin a candid conversation on the state of race relations today, and the implications of ~~our increasing~~ increasing American ~~diversity on American life~~ of [so many different races] living, working together.

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And we must be honest with each other. We have talked at each other and about each other; it's high time we began talking with each other. Over the coming year I want to lead the American people in a great and unprecedented conversation about race.

I have asked one of America's greatest scholars, Dr. John Hope Franklin, to chair an advisory panel of seven distinguished Americans. He will be joined by former Governors Thomas Kean of New Jersey and William Winter of Mississippi, both champions of civil rights . . . by Linda Chavez-Thompson, [Vice President] of the AFL-CIO; Suzan Johnson Cook, a minister from the Bronx; Angela Oh, an attorney and Los Angeles community

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leader; and Robert Thomas, CEO of Nissan USA -- distinguished citizens, leaders in their community, who will work with me.

I want this panel to help educate Americans about the facts surrounding issues of race, promote a dialogue in every community in the land to confront and work through these issues; to recruit and encourage leadership at all levels to help breach racial divides; and to find, develop, and recommend how to implement concrete solutions to our problems -- solutions that will involve all of us in government, business, communities, and as individual citizens.

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~~In one year's time~~ I will ~~report directly~~ to the American people about ~~what I have found~~ and what actions we must take to move our nation forward. This board will seek out and listen to Americans from all races and all walks of life. They are performing a great act of citizen service. But in the cause of building that one America, all citizens must serve. As I said at the Presidents' Summit on Service in Philadelphia, in our new era, such acts of service are basic acts of citizenship. Government can and must play its role. But much of the work must be done by the American people as citizen servants. The very effort will strengthen us and bring us closer together.

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I know that honest dialogue and exchange will not be easy at first. We need to get past defensiveness, fear, political correctness and other barriers to honesty. Emotions may be rubbed raw, but we must begin.

What do we want from all this? If we achieve nothing more than talk, that will be too little. If we do nothing but propose disconnected acts of policy, that will be too little. But if 10 years from now, people can look back and see that this year of honest dialogue and concerted action helped to lift the heavy burden of race from our children's future, we will have given a precious gift to America.

OKC Bill: trial ~~of [redacted]~~ — our OKC bombing — Think back to that terrible day when we saw everyone for miles around evacuated ~~from~~ of the many faces of pain involved, cities grieving, hurting, healing — coming together as people.

Bill

As human beings we are drawn towards our fellow human

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Conclusion: one America for the 21st Century

You will have a greater opportunity to live your dreams than any generation in our history -- if we can make of our many different strands, One America, a nation at peace with itself, bound together by shared values, shared aspirations, shored opportunities and mutua respect for our differences.

I am a Scotch-Irish Southern Baptist, and proud of it. But my life has been enriched by the power of the Torah, the beauty of the Koran, the piercing wisdom of the ~~Eastern~~ religions -- all embraced by my fellow Americans.

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I have felt indescribable joy and peace in black and Pentecostal churches. I have come to love the ~~passion~~ and intensity of Hispanic Americans. ~~I am a different person because of the Greek and Baltic and Slavic Americans I have known~~. In each land I have visited as your President, I have felt more at home because some of their people have found a home in America.

Living in islands of isolation -- some splendid, some sordid -- is not the American way. Basing our self-esteem on the ability to look down on others is not the American way. Being satisfied if we have what we want, and heedless of others who do not have what they need and deserve, is not the American way.

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6/30/97

If we cannot build our One America now, at the moment of our greatest prosperity, at the pinnacle of our influence in the world, when can we? If we cannot build one America now, when we know we don't have a person to waste, when can we? If we cannot build one America now, when we see, from Belfast to Bosnia, from Rwanda to the West Bank, the awful price of hatred and division, when can we?

For two centuries, wave upon wave of immigrants have come to our shores, to build a new life, drawn here by the promise of freedom and a fair chance. Whatever else they found, even bigotry or violence, most of them never gave up on America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

Even African-Americans -- the first of whom were brought here in chains -- never gave up on America. It is up to you to prove their abiding faith was well placed.

We have torn down the barriers in our laws. Now we must break down the barriers in our lives, our minds and our hearts. More than 30 years ago, at the high tide of the civil rights movement, the Kerner Commission said that we were becoming two Americas, one black, one white, separate and unequal. Today, we face a different choice: will we become, not two, but many Americas, separate, unequal and isolated. Or will we draw strength from all our people and our ancient faith in equality and human dignity, to become the world's first truly multiracial democracy?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

That is the unfinished work of our times: to lift the burden of race, and redeem the promise of America.

Class of 1997, I grew up in the shadows of a divided America. I have seen glimpses of one America. That is the America you must make -- it begins with your dreams. So, dream large. And live your dreams. Challenge your parents. And teach your children well.

We can be, we must be, one America.

###

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

TO COME:

What we must do

- opportunity (incl. education & affirmative action)
- responsibility (crime/criminal justice issues, civil rights enforcement)
- dialogue to build a stronger community -- including service

Ending – which we are working on edits/drafts

If you don't want your sons
& daughters standing on street corners
with strangers, doing drugs, shooting
one another – then as citizens
across this
nation

in age that will not tolerate
discrimination on government or
personal – but in which
the rule is found on tolerance
others & found. Early and
consistent to found, found
without others – 25yr in a long
run

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/30/97

Let me give you just one example. According to a recent Gallup Poll, substantial numbers of both blacks and whites think that the black population is somewhere between 20 and 49%. In fact, it's 12%.

Here are some more facts.

2 It simply isn't true that immigrants don't want to learn English. In some cities, classes teaching English as a second language classes run 24 hours a day.

3 Most people on welfare ... are white. But whites have a lower poverty rate than AAs. ~~Over~~

4 The people most at risk of being victimized by crime ... are black.

5 And while the black middle class has grown fourfold since Dr. King's murder, the rate of poverty among black children is the same. ~~- cut off from the work and values that shape our society, falling prey to the many pathologies of poverty.~~ 2/3rds are native born, another 1/3 legal immigrants; most Hispanics are not immigrants; 168,000 came to US illegally in 1996 alone

6 HS completion rates for blacks are almost identical to whites - but over 80% vs under 60%, our big issue is Hispanics are the only race going up with a declining income during the present economic boom.

~~How we solve the glaring disparities in our society, how we bring every person to the table of opportunity, and how we learn to better live together will ultimately determine how we do as a nation in the generations to come and whether we can truly come together as One America.~~

The group w highest average educational attainment are Afr-Americans.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Comments on the draft.

I don't know what changes you made … and I never received a draft on e-mail … so my comments may be out of date. There is a lot of good language here. I don't think you're there yet, however, in terms of what the speech is trying to say … or the logical argument underpinning it. There is a fair bit of repetition … and some major points left out. Here are a few thoughts, then some section by section edits.

- There is a lot missing – for example, I don't see much of what the First Lady or Vice President said included here.
- There is again no real effort to explain why diversity will be a strength … or a weakness … how we have a choice … and what the future might look like.

- You don't deal in a coherent way with the issue of "stereotyping" and "segregation of the heart and mind," which I think is the thing the President was talking about.
- There's not a lot of concreteness or specificity – for example, talking about the nation's multiethnic future, it's all very summary, but nothing like, "In 50 years, there will be more Muslims than Catholics in America." "Salsa now outsells ketchup." "America's immigrant tradition remains strong – there are more Jamaicans in Brooklyn than in Kingston [true?]." "On a single street in [x city – New york? LA?] , you can walk down the street and see street signs in Chinese, Spanish and Greek … etc." That sort of thing.

Let's go section by section.

Start with America's bright future. No need for all the accomplishments.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Bruce N. Reed to Michael Waldman, James T. Edmonds, Carolyn Curiel, Re: Race Speech (1 page)	06/12/97	P5
002. email	Bruce N. Reed to Michael Waldman, James T. Edmonds, Carolyn Curiel, Re: Race Speech (1 page)	06/12/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14477

FOLDER TITLE:
UCSD [University of California at San Diego]: Memos on Speech

2006-0469-F
sb113

RESTRICTION CODES

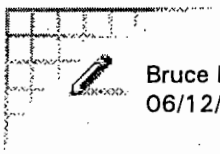
Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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Bruce N. Reed
06/12/97 01:39:35 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP, James T. Edmonds/WHO/EOP, Carolyn Curiel/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Race Speech

We have asked the DPC staff to generate a quick summary of policy accomplishments and initiatives that can be incorporated into the race speech. Much of what we've already done, and are doing, is about providing common answers to common problems in ways that will help minorities most of all.

I haven't seen a draft, and don't want to give you more advice than you need. My foremost concern is that this speech be consistent with what the President asked for in last week's meeting. As he said, we should make clear that this race initiative is a logical extension of everything he has done over the last four years. It should not come across as a new departure (since he has been talking and doing a great deal on this all along) or worse, an apology (for crime, welfare, balancing the budget, etc.). The press is already playing this in part as an effort to make up for those sins and make amends with the civil rights community. We should go out of our way to show them that everything we have done has been to expand opportunity (and yes, responsibility and community) to all Americans.

The President should say again, as he said so often in 1992, that the only way for us to come together as one America is to recognize our common obligations to ourselves and one another, to stop blaming our problems on someone else and start taking responsibility for our own actions and each other. The progress we have made, we have made together:

We recognized that crime was our common enemy, and should unite, not divide us. We put more police in neighborhoods that had been deprived of protection, and used community policing so we could attack this scourge together. Poor and minorities plagued by crime have benefited most from 5 straight years of decline.

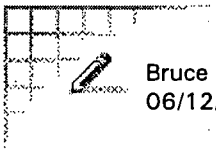
We recognized that the failed welfare system was trapping millions in dependency, and that letting fathers get away without paying child support was tearing families apart. So we're making child support and responsibility a way of life, not an option, and we've moved 3 million people off welfare, and are giving everyone child care and health care and the chance to work. (We still have more to do etc. -- welfare-to-work and immigrant changes in budget bill)

We recognized that working people weren't in competition with each other, they were in competition with the rest of the world. So we expanded trade, cut the deficit, and created more jobs, cut taxes for working families with EITC, and we're about to give everybody the chance to go to college (HOPE) -- and we've seen the greatest drop in income inequality in 20+ years.

We have more to do, and we will do it. Expand education opportunity. Reduce crime. Mend not end affirmative action. Steer more jobs and capital to the inner city. We cannot rest until every child has the chance to rise as high as her God-given talents can take her.

But as we make all these changes from the outside in, each of us must work in our own lives to make changes from the inside out. The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human spirit. Taking responsibility for our own actions and for one another. This

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Ann Lewis to Rahm Emanuel, John Hilley, Wendy Smith & Michael Waldman, Re: Campaign Finance (1 page)	2/21/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14536

FOLDER TITLE:
CFR [Campaign Finance Reform] - FEC {Federal Election Commission] [2]

2006-0469-F
sb114

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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CFR — FEC

To : Rahm Emanuel
John Hilley
Wendy Smith
Michael Waldman
From: Ann Lewis
Date: 2/21/97
Re: Campaign Finance

You have probably seen the Business Week article (attached.) I wanted to call your attention to the first suggestion, using technology to make disclosures faster and more accessible. This could be an important part of our FEC package.

Gleckman makes an interesting suggestion on third party /issue advocacy ads : a reporting/disclosure requirement as soon as such ads mention the name of a candidate. Why not require such disclosure on the same calendar as campaign committees ?

He suggests such ads (using candidtes' names) be counted against the contribution limit. I assume this would just about wipe them out -- unless you form a lot more comittees to spend up to the limit. Maybe I'm answering my own question -- what do you think of this ?

He has a really bad idea about business/labor: After banning soft money, he would end corporate pacs and have business contribute with "shareholder money " -- but unions could only rely on individual contributions. I mention this just in case we see it anywhere else.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton "A New Social Compact for a New Economy" Remarks to the Democratic leadership Council (25 pages)	10/26/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14537

FOLDER TITLE:
DLC [Democratic Leadership Council] Speech 10/27/97 [2]

2006-0469-F
sb115

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Draft 10/26/97 7:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

"A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT

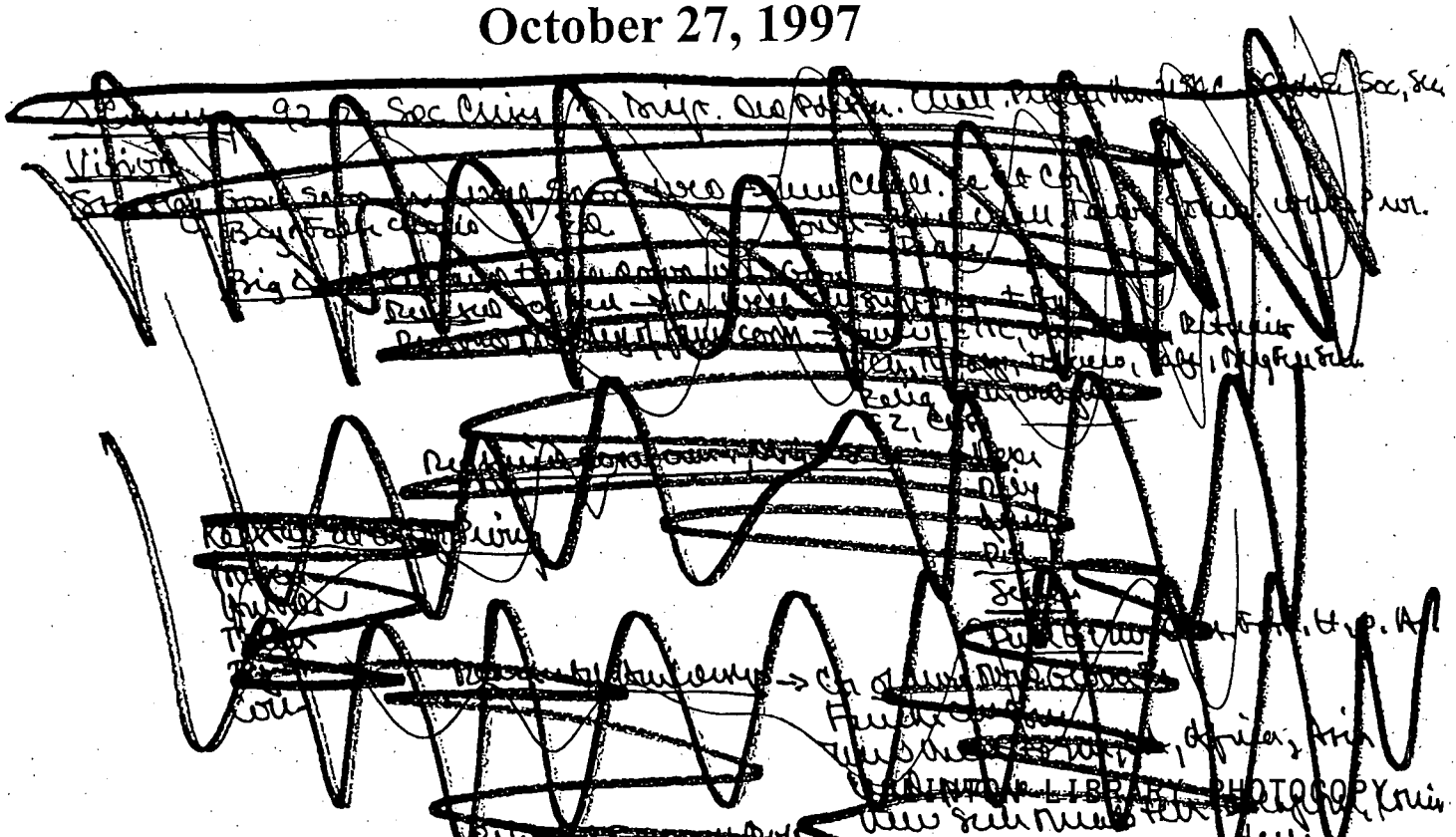
FOR A NEW ECONOMY"

REMARKS TO THE

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, DC

October 27, 1997


CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But we persevered in our new strategy — First, we had ~~To ... to~~ resolve the argument over ~~We were determined to build a new government, not~~ the role of gov't → 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 ~~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.

(FA)

~~Everything ... Now ... 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.

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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 more this country [illegible] forward. I said then that America had a vital goal for the~~ For many yrs now, we have worked together to prepare Amer ~~21st Century~~ -- to keep the American Dream alive for for the 21st Century, driven by a vision simple but profound. 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]~~ Mirrors our border

~~to illuminate our path as we address the challenges of a~~ From the beginning, we have worked to implement ~~new era.~~ a strategy that owes much to the work the DLC and its supporters leaders did in the 1990s and early 90s. Even tho' we ~~[illegible]~~ to make it clear when we stood for especially our determination to go beyond the outdated categories and false choices that dominated

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(1A)

~~Pacific~~

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 tired Democratic tax & deficits w/ an investment strategy aimed at cutting the deficit and investing Now 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 ~~[illegible]~~ old debate of abandoning public education ~~[illegible]~~ or throwing more money at the status quo with a strategy of standards, reform, and investment.

On the environment ~~[illegible]~~, we rejected the idea that protecting Nature 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 rejected 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 Peace Dividend & Portability to Expanded Coverage for Children to AmeriCorps to initiatives to help us reconcile our religious & racial differences.

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

After the wave of a new kind of [illegible]

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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

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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 development 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 ~~[illegible]~~ reaping the new economy's rewards and preserving the social compact from disruptions in workers 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 (3) the world. ~~And as new industries are born, old industries are transformed and revived~~ yet 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.~~

increasingly knowledge and new, information technology are leading the transformation

(1) Skills, knowledge, and imagination are the new wealth of nations. But they must be backed up by strong economic and trade policies, good environments to live in and to grow, and the will to work for the common good. This too cannot be an exercise in division — we must embrace both the global economy & the 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 America & the embodiment of the American dream. But the old arrangement ~~It 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 [redacted] 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] as no nation can be indifferent to the living standards and education of its people. 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~~, Turned down big deficit ~~dominating our politics and crippling our ability to meet~~ economies ~~our challenges, are~~ 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.

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. Exp eight nine developing nations grow 3X

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

If we don't seize these opportunities, our competitors surely will. Last year, for the first time ever, 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. I will 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.

We must

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 this 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

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 to benefit 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 independence and progress in no small measure because we have understood & 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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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 3 am draft (2 pages)	1/27/98	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 3 am draft (1 page)	1/27/98	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 3 am draft (1 page)	1/27/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14537

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] '98 - Drafts Ret. [Returned] by POTUS [1]

2006-0469-F
sb116

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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~~In the coming decade, we can create millions of American jobs and sell billions of dollars of American goods, in areas ranging from agriculture 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, and to ~~keep~~ advance the prosperity & security of our trading partners.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year we will forge new partnerships with Latin America. And we should pass the new African Trade Act.

And I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad. This is a great opportunity for our country, but there is strong opposition to more comprehensive trade agreements, rooted in two fears: ① that our trading partners low labor & environmental standards will give them an unfair advantage in our markets; ② that even more trade means more Americans will lose their jobs & have to start over. Let me respond to these concerns.

We should also seek to maintain and enhance worker and environmental standards around the world. It should be part of our trade agenda. But we can't influence other countries' decisions if we send a message to our trading partners that we're backing away.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~ leaving One America.

Let us begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. ~~Diserimination 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. Diserimination against any American is un-American. We must vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. We should pass the Employment Non Diserimination Act.~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 also have a responsibility to ~~act in the public interest~~ help strengthen our democracy.

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.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 3 am draft (2 pages)	1/27/98	P5
004. memo	Michael Waldman to the President, re: Attached draft of the State of the Union Address (1 page)	January 25, 1998	P5
005. memo	Michael Waldman to the President, re: Attached draft of the State of the Union Address (4 pages)	January 25, 1998	P5
006. memo	Michael Waldman to the President, re: Attached draft of the State of the Union Address (1 page)	January 25, 1998	P5
007. memo	Michael Waldman to the President, re: Attached draft of the State of the Union Address (1 page)	January 25, 1998	P5
008. memo	Michael Waldman to the President, re: Attached draft of the State of the Union Address (2 pages)	January 25, 1998	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14537

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] '98 - Drafts Ret. [Returned] by POTUS [2]

2006-0469-F
sb117

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans:

Tonight it is my honor and our duty to focus our minds and join our wills on the work of strengthening our nation at this defining moment in our history — and that is what we will do —

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~~.

Let us take a moment of silence to thank God for their lives, the gifts of our country, and the blessings we enjoy.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the last five years, we have led the way in opening new markets, with 240 trade agreements. That ~~Our policy is to~~ remove foreign barriers to our products that bear the proud stamp, "Made in the USA."

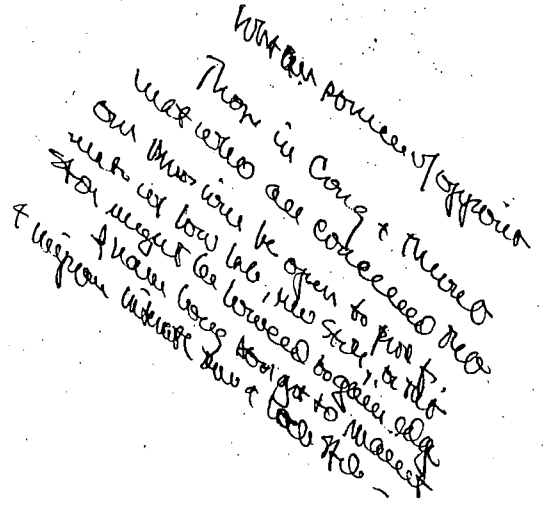
~~In the coming decade, we can create millions~~ of ~~American jobs and sell billions of dollars~~ of American goods, ~~in areas ranging from agriculture to medical~~ equipment. ~~If we lead, we can make this global economy work for our own people, lift the fortunes of millions around the world, and strengthen our children's~~ chances for ~~prosperity and peace~~.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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, and advance the prosperity ~~[illegible]~~ stability of our trading partners.

This year we will forge new partnerships with Latin America. And we should pass the new African Trade Act.

And I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad.



PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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.~~

PHOTOCOPY
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
NO HANDWRITING

~~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.

PHOTOCOPY
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

But for five years now, with renewed spirit and energy, our people have risen as one nation to meet these challenges ~~of change -- to imagine the new future and frame a plan to reach it.~~

~~We are a people born in the~~ greatest revolution ~~in human history, and~~ as we have at every turning point, ~~we have extended the American revolution by~~ by renewing the idea of America, ~~forging a more perfect union~~ widening the circle of opportunity, deepening the meaning of our freedom, forging a more perfect union.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 use all our power and~~ shape the global ~~prosperity to lead in this new~~ economy, not ~~to be left on~~ flourish. ~~the sidelines~~. ~~Increasingly, our trading partners cannot afford to be our adversaries. We must break down economic barriers among all nations, so that the global economy can lead to a safer and more stable world~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the last five years, we have led the way in opening new markets, negotiating 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 have the opportunity to create millions of Americans jobs and sell billions of dollars more of American goods, in areas ranging form agriculture to medical equipment. If we lead, we can make this global economy work for our people, lift our fortunes of millions around the world, and strengthen our children's chances for prosperity and peace.

(13) This year, I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(2) ~~We must continue in the next year to expand~~ New year will win for partnerships ~~opportunity by forging~~ new ~~markets~~ in Africa and Latin America.

(1) Today, record high exports account for fully one third of our economic growth -- and I want to keep them going, because that's the way to keep America growing.

(4) I ~~believe entering into new economic ties, including~~ Should we also seek to maintain + enhance ~~the right kind of trade agreements, will increase, not~~ ~~diminish, our ability to raise~~ worker and environmental standards around the world? Of course we should. But we can't have influence if we send a message to our trading partners that we're backing away.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This year, I will send to Congress legislation, and I will 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.

Should we
~~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.?

Of course we should. But we can't help them by cutting off [illegible] a major engine of our economic growth. ~~We should~~ Instead we must do more to help them.

That is why we have doubled the funding for training ~~and~~ dislocated workers.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

~~Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that~~ Our Founders set America on ~~we had come together to form not just a new nation, but~~ a permanent journey toward "a more perfect union." ~~Americans are on an eternal~~ It's a trip we can only make ~~mission together. Therefore we as a nation must live~~ together. ~~together as a community.~~

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the confidence of the American people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~The best poverty program, the best jobs program~~, the ~~best community development program, is a growing economy~~.

Our ~~mission~~ strategy has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, restoring polluted sites for development. ~~Now we must press forward with our opportunity agenda for America's cities~~. 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.

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 been the nation's greatest proving ground for racial progress. We must summon that spirit of common service -- whether through AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps, the ~~America Reads initiative~~, or our new initiative to enlist universities to adopt middle schools so all our children are ready to go to college. ~~Our commitment at the President's Summit on Service -- a commitment to a new ethic of active citizenship -- must also be our commitment to building one America~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

With shared values, honest communication, & civic
~~We are torchbearers of the most shining idea in~~
desire we
~~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.

THE MILLENNIUM -- GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us lift our eyes toward the new millennium. How will we mark that passage?

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote American creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share so we can carry it with us into the 21st Century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14537

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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 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, prosperity, ~~and environmental preservation in the next~~ one.

Let us ~~rise to the challenge of our unique moment of promise, and~~ strengthen our nation for the 21st Century.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~For we now confront another decisive moment in our~~ This unique moment of promise ~~destiny. It~~ did not come upon us with the roar of guns or ~~but quietly~~, 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. Rarely have Americans lived through ~~Perhaps never before has one generation seen~~ 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.

For 5 years now, we have met these challenges, as Americans have at every turning point, by ~~renewing the ideals of our country~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

But for five years now, ~~with renewed spirit and energy, our people have risen as one nation to meet these challenges of change -- to imagine the new future and frame a plan to reach it.~~

~~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, ~~forging a more perfect union~~, deepening the meaning of our freedom,

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~In these five years~~, 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~~.

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.~~

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~ smaller gov't in 25 yrs, but a more progressive one. We have a smaller government, but a stronger nation.

~~At every step, we have aspired to three goals for~~ We are moving steadily toward a 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~~.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

First, to build an economy that offers opportunity, ~~we~~ Americans in this chamber and across the country are ~~embracing~~ pursuing a new strategy for prosperity: ~~Fiscal~~ Budget discipline to cut interest rates and spur growth. Investing ~~in our people~~, in technology, ~~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.

~~What we did, In this chamber, across this country, in these years, was nothing less than~~ to give ~~America~~ our nation a new economy ~~for a new century~~. ~~With our native spirit of enterprise and invention, we acted faster than any other nation to seize and master the potential of this time~~.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have nearly 15 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 24 years. The lowest ~~rate~~ inflation in 30 years. The highest homeownership rate in history.

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, six presidents have come 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.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 use all our power and prosperity to lead in this new~~ shape the global economy, not ~~to be left on the sidelines~~ from it. Increasingly, ~~our trading partners cannot afford to be our adversaries. We must break down economic barriers among all nations, so that the global economy can lead to a safer and more stable world~~ Summit.

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WJC HANDWRITING

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In the last five years, we have led the way in opening new markets, negotiating 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 have the opportunity to create millions of Americans jobs and sell billions of dollars more of American goods, in areas ranging form agriculture to medical equipment. If we lead, we can make this global economy work for our people, lift our people the fortunes of millions around the world, and strengthen our children's chances for prosperity and peace.

(13) This year, I am renewing my request for the necessary fast track negotiating authority to open more new markets abroad.

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(2) ~~We must continue in the next year to expand~~ Rein year with win-win partnerships ~~opportunity by forging~~ new ~~markets~~ in Africa and Latin America.

(1) Today, record high exports account for fully one third of our economic growth -- and I want to keep them going, because that's the way to keep America growing.

(4) I ~~believe entering into new economic ties, including~~ Should we also seek to maintain + enhance ~~the right kind of trade agreements, will increase, not diminish, our ability to raise~~ worker and environmental standards around the world? Of course we should. But we can't have influence if we send a message to our trading partners that we're backing away.

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This year, I will send to Congress legislation, and I will 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.

Should we
~~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.?

Of course we should. But we can't help them by cutting off [illegible] a major engine of our economic growth. ~~We should~~ Instead we must do more to help them.

That is why we have doubled the funding for training ~~and~~ dislocated workers.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A NATION THAT LIVES BY COMMUNITY

~~Two centuries ago, we proclaimed to the world that~~ Our Founders ~~gave us the charge to seek~~ set America on ~~we had come together to form not just a new nation, but~~ a permanent journey toward "a more perfect union." ~~Americans are on an eternal~~ It's a trip we can only make ~~mission together. Therefore we as a nation must live~~ together. ~~together as a community~~.

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, our government -- the instrument of our national community -- must earn the confidence of the American people.

PHOTOCOPY
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~~The best poverty program, the best jobs program~~, the ~~best community development program, is a growing economy~~.

Our ~~mission~~ challenge has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city poor neighborhoods -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, restoring polluted sites for development. ~~Now we must press forward with our opportunity agenda for America's cities~~. 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.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 these gains, leaving no one ~~We cannot leave any person, any family, or any neighborhood, or any community~~ behind.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

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 been the nation's greatest proving ground for racial progress. We must summon that spirit of common service -- whether through AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps, the ~~America Reads initiative~~, or our new initiative to enlist universities to adopt middle schools so all our children are ready to go to college. ~~Our commitment at the President's Summit on Service -- a commitment to a new ethic of active citizenship -- must also be our commitment to building one America~~.

PHOTOCOPY
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With shared values, honest communication, & respect
~~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.

THE MILLENNIUM -- GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us lift our eyes toward the new millennium. How will we mark that passage?

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote American creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share so we can carry it with us into the 21st Century.

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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, strengthened for the 21st Century -- one nation, and One America.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 1:30 PM draft (1 page)	1/24/98	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 1:30 PM draft (1 page)	1/24/98	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 1:30 PM draft (2 pages)	1/24/98	P5
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005. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 5:20 PM draft (3 pages)	1/21/98	P5
006. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 5:20 PM draft (2 pages)	1/21/98	P5
007. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 5:00 PM draft (3 pages)	1/17/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14537

FOLDER TITLE:
SOTU [State of the Union] '98 - Drafts Ret. [Returned] by POTUS [4]

2006-0469-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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.

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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.

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I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care better, safer, and more affordable, with cuts for businesses and millions of working families. For example, under my plan a family of four with an income of $35,000 and high child care costs would not pay a penny of federal income taxes.

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.~~

PHOTOCOPY
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~ partnerships w/ local law enf't & citizen groups that works. 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.

We need to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the streets, and focus more sharply on the high risks of gun 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.

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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.

Fourth, we must ~~demand~~ exercise responsibility not only at home but abroad, ~~and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership~~.

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~~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: ~~a~~ possibility.

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 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.

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and losers -- opened new possibilities as it raised new perils. We lacked a framework for understanding it, and a plan to master it. Our economy was in recession, our political system was paralyzed, and our problems mounted. As because our leadership drifted, too many hardworking honest Americans had to struggle to survive and make sense of a world moving beyond their control.

[*alternative: Slowly but with gathering force, the ground shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a world* ~~*in which the collapse of communism spawned new nations and let loose old hatreds. These changes upended old arrangements, declared new winners and losers, opened new possibilities*~~ etc.]

~~[It has been our challenge and our blessing to live and to lead at the historic convergence of great and global change. The moment did not come upon us with the roar of guns or any other sudden crisis that usually signals a decisive time. But seldom in our two centuries and more~~ has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.]

~~We are Americans. We do not fear change, we embrace~~ it. For five years, our people have risen to the challenge of change -- ~~acting~~, to redeem the promise of America, to forge a more perfect union, to ~~widen~~ and deepen the meaning of our freedom. We have moved with new confidence, in a renewed spirit of hope, once again taking the path of "bold persistent experimentation."

3

PHOTOCOPY
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And at every step, our actions have been grounded in three principles: Opportunity for all Americans. Responsibility from all Americans. A community of all Americans.

To make these principles real, we have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. ~~We recognized that government is but one instrument by which a free people fashions its future~~, future, We have forged a new kind of government. ~~Smaller~~. More flexible. Focused on giving the American people the tools to make the most of this new era. On being a catalyst for new ideas. ~~On protecting the defenseless, and empowering the disadvantaged~~. [A government that replaces a sense of entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.] But give all Americans the chance to reap the rewards of change.

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 move us forward. As our government has grown smaller, our nation has grown stronger.

~~We cannot shrink from this world of change -- we must master it. Yet we cannot tell our~~ people to fend for themselves -- we must act to make sure all ~~Americans can reap the rewards~~ of ~~change. And we cannot shrink from the world~~ -- we must ~~act the way America has acted at~~ its ~~moments of greatness, one nation~~ among many, leading the world toward new heights of freedom and peace.

4

PHOTOCOPY
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Beyond our environmental gov't, we have also sought to promote a view of ~~We must recognize that in this new era, a strong nation requires robust leadership of the~~ beyond our borders. Because of our prosperity, power, & ability to help our environment.
world & our freedom and independence enriched, not diminished, by our interdependence with the people of other nations. That is why I have sought to persuade Congress and the American people that what happens beyond our borders affects our security, our well being, and our children's future. In the 21st Century, a central fact of our world is this: in advancing trade, in keeping the peace and preventing war, combating climate change and the spread of disease, stabilizing the global financial system -- American leadership matters . . . not only to the world, but to America.

And we must recognize that in the 21st Century, America will be challenged, as we have always been, by the divisions of race and ethnicity, by the challenge of living out the true meaning of our creed. If we are to build one nation, then we must truly be one nation. If we are to deepen the meaning of our freedom, then we must live by our ideals.

So tonight, with the state of our union so strong, with our prospects so bright, let us embrace with optimism and vigor the remaining challenges to building our bridge to the 21st Century.

Let us debate our differences in a spirit of goodwill and civility. And let us determine to do whatever it takes to build an economy based on opportunity -- a society that rests on responsibility -- a union rooted in community -- here and around the world.

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5

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I have tried to appeal to the better angels of our nature to find a new unifying vision of America that gives greater ~~meaning~~ strength to our nation and wider and deeper meaning to our freedom.

This is, I am convinced, what our founders meant when they committed themselves and all their descendants down to the present day to form a more perfect union.

Just as we, as individuals must always strive to grow through success and failure, pain and joy, so must the nation grow in wisdom and spirit.

George Washington summoned our nation ~~into being~~ step to ~~our~~ nation. Abraham Lincoln gave his life to move beyond division and slavery to one nation. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pushed us to reap the benefits of the Industrial Revolution, but also to curb its ~~excesses and~~ exploitation of people and nature, so that we would ~~be~~ one nation. FDR led us out of depression and through a war to save freedom itself, by reminding us that fear is always our real enemy and bold persistent experimentation is the only way to preserve and strengthen ~~our~~ nation. Fifty years of Democratic and Republican leaders from President Truman to President Bush stood strong throughout the Cold War, and built the world's greatest middle class at home to lift our United States to a new pinnacle of progress, strength and equality.

But by 1992, the world was changing again, and more rapidly than ever before. A new global economy, the end of the Cold War, the eruptions of new nativism and old hatreds, the rise of ~~reactionary~~ religious fundamentalism, and a ~~cultural explosion~~ of ??? presented the world with a whole new project. New winners and losers. New possibilities and new threats. In short, a lot of balls in the air, most appealing, some troubling, without an apparent order necessary to strengthen our union and deepen our freedom.

I sought this office in 1992 because I felt our nation was moving toward drift and division. Unemployment was ~~x~~. Inequality was increasing. Our debt had quadrupled in ~~four~~ years. Our social problems were worsening. Too many hardworking honest Americans were struggling to survive and make sense of a world moving beyond their control. Too many of our children were being lost.

For five years, I have struggled to redeem the promise of America, to forge a more perfect union, to widen and deepen the meaning of our freedom, to bring harmony and hope to a new era I ~~fundamentally~~ fervently believe can be the most wonderful in all humanity's long journey.

I have sought to rebuild the spirit of hope, ~~to [?] the better angels of our nature~~, to provide a unifying vision of how we can all can proceed with confidence into a new century and a new millennium.

Because the road has not always been clear, because neither I nor anyone has all our answers, I have embraced the path of bold persistent experimentation that has served us so well in the past.

But al our activity has been grounded in three bedrock principles: Opportunity for all.

PHOTOCOPY
CLINTON WILLIAM J. CLINTON PHOTOCOPY

Responsibility from all. One American community of all our citizens.

To make these principles real in this time, it has been necessary to change our conception of the role of government, going beyond the debate of recent years between those who say government is the enemy of America's economic interest and shared values, and those who way more of the same government will sustain them or accept more of the same. Instead, we have focused on giving the American people and tools to make the most of this new era, on being a catalyst for new ideas, on protecting the defenseless and empowering the disadvantaged. 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 still strong enough to move us forward.

Beyond refocusing the role of government, it has also been necessary to change our new American kind of vision of relations with the rest of the world. I have sought, with less success than I had hoped, to persuade Congress and the American people that we live in an interdependent world in which what happens beyond our borders affects our security, our well being, and our children's future. This fact makes our leadership in partnership with others, in trade, in United Nations activities making peace happen and conflict prevention, in combating climate change and the spread of disease it will bring, in stabilizing the global financial system far more important than ever before.

Tonight, the state of our union is strong. Let us we embrace with optimism and vigor the remaining challenges to building our bridge to the 21st Century. Let us xx our debate and differences in a spirit of goodwill and civility. Let us do whatever it takes to build an economy based on opportunity -- a society that rests on responsibility -- a union rooted in community.

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1/17/98 5PM

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.

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 people born of 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 over two centuries, America has remained young by finding new means and methods to extend the values and virtues of our Constitution to each new time.

~~In the Civil War, we overcame slavery, rededicating ourselves to the proposition that~~ we ~~are all created equal. A century ago, we overcame the brute force of economic change, as the Progressives and the New Deal forged a new freedom for an Industrial Age.~~ Three decades ago, ~~we overcame the sin of segregation, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.~~ challenged America to live ~~up to the true meaning of our creed.~~

~~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 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.

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.~~

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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, to be a catalyst for new ideas, ~~and~~ to ~~bring~~ together all sectors of our society, and to move beyond our broken politics to common values, interests, and purpose for an interdependent world in which we must lead by

~~We recognized~~, in the words of George Washington, ~~that America must be~~ "an indissoluble community of interest as one nation."

My fellow Americans, ~~we see the results all around us~~. Unemployment ~~remains~~ is 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 there's an old 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.

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003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 9 am draft (2 pages)	1/17/97	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 4:30 pm draft (11 pages)	1/17/97	P5
005. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, Midnight draft (8 pages)	1/18/97	P5
006. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 2:30 pm draft (10 pages)	1/18/97	P5
007. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 2:30 pm draft (11 pages)	1/18/97	P5
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1997 Inaugural - Drafts [1]

2006-0469-F
sb120

RESTRICTION CODES

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challenges of each new age.

Though we enjoy peace and prosperity, though we are free of war and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. [Lincoln taught us, when our ease is new, we must think anew and act anew.]

We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. Not a government arrogant enough to try to solve our problems for us, but ~~a government~~ strong enough to give us the tools to ~~make the most of our own lives for~~ to solve our problems for ourselves]. ~~Where~~ it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, or ~~where it can stand up for~~ the values and interests of ~~ordinary~~ Americans at home, ~~giving them the power~~ to make a ~~real difference in their~~ everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less.

Beyond that chance, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. From all of you, we need a new responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was finished, Benjamin Franklin was asked what had been created. He replied: "A republic, if you can keep it."

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, meeting every challenge, by moving toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we denied our shortcomings or rested on our laurels. I am determined that we will not rest.

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those on welfare. Parents and

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teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, stay out of trouble and learn the joy of serving others. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Above all, we need a new sense of community for a new century. We must affirm: That ours are not the challenges of one person, one family, neighborhood, one city, one state -- ours are the challenges of an ~~entire~~ one nation, and we must meet them as one America. ~~[For here, the~~ challenges of one are the challenges of all.] And we must ~~affirm that every American has a role~~ to play, ~~and no American should be denied the chance~~ to play it to the hilt.

~~We must understand that~~ our rich ~~texture of~~ racial and ethnic diversity, deeply held religious convictions and widely different political philosophies are Godsends for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together. We cannot give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. ~~They have raised their heads again in the present. They will tempt us again~~ in the future. We must summon the generosity of spirit and strength of character to repress them.

The divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of

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hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

[Alt. Ending: And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labors, let us build our bridge to the century ahead -- a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge long enough and straight enough to reach the time of the Americans whose faces we will never see. Let us build in one great American century, so that they may thrive in another.

Then, on another brilliant day, they may say of us: We led our beloved land forward with the American Dream alive for all our children -- with the American community strong for all our people -- with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

Now, let us go forward, certain in the knowledge that God will bless all those who would build -- will "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and will always, always bless our America.]

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politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. Now, they have asked us to honestly debate our differences, then work together in a spirit of mutual respect. America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

ANN says: love

All of us are on that same journey of life, which must surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. And it will -- if we do our duty. For it is our time to build.

So, my fellow Americans, let us run the race ahead with patience and determination; let us never rest; let us forge our own future into hard steel -- and from that steel, let us build our bridge to the century ahead -- a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge long enough and straight enough to carry our oldest values to our newest greatness in the time of the Americans whose faces we will never see.

So that, on another brilliant day, they may say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all our children -- with the American community strong for all our people -- with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

May God bless all those who would build -- and "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and, always, always bless our America.

Now, as we close the work of one century and begin the work of a new

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a world that will be as different from ours as ours is from the days ~~of gaslights~~ horse-drawn, candlelit world of a century ago.

As our times change, we must change,
so that our enduring values
do not change.
We must bring them
fully to life for an
~~new & different~~ new

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DRAFT 1/17/97 4:30p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

SEE ↓ INSERT (A)

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

We gather at this moment of consecration ~~and rededication~~ to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present and chart our course for the future.

America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that all of us are created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: Life; liberty; the pursuit of happiness -- and that those rights could be more fully realized only by free people working together to form a more perfect union.

