

FOIA MARKER

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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting

Series/Staff Member: Jeff Shesol

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 24760

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [2]

Stack:

S

Row:

91

Section:

6

Shelf:

11

Position:

2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Handwritten. [Notes on Farewell Address]. (6 pages)	01/15/2001	P5
002. draft	Farewell Address to the Nation. [with marginalia] (3 pages)	01/15/2001	P5

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [2]

2006-0467-F

vz1334

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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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).

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Draft 01/17/01 7:00pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001

My fellow citizens:

I am speaking to you tonight from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

It was eight years ago, on a bright and clear winter's day, that I stood before the nation and spoke my first words as President. I said that we, the people, faced a fundamental choice. When powerful forces are remaking our world, the question is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. Whether we would fear change or embrace it; whether we would shrink from our future, or face it and shape it.

I posed the challenge; America rose to it. In the past eight years, working together, we have prepared our nation for the 21st Century. We have made this a time of American renewal. We have built a new, information economy. And we begin this new century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has ever been.

When Americans look back at these times of great change, I think we will all feel a sense of wonder. Technologies that didn't even exist eight years ago have changed how we live, work, and relate with the world. This has been an age of transformation the kind that occurs perhaps once or twice a century. And I think Americans can say with pride that we've emerged even stronger; and made sure the greatest benefits have gone to the greater good.

I have said that to steer our ship of state through tides of change, we have to stay true to our enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. That is our nation's most basic bargain. In all the work I have done as President every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed I have sought to apply these principles.

At the start of this new century, America also needed a new kind of government. One that's smaller, smarter, and, above all, lives within its

means. We've done that. After decades of deficits, we have put our fiscal house in order, balanced the budget, and set in motion a virtuous cycle. Today, our economy is breaking records with 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, and the longest economic expansion in American history.

But what matters more is that the rising tide of our economy is truly lifting all boats, expanding opportunity for all Americans. We've restored hope. And most important, we have put people first again.

I've talked a lot tonight about preparing America for the 21st Century. But there's one thing I haven't mentioned, and I've come to believe it will matter more than any other thing we can do for our country. I'm talking about the way we come to terms with globalization and redefine our nation's role in the world.

Looking back at the last eight years, and then looking ahead, I believe that America's security and prosperity depend more than ever on our willingness to lead. This is a remarkable moment in ~~the history of the world~~. More people live in freedom than ever before. Our alliances are stronger than ever before. People all around the world see America as a force for peace. The global economy ~~is creating countless opportunities ? giving making it possible for more of our own people, and as well as billions around the world, the chance to work and live and raise their families with dignity.~~

But as ~~our nation grows more diverse, and the world more~~ interdependent, we face a new set of challenges. The same amazing advances in technology that enrich life empower those who would destroy life, whether through terrorism, crime or the spread of deadly weapons. Technology and trade, in and of themselves, don't end conflicts among nations. In fact, they can create new ones. The incredible growth of global trade hasn't closed the gap between those of us who live on the cutting edge, and the billions who live on the knife edge of survival, from Africa, to Asia to Latin America. The global gap between the haves and have-nots is growing. To dismiss debt and disease and education as "soft" issues is to be blind to hard truths. Global poverty should inspire more than our compassion. It is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

~~Some believe w~~ We cannot disentangle ourselves from the world, or that we can shield ourselves from the forces we fear. But if we want the world global economy to embody our shared values, then we must remain engaged and we must lead reflect our shared responsibility. If we want to fulfill the promise of this new

~~millennium, w~~We must embrace boldly and resolutely our obligation to lead for freedom and for peace. To stand by our allies in word and in deed. To steer between uncritical engagement and untenable confrontation with our former adversaries. To put a human face on the global economy.~~To work together with our friends and allies?~~ And to embrace, again, the forces of change ? so they benefit all peoples in all nations, ~~spurring growth and~~ lifting lives and hopes everywhere across the world.

Again, I put the challenge to you, the American people. And I know you will rise to it. I am more confident than ever that our best days lie ahead.

Now, I join all Americans in wishing our next President well in meeting these challenges in leading freedom's march into this new century. I will always be grateful to you for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. Though I will miss this historic house, I will miss even more the work I have done here, every day, for the American people.

My days in this office are nearly through; but my days of service are not. In the years ahead, I will never hold a position higher, or a covenant more sacred, than that of President of the United States. But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of Citizen.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America.