In the 19th century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, it exploded onto the world stage, ~~when~~ in, in turmoil and triumph, ~~we made this the American century.~~ in this, the 20th Century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Insert A: New Opening

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, and we see, from the height of this place and this moment, the duty that falls to us now.

Though we are blessed with peace and prosperity, though we are free of war and social unrest, this is no ordinary time. This is a precious moment of rare opportunity. A moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future even brighter than our brilliant past, where more people than ever before can make the most of their own lives. We must not let this moment slip our grasp.

Today, let us declare with one voice: As the great American triumph of the 20th Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. Let us build at the end of one American century, so our children may thrive in the next. In our hands rests the eternal promise of America.

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two world wars against tyranny and a long cold war against communism; advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world, and time and again, ~~reached out~~ extended a helping hand to millions across the globe who ~~also~~ longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; dramatically improved public health; provided public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts, explored the heavens; abolished legal barriers for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that moved the conscience of the nation. ~~He told us of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American Dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."~~

WE DON'T THINK THIS QUOTE (OR ANY MLK QUOTE) IS NECESSARY

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life so that his fellow Americans might live his dream.

His story is the story of America, of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years a time of greatness for our country, ~~the American Century~~, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new

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Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

Already, we can see ~~the~~ its fine lines ~~of that new century~~ -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our greatest maladies seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factories, to computers; tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two ~~armed~~ hostile camps ~~with the capacity~~ armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people are living under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

NOTE: Now, the description of the future is all positive; we may want to restore the "terrorists with their dark designs."

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. Then, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, by the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the achievements we have made, the renewal of America has begun.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. We have reduced the nuclear threat

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[SAME THOUGHT ON PREVIOUS PAGE]

has been reduced. ~~Commerce among nations has been expanded to record levels.~~ And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, with new jobs for our people, discipline in our budget and investment in our future.

Once again, ~~we have put~~ family and faith and community (stand) at the center of our concerns. Parents have hope that they can ~~Families are receiving support in their efforts to~~ succeed at home and at work, and ~~in raising~~ raise children in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most urgent social problems -- crime, ~~programmatic~~ poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts.

THIS MAY BE TOO ~~PROG~~ -AND IT IS DEALT WITH LATER IN POLICY SECTION

~~Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine America community, founded in mutual respect~~, (We are) exalting citizen service, standing against the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union ~~even as these very forces destroy the lives and hopes of millions around the world.~~ THIS POINT MADE BETTER LATER

And once again, we have resolved for our time the ~~age-old debate of the r~~ole of government in our common endeavors, ~~moving beyond the competing philosophies~~ that ~~threatened~~ paralyzed our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. ~~We have instituted government of the people, by the people and for the people~~, as one ~~means~~ means by which, together, we can meet the

pushing past the deadlocked debate

Government is but our common instrument,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

challenges of each new age.

As our times change, so our government must change.

~~Though we enjoy peace~~ and prosperity, though we are ~~free of war and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. [Lincoln taught us, when our case~~ is new, we must think anew and act ~~anew.]~~

We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. ~~Not a~~ government ~~arrogant~~ humble enough to try to solve our problems for us, but a ~~government~~ strong enough to give us the tools to ~~make the most of our own lives [or to~~ solve our problems for ourselves]. Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, or where it can stand up for the values and interests of ~~ordinary~~ Americans at home, giving them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less.

Beyond that chance, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. From all of you, we need a new responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was finished, Benjamin Franklin was asked what had been created. He replied: "A republic, if you can keep it."

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, meeting every challenge, by moving toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we denied our shortcomings or rested on our laurels. ~~I am determined that we will not rest.~~ Today, we must declare that we will not rest.

[~~The~~ What follows is all about citizen responsibility, not the Presidents role.]

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those on welfare. Parents and

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teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, stay out of trouble and learn the joy of serving others. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Above all, we need a new ~~sense of~~ community for a new century. We must affirm: ~~That~~ ours are not the challenges of one person, one family, neighborhood, one city, one state -- ours are the challenges of ~~an entire~~ one nation, and we must meet them as one America. [~~For here~~, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.] And we must affirm that every American has a role to play, and no American should be denied the chance to play it to the hilt.

In America,

↑ This doesn't add much.

~~We must understand that~~ our rich texture of racial and ethnic diversity, deeply held religious convictions and widely different political philosophies are Godsends for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together. We cannot give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They have raised their heads ~~again~~ in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. We must summon the generosity of spirit and strength of character to repress them.

The divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[religious or political] conviction, is no better. We must impose no false tests of citizenship. ~~We must affirm the surpassing strength in our diversity. It will make us richer and richer in spirit if~~ We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American. [Our differences do not diminish us. They must be the mighty force that strengthens us for the work ahead.]

With a new government, a new responsibility, a new community, we can [~~form a more perfect union~~] and build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we desire.

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- ~~a decisive power in~~ standing for peace and freedom, standing against the forces of intolerance, ~~promoting peace, fostering democracy~~, bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, ~~leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons,~~ banishing from the Earth all weapons that could destroy humanity, reaping the benefits of leadership because we are willing to shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

An America that ~~prepares~~ gives her children ~~with~~ new skills they will need ~~in the next century~~ with world-class public schools, the highest standards and the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age ~~into the~~ within reach not just of the few but of every school, every home and every child.

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet ~~jealously guards~~ stands watch over its air, water and land.

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An America that ~~protects~~ shields our children from harm, and gives parents the time they need to be good parents.

An America that maintains the best health care system in the world, ~~using the wonders of science to find cures for its plagues and making sure no child is ever left without medical care~~ extending its reach to every single child.

An America that meets its obligations to our elderly by providing them with secure retirement and health care and making the changes necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

An America where our political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not narrow interests, earning the participation and trust of all her citizens.

An America where every person will be judged on only one basis: on his or her merits.

An America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

Today I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. Like you, I cannot do this alone. I ask the members of Congress here ~~on this platform~~ to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes wide open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. No, they have asked us to debate our differences

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

honestly, then to work together in a spirit of accord.

America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

All of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. It ~~surely~~ will -- if we do our duty. ~~[It is our time to build.]~~

And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labor, let us build our bridge to a new century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across to the Age of Possibility ~~in a more perfect union~~.

we know awaits us. Let us shape the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

Let those generations whose faces we will never see say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of full citizenship a reality for all of her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

it is our time to build.

At the end of one ~~American~~ Century and the dawn of a new one, may God "strengthen our

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hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

[Alt. Ending: And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labors, let us build our bridge to the century ahead -- a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge long enough and straight enough to reach the time of the Americans whose faces we will never see. Let us build in one great American century, so that they may thrive in another.

Then, on another brilliant day, they may say of us: We led our beloved land forward with the American Dream alive for all our children -- with the American community strong for all our people -- with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

Now, let us go forward, certain in the knowledge that God will bless all those who would build -- will "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and will always, always bless our America.]

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Draft 1/18/97 Midnight

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 20, 1997

We gather at the last Presidential inauguration of the 20th Century. From the height of this place and this time, let us resolve to build at the end of this century, so that our children may thrive in the next. ~~Events have combined to give us a moment of~~ [rich opportunity that brings ~~with it a deep responsibility for the future~~. We must make this moment ours (with a commitment to do right by those who will follow us in this blessed land. (from Proc.)] For in our hands rests the eternal promise of America.

America was born in the 18th Century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. In the 19th century our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union, and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, in turmoil and triumph, it exploded on to the world stage to make this the American Century.

America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; and time and again reached out a helping hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home Americans produced: the great middle class; longer lives and secure old age; schools open to all children; atomic energy, the computer, and the space program; a revolution in

We [illegible] the atom, explored the heavens and fed much of the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

civil rights and an extended circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity for women.

Now, a new century is ~~just four years away~~. Already we can see its [~~fine~~ broad contours lines] -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint (Map) of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. ~~It was a difficult time, without a~~ clear course. We vowed to set that course, to force the spring, to renew our nation.

~~[Touched by tragedy, strengthened by achievement, exhilarated by the challenges and possibilities ahead, we have come a long way on our journey to change America's course for the better.]~~

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Today, America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Today, America's economy is the strongest on earth. Today, we are building stronger families, safer streets and a cleaner environment -- as problems that once seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts.

And ~~once again~~, we have resolved for our time, a great debate over the role of government. [We have moved beyond old divisions of the past which posed false, misguided choices for the future.] Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Self-government is simply the means our Constitution provides for us to meet our common challenges. Its role must be defined in every age by what is necessary to meet those challenges.

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century -- a government humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. A government that is smaller and ~~does more with less~~. Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, our government should do more, not less. In this way, all Americans will have a ~~real~~ opportunity -- not a guarantee -- but a real opportunity to build better lives.

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders well understood that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon responsible citizenship.

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We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do ~~out there,~~ alone work that government cannot do. There are streets to be made safe. There are jobs to be created for people to move from welfare to work, higher standards for our schools, hard study by our children, young people to be kept off drugs, community service by our citizens.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation. For in fact, the challenges & all are the challenges faith.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one America.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They torment the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They raise their vile heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future.

The divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They rob both those who are hated, and those who hate, of what they might become. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress those impulses, so that all hardworking, law abiding men and women feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole, and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is, in fact, a Godsend in the 21st

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Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

With a new ~~kind of~~ government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we ~~can~~ build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

Let us build an America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce; reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burden and pay our way.

Let us build an America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

Let us build an America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within reach of not a few, but of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

Let us build an America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

Let us build an America where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent

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underclass is lifted into a vibrant, growing middle class.

Let us build an America that values the talents of every girl and every boy, and helps men and women to meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

Let us build an America that shields our children from violence on our streets, in our schools, in our homes, and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches timeless values.

Let us build an America that maintains the best health care system in the world, extending its reach to every child, opening its doors to hard working people shut out today.

Let us build an America that meets its obligations -- by providing our seniors with secure retirement and health care, and by making the reforms necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

Let us build an America where our political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not the narrow interests, increasing the participation and earning the trust of all her citizens.

Let us build an America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

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Let us build an America that is always moving toward its promise of a more perfect union.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us from the other end of this mall, in words that quickened the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream, that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American Dream. His story is America's story: the constant striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors. And it is out of dreams and labors that we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st Century.

We have built and will continue to build the most prosperous and powerful nation the world has ever known. But let us never forget: the greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.

Today, I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they expect us to reconcile our differences and work together for them.

[They have called upon us to repair the breach and to restore our path to the future.]

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America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

We must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on.

we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great and different.

And so, my fellow Americans, with patience, gratitude, and dedication, let us shape the hope of this moment into a history of which we can be proud. Let us build our bridge, wide and strong enough to carry all Americans across to a new American century.

May those generations whose faces we will never see, whose names we will never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of a more perfect union a reality for all her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

May God "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

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DRAFT 1/18/97 2:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, and from the height of this place and this moment, we can see clearly the duty we must embrace.

We are blessed with peace and prosperity, and world leadership unique in our history. Events have combined to give us a precious moment of rare opportunity, a moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future even brighter than our brilliant past, ~~an age when~~ more people than ever before ~~can~~ will be able to make the most of their own lives and enrich the life of our nation and the world. We must not let this moment slip our grasp. Capture this moment in our grasp

Today, let us declare with one voice: As the great American triumph of the 20th Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. We will build at the end of ~~one~~ the century, so our children may thrive in the next. ~~We are well aware that,~~ For in our hands, together, rests the eternal promise of America.

America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: Life; liberty; the pursuit of happiness -- and that

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those rights could be realized only by free people working together to form a more perfect union.

In the 19th century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, it ~~exploded~~ onto the world stage in turmoil and triumph, when we made this the American Century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; ~~advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world~~, and time and again, extended ~~a helping~~ hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of ~~liberty~~.

At home, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; ~~dramatically improved public health;~~ provided public education to all our children; built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; fed much of the earth; effected a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that quickened the conscience of the nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream -- that one day America would rise up and live out its creed, treating all citizens as

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equals, before the law and in the heart.

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life so that his fellow Americans might live his dream.

His dream was the American Dream; his story the story of America, of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years the American Century, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

Already, we can see its fine lines -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our greatest maladies seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. Then, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation.

connection between building One Am. and our for. policy.

~~Today, the renewal has begun.~~

not only see. your values but see. of our interests. -- play this role to sustain the nation. can't sustain it unless we are one pl.

~~Once again~~, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. We have reduced the nuclear threat. Our efforts have increased commerce with other nations to record levels. And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the ~~cobblestone~~ streets of Belfast, to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and strength.

~~Once again~~, America's economy is the strongest on earth, with new jobs for our people, discipline in our budget and investment in our future.

See B →

~~Once again~~, family, faith and community stand at the center of our concerns, as we help working families raise their children well in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most urgent social problems -- crime, poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. ~~We are exalting citizen service and standing against the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union.~~

complimentary.

~~And once again~~, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government, moving beyond the outdated theories that paralyzed our progress. Today we can

and debate that presented false choices on

~~false choices~~

old divisive debate of the past

false choices

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government is but our common instrument, the means our Constitution provides for us to meet the challenges of ~~this~~ new age together.

As our times change, so our government must change. We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. A government humble enough ~~that it does~~ not try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. ~~And confident enough to maintain our world leadership.~~ Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can stand up for the values and interests of Americans at home, giving them the power to make a real difference in their ~~everyday~~ lives, then our government should do more, not less. In this way, all Americans will have not a guarantee, but a chance, to build better lives.

Beyond that ~~chance~~, my fellow citizens, the future is ~~up to~~ you. ~~Our Founders well understood that~~ the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon the responsibility of all citizens to strive ceaselessly for the sake of our nation. ~~[As Benjamin Franklin said, they gave us "a republic, if you can keep it."]~~

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic. ~~To be sure, we have had~~ our troubles ~~and backsliding, but only~~ when we denied our shortcomings and rested on our laurels. Today, we must declare: We will not rest.

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We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those who must move from welfare to work. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, stay out of trouble and learn the joy of serving others. Families, neighbors, communities must help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one ~~nation~~ America. ~~It will not be easy, for within our borders there are people from every other nation on earth, of every~~ conceivable religious and political disposition. ~~[The global economy and exploding technology continually upset old patterns of work and living and leave many people feeling bewildered, disconnected, vulnerable to the cruel illusion that we can lift ourselves up by keeping our neighbors down.]~~

Yet our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is ~~a Godsend~~ for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly

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destroyed us in the past. They raise their heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress them, so that all hardworking, law-abiding ~~men and women~~ people feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole ~~and enjoy the blessings of liberty.~~

The great divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They all rob those who are hated, and even more, those who hate. We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

With a new government, a new responsibility, a new community, we can build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

An America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within the reach

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~~not just of the few but~~ of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

An America where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent underclass ~~is a thing of the past.~~

An America that ~~welcomes the talents~~ of every girl, and every boy -- and ~~helps men and~~ women ~~to meet their responsibilities~~ at home and at work.

~~An America~~ that shields ~~our children~~ from violence, on our streets, in our schools, our homes -- and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches values. [*do we need more on crime?*]

An America that maintains the best health care system in the world, extending its reach to every ~~single~~ child, opening its doors to hard working people shut out today.

An America that meets its obligations to our elderly by providing them with secure retirement and health care and making the changes necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

An America where our political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not the narrow interests, increasing the participation and earning the trust of all her

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citizens.

An America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

We have built and will continue to build the most prosperous nation the world has ever known. But as we close out the millennium that saw civilization emerge from darkness and the century that saw evil's vilest moment crushed by good's finest hour, let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human heart.

In America, we hear a higher calling. In the end, a nation is judged not by what is written in its account books, but by what lies within its citizens' souls. If you wish to change the world, a thousand armies are no match for the decency of the human spirit.

Today I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people, [with eyes wide open,] returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. No, they have asked us to debate our differences honestly, then to work together, extending to each other an outstretched hand and the benefit of the doubt.

America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of

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his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

We must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on.

And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labor, let us build our bridge to a new century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across to the Age of Possibility that awaits us. Let us shape the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

Let those generations whose faces we will never see, whose names we will never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of a more perfect union a reality for all her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

May God "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

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DRAFT 1/18/97 2:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century ~~and~~ from the height of this place and ~~this moment~~ time, we can see clearly the duty we must embrace. ALT.- [calling that is our nation's.]

We are blessed with peace and prosperity, and world leadership unique in our history. Events have combined to give us a ~~precious~~ moment of rare opportunity, a moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future ~~even~~ brighter than our brilliant past, ~~an age when~~ more people than ever before will be able to ~~can~~ make the most of their own lives and enrich the life of our nation and the world.

We must not let this moment slip our grasp. → We must make this moment ours. // BETTER TO BE POSITIVE

Today, let us declare with one voice: As the great American triumph of the 20th Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. We ~~will~~ build at the end of ~~this one~~ that century, so our children may thrive in the next. ~~We are well aware that~~, in our hands, rests the eternal promise of America. together,

America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal, ~~endowed by God with inalienable rights: Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness -- and that~~

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~~those rights could be realized only by free people working together to form a more perfect union.~~

In the 19th century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, it exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, ~~when~~ we made this the American Century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; ~~advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world~~, and time and again, extended a helping hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home, our people ~~built~~ conquered the Depression to build the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; ~~dramatically improved public health;~~ ~~provided~~ extended public education to all our children; built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; split the atom; fed much of the earth; effected a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us ~~on this very mall~~ in words that quickened the conscience of the nation. Like a prophet of old, Martin Luther King told of his dream -- that one day America would rise up and live out its creed, treating all citizens as

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equals, before the law and in the heart.

~~Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life so that his follow Americans might live his dream.~~

His dream was the American Dream; his story, the story of America, of the constant quest dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. ~~Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors~~. Dreams and labors made this ~~hundred years~~ the American Century, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

TOO MANY ..DREAMS-

Already, we can see its fine lines -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our ~~greatest maladies~~ most feared illnesses may be seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

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Together,

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. ~~Then~~, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation.

~~Today, the renewal has begun.~~

Today,

~~Once again,~~ America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. We have reduced the nuclear threat. ~~Our efforts have increased commerce with other nations to record levels.~~ We have broken down barriers and built bonds of commerce for our common prosper And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, ~~to~~ from the ~~cobblestone~~ streets of Belfast, to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and strength.

Today,

~~Once again~~, America's economy is the strongest on earth, with new jobs for our people, discipline in our budget ~~and investment in our future.~~ Our economic watchword is: invest and gr

↑POSSIBLE INSERT— NOT UNANIMOUS

Today,

~~Once again~~, family, faith and community stand at the center of our concerns, as we help working families raise their children well in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most urgent social problems -- crime, poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. We are exalting citizen service and standing against the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union.

THIS IS DONE BELOW

~~And once again~~, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government, moving beyond ~~the outdated theories that paralyzed our progress.~~ old divisions of the past which posed false, misguided choices for the futu Today we can

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declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government is but our common instrument, the means our Constitution provides for us to meet the challenges of ~~this~~ new age together.

As our times change, so our government must change. We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. A government humble enough ~~that it does not try to~~ to know it cannot solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. ~~And confident enough to maintain our world leadership.~~ Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can stand up for the values and interests of Americans at home, ~~giving~~ them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. In this way, all Americans will have not a guarantee, but ~~a chance~~, to build better lives.

Beyond that ~~chance~~, my fellow citizens, the ~~future~~ is ~~up to you~~. ~~Our Founders well understood that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon the responsibility of all citizens to strive ceaselessly for the sake of our nation. [As Benjamin Franklin said, they gave us "a republic, if you can keep it."]~~

BEN F. IS NOW TOO TRUNCATED TO WORK

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic. To be sure, we have had our troubles and backsliding, but only when we denied our shortcomings and rested on our laurels. Today, we must declare: We will not rest.

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Every adult must teach our children right from wrong. Every child must have an adult who cares what they do. Every American, young and old, must take responsibility to give something back to their community and their country.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those who must move from welfare to work. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, live by the rules, ~~stay out of trouble~~ and learn the joy of serving others. ~~Families, neighbors, communities must help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.~~

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one nation. It will not be easy, for within our borders there are people from every other nation on earth, of every conceivable religious and political disposition. [The global economy and exploding technology continually upset old patterns of work and living and leave many people feeling bewildered, disconnected, vulnerable to the cruel illusion that we can lift ourselves up by keeping our neighbors down.]

Yet our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is a Godsend for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly

REORDERED AND REWORKED SEE INSERT A

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destroyed us in the past. They raise their heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress them, so that all hardworking, law-abiding men and women feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

SEE INSERT A

The great divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They all rob those who are hated, and even more, those who hate. We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

With a new government, a new responsibility, a new community, we can build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

HENRY CISNEROS, ESPECIALLY, THINKS YOU NEED AN ACTIVE VERB HERE

Let us build

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

Let us build

An America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within the reach

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INSERT A

In America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

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With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress those impulses, so that all hardworking, law-abiding people feel at home with one another and know they are part of the whole. Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is, in fact, a blessing, not a curse for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We must simply say to one another: If you work hard, raise your children and meet your responsibilities, you are living the spirit of America. If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

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not just of ~~the few~~ a few but of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

Let us build

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

Let us build

An America ~~where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent underclass is a thing of the past.~~ that reforms welfare so that everyone who can work, does work, and that lifts the permanent underclass into our growing and vibrant middle class.

MAY... PENN BELIEVES THE "WOMEN" POINT IS BETTER EMBEDDED WITHIN A BROADER "VALUES" POINT LIKE FAMILIES OR CHILDREN, INSTEAD OF THIS

An America that welcomes the talents of every girl, and every boy -- and helps men and women to meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

An America that shields our children from violence, on our streets, in our schools, our homes -- and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches values. [*do we need more on crime?*]

An America that maintains the best health care system in the world, extending its reach to every ~~single~~ child, opening its doors to hard working people shut out today.

An America that meets its obligations to our elderly by providing them with secure retirement and health care and making the changes necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

An America ~~where our~~ whose political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not the narrow interests, increasing the participation and earning the trust of all her

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citizens.

An America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

We have built and will continue to build the most prosperous nation the world has ever known. But as we ~~close out~~ near the end of the millennium that saw civilization emerge from darkness and ~~the century~~ that saw evil's vilest moment crushed by good's finest hour, let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human heart.

In America, we ~~hear~~ have a higher calling. In the end, a nation is judged not by what is written in its account books, but by what ~~lies~~ lives within its ~~citizens'~~ people's souls. If you wish to change the world, a thousand armies are no match for the decency of the human spirit.

Today I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people, [with eyes wide open,] returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction ~~they plainly deplore~~. No, they have asked us to debate our differences honestly, then to work together, ~~extending to each other an outstretched hand and the benefit of the doubt.~~ remembering ~~forgive~~ we are here the public interest, not our own interests.

America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of

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his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

We must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on.

~~And so,~~ my fellow Americans, ~~let us run~~ with patience and a grateful and understanding heart ~~the race that is before us~~. ~~With our dreams and labor,~~ let us build our bridge to a new century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans ~~across to the Age of Possibility that awaits us.~~ Let us shape the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

So that

~~Let~~ those generations whose faces we will never see, whose names we will never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of a more perfect union a reality for all her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

May God "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DRAFT 1/18/97 2:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, and from the height of this place and this moment, we can see clearly the duty we must embrace.

We are blessed with peace and prosperity, and world leadership unique in our history. Events have combined to give us a precious moment of rare opportunity, a moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future even brighter than our brilliant past, an age when more people than ever before can make the most of their own lives and enrich the life of our nation and the world. We must not let this moment slip our grasp.

~~Today, let us declare with one voice~~: As ~~the great American triumph of~~ this ~~20th~~ Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. We will build at the end of one century, so our children may thrive in the next. ~~We are well aware that, In~~ our hands, rests the eternal promise of America.

~~America~~ was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that ~~we are~~ all created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: ~~Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness -- and~~ that ~~those rights~~ could be realized only by free people working together to form a more perfect union.

In the 19th century, ~~our nation~~ spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. ~~Then, it exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, when we made this the American Century.~~

~~What a~~ century ~~it has been~~. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world, and ~~time and again~~, extended a helping hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home, ~~our people~~ built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; dramatically improved public health; provided public education to all our children; built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; fed much of the earth; effected a revolution in civil

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rights for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that quickened the conscience of the nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream -- that one day America would rise up and live out its ~~creed~~, treating all citizens as equals, before the law and in ~~the~~ its heart.

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., ~~gave~~ lost his life ~~so that his fellow Americans might live his dream.~~ but his dream - and America's promise lives on

His dream was the American Dream; his story the story of America, of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years the American Century, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

Already, we can see its fine lines -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our greatest maladies seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. Then, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation and ourselves.

~~Today~~, the renewal has begun.

As we celebrate this Inauguration, it is not

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. We have reduced the nuclear threat. Our efforts have increased commerce with other nations to record levels. And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and strength.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, ~~with new jobs for our people,~~ discipline in our budget and investment in our future.

Once again, family, faith and community stand at the center of our concerns, ~~as we help~~

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working families raise their children well in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most urgent social problems -- crime, poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. We are exalting citizen service and standing against the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union.

And once again, we have resolved for our time ~~a great~~ debate over the role of government, ~~moving beyond the outdated theories that paralyzed our progress~~. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government is but our common instrument, the means our Constitution provides for us to meet the challenges of this new age together.

As ~~our~~ times change, so ~~our~~ government must change. We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. A government humble enough that it does not try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. And confident enough to maintain our world leadership. ~~Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can stand up for the values and interests of Americans at home, giving them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less.~~ In this way, all Americans will have not a guarantee, but a chance, to build better lives.

Beyond that chance, ~~my fellow citizens~~, the future is up to you. Our Founders well understood that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon the responsibility of all citizens to strive ceaselessly for the sake of our nation. ~~[As Benjamin Franklin said, they gave us "a republic, if you can keep it."]~~

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic. To be sure, we have had our troubles and backsliding, but only when we denied our shortcomings and rested on our laurels. Today, we must declare: We will not rest.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those who must move from welfare to work. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, stay out of trouble and learn the joy of serving others. Families, neighbors, communities must help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one nation. It will not be easy, for within our borders there are people from every other nation on earth, of every conceivable religious and political disposition. [The global economy and exploding technology continually upset old patterns of work and living and leave many people feeling bewildered, disconnected, vulnerable to the cruel illusion that we can lift

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ourselves up by keeping our neighbors down.]

Yet our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is a Godsend for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They raise their heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress them, so that all hardworking, law-abiding men and women feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

The great divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They all rob those who are hated, and even more, those who hate. We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

With a new government, a new responsibility, a new community, we can build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

An America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within the reach not just of the few but of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

An America where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent underclass is a thing of the past.

An America that welcomes the talents of every girl, and every boy -- and helps men and women to meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

An America that shields our children from violence, on our streets, in our schools, our homes -- and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches values. [*do we need more on crime?*]

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century ~~and~~ from the height of this place and ~~this moment~~ time, we can ~~see clearly the duty we must embrace~~. ALT.- [calling that is our nation's] let us resolve to build a future equal to the end of the century so that our children

We ~~are blessed with peace and~~ prosperity, and world leadership unique in our history. Events have combined to give us a ~~precious~~ moment of rare opportunity, a moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future ~~even~~ brighter than our brilliant past, ~~an age when~~ more people than ever before will be able to ~~can~~ make the most of their own lives and enrich the life of our nation and the world.

We must not let this moment slip our grasp. → We must make this moment ours. BETTER TO BE POSITIVE

for in our hands rests the eternal promise & power

Today, let us declare with one voice: As the great American triumph of the 20th Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. We ~~will~~ build at the end of ~~one~~ this century, so that our children may thrive in the next. ~~We are well aware that~~, in our hands, rests the eternal promise of America.

America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal, ~~endowed by God with inalienable rights: Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness -- and that a~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~those rights could be realized~~ only by free people ~~working together to form a more perfect union.~~

In the 19th century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, it exploded onto the world stage in turmoil and triumph. ~~when~~ we made this the American Century.

What a ~~century it has~~ been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; ~~advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world~~, and time and again, extended a helping hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home, our people ~~built~~ the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; ~~dramatically improved public health; provided~~ public education to all our children; built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; fed much of the earth; effected a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us ~~on this very mall~~ in words that quickened the conscience of the nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream -- that one day America would rise up and live out its creed, treating all citizens as

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equals, before the law and in the heart.

~~Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life so that his fellow Americans might live his dream.~~

His dream was the American Dream; his story, the story of America, of the constant [dream-driven striving] quest to live out our true creed. ~~Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors~~. Dreams and labors made this ~~hundred years~~ the American Century, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

TOO MANY DREAMS-

Now a new century is just 4 yrs away

Already, we can see its ~~fine lines~~ broad contours - in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our ~~greatest maladies~~ most feared illnesses may be seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in ~~jobs~~ that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

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It was difficult at the time

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. ~~Then~~, we Together,
vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation.

~~Today, the renewal has begun.~~

Today,
~~Once again~~, America stands strong alone as the world's indispensable nation. We have reduced
We have broken down barriers and built bonds of commerce for our common prosperi
the nuclear threat. ~~Our efforts have increased commerce with other nations to record levels~~. And
from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, ~~to~~ from the ~~cobblestone~~ streets of Belfast,
to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and
strength.

Today,
~~Once again~~, America's economy is the strongest on earth with new jobs for our people,
discipline in our budget ~~and investment in our future.~~ Our economic watchword is: invest and gr
↑POSSIBLE INSERT— NOT UNANIMOUS

Once again we are lucky
Today,
~~Once again~~, family, faith and community stand at the center of our concerns, as we help
working families raise their children well in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most
urgent social problems -- crime, poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are
bending to our efforts. We are exalting citizen service and standing against the use of race,
religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union.

THIS IS DONE BELOW

~~And once again~~, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of
= old divisions of the past which posed false, misguided choices for the futu
government, moving beyond ~~the outdated theories that paralyzed our progress~~. Today we can

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declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government is but our common instrument, the means our Constitution provides for us to meet the challenges of ~~this~~ new age together.

As our times change, so our government must change. We need a new government for a new century. A government that is smaller and does more with less. A government humble enough ~~that it does not try to~~ to know it cannot solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. ~~And confident enough to maintain our world leadership.~~ Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can stand up for the values and interests of Americans at home, ~~giving~~ (where it can give) them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. In this way, all Americans will have not a guarantee, but ~~a chance~~ an opportunity, to build better lives.

Beyond that ~~chance~~ opportunity, my fellow citizens, the ~~future~~ responsibility is ~~up to you~~ the future is yours. ~~Our Founders well understood that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon the responsibility of all citizens to strive ceaselessly for the sake of our nation. [As Benjamin Franklin said, they gave us "a republic, if you can keep it."]~~ responsible citizenship

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic. To be sure, we have had our troubles and backsliding, but only when we denied our shortcomings and rested on our laurels. Today, we must declare: We will not rest.

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Every adult must teach our children right from wrong. Every child must have an adult who cares what they do. Every American, young and old, must take responsibility to give something back to their community and their country.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those who must move from welfare to work. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, ~~stay out of~~ live by the rules, ~~trouble~~ and learn the joy of serving others. ~~Families, neighbors, communities must help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.~~

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one nation. It will not be easy, for within our borders there are people from every other nation on earth, of every conceivable religious and political disposition. [The global economy and exploding technology continually upset old patterns of work and living and leave many people feeling bewildered, disconnected, vulnerable to the cruel illusion that we can lift ourselves up by keeping our neighbors down.]

Yet our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is a Godsend for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly

REORDERED AND REWORKED SEE INSERT A

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destroyed us in the past. They raise their heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress them, so that all hardworking, law-abiding men and women feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

SEE INSERT A

The great divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They all rob those who are hated, and even more, those who hate. We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

With a new government, a new sense of responsibility, a new sense of community, we can build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

HENRY CISNEROS, ESPECIALLY, THINKS YOU NEED AN ACTIVE VERB HERE

Let us build

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

Let us build

An America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within the reach

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INSERT A

In America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one America.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They raise their heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. The great divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They all rob those who are hated and those who hate of what they might become.

With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress those impulses, so that all hardworking, law-abiding people feel at home with one another and know they are part of the whole. Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is, in fact, a blessing, not a curse for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

We must simply say to one another: If you work hard, raise your children and meet your responsibilities, you are living the spirit of America. If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

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not just of ~~the few~~ a but of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

Let us build

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

Let us build

An America ~~where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent underclass is a thing of the past.~~ that reforms welfare so that everyone who can work, does work, and ~~that lifts~~ the permanent underclass is lifted into our growing and vibrant middle class.

MA BELIEVES THE "WOMEN" POINT IS BETTER EMBODIED WITHIN A BROADER "VALUES" POINT ON FAMILIES OR CHILDREN, INSTEAD OF THIS

An America that ~~welcomes~~ values the talents of every girl, and every boy -- and helps men and women to meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

An America that shields our children from violence, on our streets, in our schools, our homes -- and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches timeless values. [*~~do we need more on crime~~?*]

An America that maintains the best health care system in the world, extending its reach to every ~~single~~ child, opening its doors to hard working people shut out today.

An America that meets its obligations to ~~our elderly~~ ourselves by providing ~~them~~ with secure retirement and health care and making the reforms necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

An America ~~where our~~ whose political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not the narrow interests, increasing the participation and earning the trust of all her

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citizens.

An America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

heal is always moving toward its purpose — MLK

We have built and will continue to build the most prosperous nation the world has ever known. But as we ~~close out~~ near the end of the millennium that saw civilization emerge from darkness and ~~the century that saw evil's vilest moment crushed by good's finest hour~~, let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human ~~heart~~ spirit/heart.

all the world's wealth & the used arm

In America, we ~~hear~~ have a higher calling. In the end, a nation is judged not by what is written in its account books, but by what ~~lies~~ lives within its ~~citizens'~~ people's souls. ~~If you wish to change the~~ world, a thousand armies are no match for the decency of the human spirit. strength & duty

Today I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people, ~~with eyes wide open~~, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and ~~personal destruction they plainly deplore~~ extreme partisanship. No, they have asked us to ~~debate~~ reach our differences ~~honestly~~, ~~then~~ to work together, ~~extending to each other an outstretched hand and the benefit of the doubt.~~ for them.

remembering that we are here to serve the public interest, not our own interests.

America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the ~~timeless~~ wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of

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his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

We must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on.

~~And so,~~ my fellow Americans, ~~let us run~~ with patience and ~~a grateful and understanding~~ heart ~~the race that is before us~~. ~~With our dreams and labor~~, let us build our bridge to a new century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans ~~across to the Age of Possibility~~ that ~~awaits us~~. Let us shape the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

~~Let~~ those generations whose faces we will never see, whose names we will never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of a more perfect union a reality for all her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

May God "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 8:30 draft (6 pages)	1/19/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1997 Inaugural - Drafts [2]

2006-0469-F
sb121

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]

Draft 1/19/97 8:30

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last Presidential inauguration of the 20th Century. From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, we set our sights upon a land of new promise. We must make this moment ours, for it is fleeting. In our hands rests the eternal promise of America.

That promise was born in the 18th Century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th Century, when our nation spread across the continent, saved the union, and abolished the scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; and time and again, reached across the globe to millions who longed for the blessings of liberty.

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At home Americans produced the great middle class and secured old age; built great centers of learning and opened public schools to all. We split the atom and explored the heavens. We made a revolution in civil rights for minorities and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women.

Today, though we fight no war and face no depression, this is no ordinary time. Once in a great while, this nation arrives at a moment that defines our course and our character for years to come. More than once our very existence has been at stake. And twice before, when centuries changed, and inaction might have narrowed our horizons, we chose to expand them instead. Now again, a free people must choose -- not to win the West as in 1800 or lead the Progressive era as in 1900 -- but to create anew a world of opportunity for all our children and the spirit that keeps America forever young.

When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. We vowed then to set a clear course, to renew our nation.

Together, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. Once again, America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts: our streets are safer and record numbers of people have moved from welfare to work.

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And once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Self-government is simply the means our Constitution provides for us to meet our common challenges.

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century, humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. [A government that rejects false choices: that knows we must balance our budget and invest in our people, grow the economy and protect our environment, be strong at home and strong abroad.] A government that is smaller, more effective, and lives within its means. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, our government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity -- not a guarantee -- but a real opportunity to build better lives.

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders taught us the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon responsible citizenship.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that government alone cannot do. Streets made safe. Jobs created so that people can move from welfare to work. Help given to our young people to stay in school and off drugs. Citizen service rendered in all our communities.

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Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not only for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century.

The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future: Will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny -- or many? Will we come together or come apart?

For any one of us to succeed, we must be one America. We dare not succumb to the dark impulses [of racial and ethnic hatred, of religious and political fanaticism] that lurk in the far regions of the soul [everywhere]. [They torment the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They raise their vile heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future.]

The divide of race has been America's constant curse. The wave of new immigrants to our shores gives our old nemesis new targets. [Prejudice and persecution, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, are no better.] These blind obsessions rob both those who are hated, and those who hate, of what they might become. We must overcome them, and replace them with the generous spirit of people who feel at home with one another.

Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity will be a Godsend in the 21st Century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, forge new ties

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that bind together.

As the new era approaches, we can already see its broad outlines. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem at hand.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps, ~~armed to destroy each~~ other. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship.

Can we hope not just to follow, but to surpass the achievements of the 20th Century, and avoid the violent bloodshed that stained its legacy? To that question, every American must answer a loud, "Yes."

This is the heart of our task: With a new vision of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, America will become a land of new promise.

Its schools will have the highest standards in the world, ~~and reward~~ the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. The knowledge and power of the Information Age will be within the reach not of a few, but of every classroom, every library, and every child. Parents and

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children will have time to read and play and eat dinner together, and the plans they make at their kitchen table will be of a better home, a better job, a chance to go to college.

Our streets will echo with the laughter of children, because ~~communities and police officers have restored safety to our neighborhoods.~~ Everyone who can work will work, and we ~~will finally make the~~ permanent underclass part of ~~our~~ growing middle class. New miracles of medicine ~~will be extended~~ at last to children and hardworking families too long denied.

We will stand mighty for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction. Our children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world's greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies, ~~earning the mantle~~ of leadership as we shoulder our burden and pay our way.

Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations: A nation that balances its budget, and never loses the balance of its values. A nation where grandparents have secure retirement and health care, and their grandchildren know we have made reforms to sustain the benefits for their time. A nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy even as it protects our natural bounty of water, air, and majestic land.

And we will reform our politics so that in this land, the voice of the people will speak louder than the din of narrow interests -- regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (5 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:00 pm draft (5 pages)	1/9/97	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 12:30 pm draft (5 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 7:00 pm draft (11 pages)	1/15/97	P5
005. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (9 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
006. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 4:30 pm draft (13 pages)	1/17/97	P5
007. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, Midnight draft (6 pages)	1/18/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1997 Inaugural Drafts [3]

2006-0469-F
sb122

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(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]

January 14, 1997 11:15pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, chart ~~the potential of our~~ our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century, in a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility, ~~a time when~~ in which more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dream than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. ~~The demands of our time~~ are ~~great, are different~~. Of us -- ~~each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask too much, for we~~ are Americans. We must ~~be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do.~~ In our hands, ~~together~~, rests the promise of America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

On the 18th ~~century~~ [illegible] by the Declaration that all of us are created equally endowed by God with inalienable rights:

America was ~~founded on the ideals of~~ life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ~~in the 18th~~ in the 19th ~~Century~~. Our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the awful, unspeakable scourge of slavery ~~in the 19th century~~. ~~And~~ Then we exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, to make this the American century.

What a century it has been,

~~In this century~~, America built the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars ~~for freedom and peace~~ vs tyranny, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to ~~the many~~ millions in ~~countries~~ every part of the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty ~~that~~ we ~~have come~~ came to take for granted.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our environment and public ~~lands~~ places; provided for public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities; and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, ~~the man whose birth and~~ the touching spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us in words ~~that rang out across this very mall~~ that moved the conscience of the nation. ~~Martin Luther King, Jr~~. He told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Too soon thereafter, MLK gave his life for that dream so that his fellow Americans, Rodger like us.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live it. America is the constant movement toward living out our true creed. The future is built on our dreams and our labors. It is our ideals and the striving to make them real that made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of our dreams and our labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, everywhere we look, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatically change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. 100 years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot even imagine.

Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker side. Ancient threats like ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, and organized criminals who exploit the very openness we cherish.

Our very steps seem to quicken as we approach the new century. But four years ago, our triumphant march had seemed to falter.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~On another short day of winter~~, we gathered in hope, ~~but~~ stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, ~~and that~~ center can hold.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and ~~for hope~~.

Once again, America's economy is an ~~unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people~~. ~~We have brought down our deficit, even as we have increased investment and promoted prosperity -- and made our economy the strongest on earth.~~

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. ~~Once, we doubted ourselves and our ability to master these times; today, with every step we take, every challenge we meet,~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Once again, we are moving toward a genuine American community, uniting the ~~our confidence is restored~~ of race, religion, and politics that threaten our common future, ~~all over the world~~.

Lincoln said, ~~as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to~~ face ~~this new century~~, let us think anew and act anew for our new times. ~~Let us build a new government . . . let us summon a new sense of responsibility . . . let us establish a new spirit~~ of ~~understanding~~.

~~We need a new government for a new century~~.

~~We have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond~~ the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. ~~Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only~~ give us the tools to ~~solve our problems for ourselves~~.

Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. ~~It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us~~. To move from welfare to work.

us and steadily fulfill its true promise.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

#1
INAUG.2

1/9/97
Draft 1/9/97 11:00pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

This day, in the presence of Almighty God and before all of you, my fellow Americans, I have sworn a solemn oath. I have pledged to be your servant and to be trustee of our common dreams. But the meaning of this oath, as old as our history, is not the province of Presidents alone. Every American shares this solemn obligation -- to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation was founded. In our hands, together, rests the promise of America.

In these short days of winter, we cherish the light. Let us take this day to remember the kind of country we are and must always be. Freedom, equality, opportunity, the belief that the future could be better than the past, and that each of us has a duty to make it so -- for 220 years, these ideas have defined America. They have not always been perfectly realized; but the course of American history is the steady march of a nation striving to live up to them. In times of peril and promise -- through civil war and world war, settling the frontier and building the American century -- these ideals sustained us, challenged us, summoned us to do better. They are the wellspring of our greatness.

The challenge of our time is to take this precious moment of possibility ~~given to few generations, and~~ to build an America in a new century that will be a light unto the world. The education of our

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

security of peace, power of our ideas

children; the strength of our families; the safety of our streets; the force of our freedom: These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

Still

Four years ago, we gathered in hope, but ~~stood~~ in the shadow of drift, division, ~~even despair~~. ~~America seemed to stumble~~ toward that new century ~~with~~ uncertain ~~steps~~. That day, and in the days to come, we called on our most fundamental values. ~~Our hope became action, and our action became faith. And by~~ the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the progress we have built, we have begun to renew America.

our steps

Passed

renewed our commitment to change, to purpose, to course

required by our challenges, consistent with our enduring values, anchored by our moral heritage. Since that day, in partnership with

together

America once again stands strong ~~and alone~~ as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look first to America for inspiration and for hope.

America's economy once again is an engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, we have increased prosperity, we have made economy the strongest on earth.

~~America's Social~~

~~After years in which~~ our most urgent social problems, which seemed to grow ~~only to get worse~~, ~~we have begun together mend the torn and fraying threads of our social fabric~~. Crime, welfare, poverty,

are being rolled back;

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

inequality -- all are ~~waning~~. More families are staying together; fewer children are having children.

Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold. ~~We have forged a new vision and~~ shaped a new consensus -- anchored in our oldest values, aimed at our newest challenges -- to realize the promise of America.

Today, let us use ~~that~~ vision to imagine the America that we can be. Let us finish the unfinished business of this century. ~~And let us prepare our people for the new century that lies ahead.~~

We are living through a time of change as profound as any in our history. ~~The very store of~~ knowledge ~~doubled and redoubles~~ before our eyes. A chip as small as a thumbnail sparks an information revolution. Scientists unlock the very mysteries of life. ~~Where~~ 100 years ago our forbears ~~worked~~ on farms, ~~and~~ 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot yet imagine.

~~This new time calls us to seek new solutions.~~

The government that we Americans built over the past century achieved great things: Being old no longer means being poor. Our environment is cleaner. Millions of men and women who served their country earned the chance to go to college. But too many of the old ways of

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

government of the past half century ~~have run their course; in their time, they served us well, but their time is done.~~ will not must be changed of today & tomorrow.

~~Let us resolve to change the relationship between the people and their government.~~ For America was built on challenges, not promises. The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our people, and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. Government cannot -- ~~and must never again try to~~ do for Americans what Americans can only do for themselves.

The lesson of our age is clear: Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. Must go to work in new partnership.

~~While government must not grow, it must act. Our new~~ But our government must challenge our people; must stand up for fair play and safety; must bring out the best in us, not the worst. for public health & clean air; to insure opportunity best is guaranteed to all, and it to advance the promise of all of us

~~We will attempt great things for Americans. But we should expect great things from Americans. Our nation can only be as great as the greatness we inspire in our people.~~ Beyond that, we must expect our greatness to come from the power of our common efforts & citizens, For not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in ~~10,000~~ towns and neighborhoods and homes, ~~together~~ we will forge our destiny.

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there -- we must be there, ~~we will be there~~. we the people. Hold us. Together.

My fellow Americans, the demands of this particular time are great, are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask for too much, for we are Americans. We must be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do. Let us imagine the America that can yet be, and make it so.

Yes We Can Do It

I see an America that enters this new century with its promise alive for all our children, where every citizen is a part of our national community, and where our dream of freedom spreads throughout the world.

I see an America in which our children learn their lessons not on the streets, but in the world's best schools.

I see an America in which millions rise from the dependency of welfare to the dignity of work.

I see an America whose inner cities are not trembling with fear but teeming with commerce.

I see an America in which we help parents be parents, and children not have children.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

#2
INAUG.4

January 14, 1997 12:30PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, 200 years almost to the day after George Washington ~~rested~~ on his office and ~~the bounty to the~~ ~~followed~~.

recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present,

chart the potential of our future.

~~We thank God that we face no Depression to sap our strength, no war to test our spirit.~~ But this time of peace and prosperity is no ordinary time ~~, it is an extraordinary moment of~~ ~~opportunity~~. We must use this moment in our history to seize hold of the age of possibility before us. Here, after the great American triumph of the 20th Century, our time has come to prepare for the 21st Century.

~~Our nation~~ was founded on the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th Century. Our union was preserved and our unity deepened in the 19th Century. And we exploded onto the world stage ~~in this~~, the American Century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We built the world's greatest industrial power. We abandoned isolationism to fulfill our responsibilities for freedom and peace in the world. We won two world wars. We waged a long Cold War to defeat the forces of communism. And we have waged peace in the world.

Here at home, we created the greatest opportunity in human history for people to make the most of their own lives. Our people built the great American middle class. We lifted the elderly out of poverty, began to restore and preserve our environment; extended the circle of human dignity to include women and minorities.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today spoke to us in words that rang out across this very mall. Martin Luther King, Jr. told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Our history has been the steady march of a nation striving to live up to our basic ideals. They are the wellspring of our greatness. At every moment of challenge and change, our forbears imagined that the future could be better than the past, and they assumed the moral responsibility to make it so. Each new age has required us to reestablish the balance we have forged in America between individual freedom and the duty we owe one another.

Now it is our time to ask: How do we redeem the sacrifice and brilliance of all who have gone before us? What future will we build for our children, and their children?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Four years ago, ~~many Americans feared that~~ our triumphant march ~~would~~ falter ~~as we~~ approached century's end.

On that short day of winter, we gathered in hope, but still in the shadow of drift and division. We ~~sanctified our commitment to change, to press on with~~ a course required by our challenges, ~~consistent with our enduring values~~, demanded by our proud heritage. Together, we vowed to force the spring, to renew our nation ~~in America's tradition of change~~.

Since that day, ~~in the~~ stands ~~we have~~ taken, ~~the~~ battles ~~we have~~ waged, ~~the~~ progress ~~we have~~ built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look ~~first~~ to America for inspiration and for hope.

Once again, America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, we have increased prosperity, we have made our economy the strongest on earth.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts.

Above all, once again we are putting more opportunity in the hands of individuals, and demanding more responsibility in return, changing the relationship between the people and their government.

Four years ago, we doubted that we could cut our deficit even as we increase investment; we doubted that we could prevent pollution even as we promote industry; we doubted that we could ever tame the social cancers of crime and violence and dependency and decay, which grew and compounded for so long. Now we know that nothing is impossible when we work together for our future.

For we have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government cannot solve our problems for us, it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.

We must build a new kind of government for a new century. Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. Protecting the food we eat and the water we drink. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us.

Our government must shrink -- but we together must never shrink from our great national challenges. The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our people; and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny.

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there -- we must be there. We the people. All of us. Together.

My fellow Americans, for four years, we have worked to finish the unfinished business of this century, and to prepare our people for the demands of the next. We stand together, in the closing years of the first American century, and on the leading edge of a limitless second.

Over the past four years, we have seen the new century's wonders.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

#4

Draft 1/15/97 7:00PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last ~~American~~ presidential inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell ~~to this office and~~ to his fellow citizens, having launched ~~his new country on~~ the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, ~~we come together~~ we gather to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, ~~and chart our course to the future~~ and chart our course for the future affirm our duty to form a more perfect union

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy ~~the~~ blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet, though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand ~~on the threshold~~ at the dawn not only of a new century in a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility in which If we do our duty, more people ~~at home~~ here and throughout the world will have the chance to live out their dreams than ever before.

But first we must do our duty. Our generation's unfolds. Future be made or unmade by our own decisions

~~But first, we must do our duty. *Right now, this paragraph does not do enough to emphasize a central point of the speech: This is a moment of rare opportunity and responsibility for us as a country; if we do not seize it, the consequences will be borne not necessarily by us, but by generations to come. Then go to: "For in our hands, ... promise of America"]* We must~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must be strong, ~~for there is much to dare~~. ~~The demands of our time are great and different.~~ But they ~~do not ask too much of us, for we are Americans. Let us meet them with a happy and grateful heart.~~ For in our hands, ~~together~~, rests the eternal promise of America. [*If you make this change, some of these sentences could be moved to the end of the address.*]

~~And that promise will be ours~~ In the 18th Century, ~~America was born under~~ the bold conviction that all ~~of us~~ are created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. ~~In the 19th Century, our nation~~ The nation spread across the continent, preserved ~~our~~ the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then ~~we~~ it exploded onto the world stage in turmoil and triumph, ~~to make~~ making this the American century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's ~~greatest~~ mightiest industrial power; won two world wars against tyranny, ~~waged~~ and a long cold war ~~to defeat~~ against communism; ~~built institutions to advance~~ and spread peace and prosperity ~~for~~ throughout the world; and time and again, reached out a helping hand to millions ~~in every part of~~ across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty ~~we take for granted~~.

~~In this century~~ At home, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; ~~worked to~~ began to restore and preserve our environment and public health; provided public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; ~~advanced~~ fought for equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that moved the conscience of the nation. He told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his life ~~for that dream~~ so that his fellow Americans might live ~~a~~ his dream.

His story is the story of America, ~~the story~~ of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of dreams and labors that we will build ~~our bridge to the 21st century~~ our 21st century.

Already, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- ~~dramatically changing the way~~ in the new ways we work, ~~the way we~~ and live, ~~the way we~~ and relate to one another. Four years ago, ~~only a handful of physicists had heard of~~ the World Wide Web. ~~Today~~, millions of schoolchildren ~~use it to explore the vast world of knowledge~~. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our gravest maladies ~~cancer, AIDS~~, ~~spinal cord injuries~~ seem within reach. ~~In this century~~, ~~we have seen the bulk of our~~ work shift from farm to factory to computers. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

~~The~~ world is no longer divided into two armed camps with the capacity to destroy each

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

other. ~~Instead, the~~ growing connections of commerce ~~across borders give our world an unprecedented chance for both peace and prosperity.~~

~~Such~~ advances herald the dawn of the Age of Possibility. But there is a darker side to this moment. Ancient ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology and global interdependence can be used for evil as well as good -- ~~brandished~~ by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, organized criminals who exploit the ~~very progress~~ and openness we cherish to advance their ~~dark~~ designs.

The future will not simply unfold. It will be forged ~~into~~ hard steel by the choices we make, or fail to make. And time is passing ever so quickly.

Just four years ago, our march to the future seemed less certain than today.

~~Then, though~~ we gathered here in hope, ~~we~~ stood in the shadow of ~~drift and division~~.

~~Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring~~, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, ~~with the stands we have taken~~, ~~the battles we have waged, and~~ the progress we have built, ~~we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, dynamic yet rock solid, that can center our hold and propel forward on our historic mission.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. ~~For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship~~. The nuclear threat has been reduced. Commerce among nations has expanded to record levels. And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the sunny shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, ~~creating more jobs in a four year term than ever before, the smallest deficit of any major economy, and at long last, rising incomes for working families~~.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, ~~which seemed destined to deepen~~ -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Families are receiving support in their efforts to succeed at home and at work, and in raising children in a culture too often at odds with their values.

Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine American community, founded in mutual respect, exalting citizen service, resisting the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred, ~~divide us, and threaten our own union~~, even as these forces destroy the lives and hopes of millions around the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Once again, we have resolved for our time the age old debate of the role of government in our common endeavors, moving beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress.

Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government's role is to give us the tools to make the most of our own lives.

~~To do that~~, we need a new government for a new century. ~~When it comes to our common challenges, Americans cannot be left on their own.~~ Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. ~~Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and greater expectations. Opening the doors of college to all. Bringing the benefits of science and technology. Summoning citizens to responsibility and citizen service. Providing the conditions of growth in poor areas, and opportunity for people to move from welfare to work. Calling forth the best in us, and standing firm against the worst.~~

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was ~~founded~~, Benjamin Franklin was asked about ~~what~~ had been created. He replied: "A republic -- if you can keep it."

For 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, meeting every challenge by moving

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toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we denied our shortcomings, or rested on our laurels. I am determined that we ~~cannot~~ are not rest.

~~You, too, have your responsibility to keep our republic in the 21st Century.~~

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must ~~stay off drugs,~~ study hard, ~~stay in school, learn right from wrong~~ stay out of trouble and respect others. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children. Each and every one of us must ~~recognize~~ assume ~~our~~ responsibilities -- not just for ourselves, but for ~~all those around us~~ our children, our neighbors, our nation.

We must affirm that ours are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one ~~community~~ state, one city, one region - these are the challenges of ~~one~~ a nation -- and we must meet them as one America. ~~For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.~~ And we must affirm that every American has a role to play, and no American should be denied the chance to play it to the hilt. (INSERT)

~~Above all, we need a new sense of community for a new century~~.

We must understand that our rich texture of racial and ethnic diversity, deeply held religious convictions, and widely different political philosophies is a Godsend for the 21st Century world. ~~We know~~ We cannot ignore the dark impulses that lurk in the regions of the soul everywhere. ~~They have touched us~~ They have touched too, and nearly destroyed us in our own past. They ~~may~~ will tempt us again in ~~our~~ the future. ~~And we see them in the~~ They destroy many lives of ~~too many people~~ millions around the world. We ~~face~~ must ~~have~~ have

They have raised their heads ~~We have seen them~~ in the last year, again in the previous ~~New~~ Year.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

the generosity of spirit to repress those impulses, and to show the world, our differences do not curse. Hatred cooled in [illegible] diminish us; they strengthen us for the work ahead. In a world of ever more open interaction among people, our ability to live and work with people different from ourselves is a rich resource, waiting to be tapped. Let us always remember: our nation imposes no test of creed or religion or race. We say: if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, you are an American.

Lincoln said, as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to face this new century, let us think anew and act anew for our new times.

With a new government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we can build our bridge to the 21st Century. On the one side, we will finish the unfinished business of this century. On the other side, we will lay the foundations for an even greater America --

-- an America that leads the world in the next century -- promoting peace and freedom, fighting the forces of destruction, expanding fair and open commerce. This is more than a responsibility; it is a priceless opportunity without precedent. But if we want the benefits of leadership, we must shoulder the burdens, and pay our way.

-- An America with the world's finest education, with all our schools connected to the Information Superhighway, the highest standards for learning in the world, and the doors of college open to all our people.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

-- An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

-- An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

-- An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences ~~like tobacco ads and television violence~~, and no child's health is ever put at risk for lack of health care or a polluted river ~~safe water, air and land~~.

-- An America where the miracles of science extend our lives, and the wonders of technology fills them with knowledge and power.

-- An America where our politics respond to the national interest and not narrow interests, where a smaller government does a better job.

-- An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents ~~and a secure retirement~~ for ~~all~~ generations to come.

-- An America where we balance our budget and invest in our future.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today, I pledge ~~to you to use every ounce of~~ all my strength and every power of my office ~~to bind us together and to prepare our nation for the century~~ for the work ahead. Like you, I cannot do this alone. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform ~~beside me~~, to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely, they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. ~~Now~~ No, they have asked us to honestly debate our differences, then work ~~together~~ together in a spirit of mutual respect. America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

All of us are on that same journey of life, ~~which must~~ and our journey too will surely come to an end. But the ~~journey~~ journey, Surely, of America must go on. ~~And~~ it will -- if we do our duty.

And so, my fellow Americans, let us run the race that is before us with patience & gratefulness and thanksgiving ~~with patience and determination, with mercy and charity~~. With our dreams and labor, let us build our bridge to the 21st Century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, ~~especially those in generations to come whose faces we will never see~~ to the next ~~perfect union~~ to the Age of Possibility and a more perfect union

Let it ~~be said~~ how generation can say in years to come of us that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all of her children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

At the end of our American century and the dawn of a new one.

~~And so, as we close the work of one century, and begin the work of a new one,~~ may God ~~guide those who would build~~ our leaders and ~~always may God~~ bless our America. "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and, always,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

#3
INAUG.6

January 14, 1997 11:15pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to his office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, chart ~~the potential of our~~ our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century, in a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility, ~~a time when~~ filled with our duty more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dream than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. ~~The demands of our time~~ are great, ~~are different~~. Of us -- ~~each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask too much, for we~~ are Americans. We must ~~be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do.~~ In our hands, ~~together~~, rests the promise of America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

America was ~~founded on the ideals of~~ life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ~~in the 18th Century.~~ Our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the awful scourge of slavery ~~in the 19th century~~. ~~And~~ we exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, to make this the American century.

In this century, America built the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars ~~for freedom and peace~~, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to ~~the many~~ countries who longed for the blessings of liberty ~~that~~ we ~~have come~~ to take for granted.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our environment and public ~~lands~~; provided for public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities; and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, ~~the man whose birth and~~ life we celebrate today spoke to us in words ~~that rang out across this very mall~~. Martin Luther King, Jr. told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

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~~Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live~~ it. ~~America is~~ the constant ~~movement toward living~~ out our true creed. ~~The future is built on our~~ dreams and ~~our~~ labors. ~~It~~ is ~~our ideals and the striving to make them real that~~ made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of ~~our~~ dreams and ~~our~~ labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, ~~everywhere we look~~, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatically ~~change~~ in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. ~~100 years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories.~~ Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises ~~we cannot~~ ~~even~~ imagine. ~~Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker side.~~ Ancient ~~threats like~~ ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology can be used for evil as well as good -- ~~brandished~~ by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, and organized criminals who exploit the very openness we cherish.

~~Our very steps seem to quicken as we approach the new century. But~~ four years ago, our ~~triumphant march had seemed to falter~~.

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Three years ago ~~On another short day of winter~~, we gathered in hope, ~~but~~ stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, ~~and that~~ center can hold.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and ~~for hope~~.

Once again, America's economy is an ~~unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people~~. ~~We have brought down our deficit, even as we have increased investment and promoted prosperity -- and made our economy the strongest on earth.~~

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. ~~Once, we doubted ourselves and our ability to master these times; today, with every step we take, every challenge we meet,~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine American community, uniting the ~~our confidence is restored~~. nation, race, religion, and politics ~~that~~ to drive hatred & fear away from our nation and to restore our ~~country~~ ~~to~~ ~~its~~ citizens ~~to~~ ~~their~~ ~~proper~~ place in the world.

Lincoln said, ~~as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to,~~ face ~~this new century,~~ let us think anew and act anew for our new times. ~~Let us build a new government . . . let us summon a new sense of responsibility . . . let us establish a new spirit~~ of ~~understanding~~.

Better

~~We need a new government for a new century~~.

~~We have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond~~ the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Gov't's role is

~~Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only~~ give us the tools to ~~solve our problems~~ ~~for us~~. Most of our own lives ~~and~~ ~~for ourselves~~.

Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. ~~It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us.~~ Providing the conditions of growth in poor areas + opportunity for people to move from welfare to work.

5

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century.

Our government will shrink -- but you must not shrink from our great national challenges.

Today more than ever, we must ask more of ourselves and expect more from one another.

It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny.

Business and community leaders have a responsibility to provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers have a responsibility to demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people have a responsibility to stay off drugs, stay in school, learn right from wrong. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to bring values, discipline and hope to our children. And each and every one of us must recognize our responsibility -- not just for ourselves, but for all those around us.

These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America.

America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

Above all, we need a new spirit of understanding for a new century.

[*This needs to be rewritten.* Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E

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Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, and then make real.]

[*This section is unchanged from the last draft; we were not able to revise it in time to include the balanced couplets that you wanted.*] It falls to us to make the most of this age of possibility, to push back the forces of peril, to connect our oldest values to our newest challenges. It falls to us to choose the future we believe in, and step by step, to build our bridge to the 21st Century.

An America that leads the world in the next century ~~as it has in this one~~ -- promoting peace, ~~opening trade, and~~ fighting the forces of destruction. ~~If we want the benefits of~~ leadership, we must shoulder the burdens.

~~We must build~~ an America ~~where we have connected~~ all our schools to the Information Superhighway, ~~established~~ the highest standards for learning in the world, and ~~opened~~ the doors of college to all our people.

An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

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An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk ~~because a parent is changing jobs~~ for lack of health care or safe water, air, + food.

An America where the miracle of science -- ~~with a cure for cancer, a vaccine for AIDS~~ -- extends our lives, and the wonder of technology fills ~~it~~ their with knowledge.

An America where the loudest voice in politics is the quiet voice of the voter, where a smaller government does a better job.

An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents and a secure retirement for all generations to come.

An America where we ~~set our course and achieve our purpose and~~ balance our budget while we balance our values.] and invest in our future

Today, I pledge to you, ~~the American people~~, to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to bind us together ~~as one nation~~ and to prepare ~~our people~~ our children for the century ahead. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. ~~They see, as we must, that we must work together~~. Nothing big ever came from being small. For we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

All of us ~~here today~~ are on a journey of life, which must ~~some day~~ come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. And it will -- if we do our duty.

~~My fellow Americans, the future is not a gift -- it is an achievement~~.

~~We, we Americans, are not just dreamers -- we are the builders of bridges~~. It falls to us to ~~finish the job of building~~ our bridge to the 21st Century -- ~~a bridge built on our sturdiest ideals, a bridge~~ wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, ~~a bridge built not so much for ourselves as~~ for those ~~who will follow~~.

~~If we do our duty; if we build straight and true, then~~ our journey will go on, forward, into the ~~21st Century. Then our people will cross that bridge~~ with the American Dream alive for all of ~~our~~ children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of ~~our~~ people. With America's ~~dream~~ of freedom spreading throughout the world.

~~And so, as we close the work of one century, and begin the work of a new one, let us heed the words of Scripture, and "strengthen our hands for the good work" ahead. For us, in this place, in this moment, the dream lives on. Our journey continues. It is our time to build.~~

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We gather at this moment of consecration and dedication to America 200 years after GW bid farewell to his fellow citizens, leaving them with the Great Experiment that was brought us to this time and place.

Every inauguration weather for we witness the power of democracy. Some mark decisive, defining pt turning points in our history → union or division war or peace, expansion or retrenchment, leadership or withdrawal, the renewal of challenge or decline.

Though we are blessed w peace + prosperity, this is not a time for self-satisfaction. We are on the edge of a new century, a new millennium, when the depth and pace of change in our world and life, how we work + live, communicate + educate our children will require us to make the most of our opportunity to build an Age of Possibility greater than our brilliant past. We must not step from our place ~~in history~~ when more people than ever before can realize the worth of their own lives and more America closer to our mighty ideals, the more perfect union —

The time to prepare for the 21st century is upon us. In our lives with the eternal promise of America

the 18c. 19th c. 20th c. were
what a century it has been.
Hyper capitalism forward vision seemed uncertain.
We stood ourselves to America, to forge the spirit of renewal that is
America's ~~enduring~~ nature.
The renewal has begun: beyond cold war
Clear consensus w/ policy of
revised foreign
our most driven social ills
to bend to our efforts
~~economy~~ ~~failing~~ ~~crisis~~ ~~crisis~~ ~~crisis

Yes! good

Insert A: New Opening

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, ~~and we see~~, from the height of this place and this moment, ~~the duty that falls to us now~~ we can see clearly the duty that falls to us now.

and world leadership unique in our history.

~~Though~~ We are blessed with peace and prosperity, ~~though we are free of war and social unrest, this is no ordinary time~~. ~~This is~~ a precious moment of rare opportunity. A moment to build an Age of Possibility in a future even brighter than our brilliant past, where more people than ever before can make the most of their own lives. We must not let this moment slip our grasp.

Today, let us declare with one voice: As the great American triumph of the 20th Century draws to its close, the time to prepare for the 21st Century is upon us. ~~For us~~ We will build at the end of ~~one American~~ this century, so our children may thrive in the next. We are well aware that In our hands rests the eternal promise of America.

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DRAFT 1/17/97 4:30p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

SEE ↓ INSERT (A)

We gather at the last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

~~We gather at this moment of consecration and rededication to recall the greatness of our~~ past, understand the ~~progress of our present and chart our course for the future~~.

America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that all of us are created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: Life; liberty; the pursuit of happiness -- and that those rights could be ~~[illegible]~~ realized only by free people working together to form a more perfect union.

In the 19th century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved the union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, it exploded onto the world stage, ~~when~~ in, in turmoil and triumph, ~~we made this the American century~~ in this, the 20th Century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won

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two world wars ~~against tyranny~~ and a long cold war ~~against communism~~, advanced peace and prosperity throughout the world, and time and again, ~~reached out~~ a helping hand to millions across the globe who ~~also~~ longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; began to restore and preserve our environment; dramatically improved public health; provided public education to all our children; ~~and~~ built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; ~~abolished legal barriers~~ for African-Americans and other minorities; and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that ~~moved~~ the conscience of the nation. ~~He told us of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American Dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."~~

WE DON'T THINK THIS QUOTE (OR ANY MLK QUOTE) IS NECESSARY

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his life so that his fellow Americans might live his dream.

His story is the story of America, of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years ~~the American Century~~, and it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our new

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Age of Possibility in the 21st Century.

Already, we can see ~~the~~ its fine lines ~~of that new century~~ -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our greatest maladies seem close at hand. ~~Already~~ Already, Work has shifted from farm, to factories, to computers; tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two ~~armed~~ hostile camps ~~with the capacity~~ armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people are living under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

NOTE: Now, the description of the future is all positive; we may want to restore the "terrorists with their dark designs."

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. Then, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, ~~to renew our nation~~ renewal that is America's unending mission. -- ~~secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America~~.

~~Since that day, by the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the achievements we have made, the renewal of America has begun~~ The renewal has begun.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. ~~The~~ We have reduced nuclear threat

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[SAME THOUGHT ON PREVIOUS PAGE]

~~has been reduced~~. ~~Commerce among nations has been expanded to record levels.~~ And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, with new jobs for our people, discipline in our budget and investment in our future.

Once again, ~~we have put~~ family and faith and community at the center of our concerns, ~~Parents have hope that they can~~ ~~Families are receiving support in their efforts to succeed at home and at work, and in raising~~ children well in a culture too often at odds with their values. Our most urgent social problems -- crime, poverty, welfare, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts.

~~Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine America community, founded in mutual respect~~, exalting citizen service, standing against the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred and threaten our union ~~even as these very forces destroy the lives and hopes of millions around the world.~~

And once again, we have resolved for our time the ~~age old debate of the~~ role of government ~~in our common endeavors~~, ~~moving beyond the competing philosophies~~ that ~~threatened~~ our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. ~~We have instituted government of the people, by the people and for the people~~, ~~as one means by which, together, we can~~ meet the

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challenges of ~~each~~ new ~~age~~ ~~and bring to bear what is best in the American tradition.~~

As our times change, so our government must change.

~~Though we enjoy peace and prosperity, though we are free of war and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. [Lincoln taught us, when our case is new, we must think anew and act anew.]~~

We need a new government for a new century. A government ~~that~~ is smaller and does more with less. ~~Not a government arrogant enough to try to solve our problems for us, but a government~~ strong enough to give us the ~~tools to make the most of our own lives [or to~~ solve our problems for ourselves. Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, ~~or~~ where it can stand up for the values and interests of ~~ordinary~~ Americans at home, giving them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less.

Beyond that chance, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. ~~From all of you I need a new responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was finished, Benjamin Franklin was asked what had been created. He replied: "A republic, if you can keep it."~~

For more than 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, ~~meeting every challenge, by always moving toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we~~ denied our shortcomings ~~or~~ rested on our laurels. ~~I am determined that we will not rest.~~

Today, we must declare that we will not rest.

[~~The~~ What follows is all about citizen responsibility not the Presidents role.]

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for those ~~on welfare~~. Parents and

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teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must study hard, stay out of trouble and learn the joy of serving others. Families, neighbors, communities, must ~~band together to~~ help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

~~Above all, we need~~ a new ~~sense of~~ community for a new century. ~~We must affirm that~~ ~~ours are not the challenges of one person, one family, neighborhood, one city, one state. Ours are the challenges of an entire nation, and we must meet them as one America. [For here, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.] And we must affirm that every American has a role to play, and no American should be denied the chance to play it to the hilt.~~

~~We must understand that~~ our rich texture of racial ~~and ethnic~~ diversity, ~~deeply held religious convictions and widely different political philosophies are~~ Godsends for the 21st Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together. We cannot give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They have engulfed the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They ~~have raised~~ their heads ~~again~~ in the present. They will tempt us again in the future. We must ~~summon the~~ generosity of spirit and strength of character to repress them, so that we can benefit from each other's efforts, ~~appreciate~~ each other's differences, and enjoy each other's company.

The divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of

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[religious or political] conviction, is no better. ~~We must impose no false tests of citizenship. We must affirm the surpassing strength in our diversity. It will make us richer and richer in spirit if~~ We must simply say to one another: If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, you are an American. [~~Our differences do not diminish us. They must be the mighty force that~~ strengthens us for the work ahead.]

With a new government, a new responsibility, a new community, we can [~~form a more perfect union~~] and build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we ~~desire~~.

An America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- ~~decisive power in promoting peace, fostering democracy~~, bringing the world together through fair and open commerce, ~~leading the effort to eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons,~~ reaping the benefits of leadership because we are willing to shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

An America that ~~prepares~~ her children ~~with~~ new skills ~~they will need in the next century~~ with ~~world-class public schools~~, the highest standards and the doors of college open to all.

An America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age ~~into the~~ reach not just of the few but of every school, every home and every child.

An America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet ~~jealously guards~~ its air, water and land.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America that ~~protects~~ shields our children and gives parents the time they need to ~~be good parents~~. Needs action and work.

An America that maintains the best health care system in the world, ~~using the wonders of science to find cures for its plagues and making sure no child is ever left without medical care~~ extending its reach to every single child.

An America that meets its obligations to our elderly by providing them with secure retirement and health care and making the changes necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

An America where our political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not narrow interests, ~~earning~~ inviting the participation and trust of all her citizens.

~~An America where every person will be judged on only one basis: on his or her merits.~~

An America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

Today I pledge all my strength and every power of my office for the work ahead. ~~Like you, I cannot do this alone~~. I ask the members of Congress here ~~on this platform~~ to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes wide open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. No, they have asked us to debate our differences

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honestly, then to work together, ~~in a spirit of accord~~ attending to each other's interests and the well-being of our country.

America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We ~~must~~ dare not waste the precious gift of this time.

~~For~~ All of us are on that same journey of life, and our journey, too, will surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. ~~It surely will if we do our duty.~~ ~~[It is our time to build.]~~

And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labor, let us build our bridge to a new century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across to the Age of Possibility ~~in a more perfect union~~ that ~~we know~~ awaits us. Let us shape the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

Let those generations whose faces we will never see say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children. With the American promise of full citizenship a reality for all of her people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

~~it is our time to build.~~

~~At the end of one American Century and the dawn of a new one,~~ may God "strengthen our

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hands for the good work ahead" -- and always, always bless our America.

[Alt. Ending: And so, my fellow Americans, let us run with patience and a grateful and understanding heart the race that is before us. With our dreams and labors, let us build our bridge to the century ahead -- a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge long enough and straight enough to reach the time of the Americans whose faces we will never see. Let us build in one great American century, so that they may thrive in another.

Then, on another brilliant day, they may say of us: We led our beloved land forward with the American Dream alive for all our children -- with the American community strong for all our people -- with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

Now, let us go forward, certain in the knowledge that God will bless all those who would build -- will "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and will always, always bless our America.]

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To: Don Baer
ASAP
Fr: B. Reed

INSERT AFTER THE COMMUNITY SECTION (or near the end)

We have built the most prosperous nation the world has ever known. But as we close out the milennium that saw civilization emerge from darkness and the century that saw evil's vilest moment crushed by good's finest hour, let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human heart.

In America, we hear a higher calling. We will balance the budget, and secure our promises written in to this century and the next. But in the end, a nation is judged not by what is ~~on~~ its books account but by what lies within its citizens' souls. If you wish to change the world, a thousand armies are no match for the decency of the human spirit.

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Draft 1/18/97 Midnight

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
JANUARY 20, 1997

We gather at the last Presidential inauguration of the 20th Century. From the height of this place and this time, ~~let us resolve to build at the end of this century, so that our children may thrive in the next. Events have combined to give us a moment of~~ [redacted] opportunity ~~that brings with it a deep responsibility for the future~~. We must make this moment ours ~~with a commitment to do right by those who will follow us in this blessed land. (from Proc.)~~] For in our hands rests the eternal promise of America.

America was born in the 18th Century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. In the 19th century our nation spread across the continent, ~~preserved~~ the union, and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then, in turmoil and triumph, it exploded on the world stage to make this the American Century.

America became the world's mightiest industrial power; won two world wars and a long cold war against tyranny; and time and again reached out a helping hand to millions across the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty.

At home Americans produced the great middle class; [redacted] secure old age; ~~schools open to all children~~; atomic energy, the ~~computer~~, and the space program; a revolution in

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

civil rights and an extended circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity for women.

~~What a journey America has had over the last two centuries, and more over the last two. Now a new century is upon us. Already we can see its [fine lines]~~ -- in the new ways we work and live and relate to one another. Four years ago, the World Wide Web was the mystical province of physicists; today it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand. Already, work has shifted from farm, to factory, to computer; tomorrow, our children will work in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps armed to destroy each other. For the first time in history, more people live under democracy than dictatorship. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people everywhere.

Just four years ago, our march to this new future seemed less certain than today. ~~It was a difficult time, without a clear course~~. We vowed to set ~~that~~ course, ~~to force the spring, to renew our nation~~.

[Touched by tragedy, strengthened by achievement, exhilarated by ~~the challenges and~~ possibilities ahead, ~~we have come a long way on our journey to change America's course for the better.~~]

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Once again, ~~Today~~, America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. ~~Today~~, ~~America's~~ Once again our economy is the strongest on earth. ~~Today~~, we are building stronger families, ~~safer streets~~ thriving communities and a cleaner environment -- ~~as~~ problems that once seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts; due to our hard and record numbers of people have moved from welfare to work.

And once again, we have resolved for our time, a great debate over the role of government. [~~We have moved beyond old divisions of the past which posed false, misguided choices for the future.~~] Today we can declare: Government is not the problem. Government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Self-government is simply the means our Constitution provides for us to meet our common challenges. ~~Its role must be defined in every age by what is necessary to meet those challenges.~~

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century -- a government humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. A government that is smaller and does more with less. Where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, our government should do more, not less. In this way, all Americans will have a real opportunity -- not a guarantee -- but ~~a real~~ an opportunity to build better lives.

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders ~~well understood that~~ taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon responsible citizenship.

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We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do out there, work that government cannot do. There are streets to be made safe. There are jobs to be created for people to move from welfare to work; higher standards for our schools, hard study by our children, young people to be kept off drugs, community service by our citizens.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume responsibility -- not just for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation.

Indeed, our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. To succeed, we must be one America.

We dare not give in to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. They torment the lives of millions around the world. They have nearly destroyed us in the past. They raise their vile heads in the present. They will tempt us again in the future.

The divide of race has been our constant curse. Hatred, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction, is no better. They rob both those who are hated, and those who hate, of what they might become. With generosity of spirit and strength of character, we must repress those impulses, so that all hardworking, law abiding men and women feel at home with one another, know they are part of the whole, and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity is, indeed, a Godsend in the 21st

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Century world. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, change together, create new ties that bind together.

With a new kind of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we can build a bridge to the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children.

Let us build an America that remains the world's indispensable nation -- standing for peace and freedom against the dark forces of terror and destruction; ~~leading the effort to~~ eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; bringing the world together through fair and open commerce; reaping the benefits of leadership because we shoulder the burden and pay our way.

Let us build an America that gives her children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools, the doors of college open to all.

Let us build an America that puts the knowledge and power of the Information Age within reach of not a few, but of every school, every workplace, every home and every child.

Let us build an America that keeps our economy the strongest in the world, yet jealously guards its air and water and land.

Let us build an America where everyone who can work does work, and the permanent

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underclass is lifted into a vibrant, growing middle class.

Let us build an America that values the talents of every girl and every boy, and helps men and women to meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

Let us build an America that shields our children from violence on our streets, in our schools, in our homes, and offers them a culture that affirms and teaches timeless values.

Let us build an America that maintains the best health care system in the world, extending its reach to every child, opening its doors to hard working people shut out today.

Let us build an America that meets its obligations -- by providing our seniors with secure retirement and health care, and by making the reforms necessary to preserve those benefits for generations who follow.

Let us build an America where our political system is fair and open, responding to the national interest, not the narrow interests, increasing the participation and earning the trust of all her citizens.

Let us build an America that restores balance to its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

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Let us build an America that is always moving toward its promise of a more perfect union.

Prosperity & power are important. They must be maintained.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us from the other end of this mall, in words that quickened the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream, that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American Dream. His story is America's story: the constant striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors. And it is out of dreams and labors that we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st Century.

We have built and will continue to build the most prosperous and ~~powerful nation the world has ever known.~~ But let us never forget: the greatest progress we have made, and have yet to make, is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.

To rise to ~~Today,~~ I pledge all my strength and every power of my office ~~for the work ahead.~~ I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, ~~they expect us to reconcile our differences and work together for them.~~ call on us to repair the breach and move us as America's Americans

~~[They have called upon us to repair the breach and to restore our path to the future.]~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 2 pm draft (2 pages)	1/26/98	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 9 pm draft (1 page)	1/25/98	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 9 pm draft (2 pages)	1/25/98	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 12 am draft (10 pages)	1/25/98	P5
005. fax	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address (23 pages)	1/21/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1998 SOTU [State of the Union] - Drafts with Corrections [1]

2006-0469-F
sb123

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]

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, and energy efficient homes.

Every time we have acted to heal our environment, the 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.

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.

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.

What can we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more diverse?

I have launched an initiative on race, not to dwell on our differences, but to underscore our shared strengths.

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.

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.

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Beyond that, we know America can overcomes 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.

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.

THE MILLENNIUM -- GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us lift our eyes toward the new millennium. How will we mark that passage?

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote American creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share so we can carry it with us into the 21st Century. The greatest of projects often begins with the simplest of gifts -- so we will work to preserve the gift of our heritage in every community.

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.

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 Parkinsons' Disease -- in only 9 days. Within a decade, "gene chips" will offer a roadmap for prevention of illness throughout a lifetime. Soon, people with severe spinal cord injuries will be able to rise from their wheelchairs and walk. We will be able to carry all the phone calls on Mother's Day on a single strand of fiber the width of a human hair. A typical child born in 1998 may well live to see the 22nd Century.

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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, for the loss of trust. 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 more 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 let that bill 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 witnessed an urban renaissance all across America. Neighborhoods, once haunted by crime and despair have been transformed into strong, safe, vibrant communities.

The best poverty program, the best jobs program, the best community development program, is a growing economy.

Our mission has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, restoring polluted sites for development. Now we must press forward with our opportunity agenda for America's cities. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we should expand the number of empowerment zones. We should give poor families more opportunities to

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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.

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. Yet beginning this year, 1998, for the very first time, men and women 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 141 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 daring of America's future.

Nearly two hundred 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.

Nearly two hundred 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 that became our national anthem. Today, that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, are on display just a short walk from here. And all across America, communities have their own pieces of America's past.

Whether on our national mall or the village green, they are America's treasures, and we must save and preserve them for the ages. I ask you in this Congress to support a public private partnership 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.

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

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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. 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.

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."

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.

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We ended a system that trapped generations in a cycle of dependency. We are replacing welfare checks with paychecks.

Last year, after a record four year decline in welfare rolls, I challenged our nation to go even further -- 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.

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, committed to hire, train, and retain people who are willing to work. We have a duty to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

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 improve care. But medical decisions should be made by medical doctors, not insurance company accountants. 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. You have the right to keep your medical records confidential. And nobody should be turned away from an emergency room. 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 after a lifetime of work. 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 challenge 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.

So I challenge Congress: let's pass bipartisan, comprehensive legislation that will change the way tobacco companies do business forever, and 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.

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.

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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.~~

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.

~~Pass this plan to help parents of six million children afford quality child care.~~

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.~~

~~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.

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.

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.

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.

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~~ a 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.

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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.

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 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.

Through this new security strategy, 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.

Some 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.

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.

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.

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I wish all of you could have been with us to visit with our troops in Tuzla. They are they pride of our nation.

We must make 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.

This year, four decades after it was first proposed by President Eisenhower, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty is within our reach. By ending all nuclear testing, we can help 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.

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.~~

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.

In this new era, our freedom and independence are enriched, not impoverished, by our

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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: isn't it 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 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 is our chance and our challenge. We must seize it.

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.

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.

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. So I ask you to strengthen our democracy and pass campaign finance reform.

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.

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,

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vibrant communities.

The best poverty program, the best jobs program, the best community development program, is a growing economy.

Our mission has been to bring the spark of private enterprise into the inner city -- with empowerment zones, community development banks, more loans from commercial banks, clearing toxic waste sites for development. Now we should press forward with our opportunity agenda for America's cities. Under the continued leadership of the Vice-President, we should strengthen and expand the number of empowerment zones. We should give poor families the opportunity to move into homes of their own. We should use tax cuts to spur the construction of more low income housing.

So many of America's great cities, which rose and fell in the 20th Century, are rising again as we approach the 21st Century. We cannot leave any person, or any community behind.

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.

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. And we expanded every community's right to know about the toxics that threaten their children.

Yesterday, our new plan to use cutting edge science to protect our food supply took effect.

Tonight, I launch 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 in potentially dangerous ways, 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.

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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.

Now, whenever we act to heal 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. Americans have always found a way to grow the economy and clean the environment at the same time.

Just this month, the Big Three 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. [*We are checking into the government's involvement*]

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, provides more environmental protection, and continues to grow at high levels.

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.

What can we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more diverse?

I have launched an initiative on race, not to dwell on our differences, but to underscore our strengths.

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 Opportunity Employment Commission. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are waiting in line for justice.

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.

And above all, we must recognize that the most fundamental way for people to

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understand each other, trust each other, and depend ~~on each other is by~~ working with each other toward a common goal. 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 in the Peace Corps, which harnesses our highest ideals to help better lives of ordinary people around the world -- and I ask the Congress to increase the number young people in the Peace Corps by more than 50% by the Year 2000.