6 1/2 min.

**** EYES ONLY ****

Draft 01/18/01 5:15pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001**

call
home

My fellow citizens:

I am speaking to you tonight from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

I am grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the honor to serve – to work for you, and with you, in preparing our nation for the 21st Century. These eight years have been a time of transformation; and the people of this country have risen to every new challenge. You have made our social fabric stronger, our families healthier and safer, and our people more prosperous.

You have made this an era of American renewal.

You have done these things by staying true to our enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. In all the work I have done as President – every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed – I have sought to apply, and advance, those principles and to give the American people the tools and skills to succeed for themselves. ~~That's exactly what they've done.~~ ^{And you've} ~~set~~

These are values as old as America. ^{But} it's up to every generation to make them matter anew. To achieve that in our time, we needed a new kind of government. One that's smaller and smarter and lives within its means. After decades of deficits, we have finally put our fiscal house in order. We balanced the budget, and created the conditions for increasing growth.

Today, our economy is breaking records – we have more than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, and the longest expansion in history. ^{our} ~~But my goal has never been merely that we make our economy grow, it's that the American people grow together.~~ The truest test of our success is that the rising tide of our economy is lifting all boats, at all income levels, expanding opportunity for all Americans. That's what it means to "put people first."

our econ
has grown;
but not
impt. for
our people
have grown
together
as one
nation.

I want to leave you tonight with three thoughts about our nation and our future.

First, America must maintain our record of fiscal responsibility. ^{more} ~~As I said, it's not an end~~ ^{in itself. It's a means to create jobs and hope and opportunity for all.} ~~we need to make the~~ ^{investment in health care}

Second, I want to say that America's security and prosperity depend more than ever on our willingness to lead. This is a remarkable moment in history. More people live in freedom ^{ed, so} ~~the end~~

* if we choose
wisely, we
can cont.
to pay
down the debt while

And that will mean more

than ever before. Our alliances are stronger than ever before. People all around the world see America as a force for peace. The global economy is giving more of our own people, and billions around the world, the chance to work and live and raise their families with dignity.

more
Sp: American
name it.

But the forces of integration that have created these new opportunities also create a new set of challenges: terrorism; crime; the spread of deadly weapons and disease. The expansion of trade hasn't closed the gap between those of us who live on the cutting edge of the global economy, and the billions around the world who live on the knife's edge of survival. This global gap requires more than compassion. It demands action. Global poverty is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

→ the spread of our env.

Left
Lisease
ca?

→ depending on values, and

Thomas Jefferson, in his First Inaugural Address, warned of "entangling alliances." But in our own times, America cannot – and must not – disentangle itself from the world. If we want the world to embody our shared values, then we must assume a shared responsibility. If the wars of the 20th century – and the recent wars in Kosovo and Bosnia – have taught us anything, it is that we achieve our aims by ~~leading the forces of freedom and peace~~. We must embrace – boldly and resolutely – that duty to lead. To stand with our allies in word and deed. And to put a human face on the global economy – so it benefits all peoples, in all nations, lifting lives and hopes across the world.

→ in our hearts and in our laws

Third, we must remember that America cannot lead in the world unless we weave the threads of our coat of many colors into the fabric of One America. As we become more diverse, we must also unite around our common values. We must work harder to overcome the divisions of the past, and ~~treat all our citizens~~ ^{we must} with fairness and dignity. That is the more perfect union of ~~our Founders' dreams, the one we all must keep striving to achieve.~~ ^[disability] ^{whenever they arrived in our country} ^{regardless of their race, religion,} ^{gender or sexual orientation,} ^{and}

~~in our hearts~~ ^{people} ^{GWB} ^(otherwise get) ^{for}
I join all Americans in wishing our next President well in meeting these challenges, and in leading freedom's march into this new century.

As for me, I leave the Presidency more full of hope than the day I arrived – and more confident than ever that America's best days lie ahead.

My days in this office are nearly through; but my days of service are not. In the years ahead, I will never hold a position higher, or a covenant more sacred, than that of President of the United States. But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of Citizen.

and I say
H.C. ~~Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America.~~
~~Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America.~~

whether come
a recent immigrant

and that's what
it means to be
One America
up: (you're playing 10 pro.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1993 INAUGURAL

"Profound + powerful forces are shaking +
remaking our world, + the urgent question of our
time is whether we can make change our friend
+ not our enemy."