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.
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.

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.

GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

In that spirit, let us lift our eyes toward the new millennium. How will we mark that passage?

Let us honor what we have been; ~~and~~ let us 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 future.

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, it took

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scientists 9 years to identify the gene causing cystic fibrosis. Last year, we isolated the gene that causes Parkinsons' Disease in only 9 days. Soon, people with severe spinal cord injuries will be able to rise from their wheelchairs and walk. Within a decade, "gene chips" will offer a roadmap for prevention of illness throughout a lifetime. We will be able to carry all the phone calls on Mother's Day on a single strand of fiber the width of a human hair. A typical child born in 1998 may well live to see the 22d Century. (ck)

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.

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.

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.

~~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.

~~And even~~ as we explore innerspace, in the new millennium we will open new frontiers in outer space.

~~For all of~~ human history, humankind has had only one place to call home -- the planet Earth. Yet beginning this year, 1998, for the first time, men and women will build a permanent foothold in the heavens -- the international space station. With its vast compartments, 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 141 combat missions, and one five hour space flight that changed the world, will return to the heavens.

Godspeed, John Glenn.

~~Senator Glenn,~~ you will carry with you America's hopes, and on your uniform you will

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carry America's flag, marking the unbroken connection between the deeds of America's past and the daring of America's future.

Nearly two hundred 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 that became our national anthem. Today, that Star Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are on display just a short walk from here. They are America's crown jewels and we must preserve them for the ages. I ask you in this Congress 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.

All across America, 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.

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.

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. 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.

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, left it falls to us to ensure that we advance as ~~one nation -- under God -- indivisible -- with liberty and justice for all.~~"

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~of this moment strengthening our nation for the 21st Century.~~ 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 in our destiny we have extended the American revolution by renewing the idea of America.

This, I am convinced, is what our founders meant when they committed themselves and their descendants down to the present generation to form a more perfect union.

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. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pushed us to reap the benefits, yet curb the abuses, of the Industrial Revolution -- so that we could remain one nation. ~~FDR~~ Franklin Roosevelt battled Depression, tyranny and fear, a triumph ~~won~~ was won by America and the as one nation. Fifty years of Democratic and Republican leaders from President Truman to President Bush stood resolute throughout the Cold War, and built the world's greatest middle class at home, lifting America to new heights as one nation.

But by 1992, America confronted another decisive moment in its destiny. Slowly but with gathering force, the ground shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a world in which the collapse of communism spawned new nations and let loose old hatreds. These changes upended old arrangements, declared new winners and losers,

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and opened new possibilities as it raised new perils. We lacked a framework for ~~understanding it~~, and a plan to master it. Our economy was in recession, our political system was paralyzed, and our problems mounted. And because our leadership drifted, too many hardworking, honest Americans had to struggle to survive and make sense of a world moving beyond their control.

It has been our challenge and our blessing to live and to lead at the historic convergence of great and global change. The moment did not come upon us with the roar of guns or any other sudden crisis that usually signals a decisive time. But seldom in our two centuries and more has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.

We are Americans. We do not fear change; we embrace it. For five years, our people have ~~risen to~~ met the challenge of change -- acting, to redeem the promise of America, to forge a more perfect union, to widen and deepen the meaning of our freedom. We have moved with new confidence, in a renewed spirit of hope, once again taking the path of "bold persistent experimentation."

And at every step, our actions have been grounded in three principles: Opportunity for all Americans. Responsibility from all Americans. A community of all Americans.

To make these principles real, we have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. We recognized that

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

government is but one instrument by which a free people fashions its future. We have forged a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Focused on giving the American people the tools to make the most of this new era. ~~On being~~ Functioning as a catalyst for new ideas. ~~On protecting the defenseless, and empowering the disadvantaged.~~ Finding new ways to A government that replaces a sense of entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.

In this we have had ~~great~~ unparalleled 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 move us forward.

My fellow Americans, we have a smaller government -- but we have a stronger nation.

~~We cannot shrink from this world of change -- we must master it. Yet we cannot tell our people to fend for themselves -- we must act to make sure all Americans can reap the rewards of change. And we cannot shrink from the world -- we must act the way America has acted at its moments of greatness, one nation among many, leading the world toward new heights of freedom and peace.~~ Increasingly, we also have an economy that offers opportunity.

~~*THE EASIEST WAY TO BRING THE DEFICIT TRIUMPH UP HIGHER IS TO DELETE ALL THE ITALICIZED MATERIAL*~~

How for we have come come in the past five years.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must recognize that in this new era, a strong nation requires robust leadership of the world -- our freedom and independence enriched, not diminished, by our interdependence with the people of other nations. That is why I have sought to persuade Congress and the American people that what happens beyond our borders affects our security, our well being, and our children's future. In the 21st Century, a central fact of our world is this: in advancing trade, in keeping the peace and preventing war, combating climate change and the spread of disease, stabilizing the global financial system -- American leadership matters . . . not only to the world, but to America.

And we must recognize that in the 21st Century, America will be challenged, as we have always been, by the divisions of race and ethnicity, by the challenge of living out the true meaning of our creed. If we are to build one nation, then we must truly be one nation. If we are to deepen the meaning of our freedom, then we must live by our ideals.

So tonight, with the state of our union so strong, with our prospects so bright, let us embrace with optimism and vigor the remaining challenges to building our bridge to the 21st Century.

Let us debate our differences in a spirit of goodwill and civility. And let us determine to do whatever it takes to build an economy that offers opportunity -- a society that demands responsibility -- a nation rooted in community, here and around the world.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

A strong nation begins with the economy, our engine of opportunity. First, that means honoring those who built our prosperity. Second, that means preparing the next generation to earn a better life in this new century. And third, recognizing that the best way to achieve opportunity is to reach beyond our borders.

Fiscal responsibility

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

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. 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, discipline and wise investment 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 never~~ could reach this historic achievement for America at this moment. This nation owes them our thanks.

reach this historic achievement.

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?

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 unwise spending, or shortsighted 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. But every one of these priorities can and must be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit or a person to the federal payroll.

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFERS OPPORTUNITY

What should be done with our nation's hard-earned budget surplus? I believe the answer is clear. ~~We have acted, decisively and successfully, to erase our budget deficit. Now we must~~

"First, an economy that offers opportunity for must honor those who have built our prosperity over a lifetime. We now have the power and the obligation

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ancient command of Scripture

~~fulfill a command as old as the Scripture~~ ~~rise to a duty as old as the scriptural commandment~~ to "honor thy father and thy mother," ~~and as current as the need to nurture our children.~~ saved

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 protect our parents and provide for our children.

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 ~~savede~~ saved the Social Securty system. Let us reserve every penny of any surplus until we have taken all the measures necessary to preserve ~~this program~~ Social Security for the next 75 years. We must make this ~~crowning~~ central achievement of the 20th Century a continuing ~~cornerstone of~~ cornerstone in the 21st Century. Let us commit ourselves to the fundamental promise that Social Security will be there for ~~those who~~ are 70, and 50, and 20 years old. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first. all Americans who today now

And that ~~This~~ must be only the beginning of a ~~determined~~ national effort to extend sustained defend and Social Security into the 21st Century. [*Social Security reform process*]

Here ~~These~~ are the principles that I believe must guide such reform. [*reform principles*]

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~Investing in people~~

Next, in all reap

~~By imposing fiscal discipline, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But~~

an economy that honors opportunity means all Americans must ~~reap~~ share the rewards of prosperity.

By imposing fiscal discipline, we have created the conditions for sustained growth.

But ~~And~~ we will only strengthen our prosperity if all Americans share in creating it. Today, in reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. ~~It is a gap we are closing, and must continue to close.~~ ~~We are closing that gap. We must continue to close this gap.~~ For the first time in a quarter of a century, we are

And By far the most important way to close the opportunity gap is to make certain that every American has access to the best education in the world.

Five years ago, we recognized that ~~—~~ more than an information age, we are moving into ~~an~~ that

an education age, ~~in which knowledge determines how much you earn and a diploma is only as valuable as the skills behind it.~~ standards of knowledge will determine standards of life; a diploma will be only as valuable as the skills behind it.

Last year, in ~~my~~ the State of the Union, I ~~said that~~ education ~~was~~ set as our nation's ~~greatest~~ highest priority ~~challenge~~ to strengthen our schools. Since then, -- and I proposed a ten point plan ~~for American education. During the past year,~~ this Congress and the American people have ~~risen to this challenge, with~~ responded in the most important year for education reform 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 ~~more.~~ the rollcall of achievements goes on and on.

Closing the income gap. That, too, is an historic achievement -- and a continuing challenge.

(OVER)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

For too long we came for

more and more

for more

for too many

One simple, sensible, proven step can

for millions of

make a difference

for millions of workers: This year, we must

raise the minimum wage to

$5.50.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~1997 was an historic year for American education. 1998 can be even better.~~

We have waged and won a quiet revolution: a century after America made high school available to all, we are making the first two years of college as universal as a high school degree is today. 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.

~~We can~~ continue our progress and extend ~~that revolution to our public schools as well.~~ ~~We need~~ a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability -- ~~and rewards for results in our nation's public schools.~~

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 voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents ~~must~~ know whether students and schools measure up.

~~Every~~ parent knows the key to mastering ~~these~~ basics: small classes and good teachers. Tonight I propose a national effort to reduce class size in the early grades. My balanced budget

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will enable schools across the country to hire an additional 100,000 teachers to reduce class size in first, second, and third grade to an average of 18 nationwide. 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 enough to learn and the teacher is qualified enough to teach.

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 we must recognize that the key to equal opportunity in higher education is equal performance in the lower grades. I will send to Congress a proposal to send thousands of mentors into our schools to reach all our children and show them they can all go to college.

Finally and fundamentally, let us

~~And let us finally~~ say to our schools: Social promotion is destructive. No child in America should graduate if he or she cannot read a 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.

Leading the global economy

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As we enter the 21st century, the economy that offers opportunity must seek it not just at home, but in all the markets of the world.

~~The third element of our economic strategy recognizes this reality. In the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy,~~ We are living in an era of great and global change. We a dynamic new marketplace that links billions of people ~~through~~ with countless ties of culture, ~~ties of~~ commerce, and communications. There is no turning back. The only way to ~~extend~~ win more opportunity is to make the international economy work for our people. Here's how we're doing it.

will succeed or fail short or a global scale, in

~~And in~~ In the last five years, America has reached 220 trade agreements, and every single one of them ~~tearing~~ tears down foreign barriers to products that bear the proud label, "MADE IN ~~AMERICA.~~" The U.S.A." Today, exports are at a record high. 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.

But foreign nations still impose $60 billion in tariff taxes on the products and services we export. ~~America~~ We must continue to ~~tear down these~~ bring more barriers down. This year, ~~I very much regret that Congress failed to provide the power to tear down these barriers last year, but I will seek that authority again this year.~~ I will renew my request for the necessary negotiating authority. If we fail to seize the opportunities of expanded trade, our competitors surely will. ~~And that would be a policy of America last.~~ This would not be a policy of America first, but America last.

-- and I will insist --

We must ~~also~~ insist that our trading partners enforce basic labor and environmental standards. ~~And tonight~~ Tonight, I ~~ask~~ challenge every nation to join with us in a new effort to fight the most abusive and exploitative practices of all – forced child labor.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Opportunity in

The new global economy also demands new steps to ~~continue~~ safeguard overall economic growth.

Today, an economic crisis anywhere can affect trading partners everywhere. In recent months, serious problems ~~have arisen~~ we have seen in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea. 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 – and our exports will diminish. ~~As competitors, as~~ of their currencies continue to lose their value, the prices of ~~their~~ our competitors' goods will drop, ~~forcing them to~~ flooding our market with low-cost goods. And as our allies, ~~these nations'~~ their national security affects our own. Having fought 3 wars ~~there~~ in the Pacific during this century, the American people know ~~well~~ that the stability of Asia ~~affects the security of America.~~ 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.~~ let no one make the dangerous mistake of assuming that The turmoil in Asia will ~~have an~~ not 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~~ the thunder until the clouds are overhead.

We ~~should~~ can and must take ~~sensible~~ critical steps to contain the effects of the ~~current~~ financial turmoil overseas, ~~to minimize its impact on our economy~~ – 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~~ or should

Second, when ~~they~~ nations are willing to ~~take responsibility~~ to make hard and essential decisions, 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

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Monetary Fund – the financial firefighters that keep the world economy ~~strong~~ safe. And I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, ~~Rep.~~ Representative Gephardt and ~~Sen.~~ Senator Daschle, ~~for uniting in support of prudent action to protect our prosperity.~~ for giving their bipartisan leadership to prudent and urgent action for preserving world prosperity and protecting our own.

~~And the new global economy places new demands on our people, and requires new action by our national community to help more Americans benefit – and to help those who do not.~~

That is why my ~~That is why my~~ balanced budget will triple funding for dislocated workers.

That is why we must ~~We must~~ ~~That is why we must~~ act to help workers whose plants have closed for any reason, with a rapid response plan modeled after our successful base closing efforts.

And that is why the Congress should act this year to pass the GI Bill for Workers -- a Careers Bill that will consolidate the tangle of training programs and give workers a simple grant for the training they need.

A SOCIETY THAT DEMANDS ESPONSIBILITY

Americans temporarily

An economy that offers opportunity must also offer help and hope to those left behind in a global marketplace

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bedrock

A strong nation rests on the ~~rock~~ of a strong society -- a society that demands

That means promoting

responsibility. ~~First, that means we must promote the values of work, not welfare. Second, that~~ That

~~means making it possible for hardworking families to meet their most important responsibiollies.~~

That punishing

~~Third, that means holding people responsible when they break the law. We need to punish crime~~

preventing in the first place.

~~when it occurs and prevent it from happening.~~ Fourth, ~~that means demanding respons~~ not only at

~~home but abroad -- and shouldering our responsibility of world leadership.~~ we must demand responsibility

First, that means we must promote the values of work, not welfare. We can be proud

~~In 1996, we ended a welfare system~~ that trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of

We created

dependency, ~~and replaced it with~~ a ~~new~~ system based on work and responsibility. Last year,

completely new non-welfare

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.

from deadbeat parents,

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~~ 1 ask thousands

of additional businesses ~~must~~ to join the 3000 companies in our welfare-to-work partnership, to replace the

already

despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

~~A society that demands responsibility must~~

~~Second, we must help our people take responsibility for their families in a world of~~

change.

Second, we must make it possible for hard working families to meet their most important responsibilities.

that after ~~so many years~~ ~~where so many~~ so

~~many speeches~~ much

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rhetoric, over so many

from so many leaders,

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insurance

We have made health portable from job to job.

~~We have made health care portable from job to job~~. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. ~~Today~~ This year, I challenge Congress to ~~take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.~~ take other historic steps.

Today,

~~More~~ than 160 million Americans now receive health care through 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.

Next,

Millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 are ~~falling through the cracks of the health care system and are~~ losing their health insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge 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 is priceless.

And we must help parents protect their children from the greatest health threat they face, an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

I challenge Congress: Let's

~~This is the year 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 teen smoking does not go down. Let this Congress be remembered as the

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Congress that stopped 3,000 children a day from starting smoking and stopped 1,000 of them from dying before their time.

~~Helping our families take responsibility~~

Now let me turn to ~~[illegible]~~ the most

~~The third way to help our families take responsibility is to help them meet their~~ basic responsibility of the family.

~~obligations at home and at work.~~ 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.~~ what that I call upon Congress to pass a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, improving pay and raising standards for care givers, ~~and giving~~ incentives ~~to~~ businesses and tax cuts ~~to~~ for millions of working families.

~~Fourth, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect~~ Third, a society that demands responsibility must hold ~~people~~ individuals responsible ~~for law, at the center of our effort to fight crime.~~ when they break the law, punishing crime severely when it occurs and preventing it from happening

the help they need and deserve to raise their families right.

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in the first place.

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For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly ~~vicious~~ vicious crime was a permanent ~~blot on our landscape~~ poison in the bloodstream of our neighborhoods and our nations. nation Now, with 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have ~~spread throughout the nation~~ put in place across the country a community based crime fighting strategy that works. I can report to you tonight that for five years in a row, crime is down, all across America. ~~Now we must press on.~~

Let's press on now to ~~Now let us~~ secure the most fundamental of all civil rights -- the right to be safe in our own homes and schools and neighborhoods.

Congress should finally pass a juvenile crime bill that provides more prosecutors and probation officers to crack down on gangs, guns and drugs. We should bar violent juveniles from buying guns once they turn 21. And I will ask Congress to pass a new federal law to sentence repeat child sex offenders to life in prison without possibility of parole.

But justice delayed is justice denied. ~~The law must be enforced -- strongly, swiftly, effectively.~~ When the courts are clogged, criminals go free. The Senate has the Constitutional duty to confirm judges ~~to uphold the law, to try appeals~~ cases and sentence criminals ~~justice~~. The Chief Justice of the United States 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 this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judges, up or down.

law-breakers.

~~And~~ We must expand before- and after-school programs. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets.

~~And just as we must advance our security at home, abroad America must act to advance~~

Fourth, we must demand responsibility not only at home, but abroad -- and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership.

who will

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extraordinary defense of freedom in the history of nations.

~~its security -- addressing old realities and new threats.~~

learned

In this century, the American people ~~have agreed~~ that our nation has a unique ~~responsibility to lead.~~ role -- and we have lived up to it in the most As a result, we are more secure and prosperous than ever. ~~And~~ we have both the ~~been given an extraordinary opportunity~~ and ~~corresponding responsibility~~ to build a new era of peace and security. of great effort, the deity power

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. ~~We are making the new economy a rising tide of opportunity by tearing down trade barriers. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits.~~ We are helping age-old enemies make peace. But the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and racial and religious hatreds still summon humanity's capacity for evil. We prevailed in the superpower stand-off. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy ~~axis~~ alliance of new threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the ~~power~~ potential of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people ~~we cherish -- and they have no respect for borders.~~ gifts we otherwise cherish,

Now, in a new era, at the eve of new century, we have Old tyrannies have fallen -

~~To meet this~~ To respond to all this, ~~To meet these challenges,~~ we are pursuing a new ~~security~~ strategy -- adapting old institutions to new demands, forging new alliances and backing them where necessary with America's military might. Brick by brick, we are building a solid structure for America's security in the 21st century. of peace

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Here are ~~some of the pieces~~ elements of this strategy that we must put in place ~~together~~ together this year.

First, ~~in a few days~~ within 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. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, America is leading the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. By taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine, we can extend the frontiers of peace and security -- and build a future in which Europe never again becomes an arena for ~~unleashes~~ the horrors we have seen in this century. I ask the Senate to say yes to NATO's 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.

This Christmas, I traveled to Bosnia with Senator Dole and a bipartisan Congressional delegation. We agreed that 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 believe that 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 in a football game, we're ahead and it's the fourth quarter. Who wants to walk off the field and forfeit the game? We should stay, finish the game and take home the win for the world peace.

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~~and for peace.~~

and honored

All of us on that trip were ~~especially~~ proud to visit with our troops in Tuzla. 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. 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 any enemy. By giving the budget your support, you will give America's soldiers our support. They earn it every day.

reduce

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.

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 a new nuclear arms race 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..

cloud

Even as we lift the nuclear ~~threat~~ that has ~~hung over our heads~~ for fifty years, we are

shadowed over lives

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confronting and meeting a new hazard: rogue states, terrorists and organized criminals armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Over the past six-and-half years, international weapons inspectors in Iraq have been the eyes and ears of the international community. They have destroyed more of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons potential than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors because they were doing their job too well. That's why the international community insisted that they return to Baghdad. ~~That is~~ And that is where ~~they~~ the international weapons inspectors will stay until Iraq dismantles its weapons program -- no ifs, no ands, no buts. about it.

At the very moment when the UN inspectors are working to protect our children, Congress' failure to pass bipartisan legislation to pay our UN debt threatens to ~~pull the rug out from under~~ diminish our influence with the UN -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let's pay our bills.

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention. This year, I call on you to pass legislation that will put this treaty into force. We made a commitment to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. We should make good on it.

We also must act to prevent an even more lethal threat: the use of disease as a weapon of ~~war~~ conflict and terror. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons.

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The Biological Weapons Convention, in force for 25 years, lacks tough enforcement measures. This year, I am determined to secure, as part of that treaty, an international inspection system to detect and deter cheating. We must act so that ~~the 21st century~~ does not ~~go forward~~ under a new cloud of fear. The safety of our children depends on it.

There are times when only America's moral strength and military might ~~make the difference~~ between war and peace... chaos and security... tyranny and freedom. If we forget this inescapable lesson of the 20th century, then we will pay a price for our indifference in the 21st century. ~~America has the will to advance progress and the power 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. ~~We must seize it.~~

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 ~~in a web of mutuality,~~ bound by duty to strengthen our communities – and our national community. ~~Here's what that means. First, a government that earns the trust of the American people. Second, it means protecting the most basic community we all share -- the air we all breathe, the water we all drink, the Earth we all share. Third, we will strengthen the national community by strengthening the ties that bind us together.~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Political reform & Reinventing government (6 pages)	1/21/98	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, midnight draft (1 page)	1/22/98	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, midnight draft (1 page)	1/22/98	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, midnight draft (10 pages)	1/22/98	P5
005. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, noon draft (1 page)	1/22/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1998 SOTU [State of the Union] - Drafts with Corrections [2]

2006-0469-F
sb124

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).
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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]

Political reform & reinventing government

First of all, this ~~democracy~~ true community requires a government that earns the trust of the American people.

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~~ I say - not this year. Senators McCain and Feingold have proposed a strong first step to clean up our campaigns. Best politics. 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 for soft money, for the status quo. I ask you to step up to your responsibility and pass campaign finance reform.

for a ~~democracy~~ the loss of trust.

I ask the FCC to move forward with proposals for free air time for candidates. Campaigns should be a contest of issues, not a ~~an endless chase~~ for dollars.

We must always remember our goal: widening the circle of democracy. Far too few people vote today. 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.

And government itself must reflect the best in our national community.

Under Vice President Gore's leadership, we have slashed 16,000 pages of regulations, transformed agencies such as HUD and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and reduced the federal payroll by 300,000 workers. Even as the workforce is shrinking, service is

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improving.

But we must do more to make government work better. Like every taxpayer, I am outraged by the reports of abuses by the IRS. Today we have a new IRS Commissioner -- a hard-nosed, high-tech businessman who has spent his career on the taxpayers' side of the bargain. But our new commissioner needs new tools, and the public needs new protections. Last year, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, the House passed sweeping IRS reforms. Months later, that bill languishes in the Senate. Tonight I challenge the Senate: Pass our bipartisan package of IRS reforms, and do it by April 15. Professionalize the IRS -- don't politicize it.

Empowering communities

Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped bring the spark of private enterprise into the hardest pressed communities. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. I ask you to double our Empowerment Zones, spearheaded by Vice President Gore, which have revitalized our cities and rural areas. Empowerment works, and we should bring the community renaissance to every corner of the nation.

Environmental protection

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Third, ~~we must protect the most~~

~~And~~ our national community is only as healthy as the air our children breathe, the water they drink, and the Earth we leave to future generations. Pollution, by its very definition, is the poisoning the commons -- of the most basic things we share.

For twenty-five years, protecting the environment has been a bipartisan achievement.

Last year, we toughened controls on smog and soot, ~~and~~ we moved to protect Yellowstone, the Everglades and the magnificent redwoods of Headwaters Forest, ~~and we~~ we expanded every community's right to know about the toxics that threaten their children.

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.~~ ~~to~~ in safety, to fish and ~~to swim in water that is~~ clean waters.

Our ~~greatest~~ central environmental challenge is a ~~global~~ worldwide problem requiring ~~global~~ worldwide action: the ~~coming~~ gathering crisis of global warming. The vast majority of ~~the world's~~ scientists have ~~emphatically~~ -- unequivocally and emphatically -- concluded that if we do not improve energy efficiency, we will disrupt our climate, ~~undermine~~ undermine our economy, and put our children and grandchildren at grave risk. In December, America led the world to sign an historic treaty that ~~unleashes~~ involves the full force of the free market to ~~cut~~ reduce greenhouse gases, without new taxes or regulation.

We have it in our power to act right here, right now. I propose $6 Billion in tax cuts and

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research and development to spur innovation and help families buy fuel efficient cars, help factories run cleaner, help homes to use less energy.

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 typical models today. This innovative spirit must spread to every industry in America.

Remember who we are. We are Americans. 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 which invented the light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that consumes less energy, provides more environmental protection, and continues to grow at record levels.

~~One America in the 21st Century~~

Finally,

~~And third~~, 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 to be self evident ... 134 years

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since we wiped the stain of slavery from our soil . . . 30 years, this April, since a rifle crack ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of America's greatest patriots.

We are still beset by racial division, by the crime of discrimination, by the sin of hate.

What can we do ~~to build one nation?~~ in our day and generation, to build an America that is truly one nation?

We must begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask you to provide the resources so we can end the backlog at the antidiscrimination agency that ensures all Americans have equal opportunity to work. ~~60,000~~ sixty thousand of our fellow citizens are awaiting justice.

Yet the issue here is not just our national laws, but our national spirit.

We should recognize that we have walls to break down between us. I believe that a true and open dialogue among people of different races and backgrounds and religions can help heal our wounds. But above all, let us recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward one America lies in the progress we make for all Americans.

~~But above all, we must recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make toward strengthening our nation.~~ 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.

responsibility and community leaders to the board.

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So 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 ~~the inheritors of one of the great ideas of history~~ (COVER), the idea that it is possible to build a nation whose people are prosperous and free, yet share a sense of connection to an enterprise, a mission for which all must be prepared to sacrifice. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity. Only with the solvent of the American ideal can we erase our differences. That must be our mission today as we strengthen our nation and deepen our freedom for the new millennium.

GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

So we embrace the future. We welcome it, with daring and imagination, always guided by our enduring values.

Tonight, let us look forward to that 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

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We are torchbearers of the most shining idea in history -- the belief that shared values can unite a diverse people in ~~mutual respect~~ freedom and mutual respect. "E Pluribus Unum." E We are many; we must be one, with a

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

American, regardless of income: if you work hard, you can go to college.

We can continue our progress and extend that revolution to our public schools as well. We need a new ethic of education based on high standards, real competition, strict accountability in our nation's public schools.

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 voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents must know whether students and schools measure up.

Every parent knows the key to mastering these basics: 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 reduce class size in first, second, and third grade to an average of 18 nationwide. 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 enough to learn and the teacher is qualified enough to teach.

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 we must recognize that the key to equal opportunity in higher education is equal performance in the lower grades. I will send to Congress a proposal to send thousands of mentors into our schools to reach all our children and show them they can all go to college.

And let us finally say to our schools: Social promotion is destructive. No child in America should graduate if he or she cannot read a 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.

Leading the global economy

The third element of our economic strategy recognizes this reality: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy, a dynamic new marketplace that links billions of people through ties of commerce and communications. There is no turning back. The only way to extend opportunity is to make the international economy work for our people. Here's how we're doing it.

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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.

Remember who we are. We are Americans. 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 light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy and keeps growing.

One America in the 21st Century

And third, 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 now two centuries since we proclaimed our ideals to be self evident ... 134 years since we wiped the stain of slavery from our soil ... 30 years, this April, since a rifle crack ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of America's greatest patriots.

We are still beset by racial division, by the crime of discrimination, by the sin of hate.

What can we do to build one nation?

We must begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask you to provide the resources so we can end the backlog at the anti-discrimination agency that ensures all Americans have equal opportunity to work. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are awaiting justice.

We should recognize that we have walls to break down between us. I believe that a true dialogue among people of different races and backgrounds and religions can help heal our wounds.

But above all, we must recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make toward strengthening our nation. 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.

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 the inheritors of one of the great ideas of history, the idea that it is possible to build a nation whose people are prosperous and free, yet share a sense of connection to an enterprise, a mission for which all must be prepared to sacrifice. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common

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spawned new nations and let loose old hatreds. These changes upended old arrangements, declared new winners and losers, **and** opened new possibilities as it raised new perils. **Suddenly we** lacked a framework for **the future** ~~understanding it~~, and a **path and a** plan to master it. Our economy was in recession, our political system was paralyzed, and our problems mounted. **And** ~~As~~ because our leadership drifted, too many hardworking, honest Americans had to struggle to survive and make sense of a world moving beyond their control.

It has been our challenge and our blessing to live and to lead at the historic convergence of great and global change. The moment did not come upon us with the roar of guns or any other sudden crisis that usually signals a decisive time. But seldom in our two centuries and more has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.

We are Americans. We do not fear change; we embrace it. **And** ~~For~~ five years **now**, our people have **met** ~~risen~~ to the challenge of change – acting to redeem the promise of America, to forge a more perfect union, to widen and deepen the meaning of our freedom. We have moved with new confidence, in a renewed spirit of hope, once again taking the path of &bold persistent experimentation. 8

And at every step, our actions have been grounded in three principles: Opportunity for all Americans. Responsibility from all Americans. A community of all Americans.

To make these principles real, we have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. We recognized that government is but one instrument by which a free people fashions its future. We have forged a new kind of government. Smaller. More flexible. Focused on giving the American people the tools to make the most of this new era. **Functioning as** ~~On being~~ a catalyst for new ideas. ~~On protecting the defenseless, and empowering the disadvantaged~~. A government that replaces a sense of entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment.

In this we have had ~~great~~ **unparalleled** 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 move us forward.

My fellow Americans, we have a smaller government -- but we have a stronger nation.

Increasingly, we also have an economy that offers opportunity.

How far have we come in the past five years.

~~We cannot shrink from this world of change -- we must master it. Yet we cannot tell our people to fend for themselves -- we must act to make sure all Americans can reap the rewards of change. And we cannot shrink from the world -- we must act the way~~

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~~America has acted at its moments of greatness, one nation among many, leading the world toward new heights of freedom and peace.~~

THE EASIEST WAY TO BRING THE DEFICIT TRIUMPH UP HIGHER IS TO DELETE ALL THE ITALICIZED MATERIAL

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.

And if we hold fast to our fiscal discipline, we may well balance the budget this year. 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, discipline and wise investment 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 **could reach this historic achievement** ~~might savor this moment.~~ 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?

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 unwise spending, or shortsighted 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. But every one of these priorities can and must be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit or a person to the federal payroll.

AN ECONOMY THAT OFFFERS OPPORTUNITY

What should be done with our nation ,s hard-earned budget surplus? I believe the answer is clear.

First, 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 ~~o erase our budget deficit. Now~~

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~~we must rise to a duty as old as the scriptural commandment~~ to &honor thy father and thy mother. 8 ~~and as current as the need to nurture our children.~~

When he proposed retirement security for the elderly, President Franklin Roosevelt called it a &cornerstone 8 of our nation. We must build on that cornerstone, to protect our parents and provide for our children.

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 ~~this program~~ **Social Security** for the next 75 years. We must make this **central** ~~crowning~~ achievement of the 20th Century a continuing ~~cornerstone of~~ **assurance in** the 21st Century. Let us commit **ourselves to the fundamental promise** that Social Security will be there **in the future** for ~~those who are~~ **all Americans who no are** 70, and 50, and 20 **years old**. Let us, tonight, make this commitment: Social Security first.

~~This~~ **And that** must be only the beginning of a ~~determined~~ **sustained** national effort to **defend and** extend Social Security into the 21st Century. [Social Security reform process]

~~These~~ **Here** 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~~ **Next, in** an economy that honors opportunity ~~means~~ all Americans must reap the rewards of prosperity. **By imposing fiscal discipline, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But** ~~And~~ we will only strengthen our prosperity if all Americans share in creating it. Today, in reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. ~~It is a gap we are closing, and must continue to close.~~

And by far the most important way to close the opportunity gap is to make certain that every American has access to the best education in the world.

Five years ago, we recognized that more than an information age, we are moving into an education age**. Standards of knowledge will determine standards of life;** a diploma will be only as valuable as the skills behind it. ~~in which knowledge determines how much you earn and~~

Last year, in ~~my~~ **the** State of the Union, I ~~said that~~ **set** education ~~was~~ **as** our nation's ~~greatest challenge~~ **highest priority**-- and I proposed a ten point plan ~~for American education. During the past year,~~ **to strengthen our schools. Since then,** this Congress and the American people have ~~risen to this challenge, with~~ **responded in** the most important year for education reform 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

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old to read ... and ~~more.~~ **The roll call of achievements goes on and on. Closing the income gap. That, too, is an historic achievement – and a continuing challenge.**

One simple, sensible, proven step can make a difference for millions of workers. This year, we must raise the minimum wage to $5.50.

~~1997 was an historic year for American education. 1998 can be even better.~~

We have waged and won a quiet revolution: a century after America made high school available to all, we are making the first two years of college as universal as a high school degree is today. 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.

1997 was an historic an year for American education. But one year of reform is not enough. Let us resolve that 1998 will also be the year of education.

Let's ~~We can~~ continue our progress and extend ~~that revolution to our public schools as well. We need~~ **this revolution of opportunity into every grade of the nation's public schools. Let's envision** a new ethic of education based on high standards, ~~real~~ **genuine** competition, strict accountability **and rewards for results.** ~~in our nation ,s public schools.~~

Today, 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 **certain that** ~~sure~~ all our children master the basics. This fall, for the first time, we will have a voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. Parents ~~must~~ **have the right to** know whether students and schools measure up.

And every parent **already** knows the key to mastering ~~these~~ **the** basics -- 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 reduce class size in first, second, and third grade to an average of 18 nationwide. We will insist that **every one of these** new teachers pass rigorous state competency tests before they are hired. When **America's** parents take a child to the first day of school, they should know that the class is small enough to learn and the teacher is qualified enough to teach.

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 we must recognize that the key to equal opportunity in higher education is equal performance in the lower grades. I will send ~~to~~ Congress a proposal to send thousands of

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mentors into our schools to reach all our children and show them they can all go to college.

Finally and fundamentally, let us ~~And let us finally~~ say to our schools: Social promotion is destructive. No child in America should graduate if he or she cannot read a 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.

Leading the global economy

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 an era of great and global change. We will succeed of fall short on a global scale in ~~The third element of our economic strategy recognizes this reality: in the 21st Century, we will live in a global economy,~~ a dynamic new marketplace that links billions of people ~~through ties of~~ commerce**,** and communication**s**. There is no turning back. The only way to **win more** ~~extend~~ opportunity is to make the international economy work for our people. Here ,s how we ,re doing it.

In ~~And in~~ the last five years, America has reached 220 trade agreements **and**, every single one of them ~~tearing~~ **tears** down foreign barriers to products that bear the proud label, &MADE IN **THE U.S.A."** ~~AMERICA~~. 8 Today, exports are at a record high. 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.

But foreign nations still impose $60 billion in tariff **and** taxes on the products and services **that** we export. **We** ~~America~~ must continue to **bring those** ~~tear down these~~ barriers **down**. **This year, I will renew my request for the necessary negotiating authority.** ~~I very much regret that Congress failed to provide the power to tear down these barriers last year, but I will seek that authority again this year.~~ If we fail to seize the opportunities of expanded trade, our competitors surely will. **This would not be a policy of America first, but America last.** ~~And that would be a policy of America last.~~

We must ~~also~~ insist – **and I will insist** that our trading partners enforce basic labor and environmental standards. ~~And~~ **Tonight**, I ~~ask~~ **challenge** every nation to join with us in a new effort to fight the most abusive and exploitative practices of all) forced child labor.

Opportunity in the new global economy also demands new steps to **safeguard** ~~continue~~ overall economic growth.

Today, an economic crisis anywhere can affect trading partners everywhere. In recent months, **we have seen** serious problems ~~have arisen~~ in the economies and financial markets of Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea. These nations are our customers, our

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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) and our exports will diminish. ~~As competitors~~, **If** ~~as~~ their currencies **continue to**lose their value, the prices of **our competitors goods** ~~their goods~~ will drop, flooding our market with low-cost goods. And as our allies, **their national** ~~these nations~~, security affects our own. Having fought 3 wars ~~there~~ **in the Pacific during** this century, the American people know ~~well~~ that the stability of Asia **is a vital interest for America.** ~~affects the security of America~~.

The American economy remains sound and strong -- and I want to keep it that way. But **let no one make the perilous mistake of assuming that** ~~no one should be mistaken. The~~ **the** turmoil in Asia will ~~have an~~ **not** impact ~~on~~ our economy. Preparing for a far-off storm that may reach our shores is far wiser, ~~and far cheaper,~~ than ignoring ~~that~~ **the thunder** ~~storm~~ until the clouds are overhead.

We **can and must take** ~~should take sensible~~ **critical** steps to contain the effects of the ~~current~~ financial turmoil overseas -- ~~to minimize its impact on our economy --~~steps that reflect common sense principles. First, no nation can **or should** be helped if it won ,t help itself by putting its own house in order. ~~But~~ **Second**, when **nations** ~~they~~ are willing to **make hard and essential decisions,** ~~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 **safe** ~~strong~~. And I thank Speaker Gingrich and Senator Lott, **Representative** Gephardt and **Senator** Daschle, **for giving their bipartisan leadership to prudent and urgent action for preserving world prosperity and protecting our own.** ~~for uniting in support of prudent action to protect our prosperity.~~

~~And the new global economy places new demands on our people, and requires new action by our national community to help more Americans benefit) and to help those who do not.~~

An economy that offers opportunity must also offer help and hope to those Americans temporarily left behind in the global marketplace.

~~That is why my~~ **That is why my** balanced budget will triple **the** funding for dislocated workers.

That is why we must act to help workers whose plants have closed for any reason, with a rapid response plan modeled after our successful base closing efforts.

And that is why the Congress should act this year to pass the GI Bill for Workers -- a Careers Bill that will consolidate the tangle of training programs and give workers a simple grant for the training they need.

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A SOCIETY THAT DEMANDS ESPONSIBILITY

A strong nation rests on the **bed**rock of a strong society -- a society that demands responsibility. ~~First, that means we must promote the values of work, not welfare. Second, that means making it possible for hardworking families to meet their most important responsibiolties. Third, that means holding people responsible when they break the law. We need to punish crime when it occurs and prevent it from happening. Fourth, that means demanding respons not only at home but abroad -- and shouldering our responsibility of world leadership.~~

First, that means we must promote the values of work, not welfare. We can be proud that after so much rhetoric, from so many quarters, over so many decades, in 1996, we actually wrote and enacted the historic achievement of ending a welfare system ~~In 1996, we ended a welfare system~~ that trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency**. We created a completely new non-welfare** ~~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.

We must do more – increasing child support collections **from deadbeat parents, even further,** providing child care and help to move families closer to available jobs. And above all, **I ask thousands** ~~thousands more~~ businesses ~~must~~ **to** join the 3000 companies **already** in our welfare-to-work partnership, to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

Second, we must **make it possible for hard working families to meet their most important responsibilities.** ~~help our people take responsibility for their families in a world of change.~~

We have made health ~~care~~ **insurance** portable from job to job. Last year, we extended health care to up to 5 million children. ~~Today~~ **This year** I challenge Congress **to other historic steps.** ~~to take two more steps that respond to the rapidly changing world of health care.~~

Today, more than 160 million Americans now receive health care through 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.

Next, millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 are ~~falling through the cracks of the health care system and are~~ losing their ~~health~~ insurance after a lifetime of work. I

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challenge 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 is priceless.

And we must help parents protect their children from the greatest health threat they face – an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

I challenge Congress: Let's ~~This is the year 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 teen smoking does not go down. Let this Congress be remembered as the Congress that stopped 3,000 children a day from starting smoking and stopped 1,000 of them from dying before their time.

~~The third way to help our families take responsibility is to help them meet their obligations at home and at work.~~ **Now let me turn to the most basic responsibility of the family.** 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 **help they need and deserve to raise their families right** ~~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 and raising standards for care givers, **with new** ~~and giving~~ incentives **for** ~~to~~ businesses and tax cuts ~~to~~ **for** millions of working families.

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.

~~Fourth, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and respect for law, at the center of our effort to fight crime.~~

For decades, it seemed as if rising, increasingly vicious crime was a permanent **poison in the bloodstream of our neighborhoods and our nation.** ~~blot on our landscape~~. Now, with 100,000 new community police on the streets, tougher punishment, and smarter prevention, we have **put in place across the country** ~~spread throughout the nation~~ a community based crime fighting strategy that works. **I can report to you tonight that for** five years in a row, crime is down, all across America. ~~Now we must press on.~~

Let's press on now to secure the most fundamental of all civil rights – the right to be safe in your own homes and schools and neighborhoods

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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. ~~And we~~ **We must expand before- and after-school programs. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets**. We should bar violent juveniles from buying guns once they turn 21. And I will ask Congress to pass a new federal law to sentence repeat child sex offenders to life in prison without possibility of parole.

But justice delayed is justice denied. ~~—And the law must be enforced—strongly, swiftly, effectively.~~ When the courts are clogged, criminals go free. The Senate has the Constitutional duty to confirm judges **who will try cases and sentence law breakers.** ~~to uphold justice~~. The Chief Justice of the United States was right when he wrote, and I quote, &[Judicial] vacancies cannot remain at such high levels indefinitely without eroding the quality of justice. 8 I ask this Congress to heed this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judges, up or down.

~~And we must expand before- and after-school programs. We must give our children somewhere to go other than the streets.~~

Fourth, we must demand responsibility not only at home, but abroad – and we must shoulder our great and honorable responsibility of world leadership. ~~—And just as we must advance our security at home, abroad America must act to advance its security.) addressing old realities and new threats.~~

In this century, the American people **learned** ~~have agreed~~ that our nation has a unique **role – and we have lived up to it in the most extraordinary defense of freedom in the history of nations.** ~~responsibility to lead~~. As a result **of that effort**, we are more secure and prosperous than ever. **Old tyrannies have fallen. Now in a new era, at the eve of a new century, we have** ~~And we have been given an extraordinary opportunity and corresponding responsibility~~ **both the power and the duty to build a new era of peace and** security.

But today ,s possibilities are not tomorrow ,s guarantees. ~~We are making the new economy a rising tide of opportunity by tearing down trade barriers. But too many people still bear its burdens without reaping its benefits.~~ We are helping age-old enemies make peace. But the poisoned appeals of extreme nationalism and racial and religious hatreds still summon humanity ,s capacity for evil. We prevailed in the superpower stand-off. But dangerous conflicts between nations persist. And we remain vulnerable to an unholy ~~axis~~ **alliance** of new threats: terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking. These 21st century predators feed on the **gifts we otherwise cherish, the potential** ~~power~~ of technology and the free flow of information, ideas and people. ~~we cherish—and they have no respect for borders.~~

To **respond to all this,** meet these challenges, we are pursuing a new ~~security~~ strategy **of peace** -- adapting old institutions to new demands, forging new alliances and backing

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them where necessary with America ,s military might. Brick by brick, we are building a solid structure for America ,s security in the 21st century.

Here are **elements** ~~some of the pieces~~ of this strategy **that** we **together** must put in place ~~together~~ – this year.

First, **within** ~~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. For fifty years, the alliance kept America and Western Europe secure. Now, America is leading the way in transforming NATO for the 21st century. By taking in new members, working with new partners, and cooperating closely with Russia and Ukraine, we can extend the frontiers of peace and security -- and build a future in which Europe never again ~~unleashes~~ **becomes an arena for** the horrors we have seen in this century. I ask the Senate to say yes to NATO ,s 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.

This Christmas, I traveled to Bosnia with Senator Dole and a bipartisan Congressional delegation. We agreed that 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 believe that 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 in a football game, we ,re ahead and it ,s the fourth quarter. Who wants to walk off the field and forfeit the game? We should stay, finish the game and take home the win for ~~the~~ world ~~and for~~ peace.

All of us on that trip were ~~especially~~ proud **and honored** to visit with our troops in Tuzla. 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. 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 any enemy. By giving the budget your support, you will 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** ~~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, we can help prevent a new nuclear arms race 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..

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Even as we lift the nuclear **cloud** ~~threat~~ that has **shadowed our lives** ~~hung over our heads~~ for fifty years, we are **confronting and meeting** a new hazard -- rogue states, terrorists and organized criminals armed with chemical and biological weapons.

Over the past six-and-half years, international weapons inspectors in Iraq have been the eyes and ears of the international community. They have destroyed more of Iraq ,s nuclear, chemical and biological weapons potential than during the Gulf War itself. Saddam Hussein evicted the inspectors because they were doing their job too well. That ,s why the international community insisted that they return to Baghdad. **And that is** where ~~they~~ **the international weapons inspectors** will stay until Iraq dismantles its weapons program – no ifs, no ands, no buts **about it**.

At the very moment **when** the UN inspectors are working to protect our children, Congress , failure to pass bipartisan legislation to pay our UN debt threatens to **diminish** ~~pull the rug out from under~~ our influence with the UN -- and our credibility around the world. When America gives its word, America should keep its word. Let ,s pay our bills.

Last year, the Senate ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention. This year, I call on you to pass legislation that will put this treaty into force. We made a commitment to protect our soldiers and citizens from poison gas attack. We should make good on it.

We also must act to prevent an even more lethal threat -- the use ~~of~~ disease as a weapon of **conflict** ~~war~~ and terror. Our first priority should be to stop countries from acquiring biological weapons. The Biological Weapons Convention, in force for 25 years, lacks tough enforcement measures. This year, I am determined to secure, as part of that treaty, an international inspection system to **detect and** deter cheating. We must act so that **a new century** ~~the 21st century~~ does not **open** ~~go forward under a new cloud of fear. The safety of our children depends~~ on it.

There are times when ~~only~~ America ,s moral strength and military might **are the only things that stand** ~~make the difference~~ between war and peace (chaos and security (tyranny and freedom. If we forget this inescapable lesson of the 20th century, then we will pay a price for our indifference in the 21st **century** . ~~America has the will to advance progress and the power to get the job done. We should embrace this awesome responsibility for the opportunity it brings —~~ **We have the unparalleled moment and power** to shape a future more peaceful, prosperous and secure than the past. That is our chance, ~~and~~ our chal~~. We must seize it.~~lenge – **the hope of so many generations before us. Let us embrace this great 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. 8 More than ever, we

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economy that uses less energy and keeps growing.

One America in the 21st Century

And third, 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 now two centuries since we proclaimed our ideals to be self evident ... 134 years since we wiped the stain of slavery from our soil . . . 30 years, this April, since a rifle crack ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of America's greatest patriots.

We are still beset by racial division, by the crime of discrimination, by the sin of hate.

What can we do to build one nation?

We must begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask you to provide the resources so we can end the backlog at the antidiscrimination agency that ensures all Americans have equal opportunity to work. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are awaiting justice.

We should recognize that we have walls to break down between us. I believe that a true dialogue among people of different races and backgrounds and religions can help heal our wounds

But above all, we must recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make toward strengthening our nation. 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.

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 the inheritors of one of the great ideas of history, the idea that it is possible to build a nation whose people are prosperous and free, yet share a sense of connection to an enterprise, a mission for which all must be prepared to sacrifice. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common identity. Only with the solvent of the American ideal can we erase our differences. That must be our mission today as we strengthen our nation and deepen our freedom for the new millennium.

GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

So we embrace the future. We welcome it, with daring and imagination, always guided

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003. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 5:20 pm draft (2 pages)	1/21/98	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 5:20 pm draft (1 page)	1/21/98	P5
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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.

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and losers -- opened new possibilities as it raised new perils. We lacked a framework for understanding it, and a plan to master it. Our economy was in recession, our political system was paralyzed, and our problems mounted. As because our leadership drifted, too many hardworking honest Americans had to struggle to survive and make sense of a world moving beyond their control.

truly new

[*alternative: Slowly but with gathering force, the ground shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a world in which the collapse of communism spawned new nations and let loose old hatreds. These changes upended old arrangements, declared new winners and losers, opened new possibilities* etc.]

~~[It has been our challenge and our blessing to live and to lead at the historic convergence of great and global change. The moment did not come upon us with the roar of guns or any other sudden crisis that usually signals a decisive time. But seldom in our two centuries and more~~ Perhaps never before has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time, in so many areas.]

We are Americans. We do not fear change; we embrace it. For five years, our people have risen to the challenge of change -- ~~acting~~, to redeem the promise of ~~America~~, to forge a more perfect union, to widen and deepen the meaning of our freedom. We have moved with new confidence, in a renewed spirit of hope, once again taking the path of "bold persistent experimentation."

as one nation

our

3

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And at every step, our actions have been grounded in three principles: Opportunity for all Americans. Responsibility from all Americans. A community of all Americans.

To make these principles real, we have moved past the sterile debate between those who say government is the enemy and those who say government is the answer. We recognized that government is but one instrument by which a free people fashions its future. We have forged a new kind of government for the info age... Smaller. More flexible. Focused on giving the American people the tools to make the most of this new era. On being a catalyst for new ideas. ~~On protecting the defenseless, and empowering the disadvantaged.~~ [A government that replaces a sense of entitlement with a philosophy of empowerment,] so that all Americans are allowed to reap the rewards of change.

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 move us forward. As our government has grown smaller, our nation has grown stronger.

We cannot shrink from this world of change -- we must master it. Yet we cannot tell our people to fend for themselves -- we must act to make sure all Americans can reap the rewards of change. And we cannot shrink from the world -- we must act the way America has acted at its moments of greatness, one nation among many, leading the world toward new heights of freedom and peace.

4

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We must recognize that in this new era, a strong nation requires robust leadership of the world -- our freedom and independence enriched, not diminished, by our interdependence with the people of other nations. That is why I have sought to persuade Congress and the American people that what happens beyond our borders affects our security, our well being, and our children's future. In the 21st Century, a central fact of our world is this: in advancing trade, in keeping the peace and preventing war, combating climate change and the spread of disease, stabilizing the global financial system -- American leadership matters . . . not only to the world, but to America.

And we must recognize that in the 21st Century, America will be challenged, as we have always been, by the divisions of race and ethnicity, by the challenge of living out the true meaning of our creed. If we are to build one nation, then we must truly be one nation. If we are to deepen the meaning of our freedom, then we must live by our ideals.

So tonight, with the state of our union so strong, with our prospects so bright, let us embrace with optimism and vigor the remaining challenges to building our bridge to the 21st Century.

Let us debate our differences in a spirit of goodwill and civility. And let us determine to do whatever it takes to build an economy based on opportunity -- a society that rests on responsibility -- a union rooted in community -- here and around the world.

5

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4

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AN ECONOMY BASED ON OPPORTUNITY

A strong nation begins with the economy, our engine of opportunity. For 220 years, America has been a beacon to the world, offering to all the chance to rise and thrive, the only limit on achievement being willingness to work. The flexibility, creativity, and enterprise the new economy requires are qualities at the core of the American character. And we have sought to spur this new economy along with a comprehensive strategy of fiscal discipline, investment in our people, and world economic leadership.

Fiscal responsibility

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

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.

6

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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. 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, discipline and wise investment 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 savor this moment. 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?

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 unwise spending, or shortsighted 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. But every one of these priorities can and must be accomplished without adding a dime to the deficit or a bureaucrat to the payroll.

7

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century. Some seek to use it as a convenient cover to enact what they could never enact before: a national sales tax . . . taxing, for the very first time, home mortgages, education, gifts to charities and churches ... all to fund further tax cuts for a handful of Americans. Let me be clear: I will not allow a tax increase on the middle class just to pay for a tax cut for narrow interests.]

Investing in people

By imposing fiscal discipline, we have created the conditions for sustained growth. But if our new economy is to extend opportunity, we must enable more Americans to reap the rewards of prosperity. Today, in reality, the income gap is an opportunity gap. It is a gap we are closing, and must continue to close.

By far the most important way to close the opportunity gap is to make certain that every American has 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.

Last year, in my State of the Union, I said that education was our nation's greatest challenge -- and I proposed a ten point plan for American education. During the past year, this Congress and the American people have risen to this challenge, with the most important year for education reform in a generation ...expanding choice and creating 3,000 independent charter

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Message Creation Date was at 21-JAN-1998 10:57:00

1/21/98

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:

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~~ **Because of** the hard work and ~~strong values~~ **the high purpose** of the American people, **I can report to you that** these are good times for America. ~~With our economy growing,~~ **Our economy is prospering;** our incomes **are** rising, our social fabric **is** mending; ~~and~~ our leadership in the world **is** unrivaled. The state of our union is strong. ~~[Paul suggests: And in the words of that great American, Frank Sinatra, "The best is yet to come. And won't it be great.]~~

But ~~Yet~~ with barely 700 days left in the 20th Century, this is not a time to rest **even on the best of what we have done;** this is a time to build. **With faith, daring, and energy, let us achieve the** ~~Think of~~ the America within ~~our~~ reach: An America in which medicine will allow victims of spinal cord injuries to stand up and walk. An America in

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which every child **can stretch a hand across a keyboard and access any** ~~has within reach every~~ book ever written, ~~every~~ **any** painting ever painted, ~~and every~~ **any** symphony ever composed, all within an electronic instant. An America in which scientists find cures for diseases from Alzheimers to AIDS. A time when a **confident** ~~strong~~ America, which saved civilization in this century, ~~makes~~ **senses** the peace of the new century.

~~Let us count our blessings. Let us summon our resolve. And let us rise to the challenge of this moment: strengthening our nation for the 21st Century.~~

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 renewing the idea of America.

This, I am convinced, is what our founders meant when they committed themselves and their descendants down to the present ~~day~~ **generation** to form a more perfect union.

George Washington ~~summoned~~ **asked** our people to move beyond separate states, to become, as he put it, "an indissoluble community of interest as <u>one nation</u>." Abraham Lincoln gave his life to move beyond division and slavery to <u>one nation</u>. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pushed us to reap the benefits, yet curb the abuses, of the Industrial Revolution -- so that **this new industrial nation could continue to be** ~~we could remain~~ <u>one nation</u>. Franklin Roosevelt defeated Depression, ~~FDR, battled economic Depression and~~ tyranny, and fear, ~~itself,~~ a triumph won by America as <u>one</u>

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nation. Fifty years of Democratic and Republican leaders from President Truman to President Bush stood **resolute** ~~strong~~ throughout the Cold War, and ~~built~~ **sustaining** the world's greatest middle class at home, lifting America to new heights as one nation.

But by 1992, America confronted another decisive moment in its destiny. ~~But by 1992, America faced a new challenge.~~ The world was changing again, and more ~~rapidly~~ swiftly than ever before. A new global economy, the end of the Cold War, the ~~eruptions~~ **birth** of new nations and **the rebirth of ancient ones, the return of ethnic rivalries and** ~~old hatreds, and~~ **the** revolutions in science, technology and information: ~~were presenting our people with a whole new project~~ **one of these alone could have been the consuming work and byword of an entire era.** Change declared new winners and losers -- opened new **promise** ~~possibilities~~ as it raised new perils. We lacked a framework for **this future, a path or a plan** ~~understanding it, and a plan to~~ master it. Our economy was in recession, our **deficit seemed permanent, our policies paralyzed by old ideas and stereotypes** ~~political system was paralyzed, and our problems mounted. Our leadership was divided and drifting~~. Too many hardworking honest Americans were struggling **simply** to survive, ~~and make~~ **to barely make ends meet and to make** sense of a world moving beyond their control.

It has been our challenge and our blessing to live and to lead at the historic convergence of great and global change. The moment did not come upon us with the roar of guns or any other sudden crisis that usually signals a decisive time . But

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seldom in our two centuries and more has one generation seen so much change, in so short a time in so many areas.

~~[alternative: Slowly but with gathering force, the ground shifted beneath our feet, as we moved into an information age, a global economy, a world in which the collapse of communism spawned new nations and let loose old hatreds. These changes upended old arrangements, declared new winners and losers, opened new possibilites etc.]~~

The seas of a transformative time are not always smooth. But I say tonight as I have from the start; we are Americans. And we do not fear change, we embrace it. For five years, our people have **met and mastered** ~~risen to~~ the challenge ~~of change~~ -- acting to ~~redeem the~~ **give new life to the** promise of America, to forge a more perfect union, to widen and deepen the meaning of our freedom. We have moved with new confidence, in a renewed spirit of hope, once again taking the path of "bold persistent experimentation."

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address (3 pages)	nd	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address, 3 pm draft : Phone number [partial] (12 pages)	01/27/1998	P5, P6/b(6)
003. notes	President William J. Clinton State of the Union Address (8 pages)	nd	P5
004. email	Michael Waldman to Todd Stern, Re: for your review - not for wider circulation (1 page)	01/22/98	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
1998 SOTU [State of the Union] - Drafts with Corrections [4]

2006-0469-F
db1967

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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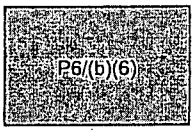
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[001]

1/19/98 3pm

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:

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 always, with imperfect humans, there are old and new threats ~~to~~ our security and our dreams.

~~Two~~ great questions face us: will we embrace the sweeping changes and shape their content, or will we seek to ~~hold~~ them ~~back~~ and shrink from the world that needs our leadership and our values?

[*OR*] [At this moment of sweeping change, here is our challenge: To strengthen our 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.] [*alternative "mission statement" -- we'd like to discuss with you*]

We are a people born of the greatest revolution in human history, a revolution that brought us liberty and union, timeless values, and a strong ~~but flexible~~ system of self-government that has enabled each generation of Americans to redeem our heritage by making our nation new again.

My fellow Americans, we are all the heirs of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall, who gave us our nation, independent and whole; of Thomas Jefferson, who

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secured

gave us guaranteed liberties and limitations on arbitrary governmental power; of Abraham Lincoln, who gave his life to preserve our union from separation and freed us all of the ~~stain~~ sin of slavery; of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, who seized the promise of the Industrial Age and assumed the responsibility of protecting our citizens from its abuses; of Franklin Roosevelt, who led us through depression and war, ~~with~~ the admonition that fear is our only real 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 built 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*]

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 thought 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~~ have forged 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.

a new compact between our gov't our people ---

We have freed ourselves from outdated orthodoxies and failed philosophies of the past. Working together, we have ~~formed a new kind of~~ made government. Smaller. More flexible. Less bureaucratic. Under the leadership of Vice President Gore, we have given the American people the smallest federal government since John F. Kennedy was in office, eliminating programs that aren't needed or don't work, experimenting constantly with new ideas that will work.

We have forged a progressive government dedicated to giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives, to being a catalyst for new ideas. We have tried to be a good partner with all the other parts of our society, and with those beyond our borders who share our values, interests, and hopes for an interdependent world.

business, community groups

Above all, we have worked to build one America, an America that is, in the words of George Washington, ~~that America must be~~ "an indissoluble community of interest as one nation."

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My fellow Americans, this new approach is working. Unemployment is the lowest in a quarter century. In 5 years, the economy has created over 14 million new jobs. Inflation is low and stable. Welfare and crime, teen pregnancy and divorce, all are dropping. Homeownership is at an all-time high. After stagnating for two decades, wages are rising once again.

At this moment of security and strength, of peace and prosperity, we must bring our practical genius and principled idealism to bear on the great challenges of the 21st Century. We must resist the temptations of complacency and isolation that good times can bring. We must also resist the petty bickering that election years can bring.

There are large tasks before us. We must reap the benefits of global markets and new technology, and preserve the social fabric that gives everyone a chance to be a winner; we must advance in science and technology and protect both our environment and our most fundamental values; we must prepare for the retirement of ~~the large post-World War II generation~~ our aging boomers in a way that keeps faith with our parents and our children; we must preserve our nation's security in a world that is at once more diverse and more interconnected. [*slightly rewritten from your draft*]

[The state of our union is strong. But there's an old 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.] [*recommended reinsert from previous draft*]

In this sunlit moment, we must draw upon our oldest values to meet our newest challenges. Let us build an economy based on opportunity, a society based on responsibility, a nation rooted in community.

[*Intro runs about 10 minutes*]

NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

We begin with the economy, 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 remains unrivaled on the cutting edge ~~of the~~ industries of the future. The flexibility, creativity, and enterprise the new economy ~~requires~~ rewards are ~~qualities at the core of the~~ innate in the American character. ~~We have sparked growth along with~~ Working hand in hand with a comprehensive strategy of fiscal discipline, world economic leadership, and investment in our people, can we harness the power & possibly continue ~~this new economy~~ of this new economy.

Fiscal responsibility [7 minutes]

First and foremost, economic growth demands fiscal discipline.

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And if we hold fast to our fiscal discipline, we may well balance the budget this year.

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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?

Investing in people [9 ½ minutes]

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. 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

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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 -- so I will send to Congress a proposal to send thousands of mentors into our schools to help young people prepare for college.

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. or not have mastered the years

We must make sure all our children master the basics. This fall, for the first time, we will have a voluntary national test based on national standards in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math to help parents know whether students and schools measure up.

We know that small classes & good teachers are crucial to ensuring our students learn what they need to learn in school. 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 reduce class size in first, second, and third grade to an average of 18 nationwide. 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. they should know that they are entrusting their child to an excellent teacher who will give him/her the assistance he needs.

We must also ~~assist~~ help 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 all failing schools: ~~Social promotion is destructive.~~ Nobody in America should graduate if he or she cannot read ~~their~~ a 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. → is that the only reason to say "failing"?

The opportunity gap can only be bridged when more families have access to the best hard-working

The second key to expanding opportunity is health care, and protecting families in changing times. health care system in the world. +

We have made health care portable from job to job. Last year, we extended health care to 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. I challenge Congress to write into law consumer protections that say: 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.

Millions of Americans between the ages of 55 and 65 ~~have fallen~~ are falling through the cracks of the health care system and ~~have lost~~ are losing their insurance after a lifetime of work. I challenge

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to ensure

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. and to ensure that our newest Americans get ~~the~~ a good start in life.

~~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 and raising standards for care givers, and giving incentives to businesses and tax cuts to millions of working families. And we must expand before- and after-school programs so that every child has somewhere to go other than the streets.

it when they go back to work either by choice or necessity

help more of our people

The fourth key to expanding opportunity is to ~~give~~ our people ~~the chance to~~ own ~~their own~~ homes in stable and thriving communities. Today, homeownership is at record levels. Our new approach to government has helped bring the spark of private enterprise into the hardest pressed communities. My balanced budget will build on this success, with a greater commitment to economic development, housing, homelessness assistance than ever before. I ask you to double our Empowerment Zones, spearheaded by Vice President Gore, which have revitalized our cities and rural areas. Empowerment works, and we should bring the community renaissance to every corner of the nation.

entrepreneurship small business

Leading the global economy [4 ½ minutes]

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

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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, 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.

Remember who we are. We are Americans. 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 light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent an economy that uses less energy and keeps growing.

NEW RESPONSIBILITY IN A NEW ERA [5 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 marketplace 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 an epidemic of teen smoking, spread by multimillion dollar marketing campaigns.

This is the year 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 teen smoking does not go down. 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 smoking and stopped 1,000 of them from dying before their time.

For five years, we have worked to put these values of responsibility and family, work and

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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. 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. We should bar violent juveniles from buying guns once they turn 21. And I will ask Congress to pass a new federal law to sentence repeat child sex offenders to life in prison without possibility of parole.

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 this plea, and vote on these highly qualified judges, up or down.

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 the year 2000. Well, I am pleased to report that we've met that goal – two years ahead of schedule.

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 someone eager to work, to replace the despair of dependency with the dignity of work.

FOREIGN POLICY

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Everywhere
.e example of our
..e job done. We should
.o shape a future more
...ance and our challenge in the world.

...ul. prospe... ...
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 taken 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 for 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 for this, 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. That is why I have asked the American people to participate in a national initiative on race. Can we build One America in the 21st Century? Our hearts long to say yes, but our history reminds us it will be difficult.

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We must begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal.

And even when we have torn down the walls in our laws, we have not torn down the walls in our hearts. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. We must move past stereotypes and face our differences with stark honesty.

And above all, we must recognize that for all ~~of~~ our differences, every American is united by the same values, the same hopes and the same dreams. Whatever we look like, wherever our grandparents came from, we all ~~want~~ believe in the promise of America.

So we make our greatest progress when we uphold our universal values and address our common concerns. When every American has the American has the chance to go to college and the opportunity to build a secure future, when every neighborhood has streets that are safe and water that is clean, then we can say we are truly building a community that includes every American.

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*] [*possible heroes for First Lady's box*]

TOWARD THE MILLENNIUM [7 ½ 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.

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 the war agst cancer.

But ~~science does not occur~~ in a moral vacuum. We should ~~prevent~~ ban the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American. And we should ratify the overwhelming consensus of the

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scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning.

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 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.~~ expanding boundaries of our ~~solar system~~ final space? I remain the world's greatest space-faring nation

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 missions and one five-hour space flight that inspired the world, will return to the heavens.

Godspeed, John Glenn.

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, its broad stripes and bright stars still flying ~~at the top of~~ atop a Maryland fort after a fierce battle, inspired Francis Scott Key to scribble a few words on the back of an envelope -- words that would become our national anthem. 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 & symbols that launched our revolution. [*Note: we hope to persuade the networks to fade to the flag during this passage*]

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.

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that is what it means to be an American

This ~~long~~ ceaseless quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is the American idea -- and it will keep us 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." Our new nation, little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then was struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation would endure if the revolutionary values and timeless virtues of our founding were given new life through new means and methods in each new era.

is this true?

And so, my fellow Americans, it falls to us to ensure that the miracle of America endures. To guarantee that our ideals are more than faded words on parchment; that they are still the most profound force for human greatness in human history. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. Let us come together each moment of each day to honor the best imagine the future, and make America anew.

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.



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From Lwt JS

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.

energy-efficient

Remember who we are. We are Americans. 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 light bulb and the telephone, the airplane and the semiconductor, can invent ~~an economy that uses less energy and keeps growing~~ the technologies that will fuel our growth throughout the 21st century.

One America in the 21st Century

living up to

And third, community means ~~fulfilling~~, at long last, the defining American ~~value -- the ideal heard round the world --~~ ideal that all men and all women are created equal.

threw off the shackles of slavery?

It is now two centuries since we proclaimed our ideals to be self evident ... 134 years since we ~~wiped the stain of slavery from our soil~~ . . . 30 years, this April, since a rifle crack ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of America's greatest patriots. ← why emphasize death? how about since Dr. M.L.K. declared, "..."

The tragedy of

We are still beset by racial division, ~~by~~ the crime of discrimination, ~~by~~ and the sin of hate.

What can we do to build one nation?

We must begin by recognizing what we still must overcome. Discrimination is un-American. We must continue to vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask you to provide the resources ~~so we can~~ to end the backlog at the ~~antidiscrimination~~ agency that ensures ~~all~~ every American ~~have~~ has equal opportunity to work. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are awaiting justice.

We should recognize that we have walls to break down between us. I believe that a true dialogue among people of different races and backgrounds and religions can help heal our wounds.

But above all, we must recognize that the greatest progress we can make toward building one America lies in the progress we make toward strengthening our nation. 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.

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 the inheritors of one of the great ideas of history, the idea that it is possible to build a nation whose people are prosperous and free, yet share a sense of connection to an enterprise, a mission for which all must be prepared to sacrifice. Only on the forge of common enterprise have Americans of all backgrounds ever hammered out a common

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identity. Only with the solvent of the American ideal can we erase our differences. That must be our mission today as we strengthen our nation and deepen our freedom for the new millennium.

GIFTS TO THE FUTURE

So we embrace the future. We welcome it, with daring and imagination, always guided by our enduring values.

Tonight, let us look forward to that 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 the war against cancer.

But science does not occur in a moral vacuum. We should prevent the use of genetic tests to discriminate against any American. And we should ratify the overwhelming consensus of the scientific and religious community, and ban human cloning.

In the new millennium, we will continue to explore, expand, and enrich 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 [#] web pages are created each day. ~~The Internet is becoming a global marketplace not just of commerce, but 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.

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This long quest to renew our values, to live up to them, and to give them new life -- that is the American idea -- and it will keep us 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." Our new nation, little more than a string of outposts along one coast, even then was struggling to live up to its proclaimed ideals. But George Washington saw that the "great experiment" launched by his generation would endure if the revolutionary values and timeless virtues of our founding were given new life through new means and methods in each new era.

And so, my fellow Americans, it falls to us to ensure that the miracle of America endures. To guarantee that our ideals are more than words scratched on parchment; that they are still the most profound force for human greatness in human history. We have 700 days left before the dawn's early light shines on a new millennium. Let us "rise up and build, and strengthen our hand for the good work ahead." Let us come together each moment of each day to imagine the future, and make America anew.

God Bless You, and God Bless the United States of America.

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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 encourage 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.

Finally, community means living by the defining American value -- the ideal heard round the world -- that we are all created equal.

Throughout our history, we have not always honored this ideal. Often it is easier to believe that our differences matter more than what we have in common. It may be easier, but it is wrong.

What must we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more and 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, freedom and responsibility. We all want our children to grow up in world where their talents are matched by their opportunities.

I have launched a national initiative on race to help us to recognize our common interests and bridge the opportunity gaps that keep us from becoming One America.

Let us begin by recognizing ~~what~~ we still must overcome. Discrimination against any American is un-American. We must vigorously enforce the laws that make it illegal. I ask your help to end the backlog at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 60,000 of our fellow citizens are standing in line for justice, and we should act now to end that wait.

We also should 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 rid all our streets of crime, when we make sure that all parents have the childcare they need, we help to 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 -- including every one of you watching at home tonight -- are also committed to this cause.

We must work together, learn together, live together, and serve together. On the forge of common enterprise Americans of all backgrounds can hammer out a common identity. We see

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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.

crystalline waters of Lake Tahoe.

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~~ coastal waters.

And I again challenge Congress to pass my legislation so that any time toxic waste threatens a community, the polluters, not the taxpayers, pay to clean it up.

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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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, and energy efficient homes. renewable energy)

Every time we have acted to heal our environment, the 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.

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.

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.

What can we do in our day and generation to make sure that America becomes truly one nation, even as we become more diverse?

I have launched an initiative on race, not to dwell on our differences, but to underscore our shared strengths.

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.

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.

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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 these highly qualified judicial nominees 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 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. The predators will be all the more lethal if weapons of mass destruction fall into their hands.

To meet these challenges, we are adapting old institutions, forging new partnerships, and modernizing the instruments of our influence, military and diplomatic.

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.

Now, by taking in new members and working closely with new partners, including Russia and Ukraine, NATO can extend the frontiers of security -- and help to 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.

Next, 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. 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 it is 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 our troops well-

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

7:05

changes 1 pm 1/26/98

The Millennium -- Gifts to the Future

In the spirit, let us lift our eyes the news millennium. How will we mark that passage?

Our culture lives in every community in the valued collections and historic places that tell our stories of an American

This year, Hillary and I launched the White House Millennium Program to promote American creativity and innovation, and to preserve the culture we share into the 21st Century. ~~The greatest of projects often begins with the simplest of gifts -- so we will work to preserve the gift of our heritage in every community.~~ ~~Tonight~~, I ~~am pleased to announce a~~ public-private partnership to save America's treasures.

call on all Americans to give a gift to the future by preserving our heritage.

Tonight I am proposing a

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.

don't say "announcing" - say proposing

What are the real advances we can look forward to seeing in our lifetimes.

[Then the discussions of science: biomedical science, internet, space, etc.]

Nearly 200 years ago, a tattered flag, its broad stripes and bright

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Michael & Lowell - EDITS

T. STERN

Michael Waldman
01/22/98 12:26:53 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Todd Stern/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: for your review -- not for wider circulation

Environmental protection

And our national community is only as healthy as the air our children breathe, the water they drink, and the Earth we leave to future generations.

For twenty-five years, protecting the environment has been a bipartisan achievement.

Last year, we toughened controls on smog and soot, 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 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 a global problem requiring global action: the coming crisis of global warming. The vast majority of the world's scientists have emphatically concluded that if we do not ~~improve energy efficiency~~, 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, 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.

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.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton, Remarks at Little Rock Central High School (5 pages)	9/20/97	P5
002. draft	RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	09/20/1997	P6/b(6)
003. note	Janis's Suggestions and Other Thoughts (2 pages)	nd	P5
004. draft	RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	09/20/1997	P6/b(6)
005. draft	President William J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School (3 pages)	9/20/97	P5
006. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8 am draft (2 pages)	9/25/97	P5
007. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8 am draft (8 pages)	9/25/97	P5
008. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School (1 page)	September 25, 1997	P5
009. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School (1 page)	September 25, 1997	P5
010. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School (2 pages)	September 25, 1997	P5
011. draft	President Willaim J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8 pm draft (2 pages)	9/20/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
Little Rock CHS [Central High School] [1]

2006-0469-F
db1968

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

Draft 9/20/97 5:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
September 25, 1997

Forty years ago, one image seared the hearts and consciences of our nation. It was of a fifteen-year old girl, dressed in a crisp black and white dress, wearing sunglasses, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked up these very steps for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, guided by ignorance, hating what they could not understand. America looked on the image of this young girl, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and caught a disturbing glimpse of itself. We saw, not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided, separate and unequal.

(now, historic landmark)?

(1) What happened here -- on this very piece of [granite] -- changed the course of this country forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first embraced the notion that all men are created equal -- like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died to make that ideal law -- this is hallowed ground. For it was here, at Little Rock Central High School, that slowly, painfully, but surely, America the nation began living up to America the ideal.

Elizabeth Eckford was turned away, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. They climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved a nation.

We have come to honor the parents; as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "to give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself."

To honor Daisy Bates, the NAACP, and all who guided these children through their experience.

very thoughtful & good

To honor President Eisenhower and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution.

To honor every student, every teacher, every minister, and every Little Rock resident who offered a hand of friendship or simple humanity.

~~And also, to honor the Little Rock community that is now a symbol for the Amer~~

(2) But most importantly, And we have come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Those of us who watched events unfold on TV screens and newspaper pages across the city, across the state, or across the nation, can never fully understand the sacrifice they made. We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We

→ and, also, to honor the Little Rock Community that is now a symbol of change for the rest of the country, and the world.

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cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace.

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; they pressed on. And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.

I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on the crisis in Little Rock. Like millions of others in the South, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's store, I learned that everyone was equal; I saw him treat everyone with dignity. This man with little formal education taught me the most profound lesson of all. And over four decades, in millions of homes, through millions of small epiphanies, xxxxxx I have learned this small, unchecked truth is the same truth that America, and the world must learn.

Forty years later, we know that whites as well as blacks benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together.

Forty years later, we know that only a strong national government can guarantee the fundamental rights of all our people in every corner of our land -- and we must have laws to fulfill those rights, and courts to uphold them.

Forty years later, we know that a diverse student body can meet the highest standards -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

On this beautiful, crisp autumn morning, it would be easy simply to congratulate ourselves for how far America has come since the Little Rock Nine walked up these steps. It would be easy to stand here where they stood, and talk about what they did. It is far harder to press on with their journey, to continue our climb to higher ground. But that is what we must do.

America is more tolerant, more integrated, more xx than ready for change (?) ever before. But forty years after the chains of segregation were cast off, we are still not in the Promised Land. We have torn down the walls in our laws. But we have not torn down the walls in our hearts.

Today, black children and white children walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, black students and white students still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white or all black. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; we retreat into comfortable ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the 1950s. And the rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation.

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have simply given up on the dream of integration. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And

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some think that it is simply too difficult. But more than ever, it must be the ideal toward which we ~~march~~ strive, as surely as it was the ideal toward which the Little Rock Nine marched.

* strive

Within three years, our largest state, California, will have no majority race. Within half a century, America will have no majority race. Rarely do nations undergo such sweeping change without significant disruption. The alternative to integration is not only isolation -- it is disintegration. There is only one thing strong enough to keep us together.

For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an ideal. Whether our ancestors came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a 747 to San Francisco, we are linked by a common ideal.

* ideal

We believe that every individual has within herself the spark of possibility. We believe that every individual is born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as her talents will take her. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred. We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. We are one America; we must be one America.

So here on the steps of Little Rock Central High School, let our generation recommit to the hard road of justice.

That is why we must say to the young people here, talk to someone different from you, speak freely and frankly, you will discover that you share the same dreams.

* Most likely
* many of

That is why we must say to those whites who would repeal affirmative action, "We share your vision of a colorblind society -- but we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the schoolhouse door."

That is why we must say to leaders of minority groups who seek separation, "~~We understand your~~ There is much good in cultural and ethnic pride, but it is wrong to try to empower one group of Americans by splitting them off from other Americans." [* There is much good IN cultural and ethnic pride, but...]

That is why we must say to the grandchildren of European immigrants, "Do not pull up the ladder from the new immigrants who come here for the same reason and with the same values as your ancestors."

Forty years ago the challenge was to walk through the schoolhouse door. But nine courageous boys and girls led us through this schoolhouse door. But even with all the doors that have been opened since then -- the doors to schools, the doors to jobs, the doors to public office, the doors to leadership -- we have not yet unlocked the most challenging door of all: the door to

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the human heart; the gateway to the human soul. Changing laws was just the beginning. Changing hearts is the hardest work of all, yet it is the only way we will fully and finally honor the courage of the children who climbed these steps so long ago, and who urge us now to continue their climb.

And that is why we must stand in this schoolhouse door, and on this day, open it wide, and declare with all our strength that we will come together, we will be one America, and boldly demand, "Integration today, integration tomorrow, integration forever."

[*President Clinton, Governor, Mayor open the doors of Little Rock Central High School, and the Little Rock Nine walk in.*] ↑ I would add the principal to this group.

- Something ~~of~~ about the ideal of Integration should be the same, but we must move further than our children sitting beside one another in classrooms.'
- Central High school ~~to still~~ remain a ~~bright light~~ beacon of hope, as we strive to move beyond 1957 to the 21st century
- while the "Little Rock Nine" suffered the taunts and ~~fears~~ jeers, ~~those men~~ we must also recognize the other ~~brave~~ parents and children who were ready & willing ~~waiting~~ to ~~be a part of~~ that perilous journey up the Central High steps

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Bob's Suggestions

① Forty years later, we know that strong communities + committed parents can make the difference between success + failure in our public schools.

② The distrust + misunderstanding between Blacks + Whites, schools + communities must be eliminated.

③ ....., The business enterprise, safe + sanitary housing or employment opportunity.

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Janis' Suggestions

(1) ...Now, historic landmark...

(2) And also, to honor the LR Community for its role in Changing America's view of the South, and serving as a symbol of Change for the World.

(3) [would change this, sounds too contrived]

(4) "... I have learned that this small, uneducated truth, is the one real truth - and one that America and the world must learn..."

(5) "... ready for change..."

(6) ...Strive.

(7) Most likely... Many of the same dreams.

(8) "...There is much to be said for cultural and ethic pride, but..."

(9) Is there any way to add the Central High principal for symbolism?

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Other thoughts

(10.)

While the ideal of integration should be the same as 1957, we must move further than our children sitting beside one another in classrooms. . . .

While Central High remains a beacon of hope for America's future, it will take hard work and a rededication to the early ideals of integration, to assure a better 21st Century for all Americans.

While the Little Rock Nine we honor here today, actually suffered the pain of the 1957 integration of Central High; it is only fitting that we also acknowledge the parents and children who stood ready to offer themselves to this effort. . .

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FOR MARIA ECHAVESTE / JUDY WINSTON

395
1020

Draft 9/20/97 8pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ADDRESS AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
September 25, 1997

Forty years ago, a single image seared the heart and conscience of our nation. It is so engraved in our memory that we recall it still. It is a fifteen-year old girl, dressed in a crisp black and white dress, wearing sunglasses, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked up these very steps for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they could not understand. America looked on the image of this young girl, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and caught a disturbing glimpse of ourselves. We saw, not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided, separate and unequal.

"could" or "did not"?

itself (?) [antecedent = America]

Share on the Little Rock Nine: their courage, perseverance, patriotism -- They were exemplars of the American spirit at its best. Their actions, their parents actions = American ideals & principles [move up for looking this page & top of p. 2]

What happened here -- on this very piece of [granite] -- changed the course of this country forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first embraced the notion that all men are created equal -- like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died for national union and to make our ideal law -- this is historic ground. For it was here, at Little Rock Central High School, that slowly, painfully, but surely, America, the nation, began living up to America, the ideal.

Move this para. to p. 2

Move up Elizabeth Eckford was turned away, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. They climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved a nation.

We have come here today to honor those who made that day possible.

To honor the parents; as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "to give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself."

To honor Daisy Bates, the NAACP, and all who guided these children through their experience.

To honor President Eisenhower and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution.

To honor every student, every teacher, every minister, and every Little Rock resident who offered a hand of friendship or simple humanity.

And we have come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Those of us who watched events unfold on TV screens and newspaper pages across the city, across the state, or across the nation,

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can never fully understand the sacrifice they made. We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace.

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; they pressed on. And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.

<INSERT from p.1>

In 1957, I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on the crisis in Little Rock. Like millions of others in that time and place, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's store, I learned that everyone was equal; I saw him treat everyone with dignity. This man with little formal education taught me the most profound lesson of all. And over four decades, in millions of homes, through millions of small epiphanies, America has learned those lessons as well.

Forty years later, we know that whites as well as blacks benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together. This is what it means to be an American.

everyone -- blacks, whites, latinos, Asians, American Indians

Forty years later, we know that a diverse student body can meet the highest standards -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

Forty years later, we know that only the national government can guarantee the fundamental constitutional rights of all our people in every corner of our land -- and we must have strong laws to fulfill those rights, and effective courts to uphold them.

and will

On this beautiful, autumn morning, it would be easy simply to congratulate ourselves for how far America has come since the Little Rock Nine walked up these steps. It would be easy to stand here -- where they stood, and talk about -- what they did. It is far harder to press on with their brave journey, to continue our climb to higher ground. But that is what we must do.

America is more tolerant, more integrated, more just than ever before. But forty years after the chains of segregation were cast off, we are still not in the Promised Land. We have torn down the walls ~~in our laws~~. But we have not torn down the walls in our hearts.

legally enforced

have not fully realized the promise of the Constitution

legal

that divide us

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the

for the 1st time since Rp

[schools were highly segregated in the 50's -- the notion of rapidly resegregating seems

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1950s. And the rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation.

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have simply given up on the dream of integration. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And some think that it is simply too difficult. But more than ever, it must be the ideal toward which we march, as surely as it was the ideal toward which the Little Rock Nine marched.

Within three years, our largest state, California, will have no majority race. Within half a century, America will have no majority race. We celebrate our diversity -- the marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races, that has enriched the American experience. But we must recognize that such sweeping change can bring significant disruption. The alternative to integration is not only isolation -- it is disintegration. There is only one thing strong enough to keep us together.

For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an idea. Whether our ancestors came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a 747 to San Francisco, we are linked by common ideals.

We believe that every individual has within herself the spark of possibility. We believe that every individual is born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as her talents will take her. We believe that we have an obligation as a community, one to the other. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred. We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. We are one America; we must be one America.

So here on the steps of Little Rock Central High School, let our generation recommit to the hard road of justice.

That is why we must say to young people, here and around the country: talk to someone different from you; speak freely and frankly; and you will discover that you share the same dreams.

That is why we must say to those whites who would repeal affirmative action, "We share your vision of a colorblind society -- but we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the schoolhouse door."

That is why we must say to leaders of minority groups who seek separation, "We understand your pride, but no American will ever be empowered by being isolated from other

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Draft 9/25/97 8 a.m.