[we have answered that question ...]

"the engine of our own renewal."

"a new season of Amer. renewal has begun."

"we recognize a simple but powerful truth -
we need e/o. And we must care for one
another."

Intro

^{for me}
Hard to believe it was 8 yrs ago...

Not simply b/c 8 yrs. passes quickly
in the life of any man; but b/c the
pace of change in these 8 yrs ...

→ time of trans.

(1992 - we knew that change was coming,
accelerating - and we knew our
govt was not prepared...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I. INTRO: It's about change, stupid

- Already underway, but accelerating
- Would we shape it or be shaped by it?
That was the central question in '92.
- would we renew our enduring values — D, R, C — in 1
or watch them be undone ~~by~~ by forces beyond our control?
(ie., last great era of trans — from ag to industrial age — was marked by econ inequality, soc instability,
- change is inevitable, but progress is not.

II. → OUR MANDATE/MISSION

- to manage the change
- to shape it in a way true to our enduring values
- to use it to advance those values:
to expand opp, deepen our sense of respons., broader vision of common

$$\begin{array}{r} 94 \\ 365 \\ \times 8 \\ \hline 2920 \end{array}$$

THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON

(Amos on) Henry Adams on Presidents:
 must

It is what Henry Adams, the grandson
 of John Adams — the first P to live in
 this house — said of presidents:
 must have hand on wheel, have clear
 course & must ~~see~~ have the port in (ship of
 sight state...)

III. HOW?

- One plan...
- New vision of govt for new age... (not prob. or soln)
- Third way / end false choices...
 - crime,
 - env,
 - etc. (Accompany here)

→ New consensus?

IV. MOVING FWD.

Warning on fiscal discipline
 as fdr / predicate for all were
 achieved?

One America?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- Sense of purpose

Henry Adams:

"The POTUS ~~never~~ resembles the
Commander of a ship at sea. He must
have a helm to grasp, a course to
steer, and a port to seek."

And to an ^{un}purpose
Global

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

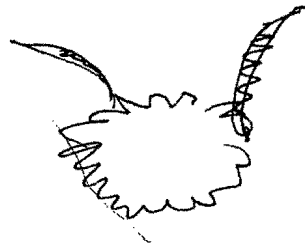
tech — too narrow
Global forces

more on 8 yrs. ago

social fabric was fraying, etc.

left beh.

personalize it
hard to leave ...



Like you, I have watched this
transformation w/ a ^{sense of} ~~certainty~~ awe,
+ gratitude + humility.

~~most~~ ^{has found} President ~~find~~ it hard
to leave this office, this remarkable
place, and

~~former~~

Every First Family has
found it hard to
leave

so will
H. C. + me. But we leave the WH w/ →

→ a profound

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I have had the sense, esp. in
recent weeks, that we are only
getting started — that, ^{we have seen} "the season
of renewal" that I called for in
my 1st Inaugural Address ~~to~~
~~come and go~~ and

And, for the first time in gen,
America has

I will miss this office
this T3L

but most of all I will
miss the work...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MW 11:00 pm

Tonal — too much for eye + not ear
— bursts of eloquence that are clearly distinct from areas designed to convey info

Structural — not concrete enough

1) How things are better now

→ false notes of humility

I know that no p + no govt is responsible for everything

that's esp. true now

this is one of those pds —
explosion of creativity, innov.,
entrepr.

2) values we brought to decision-making:

2nd half → 3rd way worked

3) we built a ~~new~~ solid fdn.
new consensus

[BACK]

OJW

COPY

Maac-cell

903-3039

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

rp: "you know, in the

I think that's a good thing ...
And as I've thought about it

- 1) → we learned the hard lesson about
fiscal discipline (build into
body of gov)
- 2) Globalization / us intl engagement
temptation to turn inward
(not just econ.)
- in our interest
- 3) race

How to end?

say someth

In 2 days, a new pres. will sit
at this desk. ~~Here~~ we shd give
him our prayers (grace note).
I know better than anyone how hard it
is and gov. how hard in time of
change →

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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Speechwriting
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OA/Box Number: 24760

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Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001**

create

My fellow citizens:

Tonight, I am speaking to you from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

It was eight years ago, on a cold and clear day, that I stood ~~before the crowds~~ at the Capitol ~~and the nation~~ and spoke my first words as President. That day, in the depth of winter, I called for a "season of American renewal." Today, I am proud to say that the season has turned, and the spring has come.

~~So much has changed since then: in our own lives, and the life of our nation.~~ It has been a long time since America has seen change as swift, or as sweeping. New forces have changed forever the ways we live, work, and relate with one another. They have created a new economy – a powerful engine fueled by ideas and information. They have empowered us as individuals while making us more interdependent; and have put the world, quite literally, at our fingertips.

I will always consider myself blessed to have served in these challenging times. And I will always be grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. Like many of you, I feel both pride and humility that we begin this century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has been in a generation.

move to end

In 1992, when I first ran for President, it was clear to many Americans that change was coming. But they were not at all sure that they welcomed it. They were not at all confident they would have the tools or skills to succeed in a changing world. ~~Our economy was ailing. Our social fabric was torn. And our leaders seemed stuck in an endless loop of old arguments over welfare, the deficit, and crime.~~

they had a choice to make

~~Once or twice a century,~~ the American people face a fundamental choice, one that I posed ~~and~~ in my First Inaugural Address. I said: when "powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world," the question is "whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy" – whether we are going to shape change, or let ourselves be shaped by it.

to set

Someone ~~has~~ said the President is like the commander of a ship at sea. He must have a helm to grasp, a course to steer, and a port to seek. Well, my mandate in 1993 – and my mission ever since – was to steer our ship of state in these great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges of a new century.

I posed the challenge; you rose to the moment.

For almost 3,000 days, my helm has been this desk. And on every one of those days I have had the honor to work here, I have sought to move our country forward in a way that advances our enduring values. Every day, I have asked myself: will the work we do expand opportunity for all Americans? Will it deepen our sense of personal and mutual responsibility? Will it broaden our vision of community? All the work I've done as President – every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed – I have done with these things in mind.

Looking back, the toughest decisions were the ones most worth making. From the start, we knew that fiscal discipline would be the foundation of all our other efforts, of anything else we wanted to achieve. Three decades of deficits was long enough. And so, for the first time in a generation, we balanced the budget, turning red ink into black – and standing strong against those who said the only way to balance the budget was to do it on the backs of the poor. Instead, we stayed true to our values, and put America on the path to progress.

That credit goes to the American people – to their relentless drive, and their restless, creative spirit. All that any President can hope to do is help create the conditions, and give people the tools, to build a better future for themselves and their families.

Of course, a strong economy shouldn't be the only measure of our progress...

[social progress; leadership in the world]

[Third Way/ role of gov't]

[warnings: fiscal discipline, race]

[conclusion, grace note to Bush, looking forward, thanks, role of citizen]

Draft 01/15/01 7:00pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001**

My fellow citizens:

Tonight, I am speaking to you from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

Eight years ago, on a cold and clear afternoon, I stood before the nation and spoke my first words as President. That day, in the depth of winter, I called for a "season of American renewal."

Today, I am proud to say that the season has turned, and the spring has come.

Like you, I feel both pride and humility that America begins this century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has been in a generation. It has been even longer since America has seen change as swift, or sweeping, as we have in these eight years. New, global forces have changed forever the ways we live, work, and relate with one another. They have empowered us as individuals while making us more interdependent; and have put the world, quite literally, at our fingertips.

In 1992, when I first ran for President, it was clear to many Americans that change was coming. But they were not at all sure that they welcomed it. They were not at all confident they would have the tools or skills to succeed in a changing world. The American people faced a fundamental choice, one that I posed in my First Inaugural Address. I said to you then: when "powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world," the question is "whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy" – whether we are going to shape change, or let ourselves be shaped by it.

I posed the challenge; you rose to it. The relentless drive of the American people – and their restless, creative spirit – have created a new economy. What I have sought to do is to help create the conditions, and give people the tools, to build a better future for themselves and their families.

Someone said the President is like the commander of a ship at sea. He must have a helm to grasp, a course to steer, and a port to seek. Well, my mandate in 1993 – and my mission ever since – was to steer our ship of state in these great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges of a new century.

For almost 3,000 days, my helm has been this desk. And on every one of those days I have had the honor to work here, I have sought to move our country forward in a way that advances our enduring values. To expand opportunity for all Americans. To deepen our sense of responsibility. To broaden our vision of community. All the work I have done as President – every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed – I have done with these things in mind.