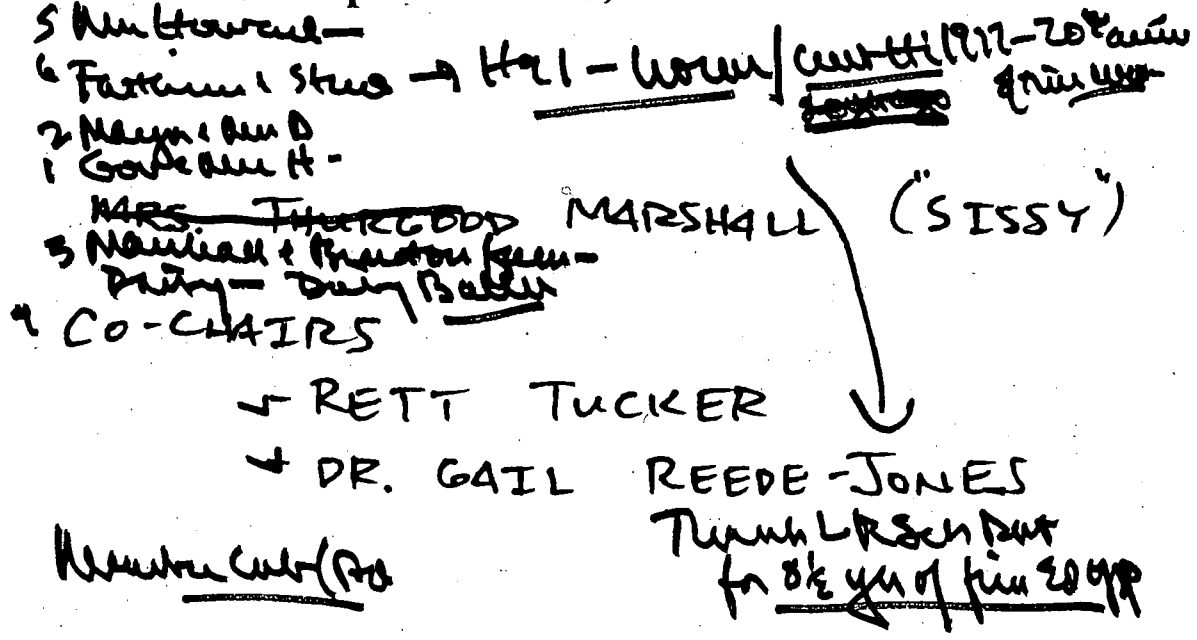
PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ADDRESS AT

LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

September 25, 1997



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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Forty years ago, a single image seared the heart and stirred the conscience of our nation. It is so powerful, we recall it still. A fifteen-year old girl, wearing a crisp black and white dress, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead.

And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked to this door for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they could not understand.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Forty years later, we know that the question of race is more complex and more important than ever, ~~as our country moves to~~ embrace not just blacks and whites, or Hispanics and Native Americans, but people from all parts of the earth seeking to redeem the promise of America.

~~[One American school district has students from 182 countries speaking more than 100 languages. When we celebrate the 70th anniversary of Central High, half our public school students will be minorities and no group will dominate the ethnic landscape.]~~

Forty years later, we know that we are bound to come back to where we started -- After all the weary years and silent tears, after all the stony roads and bitter rods, the question of race is, in the end, an affair of the heart.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

If these are our lessons, what shall we do with them? First, we must reconcile; then, face facts; then, act.

Reconciliation ~~or forgiveness~~ is important both for those who practice bigotry and those who ~~harbor~~ se[illegible]g resentment of it. Both are prisons from which our spirits must escape. If Nelson Mandela, who paid for the freedom of his people with 27 of the best years of his life, ~~can launch a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which people can admit to killing their countrymen and be forgiven, or at least accepted by the families of the victims,~~ can invite his jailers to his inauguration and ask victims evidence to forgive then each of us ~~as individuals, families and communities~~ can seek and give forgiveness.

Then it is time to face facts. Here are some of them.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-2597

[There are still too many places where opportunity for education and work are not equal, where disintegration of family and neighborhood make it more difficult. ~~But there is abundant evidence that schools and neighborhoods and individual lives can be turned around, if we are prepared to do what it takes.~~]

[There are still too many places where children die, or give up before they bloom -- trapped in a web of crime and drugs and gangs. But we know this, too, can be changed, if we are prepared to do what it takes.]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian.

In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; retreating into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation, Segregation is not the law. But too often, ~~self-segregation~~ separation is the rule.

For the first time since the 1950s, our schools are resegregating. The rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation, while those who oppose it are not putting forward effective alternatives in its place.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have given up on the dream of integration and the search for common ground. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And some think that it is simply too difficult.

We should celebrate our diversity -- the marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races, that has enriched the American experience. But any nation which indulges itself in destructive separatism and exclusion will not be able to meet and master the enormous challenges of the approaching century. We can stand as a shining example or a stunning rebuke to the rest of the world.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

For the alternative to integration is not only isolation, or a new "separate but equal" -- it is disintegration. Only the American ideal is strong enough to keep our Pres. community together.

~~For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an idea.~~ Whether our ancestors lived here for millennia, or came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a plane to San Francisco, ~~we are linked by common ideals~~.

~~As Americans~~, we believe that every individual possesses the spark of possibility. We believe that individuals are born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as their talents will take them.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

We believe that we have an obligation as a community, one to the other. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred.

We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. We must be one America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

The Little Rock Nine taught us: We cannot have that One America for free. We must act. All of us.

All Americans, especially our young people, must seek out people different from ourselves. Speak freely and frankly; you will discover that you share the same dreams.

All of us should embrace the vision of a colorblind society -- but recognize that we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the doors of education, or economic opportunity.

All Americans should embrace ethnic pride and revere religious conviction, but reject isolation and separation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

All Americans should value and practice personal responsibility for themselves and their families; ~~but~~ and all Americans, especially our young people, should give remember that no so-called self-made person was really ~~born in a log cabin he made himself~~ something [redacted] give something back to help create those coming after.

All Americans of all races must insist on both equal opportunity and excellence in education. It is even more important today than it was 40 years ago. Today's battleground is for high academic standards for all. We cannot replace the tyranny of segregation with the tragedy of low expectations.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BUT AS A YOUNG BOY IN MY GRANDFATHER'S STORE, I LEARNED LESSONS THAT WERE NOT TAUGHT IN THAT SEGREGATED SCHOOL. FOR IN THAT STORE MY GRANDFATHER, A MAN WITH LITTLE FORMAL EDUCATION, TAUGHT ME THE MOST PROFOUNDLY AMERICAN LESSON OF ALL: THAT EVERYONE IS EQUAL. ~~HE TREATED EVERYONE - BLACK and WHITE - WITH EQUAL DIGNITY~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ANY NATION WHICH INDULGES ITSELF IN DESTRUCTIVE SEPARATISM AND EXCLUSION ~~WILL~~ SIMPLY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ~~DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH~~ meet + master THE ENORMOUS

CHALLENGES -- ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, GOVERNMENTAL -- OF THE APPROACHING MILLENNIUM.

~~WE MUST SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS [illegible]~~

THE CHOICE IS OURS: WE CAN SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS TOGETHER, OR FAIL SEPARATELY.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WE MUST BE CONCERNED NOT SO MUCH WITH THE SINS OF OUR ? [GRAND]PARENTS, BUT WITH THE SUCCESS of OUR [GRAND]CHILDREN; HOW THEY WILL LIVE TOGETHER IN THE YEARS TO COME. FOR THEY WILL BE THE TRUE CARETAKERS of OUR FUTURE CIVILIZATION. WE MUST HELP THEM.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

'97 SEP 21 AM11:44

Draft 9/20/97 8pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ADDRESS AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
September 25, 1997

Forty years ago, a single image seared the heart and conscience of our nation. It is so engraved in our memory that we recall it still. It is a fifteen-year old girl, dressed in a crisp black and white dress, wearing sunglasses, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked up these very steps for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they could not understand. America looked on the image of this young girl, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and caught a disturbing glimpse of ourselves. We saw, not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided, separate and unequal.

What happened here -- on this very piece of [granite] -- changed the course of this country forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first embraced the notion that all men are created equal -- like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died for national union and to make our ideal law -- this is historic ground. For it was here, at Little Rock Central High School, that slowly, painfully, but surely, America, the nation, began living up to America, the ideal.

Elizabeth Eckford was turned away, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. They climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved a nation.

We have come here today to honor those who made that day possible.

To honor the parents; as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "to give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself."

To honor Daisy Bates, the NAACP, and all who guided these children through their experience.

To honor President Eisenhower and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution.

To honor every student, every teacher, every minister, and every Little Rock resident who offered a hand of friendship or simple humanity.

And we have come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Those of us who watched events unfold on TV screens and newspaper pages across the city, across the state, or across the nation,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

can never fully understand the sacrifice they made. We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace.

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; they ~~pressed on~~. And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.

In 1957, I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on the crisis in Little Rock. Like millions of others in that time and place, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's store, I learned that everyone was equal; I saw him treat everyone with dignity. This man with little formal education taught me the most profound lesson of all. And over four decades, in millions of homes, through millions of ~~small~~ epiphanies, ~~America has~~ learned those lessons as well.

Forty years later, we know that whites as well as blacks benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together. This is what it means to be an American.

Forty years later, we know that a diverse student body can meet the highest standards -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

Forty years later, we know that only the national government can guarantee the fundamental constitutional rights of all our people in every corner of our land -- and we must have strong laws to fulfill those rights, and effective courts to uphold them.

On this beautiful, autumn morning, it would be easy simply to congratulate ourselves for how far America has come since the Little Rock Nine walked up these steps. It would be easy to stand here -- where they stood, and talk about -- what they did. It is far harder to press on with their brave journey, to continue our climb to higher ground. But that is what we must do.

America is more tolerant, more integrated, more just than ever before. But forty years after the chains of segregation were cast off, we are still not in the Promised Land. We have torn down the walls in our laws. But we have not torn down the walls in our hearts.

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8:30 am draft (17 pages)	9/24/97	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8:30 am draft (17 pages)	9/24/97	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Address at Little Rock Central High School, 8 pm draft (5 pages)	9/20/97	P5
004. itinerary	Little Rock Central High 40th Anniversary Commission; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
005. paper	Forty-Four; RE: Phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
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FOLDER TITLE:
Little Rock C.H.S. [Central High School] [2]

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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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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]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Draft 9/24/97 8:30am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ADDRESS AT

LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

September 25, 1997

IJ - God is just.
Weary yrs, silent tears
=ity: region → self, fam, community
support → ed, work, press, legal
Common → a sense of belonging
shared destiny
Roots - an inst.

- The Future - so can you
- Issues

Thank people who did amaz
Abolitionists → Reconstruction
→ Go Forward in Forgiveness
Pres. duty
Talk to next generation
Our legacy

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Forty years ago, a single image seared the heart and stirred the conscience of our nation. It is so powerful, we recall it still. A fifteen-year old girl, dressed in a crisp black and white dress, wearing sunglasses, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead.

And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked to this door for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they could not understand.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

America ~~looked on the image of~~ saw this young girl, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and caught in the image a disturbing glimpse of ourselves. We saw, not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided, separate and unequal.

What happened ~~here~~ here changed the course of ~~this~~ our country forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first ~~embraced the notion~~ declared that all men ~~are created~~ were equal; like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died ~~for~~ to ~~national union and to turn our ideals into law~~ -- ~~this~~ is historic ground. For it was here, at ~~Little Rock~~ Central High School, that ~~slowly~~, painfully, but surely, America, the nation . . . ~~began living up to~~ once again pulled itself closer to America, the idea.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-29-97

Elizabeth Eckford was turned away, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. They climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved a nation.

We have come here today to honor those who made that day possible.

To honor the parents; as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "to give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself."

To honor Daisy Bates, Wylie Branton, Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP, and all who guided these children through their experience.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

AG Bowman

To honor President Eisenhower and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution.

To honor every student, every teacher, every minister, and every Little Rock resident, black and white, who offered a word of kindness, a glance of respect, or a hand of friendship.

To honor them who were given the opportunity to be a part of this day of celebration and rededication

Most of all,

And we have come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Those of us who watched events unfold on TV screens and newspaper pages ~~across the city, across the state,~~ or ~~across the nation~~, can never fully understand the sacrifice they made.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace. [redacted]

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; at great cost to television, they prevailed. [redacted] As Melba said years later: ~~And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.~~ "My friends and I paid for the integration of Central High with our innocence".

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

In 1957, I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on [redacted] Little Rock. Like [redacted] of ~~others at that time~~, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to ~~college~~. But as a young boy in my grandfather's store, I learned lessons that were not taught in those segregated schools. ~~For in that store my grandfather, a man with little formal education,~~ ~~taught me the most profoundly American lesson of all:~~ ~~that everyone is equal. Over four decades, in millions of~~ homes, ~~through millions of epiphanies large and small,~~ ~~our nation has learned those lessons as well.~~

COPY

Forty years later, we know that ~~whites as well as~~ blacks benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together. This is what it means to be an American.

Forty years later, we know that ~~a diverse student body can meet the highest standards~~ -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

Forty years later, we know that ~~only~~ the national government ~~can~~ guarantee ~~the fundamental constitutional rights of all our people in every corner of our land~~ -- ~~and we must have~~ strong laws ~~to fulfill those rights, and effective courts to uphold them~~.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Forty years later we know that there are still doors
~~A door is open, doors to be opened wider, doors we have to keep from being shut~~ again
~~On this beautiful, autumn morning, it would be easy~~
Forty years later we know that freedom + equality
~~simply to congratulate ourselves for how far America~~
cannot be maintained w/o responsibility for country, community, family, and
~~has come since the Little Rock Nine climbed these~~ the duties of citizenship
~~Forty years later~~ we w/o a commitment to keep a
~~steps. It would be easy to stand here where they stood~~
community of moral destiny and a genuine sense of belonging.
~~-- and talk about what they did. It is far harder~~ to
Forty yrs later we know that the question of race is
~~press on with their brave journey, to continue our climb~~
more complex and more important than ever,
~~to higher ground. But that is what we must do.~~
country where from to embrace not just Black, or Hispanic,
but people from all of the earth seeking to redeem the promise
of freedom. Our American school district has students from 182 countries
speaking more than 100 languages. When we celebrate the 20th anniversary
~~America is more tolerant, more integrated, more~~
of Central High, half of our public school students will be members
of no group constituting the civil rights majority
~~accepting of change than ever before. We have torn~~
Forty yrs later, we know that ~~in the end~~ we can
~~down the walls in our laws. But we have not torn down~~
bound to come back to where we started — After all the weary
~~the walls in our hearts.~~
years and divisive tears, after all the stormy nights and bitter days,
the question of race is, in the end, an affair of the heart.

If there are any lessons, what shall we do w them?

1st Reconcile, then face facts, then act

Reconc - Forgive ~~and forget~~ Forgiveness & Forgetting Remembrance - both persons
for us our spirits must change. If man who got for freedom of his
people of 27 of beating his life can lament a Truth & Rec Comm in Wh
people can admit to killing their countrymen and be forgiven, at
least accepted by families of victims, each of us as man, fam, comm
can seek & give forgiveness

There is no time to face facts. Here are some of them.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game.

Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; retreating into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the 1950s. And the rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation. Those who oppose it, are not putting effective alternatives in place. Big step

> Still too many Americans who support [illegible]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have ~~simply~~ given up on the dream of integration and the search for common ground. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And some think that it is simply too difficult.

~~But more than ever, it must be the ideal toward which we march, as surely as it was the ideal toward which the Little Rock Nine marched.~~

Within three years, our largest state, California, will have no majority race. Within half a century, America will be close to having no majority race. We celebrate our diversity -- the marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races, that has enriched the American experience.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~But we must recognize that such sweeping change can bring significant disruption.~~ But Any nation which indulges itself in destructive separatism and exclusion ~~simply~~ will not be able to meet and master the enormous challenges of the approaching century. The alternative to integration is not ~~only~~ isolation -- it is disintegration. Only the American ideal is strong enough to keep us together.

For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an idea. Whether our ancestors lived here for millennia, or came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a 747 to San Francisco, we are linked by common ideals.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We believe that every individual possesses the spark of possibility. We believe that every individual is born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as her talents will take her. We believe that we have an obligation as a community, one to the other. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. ~~We are one America~~; We must be one America.

~~But remember what the Lord taught us. We cannot overcome evil through evil. We cannot win freedom for free. We must act. All of us.~~

~~So here on the steps of Little Rock Central High School, let our generation recommit to the hard road~~ of ~~justice. Let our generation insist that separate can never truly be equal~~.

~~That is why we must say to~~ young people, ~~here and around the country~~: talk to someone different from you; speak freely and frankly; and you will discover that you share the same dreams.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

That is why we must say to those who would repeal affirmative action, "We share your vision of a colorblind society -- but we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the doors of education, or economic opportunity."

That is why we must say to leaders of minority groups who seek separation, "There is much to be said for ethnic pride, but no American will ever be empowered by being isolated from other Americans -- and it is wrong to try."

That is why we must say to the grandchildren of European immigrants, "Do not pull up the ladder from the new immigrants who come here for the same reason, with the same hopes, guided by the same values as your ancestors."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

All Americans

~~That is why we must say to all parents~~ of all races,

unite on both = opportunity & freedom in Ed. It is even more urgent today than it was 40 yrs ago. Today's battleground is for literacy. Ours for all.

~~"The battle for today's schools is the battle for high academic standards in the basics, and you must lead this fight~~. We cannot replace the tyranny of segregation with the tyranny of low expectations.

Architect of Human

~~All Americans~~ are young, must succeed in their communities through America Reads, a work ethic & community groups. We will always get back more than we give.

~~And that is why~~ America must continue to expand opportunity and demand responsibility, lifting people off welfare, freeing people from the terror of crime, strengthening our schools for a new generation, giving our people the tools to make most of God given abilities.

We must be concerned not so much with the sins of our parents but the success of our children -- how they will live, together, in years to come. We are approaching a new century, a time ~~that offers~~ of stunning opportunities ~~as it poses~~ and stiff challenges.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-25-97

My fellow Americans, if those ~~fifteen-year-olds~~ 9 -- 40 yrs ago children -- could walk up those steps ... if their parents ~~and neighbors~~ could send them into the storm armed only with schoolbooks and the righteousness of their cause . . . ~~then all of us can open the most important door of all: the door to the human heart.~~ Then we together can heal our Nation - As that No future generation of our children will have to pay for our sins of the long Civil Unrest.

~~And that is why we must stand~~ Let in this schoolhouse door, ~~and on this day, open it wide, and declare with all our strength that we will come together, we will be one America in the 21st Century~~. Let us stand against separation as we stood against segregation, ~~and replace the hateful declaration of our past with a hopeful declaration of the future~~: "One America today, One America tomorrow, One America forever."

God Bless the United States of America.

today let us rejoice in the long way we have come to get to stand on the Mountain of the LORD and Person to person hand in hand work ahead. Let us Lift every voice & sing till earth & heaven ring

See

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 9/24/97 8:30am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

ADDRESS AT

LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

September 25, 1997

IJ - God is just

Wesley yr, Jefferson town

=ity: Region → self, fam, community
support → ed, work, pres, legal
Common → a sense of belonging
shared destiny

Root - an inch.

- The Word - so can you
- Issue

Thank people who did arrive
Abolition → Reconciliation
→ Go Forward in Forgiveness

Pell. figures
Talk to next generation
Courage

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace. [redacted]

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; at great cost to themselves, they prevailed. [redacted] As Melba said years later: "My friends and I paid for the integration of Central High with our innocence". ~~they triumphed. And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In 1957, I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on [redacted] Little Rock. Like [redacted] almost all Southerners of my age, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's small grocery store, I learned lessons that were not taught in those segregated schools. My grandfather had a sixth grade education from a small country school. He never ~~For in that store my grandfather, a man with little formal education,~~ was any wrong. But in that store, [redacted] in the way he treated ~~taught me the most profoundly American lesson of all:~~ his black customers and encouraged me to play with their children, ~~that everyone is equal. Over four decades, in millions of~~ he taught me America's most profound lesson — we are all equal, with ~~homes, through millions of epiphanies large and small,~~ many the right to be treated w/ respect. I never knew how he & my grandmother ~~our nation has learned those lessons as well.~~ came to their convictions, but I will never forget how they lived them, how strongly they supported school integration, how disappointed they were but never with folks who didn't agree. My grandfather died in 1957. The hardest man I ever knew didn't live to see America come around. I know he's smiling down on me today, on his grandson and even more on those black Americans who gave up their childhood innocence so all good people could have the chance to live their dreams.

Before us — For me and other white children, the struggle of black people [redacted] was either an overwhelming or hostile force, more nearly background music in our normal lives. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

Forty years later, we know that ~~whites as well as~~ blacks benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together. This is what it means to be an American.

Forty years later, we know that ~~a diverse student body can meet the highest standards~~ -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

Forty years later, we know that ~~only~~ the national government ~~can~~ must guarantee ~~the fundamental constitutional rights of all our people in every corner of our land~~ -- ~~and we must have~~ w/ strong laws ~~to fulfill those rights, and effective courts to uphold them~~.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Forty years later we know that there are still doors

~~to open, doors to be opened wider, doors we have to keep from being shut~~

~~On this beautiful, autumn morning, it would be easy~~ again.

Forty years later we know that freedom + equality

~~simply to congratulate ourselves for how far America~~

cannot be realized w/o responsibility for country, own family, and

~~has come since the Little Rock Nine climbed these~~ the duties of citizenship

~~Forty years later~~ or w/o a commitment to build a

~~steps. It would be easy to stand here where they stood~~

community of shared destiny and a genuine sense of belonging.

~~— and talk about what they did. It is far harder~~ to

Forty yrs later we know that the question of race is

~~press on with their brave journey, to continue our climb~~

more complex and more important than ever, ~~requiring us all~~

~~to higher ground. But that is what we must do.~~

country where ~~from~~ to embrace not just ~~the~~ Browns, & Ms. Parks,

but people from all 50 of the earth seeking to redeem the promise

of America. Our American school district has students from 182 countries

speaking more than 100 languages. When we celebrate the 200th anniversary

~~America is more tolerant, more integrated, more~~

of ~~the~~ Central High, half of our public school students will be members

of no group constituting the majority

~~accepting of change than ever before. We have~~ torn

Forty yrs later, we know that ~~in Montgomery~~ we can

~~down the walls in our laws. But we have not torn down~~

bound to come back to where we started — After all the weary

~~the walls in our hearts.~~

years and hard fought, after all the many women and black kids,

the question of race is, in the end, an affair of the heart.

If there are our heroes, what shall we do in them?

1st Reconcile, then face each, then act

Reconc - Forgiveness ~~+ Forgetting~~ + Lasting Resentment - both prison

for who can't forgive. Even who opt for freedom of his

people as a way of keeping his life can't create a truly free country in which

people can commit to living their commitment and be forgiven, at

least accepted by families of victims, each of us as white, Asian, Latino

can seek + give forgiveness

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game.

Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; retreating into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the 1950s. And the rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation. Those who oppose it are not putting affirmative action in place. Cry foul

> Still too many places where efforts for inclusion

LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have ~~simply~~ given up on the dream of integration and the search for common ground. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And some think that it is simply too difficult.

~~But more than ever, it must be the ideal toward which we march, as surely as it was the ideal toward which the Little Rock Nine marched.~~

Within three years, our largest state, California, will have no majority race. Within half a century, America will be close to having no majority race. We celebrate our diversity -- the marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races, that has enriched the American experience.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~But we must recognize that such sweeping change can bring significant disruption.~~ But Any nation which indulges itself in destructive separatism and exclusion ~~simply~~ will not be able to meet and master the enormous challenges of the approaching century. The alternative to integration is not ~~only~~ isolation -- it is disintegration. Only the American ideal is strong enough to keep us together.

For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an idea. Whether our ancestors lived here for millennia, or came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a 747 to San Francisco, we are linked by common ideals.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We believe that every individual possesses the spark of possibility. We believe that every individual is born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as her talents will take her. We believe that we have an obligation as a community, one to the other. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. ~~We are one America~~; We must be one America.

~~But remember what the LRC taught us.~~ ~~to overcome for us. We must act. Now.~~

~~So here on the steps of Little Rock Central High School, let our generation recommit to the hard road~~ of ~~justice. Let our generation insist that separate can never truly be equal~~.

~~That is why we must say to~~ young people, ~~here and around the country~~: talk to someone different from you; speak freely and frankly; and you will discover that you share the same dreams.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

That is why we must say to those who would repeal affirmative action, "We share your vision of a colorblind society -- but we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the doors of education, or economic opportunity."

That is why we must say to leaders of minority groups who seek separation, "There is much to be said for ethnic pride, but no American will ever be empowered by being isolated from other Americans -- and it is wrong to try."

That is why we must say to the grandchildren of European immigrants, "Do not pull up the ladder from the new immigrants who come here for the same reason, with the same hopes, guided by the same values as your ancestors."

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~That is why we must say to all parents~~ of all races, "~~The battle for today's schools is the battle for high academic standards in the basics, and you must lead this fight~~. We cannot replace the tyranny of segregation with the tyranny of low expectations.

~~And that is why~~ America must continue to expand opportunity and demand responsibility, lifting people off welfare, freeing people from the terror of crime, strengthening our schools for a new generation,

We must be concerned not so much with the sins of our parents but the success of our children -- how they will live together in years to come. We are approaching a new century, a time ~~that offers~~ stunning opportunities ~~as it poses~~ stiff challenges.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

My fellow Americans, if those ~~fifteen-year-olds~~ 9 40 yrs ago -- children -- could walk up those steps ... if their parents ~~and neighbors~~ could send them into the storm armed only with schoolbooks and the righteousness of their cause . . . ~~then all of us can open the most important door of all: the door to the human heart.~~ Then we together can lock our door - so that no future generation of our citizens will have to pay for our sins of the long Civil war. ~~And that is why we must stand in~~ At this schoolhouse door, ~~and on this day, open it wide, and declare with all our strength that we will come together, we will be one America in the 21st Century~~. Let us ~~stand against~~ separation as we stood against segregation, and ~~replace the hateful declaration of our past with a hopeful declaration of the future~~: "One America today, One America tomorrow, One America forever." God Bless the United States of America.

today let us rejoice in the long way we have come to get to this day, & let us resolve to stand on the mountain of the LORD and person by person, hand in hand, work ahead. Let us Lift every voice & sing the earth-shaking

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Draft 9/20/97 8pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ADDRESS AT LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
September 25, 1997

Forty years ago, a single image seared the heart and conscience of our nation. It is so engraved in our memory that we recall it still. It is a fifteen-year old girl, dressed in a crisp black and white dress, wearing sunglasses, carrying a notebook. She is surrounded by a large crowd of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers. Her head is held high. Her eyes are fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked up these very steps for her first day of school -- and was turned away by people afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they could not understand. America looked on the image of this young girl, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and caught a disturbing glimpse of ourselves. We saw, not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided, separate and unequal.

What happened here -- on this very piece of [granite] -- changed the course of this country forever. Like Independence Hall, where we first embraced the notion that all men are created equal -- like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died for national union and to make our ideal law -- this is historic ground. For it was here, at Little Rock Central High School, that slowly, painfully, but surely, America, the nation, began living up to America, the ideal.

Elizabeth Eckford was turned away, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. They climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved a nation.

We have come here today to honor those who made that day possible.

To honor the parents; as Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "to give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself."

To honor Daisy Bates, the NAACP, and all who guided these children through their experience.

To honor President Eisenhower and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution.

To honor every student, every teacher, every minister, and every Little Rock resident who offered a hand of friendship or simple humanity.

And we have come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Those of us who watched events unfold on TV screens and newspaper pages across the city, across the state, or across the nation,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

can never fully understand the sacrifice they made. We cannot know what it was like to be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, and taunted by classmates, day after day. We cannot know what it was like to go through school with no hope of being in a school play, playing on the basketball team, or even learning in simple peace.

Minnijean Brown. Elizabeth Eckford. Ernest Green. Thelma Mothershed. Melba Patillo. Gloria Ray. Terrence Roberts. Jefferson Thomas. Carlotta Walls. The Little Rock Nine. They persevered; they endured; they pressed on. And thousands followed behind them, until the South itself rose up and shook off the chains of segregation that had crippled our region for so long.

In 1957, I was eleven years old, living fifty miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed on the crisis in Little Rock. Like millions of others in that time and place, I never attended school with a black person until I went away to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's store, I learned that everyone was equal; I saw him treat everyone with dignity. This man with little formal education taught me the most profound lesson of all. And over four decades, in millions of homes, through millions of small epiphanies, America has learned those lessons as well.

Forty years later, we know that whites as well as blacks and other ethnic minorities benefit when we learn together, work together, and come together. This is what it means to be an American.

Forty years later, we know that a diverse student body can meet the highest standards -- and this school, racially diverse and unrivaled for its academic excellence, proves it.

Forty years later, we know that only the national government can guarantee the fundamental constitutional rights of all our people in every corner of our land -- and we must have strong laws to fulfill those rights, and effective courts to uphold them.

On this beautiful, autumn morning, it would be easy ~~simply~~ to congratulate ourselves for how far America has come since the Little Rock Nine walked up these steps. It would be easy to stand here -- where they stood, and talk about -- what they did. It is far harder to press on with their brave journey, to continue our climb to higher ground. But that is what we must do.

America is more tolerant, more integrated, more just than ever before. But forty years after the chains of segregation were cast off, we are still not in the Promised Land. We have torn down the walls in our laws. But ~~we~~ many of us have not torn down the walls in our hearts.

Today, children of every race walk through the same door, but often, they walk down different halls. Not only in this school, but across America, they still sit in different classrooms ... eat at different tables in the cafeteria ... sit in different bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino. In so many ways, we hold ourselves apart; we retreat into comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. Segregation is not the law. But too often, self-segregation is the rule. Our schools are resegregating at the most rapid rate since the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1950s. And the rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut doors of higher education on a new generation.

and the search for common ground.

Perhaps most troubling, far too many Americans of all races have simply given up on the dream of integration. They see it as naive, or unattainable, or an affront to ethnic pride. And some think that it is simply too difficult. But more than ever, it must be the ideal toward which we march, as surely as it was the ideal toward which the Little Rock Nine marched.

Within three years, our largest state, California, will have no majority race. Within half a century, America will have no majority race. We celebrate our diversity -- the marvelous blend of cultures, beliefs and races, that has enriched the American experience. But we must recognize that such sweeping change can bring significant disruption. The alternative to integration is not only isolation -- it is disintegration. There is only one thing strong enough to keep us together.

For alone among nations, America was founded not on geography, or religion, or race, or ethnicity, but upon an idea. Whether our ancestors came to these shores on the Mayflower, or in the hold of a slave ship, or through the portals of Ellis Island, or on a 747 to San Francisco, we are linked by common ideals.

We believe that every individual has within herself the spark of possibility. We believe that every individual is born with an equal right to work, to strive, to rise as far as her talents will take her. We believe that we have an obligation as a community, one to the other. We believe that the future can be better than the past, and that we have an obligation to make it so. And we believe that every individual has an equal obligation to act responsibly; to obey the law; to pass on our values to our children. These values transcend our differences, transcend our geographic and cultural multiplicity, transcend hatred. We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian-American and Vietnamese-American and Polish-American, but above all, we are Americans. We are, as Martin Luther King said, woven into one seamless garment of destiny. We are one America; we must be one America.

Irish

Native

So here on the steps of Little Rock Central High School, let our generation recommit to the hard road of justice.

That is why we must say to young people, here and around the country: talk to someone different from you; speak freely and frankly; and you will discover that you share the same dreams.

That is why we must say to those whites who would repeal affirmative action, "We share your vision of a colorblind society -- but we are not there yet, and we cannot slam shut the schoolhouse door."

It is/is just whites — word Connerly is an example

That is why we must say to leaders of minority groups who seek separation, "We understand your pride, but no American will ever be empowered by being isolated from other

Linda Chavez

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Americans -- and it is wrong to try."

That is why we must say to the grandchildren of European immigrants, "Do not pull up the ladder from the new immigrants who come here for the same reason and with the same values as your ancestors."

And that is why America must continue to expand opportunity and demand responsibility, lifting people off of welfare, freeing people from the terror of crime, strengthening our schools for a new generation.

We are approaching a new century, a time that offers stunning opportunities as it poses stiff challenges. My fellow Americans, if those fifteen year olds -- children -- could walk up those steps ... if their parents and neighbors could send them into the storm armed only with schoolbooks and the righteousness of their cause ... then all of us can open the most important door of all: the door to the human heart.

And that is why we must stand in this schoolhouse door, and on this day, open it wide, and declare with all our strength that we will come together, we will be one America. ~~"Integration today, integration tomorrow, integration forever."~~ It sounds to much like an opposite replay of George Wallace's famous negative lines

God Bless the United States of America.

[*President Clinton, Governor, `Mayor open the doors of Little Rock Central High School, ` and the Little Rock Nine walk in.*]

[*Alternate language for the ending: "One America today, One America tomorrow, One America forever."*]

A) Michael:
Hopefully can we beef some of the positive contributions that have been made in the South and throughout America. (What is RIGHT W/AMERICA)

B) While the theme integration is woven throughout the speech, common ground is more of a tool to be used for racial justice and racial healing.

C) Lastly, the evangelicals (not exactly our crowd ☺) + poor Southerners will be looking

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tone that will not leave them feeling put upon. I suppose what I'm trying to say is "Where is this "I have a Dream" for the 21st Century Spin -- for lack of better words.

Mimyon

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Jerry L. Malone to Laura Capps, Re: Wiley Branton (1 page)	9/22/97	P5
002. paper	Stephanie Gibson Branton; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	09/23/1997	P6/b(6)
003. memo	Gary Orfield to Michael Waldman; RE: Phone number [partial] (1 page)	09/19/1997	P6/b(6)
004. letter	Stuart F. Feldman to Michael Waldman; RE: Address and phone numbers [partial] (1 page)	09/12/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14538

FOLDER TITLE:
Little Rock C.H.S. [Central High School] [3]

2006-0469-F
db1970

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]

U.S. Department of Transportation
Office of the Secretary of Transportation

400 Seventh St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20590

FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

DATE: 9/22/97

TO: Laura Capps

FAX NO: 202/456-5709

FROM: JERRY L. MALONE
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office: (202) 366-6800
Fax: (202) 366-3956

Number of pages transmitted, including cover sheet: 8

Message:

As per our Conversation. There have been concerns expressed from various corners that it is necessary for the POTUS to acknowledge Wiley Bronton's significant role to avoid a great omission during this time of Appreciation, Celebration and rededication.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael Waldman to Don Baer, re: Inaugural and State-of-the-Union Process (3 pages)	December 17, 1996	P5
002. memo	Michael Waldman to Don Baer, re: Inaugural and State-of-the-Union Process (3 pages)	December 17, 1996	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, Draft (4 pages)	1/7/97	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, Draft (1 page)	1/7/97	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14539

FOLDER TITLE:
Inaugural Drafts - '97 [1]

2006-0469-F
sb127

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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December 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: INAUGURAL AND STATE-OF-THE-UNION PROCESS

Here are my thoughts on the process for Inaugural and State-of-the-Union preparation. As we discussed, I believe it makes sense to have two parallel processes ongoing, though it is certainly the case that there will be overlap.

I agree that we should give material to the President on Tuesday. It should include an overall thematic memo from us, reading materials (e.g., past inaugurals, etc.), and possibly memos and drafts from outsiders and/or speechwriters (Note: that risks muddling the message).

Inaugural

Outreach to outsiders. We should ask outside thinkers and writers to send us draft language for the inaugural.

Jeremy Rosner
Taylor Branch
Sid Blumenthal
Doris Kearns Goodwin
Garry Wills
Al From
Robert Reich
~~Douglas Brinkley (historian, Emory?)~~
~~Alan Ernhalt (could he do this?)~~
Diane Blair
Donald Hall (Frost-like poet/essayist recommended by Jordan)
Seamus Heany

Eric Liu
Tommy Caplan
Galston
Strobe Talbott
Bill Nothdurft

Informal outreach. There are some -- principally journalists -- who would likely be reluctant to provide written advice. You and I should reach out to them nonetheless for their thoughts, if it can be done on a confidential basis.

E.J. Dionne (POTUS' "best book of 1996")
Jacob Weisberg
Martin Walker
Steve Wasserman

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Speechwriter memoranda/drafts. I think it would be worthwhile to ask the speechwriters to prepare and submit memoranda -- which can take the form of draft language -- about what the Inaugural should say – themes, imagery, language. (If they want to submit drafts, they can, but it should be in this form.) We may want to ask the heads of the policy councils to do the same. FRIDAY

Presidential Historians. One of the speechwriters should be assigned to talk to Presidential historians, e.g., Neustadt, Beschloss, etc., to get their thoughts for a memo (this was useful in 1992).

Other research. As you mentioned, we need an ongoing search for the historical, poetical, or analogical nugget.

Bible quotes & stories -- We should do the usual outreach to Tony Campolo and Linda Lader. In addition, I want to call Rabbi David Saperstein, whom I know, to get his thoughts. // Billy Graham

200 years ago, 100 years ago, George Washington, etc.

Martin Luther King -- I think it likely that any quote or reference should come from the "I have a dream" speech, which is the one that was given across the mall from where the President will be speaking.

Thinking and brainstorming. As you and I discussed, I believe it makes sense to get away from the office, at someone's house or somewhere else, on a weekend or at night, in a small group to discuss the speech, themes, political goals, moment in history, etc. Participants might include: You, me, [redacted], Reed. A more expanded group would include the Senior Advisor and the NEC Director.

Drafting. I propose that our usual system -- me with the disk, you as senior partner, with Bruce involved -- be used. It may be that the President will want others explicitly involved, e.g., Taylor Branch. If we want, it may make sense to involve Terry Edmonds in this process.

State of the Union Address

The State-of-the-Union, as you know, is more process and less poetry than an Inaugural.

Policy vetting process. There should be a defined, small group working as the policy gatekeepers on this. Presumably, Bruce, Gene, you, Penn. I'd like to be ex-officio. This should be formally blessed by Erskine. (Sylvia or Vicki as his representative?)

Cabinet submissions. We should ask each cabinet secretary to submit a memorandum about what themes, proposals, and priorities they would like to see in the speech. This is a steam valve, as much as anything else.

Outgoing cabinet secretaries.

→ what do we want? In these 6 areas: - big policies - [illegible] - [illegible]

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Staffing. I agree that Jonathan Prince should begin to play the central role on the policy vetting. He can begin now. Jordan Tamagni should co-ordinate the research.

Open Issues

A scholars' dinner or meeting. I would advise against having one of these – they just wind up in the press.

A notebook for the President. In 1992, we gave the President-elect a notebook of memoranda from a wide array of people saying what they thought he should say (memos from them to him). (This included my memo, which I think he liked enough to ask me to work on the speech.)

Renaissance Weekend. You and Bruce should tape the remarks as we can get them transcribed.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

December 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN MW

SUBJECT: INAUGURAL AND STATE-OF-THE-UNION PROCESS

Here are my thoughts on the process for Inaugural and State-of-the-Union preparation. As we discussed, I believe it makes sense to have two parallel processes ongoing, though it is certainly the case that there will be overlap.

I agree that we should give material to the President on Tuesday. It should include an overall thematic memo from us, reading materials (e.g., past inaugurals, etc.), and possibly memos and drafts from outsiders and/or speechwriters (Note: that risks muddling the message).

Inaugural

You must tell them what you want.

Outreach to outsiders. We should ask outside thinkers and writers to send us draft language (lines) for the inaugural.

More?

Jeremy Rosner
Taylor Branch
Sid Blumenthal
Doris Kearns Goodwin
Garry Wills why?
Al From
Robert Reich
Douglas Brinkley (historian, Emory?) why?
Alan Erenhalt (could he do this?) why?
Diane Blair
Donald Hall (Frost-like poet/essayist recommended by Jordan)

Lines

Galston
Kapkan
Talbott

Informal outreach. There are some -- principally journalists -- who would likely be reluctant to provide written advice. You and I should reach out to them nonetheless for their thoughts, if it can be done on a confidential basis.

More?

E.J. Dionne (POTUS' "best book of 1996")
~~Jacob Weisberg~~
Martin Walker

See Sorensen re picking & choosing lead from previous

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outlines + Drafts

Speechwriter memoranda/drafts. I think it would be worthwhile to ask the speechwriters to prepare and submit memoranda -- which can take the form of draft language -- about what the Inaugural should say – themes, imagery, language. (If they want to submit drafts, they can, but it should be in this form.) We may want to ask the heads of the policy councils to do the same.

Presidential Historians. One of the speechwriters should be assigned to talk to Presidential historians, e.g., Neustadt, Beschloss, etc., to get their thoughts for a memo (this was useful in 1992). good Who?

Other research. As you mentioned, we need an ongoing search for the historical, poetical, or analogical nugget.

Bible quotes & stories -- We should do the usual outreach to Tony Campolo and Linda Lader. In addition, I want to call Rabbi David Saperstein, whom I know, to get his thoughts. Etc Billy Graham/Franklin Graham

200 years ago, 100 years ago, George Washington, etc. GW research for DPB

Martin Luther King -- I think it likely that any quote or reference should come from the "I have a dream" speech, which is the one that was given across the mall from where the President will be speaking.

Thinking and brainstorming. As you and I discussed, I believe it makes sense to get away from the office, at someone's house or somewhere else, on a weekend or at night, in a small group to discuss the speech, themes, political goals, moment in history, etc. Participants might include: You, me, Penn, Reed. A more expanded group would include the Senior Advisor and the NEC Director. NO

Drafting. I propose that our usual system -- me with the disk, you as senior partner, with Bruce involved -- be used. It may be that the President will want others explicitly involved, e.g., Taylor Branch. If we want, it may make sense to involve Terry Edmonds in this process.

State of the Union Address

We need to tell them what we expect

The State-of-the-Union, as you know, is more process and less poetry than an Inaugural.

Policy vetting process. There should be a defined, small group working as the policy gatekeepers on this. Presumably, Bruce, Gene, you, Penn. I'd like to be ex-officio. This should be formally blessed by Erskine. (Sylvia or Vicki as his representative?) Jonathan to coord. Rahm

Cabinet submissions. We should ask each cabinet secretary to submit a memorandum about what themes, proposals, and priorities they would like to see in the speech. This is a steam valve, as much as anything else.

Outgoing cabinet secretaries. Request separate memos, more like the one Cisneros did — or have a roundtable meeting.

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Staffing. I agree that Jonathan Prince should begin to play the central role on the policy vetting. He can begin now. Jordan Tamagni should co-ordinate the research.

Open Issues

A scholars' dinner or meeting. I would advise against having one of these – they just wind up in the press.

A notebook for the President. In 1992, we gave the President-elect a notebook of memoranda from a wide array of people saying what they thought he should say (memos from them to him). (This included my memo, which I think he liked enough to ask me to work on the speech.)

Renaissance Weekend. You and Bruce should tape the remarks as we can get them transcribed.

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Draft 1/7/97

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

I have solemnly sworn an oath here ~~today,~~ in the presence of my fellow Americans and Almightly God. I am proud to be your servant and trustee of our common dreams. But the meaning of this oath, as old as our history, ~~cannot be~~ reserved for Presidents alone.

Every American has a solemn obligation to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation founded and which have kept us strong. Each of us must lend our strength to and realize the promise of America. For only by joining together can we move forward on our journey -- the greatest oddessy of freedom, hope, and progress the world has ever known.

America was founded not as a plot of land or a race of people. It was founded as a set of ideals -- values so strong they support us to this day. We still hold these truths to be self evident: That we are all created equal. That freedom is our birthright. That opportunity must be extended to all, and demanded from all. The belief that tomorrow ~~could~~ be better than yesterday -- and that every one of us had a duty to make it so.

From the day 200 years ago that our founder passed on this office and this country to the next generation, we have written our own history. We have struggled to turn these words scratched on parchment vivid ideals traced in our lives. At every moment of challenge and change, we have returned to these wellsprings of our greatness.

At times, everything seemed on the line: We fouhgt a Civil War to test whehter these values would long endure. We fought a and won a fiery war against fascism and a long twilight struggle against tyrrany, in the name of freedom.

And in words that rang across this Mall, the man whose birthday we celebrate tday called us to live out the true meaning of our creed-- and in so doing, changed America.

And sometimes, we faced changes so broad, so sweeping that it poses new perils as it unfolds rich new opportunities. A century ago, the new age of industry uprooted millions of our poeple, offering them vast new opportuntiies and daunting new challenges. ~~The Progressives~~ and their generation imagined an America where the fierce will of our people, forged into a strong nation and a vigorous government, could master the forces of change. They took notions of opportunity and community and made them new. And they made this the American century.

Today, our generation of Americans is living through a time of change as profound as any

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before -- change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to each other.

Vast forces of science and technology are remaking our world. The very store of knowledge doubles and redoubles before our eyes. A chip as small as a thumbnail looses a revolution in information and offers the chnace to connect all the peopel of the world. Scientists in this city and at universities across this country are unlocking the very mysteries of life. Where 100 years ago our parents earned their bread on farms, and half century ago in factories, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in industries we cannot yet imagine.

As we look beyond our shores, we see that ~~Across the globe~~, for the first time in human history, more people are living under democracy than dictatorship. Yet as the shackles of totalitarianism drop away, ancient hatreds are let loose to haunt and terrorize our world.

Four years ago, we when we last gathered here, America seemed adrift on the currents of change. It was a time of rising deficits, rampant division, even despair. That day and in the days to come, we willed ourselves to hope; and hope became faith. Over the past four years, through hard work and creative energy, by xxx, we have begun to master this change; we have begun to renew America.

We reversed decades of misdirection and put our fiscal house in order; and today our deficit is shrinking, incomes are growing, and our economy is the strongest on earth.

We led by the force of example and the example of our force. Today, from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, the party of peace looks to America for strength and for hope.

After years in which our most vexing social problems seemed only to get worse, the American people have patiently begun to restitch the torn threads of our social fabric. Police and citizens have reclaimed streets once scarred by crime. Millions of our people have been lifted from the indignity of welfare to the dignity of work. The curse of family breakdown, teen pregnancy, children having children, has begun to lift. We have begun to have faith in ourselvs and our nation that when we work together, we can meet even our stiffest challenges.

And we have refused to be bound by threadbare philosophies, outmoded solutions, false choices. We do not want a government that does everything; we do not want a government that does nothing; we want a government that gives our people the tools to solve their own problem. ~~A government that sparks the individual enterprise and creativity that can truly transform America~~. A government that, if it cannot help, gets out of the way.

My fellow Americans, after years when the very ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have founda new center. We, the Americans of our age and time, have forged a new vision of a good society and how to create it . This was not a victory of party or position; it was a victory for all our people, the fruit of all our effort. All Americans should be proud, and all Americans should thank providence for the gifts he has bestowed upon us.

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But we cannot let this be a time of satisfied contentment, a time when we nestle into the comfort of prosperity and retreat from our great public purpose. For while we face no war, no depression, our prospect is something far more hopeful -- a precious moment given to few genearitons, the chance to create an America in the 21st Cnetury that will be a light unto the world. We cannot let this era of good feelings become a time of lost opportunity.

We see before us a new century, an even greater America that is within our reach if we dare to grasp it. If we prepare the nation we love for the century ahead, xxxxxx.

I see an America in which our children reap the bounty of the world's best education, not the bitter fruit of a life on the streets.

I see an America in which welfare is unnecesary -- because everyone has a job.

I see an America in which families stay together, and xx comes apart.

I see an America in which our children live next to parks, not poisons.

I see an American city, any city, with factories full, with living rooms lit by the cathode glow of a computer screen, in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work, in which old people sit on their porch, and watch the children play in the street, and are not afraid.

An America renewed, its faith restored, that enters this new century with its promise alive for all of its children, with every citizen ~~feeling~~ a part of our national community, with its dream of freedom spreading throughout the world. If we hold true to oruvalues and act uppon them, we can make it so.

All Americans must do their part.

We on this platform, in the temples of govenrment in this alabaster city, we must do our part. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must see, that we must work together. We will have our differences -- Democrats and Republicans, the President and the Congress. But we should never forget what the late Cardinal Bernadin said shortly before he died: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." ~~We face~~ a moment when we have been given the opportunity to ~~turn the vital center into~~ a place of action. We must not waste the precious gift of this moment. Let us reach out across the lines of party and philosophy, and make this a time when we work together for the Amreican peopel.

We will attempt great things for Americans. But we should expect great things from Americans.

A nation is only as great as the greatness it inspires in its people.

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To every leader of business let us say: if you have ever said a bad word about our welfar system, hire someone off welfare.

To every parent who bemoans the state of education, let us say: [school challenge].

To

To all americans, in all walks of life, we say: This moment is your moment; this time is your time; this burden is your burden. You must summon the will fj;asfjlasf.

To alll americans I say: we must shoulder the burden of living with one another, together. Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. Here in 1997, on the edge of the 21st Century, we dare not tolerate the extistence of two Americas.

We, men and women of this moment, owe a debt to the 20th [stuff from outline]

Surrounded by stately monuments to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, we marvel at the strength and success of those who came before. Humbly, we may think to ourselves: Once, giants walked this ground. But now, it is our turn to lead on the path. Now, we must cast ourselves against the wheel of history, joining together in a community of purpose [xxx]. We must ~~be brave~~, for there is much to dare.

Let us commit to advance each day with the confident striedes of mena nd women of goodwill. ~~Heaven is~~ not gained at a single bound . . . and the bridge we are building will not be completed overnight. But every span that we lay before us . . . and every step that we take across ... will bring us closer to the dream we share.

If we reaffirm the basic values, as;kjajldfs, we can shape a future even greater than our brilliant past. The scripture tells us to "run with patience the race that is set bfeore us." ~~Let us heach hold high thte torch of citizenshipa s we gret the new day~~.

See Terry speech

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Today, we

Today, a confident nation stands assembled, xx in its pride, resurgent in its power, stands assembled, poised to enter a new century only 4 years away. These have been years when rhetorical cannons roared, when the clash of political debate could obscure eventhe brightest sun of our hope.

But today, the dust settles; the clamor subsides; and we see xx.

OR....

A people too long schooled in cynicism and trained to despair looks about and sees: we have passed through the storm. Ahead, the light of a new century.

NOT HERE

We thank God for the blessings he has bestowed on our nation.

Our economy, ~~is~~ the strongest on earth, ~~The undimmed genius of American eneterprise, the unaparlleled creativity~~ of american workers, has ~~sfjkldasf~~.

once again produces opportunity for our people. ~~prosperity for all who~~

Our budget deficit, so long a symbol of our failure to govern ourselves, is shrinking and headed toward obliteration.

The widening chasm of inequality, which mocked our nation's true genius, has begun to close.

Our leadership around the world is unchallenged. Today, for the first time in human history, more of our fellow citizens of earth live under democracy than under dictatorship. And a world of

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, noon draft (8 pages)	1/8/97	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, noon draft (7 pages)	1/8/97	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 2 am draft (4 pages)	1/8/97	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:00 pm draft (1 page)	1/9/97	P5

COLLECTION:
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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
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2006-0469-F
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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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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]

David - thanks for your help — if you could, please line edit...
MW

Draft 1/8/97 noon

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

200 years ago, the Father of our Country, the man for whom this city is named, passed on his office and this country to the next generation.

From that day forward, each generation that has followed has set out to meet the tests of time and the challenges of change, and to build their dream into a reality. Today, once more, we gather at a moment of national reflection -- a time to take stock of our dream and of our journey -- the greatest odyssey of freedom, hope, and progress the world has ever known.

Today should not be a moment of individual triumph, but a moment in which we return to the wellsprings of America's greatness.

and you, my fellow Americans,

Today
~~This day~~, in the presence of ~~my fellow Americans and~~ Almighty God, I have sworn a solemn oath. I ~~am proud~~ have pledged to be your servant and trustee of our common dreams. But ~~the meaning~~ in helping me consecrate the, the deepest of this oath, as old as our history, is not the province of Presidents alone. Every American shares this solemn obligation -- to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation was founded. In ~~each of~~ our hands rests the promise of America.

act of democracy, you have joined in the American compact, too.

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We face no war, no depression. The challenge of our time is to take this precious moment, given to few generations, and to build an America in a new century that will be a light unto the world. The education of our children; the strength of our families; the safety of our streets; the force of our freedom: These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, ~~one city~~ -- these are the challenges of one America -- ~~and we must meet them as one nation. For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all~~.

[America was founded not as a plot of land or a race of people. It was consecrated to a set of ideals -- values so strong they support us to this day. Freedom. Equality. Opportunity for all; responsibility from all. The fundamental belief that the future could be better than the past -- and that every one of us had a moral duty to make it so. At every moment of challenge and change throughout our history, we have struggled to turn these words, scratched onto parchment, into vivid ideals traced in our lives.] [*OR*]

[As Americans, we are nurtured by values as eternal as ~~the land we call home~~ or landscape. Freedom is our horizon. Equality is our soil. The belief that our future can be better than our past is the ~~air~~ oxygen we breathe. And most important of all, democracy is our great river -- from which, for more than 200 years, we have always drawn and renewed ourselves in moments of crisis, in moments of calm, and in which, I tell you, we will renew ourselves now once again.]

Think what these bedrock beliefs have seen us through.

~~At certain moments, everything seemed on the line~~. A Civil War to test ~~whether these values would long endure~~. A Depression in which we fought fear itself. A ~~fiery~~ hard war against

and very human

understand age we

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fascism and a long twilight struggle against ~~tyranny~~. At other moments, it was the pace of change itself that challenged us. One century ago, we mastered the dawning industrial age, securing a new freedom for new times and bringing forth the greatest prosperity any nation has known.

At other times, our values have called us to a special obligation. ~~34 years~~ ago, in words that rang across this Mall, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today told us he had a dream, and summoned us to live out the true meaning of our creed. Martin Luther King, Jr. changed America. But we have not reached the end of that journey; we must continue to march toward that ~~dream~~.

Four years ago, ~~as today, we stood at the dawn of another new century. We gathered in hope, but~~ we stood in the shadow of drift, division, even despair. That day, and in the days ~~to come~~ that followed, we called again on our most fundamental values. Our hope became action, and our action became faith. ~~And~~ by the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the record we have built, we have begun to renew America.

We have ~~brought~~ cut down our deficit, ~~we have given opportunity~~ brought prosperity to our people, and our economy made is the strongest on earth.

After years in which our most ~~vexing~~ urgent social problems seemed only to get worse, the American people have patiently begun to ~~restitch~~ mend the torn threads of our social fabric. Crime,

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welfare, poverty, inequality ~~-- all~~ are ~~down~~ running. More families are staying together; fewer children are having children. We have begun to restore faith in ourselves and in our nation.

Our nation is as strong as it has ever been. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the ~~cobblestone~~ rock streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and for hope.

And after years in which the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold. We, the Americans of our age and time, have forged a new vision and shaped a new consensus, anchored in our oldest values, aimed at our newest challenges, to realize the promise of America.

Today we proclaim: We do not want a government that does everything; we do not want a government that helps give our people the tools to make the most of their own lives. ~~We must offer~~ opportunity will be met with ~~but we must demand~~ responsibility. ~~We all have~~ Our fundamental rights will be matched with ~~but we all have~~ essential obligations ~~-- to give back to our communities and our country~~ give - and we will receive. We will ~~rise together, or we will fall together~~.

we have done this, but we must do more. (#)

My fellow Americans, the demands of this particular ~~time~~ age are great, are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask for too much, for we are Americans. Our times

Our moment is driven by change as profound as any we have ever faced. The very store

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of knowledge doubles and redoubles before our eyes. A chip as small as a thumbnail sparks a revolution in information. Scientists ~~unlock the very mysteries~~ uncover the deep structure of life. Where 100 years ago our forbears ~~earned their bread~~ worked on farms, ~~and~~ where 50 years ago in factories, our children will ~~work in~~ hold jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot yet imagine.

~~As we look beyond our shores~~ the world, for the first time in human history, ~~more of our fellow~~ citizens of the earth ~~are~~ live under democracy than dictatorship. ~~Yet~~ Even as ~~the shackles of totalitarianism drop away~~ remain, ancient hatreds and dangerous forces ~~are let~~ loose to terrorize our world.

But we see, too, before us, a new century, an even greater America, a more peaceful world -- within our reach if we dare to grasp it. As Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. We must finish the unfinished business of this century. We must continue our work to prepare for the next century. We must seize the opportunity of this moment, and imagine the America that can yet be.

[I see an America that enters this new century with its promise alive for all of our children, with every citizen feeling a part of our national community, with our dream of freedom spreading throughout the world.

I see an America in which our children reap the bounty of the world's best education, not the bitter fruit of a life on the streets.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I see an America in which we lift millions from the dependency of welfare to the dignity of work.

I see an America in which ~~we help parents to be parents,~~ and children do not have children.

I see an America in which crime is the exception, not the rule.

I see an America in which the government answers to tomorrow's challenges, not yesterday's arrangements; in which our politics serves the people and not the powerful.

I see an America that leads the world by the power of example of its power -- and the power of its example.

I see an America in which our children live next to parks, not poisons.]

~~I see an American city, any city, with factories full, with living rooms lit by the cathode glow of a computer screen, in which~~ every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work, in which old people sit on their porch, ~~and watch the children rejoice in the street, and none are afraid.~~

This can be our America in the new century.

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implies that they don't

We who stand before you, ~~who are privileged to serve in government, must~~ will do our part. The American people, ~~with eyes open,~~ returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must, that we must work together. We will have our differences -- Democrats and Republicans, the President and the Congress. But we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of <u>this</u> moment. Let us reach out across the lines of party and philosophy, let us work to balance our budget and balance our values, and let us make this a time when we work together for the American people.

I think you need to give them credit for seeing that progress – movement for the vital center – grows out of the creative tension.

We will attempt great things for Americans. But we should expect great things <u>from</u> Americans. Our nation can only be as great as the greatness we inspire in our people.

As the role of government grows smaller, the responsibility of our people grows larger. For not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in 10,000 towns and homes and neighborhoods, together we will forge our destiny.

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there -- we will be there.

And we <u>will</u> be there, united. Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E

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Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, that we make real.

And we will. We are not just dreamers. We are the builders of bridges.

~~All this that we can imagine ahead, is not just a dream; it must be the work of our times.~~

~~We have come a great distance, but we are not there yet.~~ And it falls to us to finish the job of building the bridge that will carry us from one century to the next -- a bridge built on our sturdiest values, a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across.

As we look out upon the monuments to America's greatness, to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and to those who have fallen in service to our country, we must remember that they built bridges to an America that was not yet within their reach. They built those bridges not so much for themselves, as for those who followed. Let us, like them, sacrifice and build, so that some day, in an age we will never live to witness, Americans whose faces we will never see can have America's ideals made real in their lives.

And so, my fellow Americans, the dream lives on. Our journey continues. <u>It is our time to build.</u> ~~So,~~ in the words of Scripture, let us "strengthen our hands for the good work that lies before us."

[*Alternate ending: Tony Campolo suggests using the passage from Hebrews, "let us run with patience the race that is set before us."*]

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Vinca — Thanks for your help — if you could, any line editing will be helpful — MW

Draft 1/8/97 noon

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

200 years ago, the Father of our Country, the man for whom this city is named, passed on his office and this country to the next generation.

From that day forward, each succeeding generation ~~that has followed~~ has set out to meet the tests of time and the challenges of change, ~~and to build their dream into a reality.~~ Each has sought to make real the dream embodied in our pledge of allegiance: one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Today, once more, we gather at a moment of national reflection -- a time to take stock of our dream and of our journey -- the greatest odyssey of freedom, hope, and progress the world has ever known.

~~Today should not be a moment of individual triumph, but a moment in which we return to the wellsprings of America's greatness.~~

This day, in the presence of my fellow Americans and the eyes of Almighty God, I have sworn a solemn oath. I am proud to be your servant and trustee of our common dreams. But the meaning of this oath, as old as our history, is not the province of Presidents alone. Every American shares this solemn obligation -- to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation was founded. ~~In each of our hands rests~~ the enduring promise of America. rests in each of our hands.

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Today We face no war, no depression. The challenge of our time is to take this precious moment, given to few generations, and to build an America ~~in a new~~ for the century that will be a light unto the world. The education of our children; the strength of our families; the safety of our streets; the force of our freedom. For These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city or one government -- these are the challenges of one America -- and we must meet them as one nation. ~~For in America~~ The challenges of one are the challenges of all. We will rise or fall together.

move to p. 3 insert (C)

move to p 7 insert (A)

these must be no problem.

[America was founded not as a plot of land or a race of people. It was consecrated to a set of ideals -- values so strong they support us to this day. Freedom. Equality. Opportunity for all; responsibility from all. The fundamental belief that the future could be better than the past -- and that every one of us had a moral duty to make it so. At every moment of challenge and change throughout our history, we have struggled to turn these words, scratched onto parchment, into vivid ideals traced in our lives.] [*OR*]

(4) [As Americans, we are nurtured by values as eternal as the land we call our home. Freedom is our horizon. Equality is our soil. The belief that our future can be better than our past is the oxygen air we breathe. And most important ~~of all~~, democracy is our ~~great~~ broad & mighty river -- from which, for more than 200 years, we have always drawn and renewed ourselves, in moments of crisis, in moments of calm, and in which, I tell you, we will renew ourselves ~~now once~~ again.]

(think my changes improve rhythm, voice, specificness)

There have been chapters in our history when everything was at stake. A Civil War that tested the very survival of our union. ~~At certain moments, everything seemed on the line: A Civil War to test whether these values would long endure.~~ A Depression in which we fought fear itself. A fiery war against

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fascism and a long twilight struggle against tyranny. At other moments, it was the pace of change itself that challenged us. One century ago, we mastered the dawning industrial age, securing a new freedom for new times and bringing forth the greatest prosperity any nation has known.

And at times, ~~At other times,~~ our values have called us to ~~a special obligation~~. 34 years ago, in words that rang across this Mall, the man whose ~~birth and~~ life we celebrate today ~~told us he had a~~ dream, and summoned us to live out the true meaning of our creed. Martin Luther King, Jr. changed America. But we have not reached the end of that journey; we must continue to march toward that dream.

Insert (C)

Four years ago, ~~as today, we stood at the dawn of another new century. We gathered in~~ hope, but we stood in the shadow of drift, division, even despair. That day, and in the days to come, we called again on our most fundamental values. Our hope became ~~action~~, and our ~~action~~ became ~~faith~~. And ~~by the stands we have taken, the~~ battles we have waged, the record we have built, we have begun to renew America.

We have brought down our deficit, ~~we have given opportunity to our people~~, and our economy is the strongest on earth.

After years in which our ~~most vexing~~ social problems seemed only to ~~get worse~~, the American people have patiently begun to restitch ~~the torn threads of~~ our social fabric. Crime,

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welfare, poverty, inequality -- all are down. More families are staying together; fewer children are having children. Steadily, we are restoring faith in our nation and one another. ~~We have begun to restore faith in ourselves and in our nation.~~

Our nation is as strong as it has ever been. From the streets of Sarajevo ~~snows of Bosnia~~, to the sands of the Middle East, to the churches and playgrounds ~~cobblestone streets~~ of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and for hope.

And after years in which the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold. We, the Americans of our age and time, have forged a new vision and shaped a new consensus, anchored in our oldest values, aimed at our newest challenges, to realize the promise of America.

~~Today we proclaim~~ We do not want a government that tries to solve all our problems ~~does everything~~; we do not want a government that leaves us to fend for ourselves. The people deserve ~~does nothing; we want a government that helps give our people~~ the tools to make the most of their own lives. We must offer opportunity, but we must demand responsibility. -- for just as all of us have rights, we share ~~We all have fundamental rights, but we all have~~ essential obligations -- to give back to our communities and our country. ~~We will rise together, or we will fall together.~~ (MOVED to p.7 as part of insert A)

Insert (B)

My fellow Americans, the demands of our ~~this particular~~ time are great, and they are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask ~~for~~ too much, for we are Americans. MOVE to p.5 →

(moves into para at top of p.2) Our moment is driven by change as profound as any we have ever faced. The very store

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of knowledge doubles and redoubles before our eyes. A chip as small as a thumbnail sparks a revolution in information. Scientists are cracking the very code ~~unlock the very mysteries~~ of life. Where 100 years ago our forbears ~~earned their bread~~ worked on farms, and 50 years ago in factories, our children will ~~work in~~ have jobs that have not yet been invented, in enterprises we cannot ~~yet~~ even imagine. For as long as one child goes hungry ... one elderly woman sleeps on a grate ... this promise will not be whole

As we look beyond our shores, for the first time in human history, more of our fellow citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. Yet as the shackles of totalitarianism drop away, ancient hatreds and dangerous forces are let loose to terrorize our world.

But we see, too, before us, a new century, an even greater America, a more peaceful world -- within our reach if we dare to grasp it. This dream is leadership the way in Insert (B) from p. 4 ~~As Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare.~~ We must finish the unfinished business of this century. We must continue ~~our work~~ to prepare for the next century. We must ~~seize the opportunity of this moment~~ open wide this window of opportunity, and imagine the America that can yet be.

(1) [I see an America that enters this new century with its promise alive for all of our children, with every citizen ~~feeling~~ a part of our national community, with our dream of freedom spreading throughout the world.

(2) I see an America in which our children reap the bounty of the world's best education, not the bitter fruit of a life on the streets.

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(3) I see an America in which ~~we lift~~ six millions from the dependency of welfare to the dignity of work.

(4) I see an America whose inner cities are teeming with commerce, not trembling with fear. ~~in which we help parents to be parents, and children do not have children.~~

~~I see an America in which crime is the exception, not the rule.~~

(5) I see an America in which ~~the government answers to tomorrow's challenges, not yesterday's arrangements; in which~~ our politics serves the people and not the powerful.

(6) I see an America that leads the world by the ~~power of~~ example of its power -- and the power of its example.

~~I see an America in which our children live next to parks, not poisons.]~~

I see an American city, any city, with factories full, with living rooms lit by the cathode glow of a computer screen, in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work, in which old people sit on their porch, and watch the children rejoice in the street, and none are afraid.

This can be our America in the new century.

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We who ~~stand before you, who~~ are privileged to serve in government, must do our part. The American people, ~~with eyes open,~~ returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must, that we must work together. ~~We will have our differences --~~ Democrats and Republicans, the President and the Congress, will surely have our differences ~~But we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."~~ But We must not ~~waste the~~ precious ~~gift of this moment~~. Let us reach out across the lines of party and philosophy, let us ~~work to~~ balance our budget and balance our values, and ~~let us~~ make this a time when we work together for all the American people.

We will attempt great things for Americans. But we should expect great things from Americans. Our nation can only be as great as the greatness we inspire in our people.

As the role of government grows smaller, the responsibility of our people grows larger. Every citizen, in every walk of life, has a concrete role to play. Businesses, civic groups, places of worship -- all must lend their strength to the task. For not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in 10,000 towns and homes and neighborhoods, together we will forge our destiny.

And
~~So~~ when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there ~~-- we will be there.~~

→X Insert (A) from p2.

~~And we will be there, united.~~ Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 1/8/97 2am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

~~This ceremony, every four years, is a time for our nation~~ take stock -- to look at where we have been, at where we are, and ~~where we are going~~ on ~~our~~ journey.

This day, in the presence of my fellow Americans and Almighty God, I have sworn a solemn oath. I am proud to be your servant and trustee of our common dreams. But the meaning of this oath, as old as our history, ~~must~~ not ~~be reserved for~~ Presidents alone.

Every American has a solemn obligation to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation was founded. For in each of our hands rests the promise of America. ~~For~~ only by joining together can we move forward on our American journey ~~-~~ the greatest odyssey of freedom, hope, and progress the world has ever known.

America was founded not as a plot of land or a race of people. If was founded as a set of ideals -- values so strong they support us to this day. For at every moment of challenge and change throughout our history, we ~~still~~ return to the wellspring of our greatness. Freedom. Equality. Opportunity for all; responsibility from all. The fundamental belief that the future ~~could~~ be better than the past -- and that every one of us had a moral duty to make it so.

[*OR*] [As Americans, we ~~are~~ nurtured by values as eternal as the land we call home. Freedom is our horizon. Equality is our soil. The belief that our future can be better than our past ~~is~~ the air we breathe. And most important of all, democracy is our great river -- from which, for more than 200 years, we have always drawn and renewed ourselves, in moments of crisis, in moments of calm, and ~~it~~ which, I tell you, we ~~will~~ renew ourselves now once again.

My fellow Americans, the demands of this particular time are great, are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask for too much, for we are Americans.]

From the day, almost exactly 200 years ago, that our first President passed on his office and this country to the next generation, we have written our own history. We have struggled to turn these words scratched on parchment into vivid ideals traced in our lives.

At certain moments, everything seemed on the line: A Civil War to test whether these values would long endure. A Depression in which we fought fear itself. A fiery war against fascism and a long twilight struggle against tyranny. At ~~some~~ moments, ~~we were~~ challenged ~~by the pace of change itself.~~ A century ago, we mastered the ~~newly~~ dawning industrial era,

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guaranteeing a new freedom for new times and setting the stage for the greatest prosperity any nation has known.

In words that rang across this Mall, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today called us to live out the true meaning of our creed -- and in so doing, Martin Luther King, Jr. changed America. [*another sentence on values*]

Four years ago, we last gathered here at a time of division and despair. That day and in the days to come, we reached back and once again called on our most fundamental values. We willed ourselves to hope; and hope became faith. By the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the record we have built, we have forged a new American vision, a new consensus, rooted in our oldest values, attuned to our newest challenges, that can govern our country. We have begun to renew America.

Our deficit is shrinking, incomes are growing, and our economy is the strongest on earth.

From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for strength and for hope.

After years in which our most vexing social problems seemed only to get worse, the American people have patiently begun to restitch the torn threads of our social fabric. Crime, welfare, poverty, inequality -- all are down. More families are staying together; fewer children are having children. We have begun to restore faith in ourselves and in our nation.

After years when the very ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center. We, the Americans of our age and time, have forged a new vision of how to realize the promise of American life.

Today we proclaim: We do not want a government that does everything; we do not want a government that does nothing; we want a government that helps give our people the tools to solve their own problems.

Government shouldn't do for people what they can do for themselves; but every American should have the chance to make the most of their God-given potential.

Today we proclaim: Citizenship is based on responsibilities as well as rights. Every American has a duty to give something back to their community and their country. We are all in it together.

My fellow Americans, we face no war, no depression. But let this not be a time of satisfied contentment, a time when we nestle into the comfort of prosperity and retreat from our great public purpose. For we have earned a precious moment given to few generations, the chance to create an America in the 21st Century that will be a light unto the world. Let us use this era of good feelings to create an era of great accomplishments.

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~~We~~ Our moment is driven by

~~We are living through a time of~~ change as profound as any we have ever faced -- change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to each other. The very store of knowledge doubles and redoubles before our eyes. A chip as small as a thumbnail sparks a revolution in information. Scientists unlock the very mysteries of life. Where 100 years ago our ~~parents~~ grandfathers earned their bread on farms, and 50 years ago in factories, ~~our~~ children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in industries we cannot yet imagine. working today

As we look beyond our shores, for the first time in human history, more of our fellow citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. Yet as the shackles of totalitarianism drop away, ancient hatreds are let loose to haunt and terrorize our world.

We see before us a new century, an even greater America that is within our reach if we dare ~~to grasp it~~. We can, we must, ~~make real our values~~ yet again -- bring opportunity alive for the digital age, make equality real at a time when education matters more than ever. We can, we must ~~seize the opportunity of this moment~~ and imagine the America that can yet be.

I see an America in which our children reap the bounty of the world's best education, not the bitter fruit of a life on the streets.

I see an America in which we lift millions from the dependency of welfare to the dignity of work.

I see an America in which families stay together, and xxx comes apart.

I see an America in which crime is the exception, not the rule.

I see an America in which the government answers to tomorrow's challenges, not yesterday's arrangements; in which our politics serves the people and not the powerful.

I see an America that leads the world by the power of example of its power -- and the power of its example.

I see an America in which our children live ~~next to~~ near parks, not poisons.

I see ~~an American city, any city,~~ with factories full, with living rooms lit by the cathode glow of a computer screen, in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work, in which old people sit on their porch, and watch the children rejoice in the street, and none are afraid.

An America ~~renewed, its faith restored,~~ that enters this new century with its promise alive for all of our children, with every citizen feeling a part of our national community, with our dream of freedom spreading throughout the world. This can be our America in the ~~21st Century~~ new

All Americans must do their part.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We on this platform, in the temples of government in this alabaster city, we must do our part. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must see, that we must work together. We will have our differences -- Democrats and Republicans, the President and the Congress. But we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this moment. Let us reach out across the lines of party and philosophy, let us work to balance our budget and balance our values, and let us make this a time when we work together for the American people.

We will attempt great things for Americans. But we should expect great things from Americans. Our nation was built on challenges, not promises. For our nation can only be as great as the greatness we inspire in our people. We must be strong; for there is much to dare.

As government grows smaller, our responsibilities grow larger. We must marshal all the forces in our society, mobilizing our citizens, our communities, our businesses, our schools to meet our challenges. Out across the great sweep of America, in 10,000 towns and homes and neighborhoods, we will forge our destiny.

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and state legislators work to establish and uphold the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children -- adopting school uniforms, imposing curfews, enforcing truancy laws -- we must be there -- we will be there.

For these are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- they are the challenges of one America -- and we must meet them as one nation. For Americans, the challenge of one are the challenges of all.

To all Americans, in all walks of life, we say: This moment is your moment; this time is your time, this burden is your burden.

To all Americans we say: we must shoulder the burden of living with one another, together. Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them.

Here, as we close one century and begin another, we have a special responsibility: to redeem the promise and sacrifice of all who came before us, by finishing the unfinished business of this century, and by keeping that promise alive for all who come after us. Let no debts be carried over into this new time. Let us say, on this short day of winter, that we will work throught the night, so that our children can make a clean start in a fresh century.

We look around us, at stately monuments to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. We may think to ourselves: Once, giants walked this ground; we are not fit to follow in their path. But

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Draft 1/9/97 11:00pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

This day, in the presence of Almighty God and before all of you, my fellow Americans, I have sworn a solemn oath. I have pledged to be your servant and to be trustee of our common dreams. But the meaning of this oath, as old as our history, is not the province of Presidents alone. Every American shares this solemn obligation -- to preserve, protect, and defend the ideals upon which this nation was founded. In our hands, together, rests the promise of America.

don't say this

In these short days of winter, we cherish the light. Let us take this day to remember the kind of country we are and must always be. Freedom, equality, opportunity, the belief that the future could be better than the past, and that each of us has a duty to make it so -- for 220 years, these ideas have defined America. They have not always been perfectly realized; but the course of American history is the steady march of a nation striving to live up to them. In times of peril and promise -- through civil war and world war, settling the frontier and building the American century -- these ideals sustained us, challenged us, summoned us to do better. They are the wellspring of our greatness.

[The challenge of our time is to take this precious moment, given to few generations, and to build an America in a new century that will be a light unto the world. The education of our

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 4 am draft (6 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (9 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (5 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address (3 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
005. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 12:30 pm draft (5 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5

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2006-0469-F
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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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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]

January 14, 1997 4am

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather today at the last inauguration of an American President in the 20th century -- 200 years almost to the day after George Washington passed on his office and this country to the generations that followed.

~~Let this be~~ a time ~~for reflection as well as celebration~~; a time to understand our ~~past as we~~ chart our future.

Our nation, founded in the 18th Century on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness . . . our union preserved and our unity deepened in the 19th Century -- exploded onto the world stage in this, the American Century.

We built the world's greatest industrial power; we rejected isolationism and accepted the solemn obligation of world leadership. Under American command, the forces of freedom crushed fascism and triumphed in the long twilight struggle against commuism.

Here at home, we fulfilled the democracy our forebears could only dream of -- and we went further. We expanded the circle of human dignity to include every single American. We rescued the elderly from poverty. We brought a damaged environment back to life. And we created the great American middle class.

And we reached back to our most enduring values, to redeem the very promise made by our founders. 34 years ago, in words that rang across this mall, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today called us to live up to the true meaning of our creed.

Our history has been the steady march of a nation striving to live up to our basic ideals. They are the wellspring of our greatness. In times of peril and promise, these ideals sustained us, challenged us, summoned us to do better. At every moment of challenge and change, our forebears imagined ~~the~~ future they ~~wanted for their children~~ -- and ~~set out to make~~ it so.

It is our time to ask: What future will we ~~fashion~~ for our children? How can we redeem the sacrifices of this century? And how can we realize the promise of the next?

~~Four years ago, when we last gathered, far too many Americans feared that our triumphant march would falter as we appraoched century's end.~~

We will have the courage & vision to redeem the sacrifices and will of all who have gone before us. We will have the vision & hope to see the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Then, we gathered in hope, but still in the shadow of drift and division. That day, we ~~solemnized our~~ commitment to change, to press on with a course required by our challenges, consistent with our enduring values, demanded by our proud heritage. Together, we vowed to force the spring, to renew our nation in America's tradition of change. Since that day, in the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look first to America for inspiration and for hope.

Once again, America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, we have increased prosperity, we have made economy the strongest on earth.

And once again, family and faith and community are where they belong, at the center of our social policy. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to grow -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. More families are staying together. Fewer children are having children. Families are finally getting support to succeed at work and in raising their children.

Once again, Americans have come to trust in ~~their own creativity, renewing their own~~ genius for self-government. Four years ago, we doubted that we could cut our deficit even as we increase investemnt; we doubted that we could prevent polllution even as we promote industry; we didn't believe that the social cancers of crime and violence and dependency and decay, ~~which grew and compounded for so long, oculd ever be tamed.~~

Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold. Out of a new vision, we have shaped a new consensus -- anchored in our oldest values, aimed at our newest challenges -- to realize the promise of America.

To continue our progress; to build a future worthy of the Americans who created and sustained this country, it is our time to act, our time to lead. Let us build our bridge to the 21st Century.

[Over the past four years, Americans have seen a glimpse of the wonders the new century can bring.

[POSSIBLE CHANGE GRAFS -- I actually don't think we need any of this!] *For the first time in history, more people across the globe are living under democracy than dictatorship. Scientissts are decoding the blueprint of human life -- unlocking xxx. An information revolution, sparked by a chip the size of a dime, allows billions of dollars to cross the globe at speed of light ... and children in their classrooms to explore the world of ideas by loggin onto the Internet. 100*

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years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot even imagine.

Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker size. Ancient threats like ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Modern technology makes old demons even fiercer.

In this new era of promise and peril, where children of all kinds are learning at rapid rates on computers; where the structure of the human gene is unlocked in a way that offers the opportunity to medical miracles. And we see the darker side of the future: where modern technollgy might be used to make old hatreds, old demons, old weaknesses even worse -- in ethnic and religious wars, terrorism and biological and chemical warfare.

These new times call forth a new approach to meeting our challenges.

In this century, our government helped Americ achieve great things. Being old no longer means being poor; our environment is no longer left to take care of itself; a public education is now the birthright of every citizen. Those ideals changed America and enrich us still.

Now we face new challenges, as sweeping as any we have faced before, and for them, the old arrangements will not do.

[We need a new government for a new century. At last, over the past four years, we have laid to rest the old competing notions that government should do everything on the one hand or nothing on the other. The course for our time is clear: Government hs no right to try solving all our problems for us; it has a responsibility to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.] [bruce]

[Government is not the solution; government need not be the problem. Government is but one instrument to meet our challenges.]

[The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our people, and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. Government cannot -- and must never again try -- to do for Americans what Americans can only do for themselves.] [*from earlier draft*]

~~A new government for a new century must be smaller, cheaper, less centralized and less bureaucratic. But it is not enough to shrink the government. We must give it a purpose~~. It is time to change the relationship between the people and their government -- to put more opportunity in the hands of individuals, and demand more responsibility in return. Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and make a real difference in their everyday lives, this new government shoudl do more, not less. Keeping the streets safe from gangs and drugs. Protecting the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. Protects the food we eat and the water we drink. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us. Our

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government must shrink -- but if it shrinks from these great challenges, ~~our nation cannot grow.~~

And in this new time, let us declare: It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny. Our greatness will come from the common efforts of our citizens, working together.

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there -- we must be there. We the people. All of us. Together.

The challenge of our time is to take this precious moment of possibility to build an America in a new century that will be a light unto the world. The education of our children; the strength of our families; the safety of our streets; the sanctity of our environment; the power of our science and technology; the force of our freedom: These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

My fellow Americans, the demands of this particular time are great, are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask for too much, for we are Americans. We must be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do. We face no Depression, no war, to test our spirit. But this time of peace and prosperity is no ordnary time -- it is an extraordinary moment of opportunity.

We -- the American people -- have made this century what it is: shoulder to shoulder, we stood for freedom over tyranny; hand in hand, we chose brotherhood over division. And now we stand together, in the closing years of the first American century, and on the leading edge of a limitless second. It falls on us to choose the future we believe in, and brick by brick, to build a bridge . . . that step by step will take us there.

We must build an America for the 21st century where the American promise is alive for all our children, where every citizen is a part of our national community, and where our dream of freedom spreads throughout the world.

An America where we have connected all our schools to the Information Superhighway, established the highest standards for learning in the world, and opened the doors of college to all our people.

An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America where we can look at the national balance sheet and say: we have done it, the budget is balanced, the deficit is zero. — our house is in order & we are ready, strong for the future.

An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents and a secure retirement to future generations. (yes get to work)

An America where familiar sounds faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk because a parent is changing jobs.

An America where the loudest voice in politics is the quiet voice of the voter, where a smaller government does a better job.

An America where the miracle of science -- with a cure for cancer, a vaccine for AIDS -- extends our lives, and the wonder of technology fills it with knowledge, putting James Madison at our fingertips and the reaches of the cosmos in our living rooms.

This can be the America toward which our journey carries us in the new century. And we will only make that journey if we make it together.

Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, that we make real. One Am.

Today, I pledge to you, the American people, to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to prepare our people for the century ahead. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must, that we must work together. We will have our differences -- Democrats and Republicans, the President and the Congress. But we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this moment. Let us reach out across the lines of party and philosophy, let us work to balance our budget and balance our values, and let us make this a time when we work together for the American people.

[transition]

Like him, we are dreamers -- and more. We are the builders of bridges. It falls to us to finish the job of building our bridge to th
e 21st Century -- a bridge built on our sturdiest ideals, a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge that connects our oldest values to our newest challenges.

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As we look out upon the monuments to America's greatness, to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, to those who have fallen in service to our country, we must remember that they bridges to an America not yet within their reach. They built their bridges not so much for themselves, as for those who followed. Let us, like them, sacrifice and build, so that some day, in an age we will never live to witness, Americans whose faces we will never see can have America's ideals made real in their lives.

And so, my fellow Americans, let us heed the words of Scripture, and "strengthen our hands for the good work" ~~ahead. For us,~~ in this place, in this moment, the dream lives on. Our journey continues. It is our time to build.

We have

We have seen the Am we can be.

We have ~~lived~~ ~~loved~~ the Am Dream We have seen a new one be born.

We are the inventors, proof that we create it,

It is our time to build.

DD

Our Am Dream doesn't know a new one beckons us on.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MW COPY

January 14, 1997 11:15pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to his office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, chart ~~the potential of our~~ and our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century, a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility -- a time when more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dream than ever before. in which, if we do our duty,

But

~~But~~ first, we must do our duty. The demands of our time are great, ~~are~~ and different. ~~Of us~~ -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask too much, for we are Americans. We must be strong, for there is much to dare. ~~We must be bold, for there is much to do~~. We must meet them with a wise and joyful heart. In our hands, together, rests the promise of America.