Looking back, the toughest decisions were the ones most worth making. From the start, we knew that fiscal discipline would be the foundation of all our other efforts, of anything else we wanted to achieve. Three decades of deficits was long enough. And so, for the first time in a generation, we balanced the budget, turning red ink into black – and standing strong against those who said the only way to balance the budget was to do it on the backs of the poor. Instead, we stayed true to our values, and put America on the path to progress.

Of course, a strong economy shouldn't be the only measure of our progress...

[social progress; leadership in the world]

[Third Way/ role of gov't]

[warnings: fiscal discipline, race]

I will always consider myself blessed to have served in these challenging times. And I will always be grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President.

[conclusion, grace note to Bush, looking forward, thanks, role of citizen]

Room
4529
DOJ.

more colloq.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001**

My fellow citizens:

you
Tonight, for the last time as President, I am speaking to you from the Oval Office.

It was eight yrs ago on a
~~I can hardly believe how much time has passed since that~~ crisp, clear, winter's day, when I stood before the crowds at the Capitol and spoke my first words as President. So much has changed since that day: in our own lives, and in the life of our nation. It has been a long time since America has seen change as swift, or as sweeping.

Like many of you, I feel both pride and humility that we begin this century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has been in a generation. *It's that day* Eight years ago, in the depth of winter, I called for a "season of American renewal." Today, I am proud to say that the season has turned, and the spring has come.]

I will always be grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. And I will always consider myself blessed to have served in such challenging times.

It's
~~This is a remarkable moment for America and the world.~~ *over the course of these 8 yrs,* New forces have changed – forever – the ways we live, and ~~learn~~ *only*, and relate with one another. They have created a new era of ~~unprecedented prosperity, transforming an economy run by industry into one driven by ideas~~ *economy – a powerful engine fueled by* and information. They have empowered us as individuals while making us more interdependent; and have put the world, quite literally, at our fingertips. *too much on tech*

2
In 1992, when I first ran for President, many Americans saw the change coming. But they were not at all sure that they welcomed it. They were not at all confident they would have the tools or skills to succeed in the global economy. *2* The American spirit was strong as ever, but was being stifled by low economic growth; by high deficits, interest rates, and unemployment; and by a national debt that had quadrupled in just 12 years. Our social fabric was fraying. And our national leaders seemed stuck in an endless loop of old arguments over welfare, the deficit, and crime. *2*

Once or twice a century, the American people face a fundamental choice, one that I posed anew in my First Inaugural Address. I said: when "powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world," the question is "whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy" – whether we are going to shape change, or let ourselves be shaped by it.

Someone has said the President is like the commander of a ship at sea. He must have a helm to grasp, a course to steer, and a port to seek. Well, my mandate in 1993 – and my mission ever since – was to steer our ship of state in these great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges of a new century.

For almost 3,000 days, my helm has been this desk. And on every one of those days I have had the honor to work here, I have sought to move our country forward in a way that advances our enduring values. Every day, I have asked myself: will the work we do expand opportunity for all Americans? Will it deepen our sense of personal and mutual responsibility? Will it broaden our vision of community? All the work I've done as President – every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed – I have done with these things in mind.

Looking back, the toughest decisions were the ones most worth making. From the start, we knew that fiscal discipline would be the foundation of all our other efforts, of anything else we wanted to achieve. Three decades of deficits was long enough. And so, for the first time in a generation, we balanced the budget, turning red ink into black – and standing strong against those who said the only way to balance the budget was to do it on the backs of the poor. Instead, we stayed true to our values, and put America on the path to progress.

Now, I've only got a couple of days left in office, but the historians and pundits are already debating how much credit I get, or don't get, for all that went right with our economy. Well, maybe I can just clear this up right now. I don't think any President can take the credit for everything good that happens under his watch. That credit goes to the American people – to their relentless drive, and their restless, creative spirit. All that any President can hope to do is help create the conditions, and give people the tools, to build a better future for themselves and their families.

Of course, a strong economy shouldn't be the only measure of our progress...

[social progress; leadership in the world]

[Third Way/ role of gov't]

[warnings: fiscal discipline, race]

[conclusion, grace note to Bush, looking forward, thanks, role of citizen]

Note to new P wishing him well
This sp is my note to Am people

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