[NEED TO DO the why it is a moment of opp'y here

⊕ It falls to us, Americans at this time, and this place, to redeem our heritage and renew our values for a new time. Let us ~~finish the work of the 20th Century, and let us do the~~ and let us begin the urgent tasks of the

⊕ IN THIS, WE ARE FORTUNATE, for ... let us make a note in our hands next to pg 1 of this.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In the 18th century,

born out of the bold conviction; →

America was ~~founded~~ on the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th Century. Our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the awful scourge of slavery in the 19th century. And we exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, to make this the American century. What a century it has been.

became

In this century, America ~~built~~ the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars ~~for freedom and peace~~ against tyranny, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to the ~~many countries who longed for the blessings of liberty that we have come to~~ millions in every part of the globe that we take for granted.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our environment and public ~~lands~~ lands; provided for public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities, brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts, advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

towering spirit

Thirty-four years ago, the ~~man~~ whose birth and life we celebrate today spoke to us in words that rang out across this very mall. Martin Luther King, Jr. told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men ~~are created~~ equal.'"

have are

[These changes could only be dimly 100 yrs ago. even the most visionary could

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

His story is the story of

Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live it. America is the constant movement toward living out our true creed. Our has ever been The future is built on our dreams and our labors. It is our ideals and the striving to make them real that made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of our dreams and our labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, everywhere we look, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatic change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for cancer, AIDS, sp c injs seem w/in reach. 100 years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises ~~we cannot~~ not yet even imagine.

The world is no longer Instead,

Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker side. Ancient ~~threats~~ like ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology + global interdep. can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, ~~and~~ ppl who would seek use nuclr organized criminals who exploit the very openness we cherish. proper to advance sinister dark designs. own

Our very steps seem to quicken as we approach the new century. But four years ago, our triumphant march ~~had~~ seemed ~~to falter.~~ Just less certain now today.

The future will not

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~On another short day of winter~~, we gathered in hope, but stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, ~~and that~~ center can hold,

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and ~~for hope~~.

Once again, ~~America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people~~, we have brought down our deficit, even as we have increased investment and promoted prosperity -- ~~and made our economy the strongest on earth~~.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Once, we doubted ourselves and our ability to master these times; today, with every step we take, every challenge we meet,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

our confidence is restored.

Lincoln said, as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to face this new century, let us think anew and act anew for our new times. Let us build a new government . . . let us summon a new sense of responsibility . . . let us establish a new spirit of understanding.

We need a new government for a new century.

We have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.

Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beyond that, my fellow citz, it is up to you.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century.

Ben F . For 200 yrs. Amers have kept a lot on our hands. We always Yes, too have your resp

Our government will shrink -- but you must not shrink from our great national challenges. Today more than ever, we must ask more of ourselves and expect more from one another.

It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny.

U2 have your resp to keep

Business and community leaders ~~have a responsibility to~~ must provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers ~~have a responsibility~~ must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people ~~have a responsibility~~ must stay off drugs, stay in school, learn right from wrong. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to bring values, discipline and hope to our children. And each and every one of us must recognize our responsibility -- not just for ourselves, but for all those around us.

Resp-city

We must affirm that we ... if we have the maturity + gen of spirit to resist the destructive impulses

~~These~~ are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. ~~For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.~~

spirit

~~Above all~~, we need a new spirit of understanding for a new century.

[*This needs to be rewritten.* Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E

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Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, and then make real.]

[*This section is unchanged from the last draft; we were not able to revise it in time to include the balanced couplets that you wanted.*] It falls to us to make the most of this age of possibility, to push back the forces of peril, to connect our oldest values to our newest challenges. It falls to us to choose the future we believe in, and step by step, to build our bridge to the 21st Century.

We will b a b to an even greater Am, one

~~An America~~ that leads the world in the next century as it has in this one -- promoting peace, opening trade, and fighting the forces of destruction. If we want the benefits of leadership, we must shoulder the burdens and pay our way.

We will

w/ the world's finest ed; w/

~~We must build~~ an America ~~where we have connected~~ all our schools to the Information Superhighway, ~~established~~ the highest standards for learning in the world, and ~~opened~~ the doors of college open to all our people.

An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

✓ All a ng, a n s r, a n s of c, we can b that b. And one side by one side of that bridge, we will finish the work of this t. On the other we will begin the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk ~~because a parent is changing jobs.~~ for lack of health care or for safe H2O, air or land.

An America where the miracle of science ~~with a cure for cancer, a vaccine for AIDS~~ -- extends our lives, and the wonder of technology fills it with knowledge + the power to construct a better life. + ~~endless~~ opportunity.

An America where the loudest voice in politics is the quiet voice of the voter, where a smaller government does a better job.

An America where we have ~~kept our obligations~~ to provide health care to our parents and a secure ~~retirement for~~ all generations to come. reformed health care system so that we can keep our obligations not only to our parents, but to our children and their children.

An America where we ~~set our course and achieve our purpose and~~ balance our budget ~~while we balance our values~~.] and invest in our future.

Today, I pledge to you, ~~the American people,~~ to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to bind us together ~~as one nation~~ and ~~to~~ prepare our ~~people~~ nation for the century ahead. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The

OR → an Amer of @ love +8

An Amer w/ a strong economy; a clean environment; strong @ home

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[what a diff service has

American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. No They see, as we must, that we must work together. Nothing big ever came from being small. For we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

All of us ~~here today~~ are on ~~a~~ that one journey of life, which must ~~some day~~ sure come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. And it will -- if we do our duty.

[Our dreams is the reason big ever one big ones.

My fellow Americans, the future is not a gift -- it is an achievement.

And so, in fact, let us w/our dreams -

We, we Americans, are not just dreamers -- we are the builders of bridges. It falls to us to our take,

finish the job of building our bridge to the 21st Century -- a bridge built on our sturdiest ideals, a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge built not so much for ourselves as for those who will follow.

whose faces we will never see.

let

If we do our duty; if we build straight and true, then our journey will go on, forward, into the 21st Century. Then our people will cross that bridge with the American Dream alive for all of ~~our~~ her children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of ~~our~~ her people. With America's ~~dream~~ bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

May God guide our leaders the body of our bridge + strengthen our hands for the good work ahead - and always bless our America.

And so, as we close the work of one century, and begin the work of a new one, let us heed the words of Scripture, and "strengthen our hands for the good work" ahead. For us, in this place, in this moment, the dream lives on. Our journey continues. It is our time to build.

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we are a nation of single

EXPLICIT ROMAN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 14, 1997 11:15pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to his office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, chart the potential of our future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century, a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility -- a time when more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dream than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. The demands of our time <u>are</u> great, <u>are</u> different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask too much, for we are Americans. We must be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do. In our hands, together, rests the promise of America.

America was founded on the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th Century. Our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the awful scourge of slavery in the 19th century. And we exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, to make this the American century.

In this century, America built the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars for freedom and peace, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to the many countries who longed for the blessings of liberty that we have come to take for granted.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our environment and public lands; provided for public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities, brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts, advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today spoke to us in words that rang out across this very mall. Martin Luther King, Jr. told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live it. America is the constant movement toward living out our true creed. The future is built on our dreams and our labors. It is our ideals and the striving to make them real that made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of our dreams and our labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, everywhere we look, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatic change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. 100 years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot even imagine.

Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker side. Ancient threats like ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, and organized criminals who exploit the very openness we cherish.

Our very steps seem to quicken as we approach the new century. But four years ago, our triumphant march had seemed to falter.

On another short day of winter, we gathered in hope, but stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and for hope.

Once again, America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, even as we have increased investment and promoted prosperity -- and made our economy the strongest on earth.

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Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Once, we doubted ourselves and our ability to master these times; today, with every step we take, every challenge we meet, our confidence is restored.

Lincoln said, as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to face this new century, let us think anew and act anew for our new times. Let us build a new government . . . let us summon a new sense of responsibility . . . let us establish a new spirit of understanding.

We need a new government for a new century.

We have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.

Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century.

Our government will shrink -- but you must not shrink from our great national challenges. Today more than ever, we must ask more of ourselves and expect more from one another.

It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny.

Business and community leaders have a responsibility to provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers have a responsibility to demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people have a responsibility to stay off drugs, stay in school, learn right from wrong. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to bring values, discipline and hope to our children. And each and every one of us must recognize our responsibility -- not just for ourselves, but for all those around us.

These are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. For in

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

Above all, we need a new spirit of understanding for a new century.

[*This needs to be rewritten.* Long before we were so diverse, our nation's motto was E Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, and then make real.]

[*This section is unchanged from the last draft; we were not able to revise it in time to include the balanced couplets that you wanted.*] It falls to us to make the most of this age of possibility, to push back the forces of peril, to connect our oldest values to our newest challenges. It falls to us to choose the future we believe in, and step by step, to build our bridge to the 21st Century.

An America that leads the world in the next century as it has in this one -- promoting peace, opening trade, and fighting the forces of destruction. If we want the benefits of leadership, we must shoulder the burdens.

We must build an America where we have connected all our schools to the Information Superhighway, established the highest standards for learning in the world, and opened the doors of college to all our people.

An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk because a parent is changing jobs.

An America where the miracle of science -- with a cure for cancer, a vaccine for AIDS -- extends our lives, and the wonder of technology fills it with knowledge.

An America where the loudest voice in politics is the quiet voice of the voter, where a smaller government does a better job.

An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents and a secure retirement for all generations to come.

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An America where we set our course and achieve our purpose and balance our budget while we balance our values.]

Today, I pledge to you, the American people, to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to bind us together as one nation and to prepare our people for the century ahead. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. They see, as we must, that we must work together. Nothing big ever came from being small. For we are taught: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the precious gift of this time.

All of us here today are on a journey of life, which must some day come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. And it will -- if we do our duty.

My fellow Americans, the future is not a gift -- it is an achievement.

We, we Americans, are not just dreamers -- we are the builders of bridges. It falls to us to finish the job of building our bridge to the 21st Century -- a bridge built on our sturdiest ideals, a bridge wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, a bridge built not so much for ourselves as for those who will follow.

If we do our duty; if we build straight and true, then our journey will go on, forward, into the 21st Century. Then our people will cross that bridge with the American Dream alive for all of our children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of our people. With America's dream of freedom spreading throughout the world.

And so, as we close the work of one century, and begin the work of a new one, let us heed the words of Scripture, and "strengthen our hands for the good work" ahead. For us, in this place, in this moment, the dream lives on. Our journey continues. It is our time to build.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

KING GRAF

And we reached back to our most enduring values, to redeem the very promise made by our founders. 34 years ago, in words that rang across this mall, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today called us to live up to the true meaning of our creed.

Our history has been the steady march of a nation striving to live up to our basic ideals. They are the wellspring of our greatness. At every moment of challenge and change, our forbears imagined ~~that~~ the future could be better than the past, ~~for their chidlren~~, and they assumed the moral responsibility to make it so. ~~Each new age has required us to renew our commitment to that future, and to preserve and renew our country.~~ Each new age has required us to reestablish the balance we have forged in America between individual freedom and our national unity -- between our hopes for ouselves and our obligation to ~~work together to meet our challenges~~. [*opportunity responsibility community*]

Now it is our time to ask: How do we redeem the sacrifice and brilliance of all ~~who have~~ gone before us? What future will we build for our children, and their ~~children~~? ~~And will we have the steel and determination to build our way forward?~~

Four years ago, ~~when we last gathered,~~ far too many Americans feared ~~that~~ our triumphant march would falter as we approached century's end.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Our most urgent social problems, ~~which seemed destined~~ to grow -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality ~~among working people~~ -- ~~all are~~ bending to our efforts. ~~More families are staying together. Fewer children are having children. Families are finally getting support to succeed at work and in raising their children.~~

Once again, Americans have come to trust in their own creativity, renewing their own genius for self-government. Four years ago, we doubted that we could cut our deficit even as we increase investemnt; we doubted that we could prevent polllution even as we promote industry; we didn't believe that the social cancers of crime and violence and dependency and decay, ~~which grew and compounded for so long,~~ could ever be tamed.

Above all, we have changed the relationship between the people and their government -- putting more opportunity in the hands of individuals, and demanding more responsibility in return.

The lesson of our age is clear: government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. That is governnment's role in our new partnership. ~~For America was built on challenges, not promises.~~

The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our poeple, and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. Government cannot do for

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Americans what Americans can only do for themselves.

We need a new government for a new century. Government is not the solution; governmetn is not the problem. We, the American people, are the solution. And it is up to all of us to make government a positive force in the daily lives of our people.

Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and make a real difference in their everyday lives, this new government shoudl do more, not less. Keeping the streets safe from gangs and drugs. Protecting the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. Protects the food we eat and the water we drink. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us. Our government must shrink -- but if it shrinks from these great challenges, our nation cannot grow.

The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our people, and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. Government cannot -- and must never again try -- to do for Americans what Americans can only do for themselves.

~~And in this new time, let us declare~~ BUT WE MUST REMEMBER: It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

January 14, 1997 12:30PM

MW's comp

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, 200 years almost to the day after George Washington passed on his office and this country to the generations that followed.

It is our time to recall the greatness of our past, to understand the progress of our present, to chart the potential of our future.

We thank God that we face no Depression to sap our strength, no war to test our spirit. But this time of peace and prosperity is no ordinary time -- it is an extraordinary moment of opportunity. We must use this moment in our history to seize hold of the age of possibility before us. Here, after the great American triumph of the 20th Century, our time has come to prepare for the 21st Century.

~~Our~~ nation was founded on the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th Century. Our union was preserved and our unity deepened in the 19th Century. And we exploded onto the world stage in this, the American Century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We built the world's greatest industrial power. We abandoned isolationism to fulfill our responsibilities for freedom and peace in the world. We won two world wars. We waged a long Cold War to defeat the forces of communism. And we have waged peace in the world.

built instts, —

Here at home, we created the greatest opportunity in human history for people to make the most of their our own lives. Our people built the great American middle class. We lifted the elderly out of poverty; began to restore and preserve our environment; extended the circle of human dignity to include women and minorities.

worked

provided free public ed

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today spoke to us in words that rang out across this very mall. Martin Luther King, Jr. told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Dr K gave

Our history has been the steady march of a nation striving to live up to our basic ideals. They are the wellspring of our greatness. At every moment of challenge and change, our forbears imagined that the future could be better than the past, and they assumed the moral responsibility to make it so. Each new age has required us to reestablish the balance we have forged in America between individual freedom and the duty we owe one another.

Now it is our time to ask: How do we redeem the sacrifice and brilliance of all who have gone before us? What future will we build for our children, and their children?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Four years ago, many Americans feared that our triumphant march ~~would~~ seemed to falter as we approached century's end..

On that short day of winter, we gathered in hope, but still in the shadow of drift and division. We sanctified our commitment to change, to press on with a course required by our challenges, consistent with our enduring values, demanded by our proud heritage. Together, we vowed to force the spring, to renew our nation in America's tradition of change.

Since that day, in the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold.

WANTS TO RENEW IL

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look first to America for inspiration and for hope.

Once again, America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, we have increased prosperity, we have made our economy the strongest on earth.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns.

WORKING TOGETHER

we make a fuller dec Rs are re

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

grand bargains:
. new role for govt
. new opps but only if they are more resp.
. new global soc, diversity. Ist to foment, run. Live regs / new c new skills
. state of underclass

Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts.

we cannot succeed — [that means: we must not succeed]

Above all, once again we are putting more opportunity in the hands of individuals, and demanding more responsibility in return, changing the relationship between the people and their government.

we have to break down the old ways of thinking — [Lincoln]

Four years ago, we doubted that we could cut our deficit even as we increase investment; we doubted that we could prevent pollution even as we promote industry; we doubted that we could ever tame the social cancers of crime and violence and dependency and decay, which grew and compounded for so long. Now we know that nothing is impossible when we work together for our future.

For we have proved, in these last four years, that we can move beyond the competing philosophies that impeded our progress. Today we declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government cannot solve our problems for us; it can only give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.

We must build a new kind of government for a new century. Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the

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new gov
new chall

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We know for prog of last 4 yrs that we can sh g into sh fr — but only if you don't = 4 fr yrs.

environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful outside influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and expectations. Protecting the food we eat and the water we drink. It must offer the opportunity that the Bill of Rights guarantees to us all; it must bring out the best in us, not the worst in us.

Our government must shrink -- but we together must never shrink from our great national challenges. The strength of our country depends on the spirit of our people; and the spirit of our people depends on the responsibility of each citizen. It is not in the narrow halls of government, but out across the great sweep of America, in the towns and neighborhoods and homes, that we will forge our destiny.

Make it more what they must do

So when business and community leaders join forces to provide jobs for welfare recipients – we must be there. When parents and teachers and civic leaders demand the toughest standards for our schools – we must be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline and hope to their children, we must be there -- we must be there. We the people. All of us. Together.

Litanize what we have to do.

My fellow Americans, for four years, we have worked to finish the unfinished business of this century, and to prepare our people for the demands of the next. We stand together, in the closing years of the first American century, and on the leading edge of a limitless second.

Over the past four years, we have seen the new century's wonders.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (2 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft (2 pages)	January 14, 1997	P5
003. notes	Inaguaral address prep notes (4 pages)	nd	P5
004. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 11:15 pm draft, MW copy (1 page)	January 14, 1997	P5
005. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 7:00 pm draft (10 pages)	1/15/97	P5
006. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 7:00 pm draft (6 pages)	1/15/97	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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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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Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live it. America is the constant movement toward living out our true creed. The future is built on our dreams and our labors. It is our ideals and the striving to make them real that made this hundred years the American century. And it is out of our dreams and our labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, everywhere we look, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatic change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. 100 years ago, our forbears worked on farms; 50 years ago in factories. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises we cannot ~~even~~ imagine.

Our progress gives us great opportunities, but we also see its darker side. Ancient threats like ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, and organized criminals who exploit the very openness we cherish.

~~Our very steps seem to quicken as we approach the new century.~~ But four years ago, our triumphant march had seemed to falter.

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On another ~~short day of~~ winter, we gathered in hope, but stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, and that center can hold.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. From the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, those who love peace look to America for inspiration and for hope.

Once again, America's economy is an unrivaled engine of opportunity for our people. We have brought down our deficit, even as we have increased investment and promoted prosperity -- and made our economy the strongest on earth.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Once, we doubted ourselves and our ability to master these times; today, with every step we take, every challenge we meet,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Pluribus Unum, out of many, we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps, but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them. This must be the America that we imagine, and then make real.]

[*This section is unchanged from the last draft; we were not able to revise it in time to include the balanced couplets that you wanted.*] It falls to us to make the most of this age of possibility, to push back the forces of peril, to connect our oldest values to our newest challenges. It falls to us to choose the future we believe in, and step by step, to build our bridge to the 21st Century.

An America that leads the world in the next century as it has in this one -- promoting peace, opening trade, and fighting the forces of destruction. If we want the benefits of leadership, we must shoulder the burdens.

~~We must build~~ An America ~~where we have~~ connected all our schools to the Information Superhighway, established the highest standards for learning in the world, and opened the doors of college to all our people.

An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk ~~because a parent is changing jobs.~~

An America where the miracle of science -- with a cure for cancer, a vaccine for AIDS -- ~~extends our lives, and the~~ wonder of technology fills it with knowledge and power.

An America where the loudest voice in politics is the quiet voice of the voter, where a smaller government does a better job.

An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents and a secure retirement for all generations to come.

An America where we set our course and achieve our purpose and balance our budget while we balance our values.]

Today, I pledge to you, the American people, to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to bind us together as one nation and to prepare our people for the century ahead. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The

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MW COPY

January 14, 1997 11:15pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to his office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, chart the potential of our future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century, a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility -- a time when more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dream than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. The demands of our time are great, are different. Of us -- each one of us -- they ask much. But they cannot ask too much, for we are Americans. We must be strong, for there is much to dare. We must be bold, for there is much to do. In our hands, together, rests the promise of America.

NEED TO DO the why it is a moment of opp'y here

It falls to us, as Americans at this time, and this place, to redeem our heritage and renew our values for a new time. Let us finish the work of the 20th Century. And let us do the unfinished business of the 20th C — and let us begin the urgent tasks of the 21st C. Let us get to work.

NEED A TIGHTER, more commanding cowplet

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 1/15/97 7:00PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century. ~~exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.~~

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, and chart our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. ~~Yet,~~ ~~though~~ we are free of war and depression and social unrest, yet this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold ~~not only~~ of a new century in a new millennium, ~~but of~~ an Age of Possibility. ~~If we do our duty~~, more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live out their dreams than ever before.

It can be a time when

But first, we must do our duty. *[Right now, this paragraph does not do enough to emphasize a central*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the ~~sunny~~ shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, creating more jobs in a four year term than ever before, the smallest deficit of any major economy, and at long last, rising incomes for working families.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Families are receiving support in their efforts to succeed at home and at work, and in raising children in a culture too often at odds with their values.

too much

Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine American community, founded in mutual respect, exalting citizen service, resisting the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred, divide us, and threaten our own union, even as these forces destroy the lives and hopes of millions around the world.

Once again, we have resolved for our time the age old debate of the role of government in our common endeavors, moving beyond the competing philosophies

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

paralyzed
that ~~threatened~~ our progress.

Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government's role is to give us the tools to make the most of our own lives.

To do that, we need a new government for a new century. Where it comes to our common challenges, Americans cannot be left on their own. Where it can stand up for ~~the~~ our values and interests ~~of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives~~, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and stiffer expectations. Opening the doors of college to all. Bringing the benefits of science and technology. Summoning citizens to responsibility ~~and citizen~~ service. Providing the conditions of growth in poor areas, and opportunity for people to move from welfare to work. Calling forth the best in us, and standing firm against the worst.

where it can help us to ~~forge~~ solve our own prob ~~challenge~~

PICK 3

Govt can do alot, but it must, but seem too big.

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was founded, Benjamin Franklin was asked ~~about~~ what had been created. He

Vice signed

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

replied: "A republic -- if you can keep it."

two centuries

For 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, meeting every challenge by moving toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we denied our shortcomings, or rested on our laurels. I am determined that we cannot rest.

IN THE WRONG PLACE

forward what end?

You, too, have your responsibility to keep our republic in the 21st Century.

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must stay off drugs, stay in school, learn right from wrong. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children. Each and every one of us must recognize our responsibility -- not just for ourselves, but for all those around us.

Today, let us

~~We must~~ affirm that ours are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.

Above all, we need a new sense of community for a new century.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~We must understand that~~ our rich texture of racial and ethnic diversity, deeply held religious convictions, and widely different political philosophies is a Godsend for the 21st Century world. We know of the dark impulses that lurk in the regions of the soul everywhere. They have touched us and nearly destroyed us in our own past. They may tempt us again in our future. And we see them ~~in the lives of too many people~~ at work around the world. ~~We here must have the generosity of spirit to repress those impulses, and to~~ (With generous spirits, let us) show the world: our differences do not diminish us; they strengthen us; they do not—, they—. ~~for the work ahead.~~ In a world of ever-more-open interaction among people, our ability to live and work with people different from ourselves is a rich resource, waiting to be tapped. Let us always remember: our nation imposes no test of creed or religion or race. We say: if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, you are an American. Thus it is, and thus it must always be.

Lincoln said, as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to face this new century, let us think anew and act anew for our new times.

NOT HERE

With a new government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we can build our bridge to the 21st Century. On the one side, we will finish the unfinished business of this century. On the other side, we will lay the foundations for an even

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

greater America --

-- an America that leads the world in the next century -- promoting peace and freedom, fighting the forces of destruction, expanding fair and open commerce. This is more than a responsibility; it is a priceless opportunity without precedent. But if we want the benefits of leadership, we must shoulder the burdens, and pay our way.

-- An America with the world's finest education, ~~with all our schools connected to the Information Superhighway, the highest standards for learning in the world~~, and the doors of college open to all ~~our people.~~ it schools wired to tomorrow, its standards strict,

-- An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, ~~and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents~~ -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

-- An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk ~~safely around the block at night, and~~ send their children safely off to school each morning.

-- An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, ~~children can be protected~~ parents can pass on their values to

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 1/15/97 7:00PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, and chart our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet, though we are free of war and depression ~~and social unrest, this, too,~~ is no ordinary time. ~~For~~ We stand on the threshold not only of a new century ~~in a new millennium~~, but of an Age of Possibility. ~~If we do our duty,~~ more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live out their dreams than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. *[Right now, this paragraph does not do enough to emphasize a central point of the speech: This is a moment of rare opportunity and responsibility for us as a country; if we do not seize it, the consequences will be borne not necessarily by us, but by generations to come. (Then go to: "For in our hands, . . . promise of America")]* ~~We must be strong, for there is much to dare.~~ The demands of our time are great and different. But they do not ask too much of us, for we are Americans. Let us meet them with a happy and grateful heart. For in our hands, together, rests the eternal promise of America. *[~~If you make this change~~, ~~some of these sentences could be moved to the end of the address.~~]*

In the 18th Century, America was born under the bold conviction that all of us are created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. In the 19th Century, our ~~nation~~ spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then we exploded onto the world stage, ~~in turmoil and triumph~~, to make this the American century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars against tyranny, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity ~~for the world~~, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to millions ~~in every part of the globe~~ who longed for the blessings of liberty ~~we take for granted~~.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

environment and public health; provided public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering ~~spirit~~ leader whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that moved the conscience of the nation. He told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his life for that dream so that his fellow Americans might live it.

His story is the story of America, the story of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. ~~Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors.~~ Dreams and labors made this hundred years the ~~American century~~ time of the American. And it is out of dreams and labors that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

Already, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatically changing the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the ~~vast world~~ universe of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for cancer, AIDS, spinal cord injuries seem within reach. In this century, we have seen the bulk of our work shift from farm to factory to computers. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two armed camps with the capacity to destroy each other. Instead, ~~the growing connections of commerce across borders give our world an~~ Blocs and barriers are giving way to an unprecedented chance for both peace and prosperity.

Such advances herald the dawn of the Age of Possibility. But there is a darker side to this moment. Ancient ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology and global interdependence can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, organized criminals who exploit the very progress and openness we cherish to advance their dark designs.

It is up to us to master our moment -- seize its potential and defending against its perils.
~~The future will not simply unfold. It will be forged into hard steel by the choices we make, or fail to make~~. And time is passing ever so quickly.

Just four years ago, our march to the future seemed less certain than today.

Then, though we gathered here in hope, we stood in the shadow of drift and division. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, dynamic yet rock solid, that can ~~center can~~ hold and propel forward on our historic mission.

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. ~~The nuclear threat has been reduced.~~ Commerce among nations has expanded to record levels. And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the sunny shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, creating more jobs in a four year term than ever before, the smallest deficit of any major economy, and at long last, rising incomes for working families.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our ~~efforts~~ labors. ~~Families are receiving support in their efforts to succeed at home and at work, and in raising children in a culture too often at odds with their values.~~

Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine American community, founded in mutual respect, exalting citizen service, resisting the use of race, religion and politics to sow hatred, divide us, and threaten our own union, even as these forces destroy the lives and hopes of millions around the world.

Once again, we have resolved for our time the age old debate of ~~the role of~~ government in our common endeavors, moving beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we ~~can declare~~ know: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. Government's role is to give us the tools to make the most of our own lives.

To ~~do that~~, we need a new government for a new century. ~~Where~~ When it comes to our common challenges, Americans cannot be left on their own. Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to ~~make a real difference in their everyday lives~~ lift their lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. Helping communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and ~~stiffer~~ expectations. Opening the doors of college to all. ~~Bringing~~ Fostering the benefits of science and technology. Summoning citizens to responsibility and ~~citizen~~ service. Providing the conditions of growth in poor areas, and opportunity for people to move from welfare to work. Calling forth the best in us, and standing firm against the worst.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to you. We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. After our Constitution was founded, Benjamin Franklin was asked ~~about~~ what had been created. He replied: "A republic -- if you can keep it."

For 200 years, Americans have kept our republic, meeting every challenge by moving toward a more perfect union. Our troubles have come only when we denied our shortcomings, or rested on our laurels. ~~I am determined that we cannot rest.~~ Today, we must declare, we will not rest.

We need a new sense of responsibility for a new century.
~~You, too, have your responsibility to keep our republic in the 21st Century.~~

Business and community leaders must provide jobs for welfare recipients. Parents and teachers must demand the toughest standards for our schools. Young people must stay off drugs, stay in school, learn right from wrong. Families, neighbors, communities, must band together to help parents bring values, discipline and hope to our children. Each and every one of us must recognize our responsibility -- not just for ourselves, but for all those around us.

We must affirm that ours are not the challenges of one family, one neighborhood, one community, one city -- these are the challenges of one nation -- and we must meet them as one America. ~~For in America, the challenges of one are the challenges of all.~~

Above all, we need a new sense of community for a new century.

We must understand that our ~~rich texture~~ vibrant mosaic of racial and ethnic diversity, ~~deeply held~~ deep religious convictions, and widely different political ~~philosophies~~ views is a ~~Godsend~~ gift for the 21st Century ~~world~~. We know of the dark impulses that lurk in ~~the regions of the soul everywhere.~~ human soul. They have ~~touched us and nearly destroyed~~ enguited us in our own past. They may tempt us again in our future. And we see them in the lives of too many people around the world. ~~We here~~ America must have the generosity of spirit to repress those impulses, and to show the world: our differences do not diminish us; they strengthen us for the work ahead. In a world of ever-more-open interaction among people, our ability to live and work with people different from ourselves is a ~~rich resource~~ wellspring waiting to be tapped. Let us always remember: our nation imposes no test of creed or religion or race. We say: if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, you are an American. ? (do we need this?)

Lincoln said, as our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew. As we turn to face this new century, let us think ~~anew~~ and act anew for our ~~new~~ own times.

Insert this from p. 1 →

With a new government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we can build our bridge to the 21st Century. On the one side, we will finish the unfinished business of this century. On the other side, we will lay the foundations for an even greater America -- maybe explain this...

-- an America that leads the world in the next century -- promoting peace and freedom, fighting the forces of destruction, expanding fair and open commerce. This is more than a responsibility; it is a priceless opportunity ~~without precedent~~ and privilege. But if we want the benefits of

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leadership, we must shoulder the burdens, and pay ~~our way~~ the cost.

-- An America with the world's finest education, with all our schools connected to the Information Superhighway, the highest standards for learning in the world, and the doors of college open to all our people.

-- An America where anyone struggling to move from welfare to work can find a job, where children aren't born to children, and where all parents live up to their sacred responsibility as parents -- where the problems of the underclass have become a thing of the past.

-- An America where familiar faces patrol our streets, criminals cannot buy guns, people walk safely around the block at night, and send their children safely off to school each morning.

-- An America where parents have the chance to succeed at home and work, children can be protected from dangerous influences like tobacco ads and television violence, and no child's health is ever put at risk for lack of health care or safe water, air and land.

-- An America where the miracles of science extend our lives, and the wonders of technology fills them with knowledge and power.

-- An America where our politics respond to the national interest and not narrow interests, where a smaller government does a better job.

-- An America where we have kept our obligations to provide health care to our parents and a secure retirement for all generations to come.

-- An America where we balance our budget and invest in our future.

Today, I pledge to you to use every ounce of my strength and every power of my office to bind us together and to prepare our nation for the century ahead. ~~Like you~~, But I cannot do this alone. I ask the Members of Congress, on this platform beside me, to join in that pledge. The American people, with eyes open, returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely, they did not ~~do this~~ aim to advance the politics of petty bickering and personal destruction they plainly deplore. Now, they have asked us to honestly debate our differences, then work together in a spirit of mutual respect. America demands and deserves big things from us. Nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernadin, just weeks before the end of his life: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division." We must not waste the ~~precious~~ gift of this time.

All of us are on that same journey of life, which must surely come to an end. But the journey of America must go on. And it will -- if we do our duty.

And so, my fellow Americans, let us run the race that is before us with patience and determination, with mercy and charity. With our dreams and labor, let us build our bridge to the

with confidence in ourselves and one another.

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21st Century -- wide enough and strong enough to carry all Americans across, ~~especially those in generations to come whose faces we will never see.~~ and from whose heights we can see the horizon of a better America for generations we'll never know.

Let is be said of us that we led our beloved ~~land~~ nation into a new century with the American Dream alive for all of ~~her~~ its children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of ~~her~~ its people. With America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout the world.

And so, as we close the work of one century, and begin the work of a new one, may God guide those who would build -- "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead" -- and, always, may God bless our America.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	Taylor Branch to the President; RE: Inaugural Address (1 page)	01/16/1997	P5, P6/b(6)
001b. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 7:00 pm draft (3 pages)	1/15/97	P5
002. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 10 pm draft (3 pages)	01/16/1997	P5
003. draft	President William J. Clinton Inaugural Address, 10 pm draft (1 page)	01/16/1997	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14539

FOLDER TITLE:
Inaugural Drafts - '97 [5]

2006-0469-F
db1975

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]

Draft 1/15/97 7:00PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather at the last American inauguration of the 20th Century, exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to this office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country on the Great Experiment that has brought us to this time and place.

At this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, ~~understand the progress~~ search the meaning of our present, and chart our course to the future.

By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet, though we are free of war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century in a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility. If we do our duty, more people at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live out their dreams than ever before.

But first, we must do our duty. *[Right now, this paragraph does not do enough to emphasize a central point of the speech: This is a moment of rare opportunity and responsibility for us as a country; if we do not seize it, the consequences will be borne not necessarily by us, but by generations to come. (Then go to: "For in our hands, ...promise of America")]* We must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great and different. But they do not ask too much of us, for we are Americans. Let us meet them with a happy and grateful heart. For in our hands, together, rests the eternal promise of America. *[If you make this change, some of these sentences could be moved to the end of the address.]*

In the 18th Century, America was born under the bold conviction that all of us are created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. In the 19th Century, our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the scourge of slavery. Then we exploded onto the world stage, in turmoil and triumph, to make this the American century.

What a century it has been. America became the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars against tyranny, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to millions in every part of the globe who longed for the blessings of liberty ~~we take for granted~~.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided health care and nutrition to poor children; worked to restore and preserve our

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environment and public health; provided public education to all our children and built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; explored the heavens; advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that moved the conscience of the nation. He told of his dream -- deeply rooted in the American dream -- "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal.'"

Too soon thereafter, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his life for that dream so that his fellow Americans might live it.

Comment A

His story is the story of America, the story of the constant dream-driven striving to live out our true creed. Our future has ever been built on such dreams and labors. Dreams and labors made this hundred years the American century. And [redacted] out of dreams and labors that we will build ~~our bridge to the 21st century.~~ a new Age of Possibility.

Already, we can see the fine lines of that new century -- dramatically changing the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for cancer, AIDS, spinal cord injuries seem within reach. In this century, we have seen the bulk of our work shift from farm to factory to computers. Tomorrow, our children will work in jobs that have not been invented, in enterprises not yet imagined.

The world is no longer divided into two armed camps with the capacity to destroy each other. Instead, the growing connections of commerce across borders give our world an unprecedented chance for both peace and prosperity.

~~Such advances herald the dawn of the Age of Possibility. But there is a darker side to this moment. Ancient ethnic and religious hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science and technology and global interdependence can be used for evil as well as good -- brandished by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, organized criminals who exploit the very progress and openness we cherish to advance their dark designs.~~

~~The future will not simply unfold. It will be forged into hard steel by the choices we make, or fail to make. And time is passing ever so quickly.~~

Just four years ago, our march to the future seemed less certain than today.

~~Then, though we gathered here in hope, we stood in the shadow of drift and division.~~ Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation -- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Since that day, with the stands we have taken, the battles we have waged, and the progress we have built, we have begun together to renew America. ~~Where once the ground seemed to shift beneath our feet, we have found a new center, dynamic yet rock-solid, that can center can hold and propel forward on our historic mission.~~

Once again, America stands strong as the world's indispensable nation. For the first time in history, more citizens of the earth are living under democracy than dictatorship. The nuclear threat has been reduced. Commerce among nations has expanded to record levels. And from the snows of Bosnia, to the sands of the Middle East, to the cobblestone streets of Belfast, to the sunny shores of Haiti, those who love peace and freedom look to America for inspiration and support.

Once again, America's economy is the strongest on earth, creating more jobs in a four year term than ever before, the smallest deficit of any major economy, and at long last, rising incomes for working families.

Once again, we have put family and faith and community at the center of our concerns. Our most urgent social problems, which seemed destined to deepen -- crime, welfare, poverty, inequality among working people -- all are bending to our efforts. Families are receiving support in their efforts to succeed at home and at work, and in raising children in a culture too often at odds with their values.

Once again, we are moving forward toward a genuine American community, ~~founded~~ in mutual respect, exalting citizen service, ~~resisting the use~~ of race, religion and politics to sow hatred, divide us, and ~~threaten our~~ own union, even as these forces destroy the lives and hopes of ~~millions~~ around the world.

Once again, we have resolved for our time the age old debate of the role of government in our common endeavors, moving beyond the competing philosophies that threatened our progress. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; government is not the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. ~~Government's role is to give us the tools to make the most of our own lives.~~ ~~Government~~ We have instituted govt of the people, by the people, for the people, as the means by which, together, we can meet the challenges of each new age.

To do that, we need a new government for a new century. ~~Where it comes to our~~ common challenges, Americans cannot be left on their own. Where it can stand up for the values and interests of ordinary Americans and give them the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, then our government should do more, not less. Helping citizens to keep their streets safe from gangs and drugs. ~~Helping~~ communities protect the environment God gave us. Helping parents to protect their children from harmful influences. Challenging every student with higher standards and stiffer expectations. Opening the doors of college to all. Bringing the benefits of science and technology. Summoning citizens to responsibility ~~and~~ citizen service. Providing the conditions of growth in poor areas, and opportunity for people to move from welfare to work. Calling forth the best in us, and standing firm against the worst.

This we learn from history, through war & social unrest, but too is the lesson taught us, when our cause is new, we must think anew & act anew.

We need a new govt for the 21st century. A govt that is smaller and closer to the people. But a govt strong enough to give us the tools to give the people the means to make the most of our own lives.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Draft 1/16/97 10 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 20, 1997

Fellow citizens:

We gather today at the last Inauguration of an American President in the 20th Century -- a moment of consecration and rededication. It is time to recall the greatness of our past, to understand the progress of our present, to chart the course of our future.

We stand at the end of one century and the dawn of another, and we see, from the height of this place and this moment, the duty that falls to us now. By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy as no generation before us the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free of war, depression and unrest, this too is no ordinary time. For we stand at the edge not only of a new century in a new millennium, but of an Age of Possibility -- a moment in history when more people than ever have the chance to ~~make the most of their own lives~~ thrive -- if we but have the courage, the fortitude and the vision to ~~plow our way forward~~ make the most of it.

This promising future will not simply unfold. We in this generation, in this time, must do our duty. By the stands we take, the battles we wage, the choices we make, we will write our own history, shape our own destiny and forge our own future into hard steel. And from that steel we will build a bridge to carry us forward on the long and glorious journey of this, our beloved land.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great and different. But they do not ask too much of us, for we are Americans. Let us meet our challenges with a happy and grateful heart. For in our hands, together, rests the eternal promise of America.

That promise was born in the 18th century of the bold conviction that we are all created equal, endowed by God with inalienable rights of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness; spread across this continent in the 19th century, as we preserved our union and abolished the scourge of slavery; and then exploded onto the world stage, when we, in turmoil and triumph, made this century our own.

What a century it has been. We have become the world's mightiest industrial power, won two world wars against tyranny, waged a long cold war to defeat communism, advanced peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out and sacrificed for millions in every part of the globe who sought the blessings of liberty.

In this century, our people built the great American middle class; lifted the elderly out of poverty; provided comfort to our poor children; worked to restore and preserve the land, the air, the water that God gave us; ignited the light of public education for all our children; brought forth revolutions in science and technology; culture and the arts which brought forth new revolutions of their own; explored the heavens; advanced equality for African-Americans and other minorities, and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

In America, our future is built on our dreams and labors. On our dreams and labors, we have made this hundred years the American century. And, now, on our dreams and labors we must build for the century to come

I don't like this phrase might to say it 3 times.

Already, we can see the fine lines of the next century -- dramatically changing the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another. [fixes coming] Four years ago, only a handful of physicists had heard of the World Wide Web. Today, millions of schoolchildren use it to explore the vast world of knowledge. Scientists are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our greatest plagues? seem within reach. Our children will work in jobs not yet invented, in enterprises not yet imagined. A world no longer divided into two armed camps with the capacity to destroy each other, now has the chance to lift itself through unprecedented connections of commerce. ← nice ← weak

Yet there is a darker side to this moment. Ancient hatreds take on new and dangerous dimensions. Science, technology and global openness can be used for evil as well as good -- by rogue states, terrorists, drug traffickers, organized criminals who exploit the progress we cherish.

. Four years ago, we gathered in hope, but still stood in the shadow of uncertainty. Together, we vowed to change our course, to force the spring, to renew our nation. [-- secure in the knowledge that what was wrong with America could be cured by what is right with America. *Good as it is, I would not repeat from first Inaugural.]*

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Above all, we need a new community for a new century. Let us see the richness of our racial and ethnic backgrounds, our deeply held religious convictions, and our competing political philosophies as Godsends for the 21st Century. We know of the dark impulses that lurk ~~everywhere~~ in the regions of the soul. They are destroying too many people around the world. They have touched us and nearly destroyed us in our own past. They will tempt us again in our future. We here must find in ourselves the generosity of spirit that would repress those dark impulses.

THIS GOES ON A LITTLE LONG, EVEN FOR US PROTESTANTS

_____Thirty-four years ago, the towering spirit whose life we celebrate today spoke to us on this very mall in words that moved the conscience of the nation, calling us to never forget that our destinies and our freedom are "inextricably bound," that "we cannot walk alone." He taught us then, and throughout his all too short life, that our nation imposes no test of creed or religion or race. We say: if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, you are an American. **In the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr., let us always remember: Our differences do not diminish us; they are the mighty force that strengthens our hands for the work ahead.**

excellent

In the work ahead, we will connect our oldest values to our newest challenges in the world we seek and the America we will build.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	Draft statement by the Press Secretary w/ notes on reverse (1 page)	April 1999	P5

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 14539

FOLDER TITLE:
Medals of Science - Background [1]

2006-0469-F
sb131

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]

Carla Rau - if he's getting enough oldcare.

Clinton - not coming
502 tonight at - weather
sent TO off.
no change.

Jerk - failed to get statue,
Wh Box but no one came
not dancing
press button
& medicare.

FL - speech at Bob Embry - Nov 8
children night

Bruce - go out again on gun control.

Mon - schools
anti-work - guns.
no loophole for gun show

Posts troll / Cole

Glen Cof. Tuesday
- DOD memo report

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