

Clinton
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Duba Poin

PREFACE

This book is ~~about my vision for America. It is part of a~~ ^{es the} continuing conversation I have had with the American people about our destiny as a nation, ~~and our duty to prepare for the new~~ ^{and our need for a shared vision of 21st Century America, that will enable us to} century, ~~to reach beyond our fears and divisions to grasp the~~ extraordinary opportunities ^{of} in this age of possibility.

The Proverbs teach us that, ^{When there is no} "Without a vision, the people perish." ~~My vision reflects both the lessons of our nation's~~ ^{I ran for Pres in 1992 because I thought our Nation lacked a} history and the demands of the present moment--~~who we are today,~~ ^{unifying vision from future and a strategy to achieve it, and that} where we stand, ~~what challenges we face and how best we can~~ ^{we were in danger of drifting into the new era,} address them as we stand on the threshold of the 21st century.

~~As a President,~~ ^{As a President,} I have always believed we must keep America strong at home ~~and abroad, ensure that all Americans willing to work hard for it~~ ^{challenges and opportunities, and to ensure that} have both the capacity and the opportunity to make the most of ~~their lives, and make sure we move forward into the next century~~ ^{growing together, not apart.}

~~Meeting our challenges depends fundamentally on our~~ ^{as} understanding that America is a set of convictions as much as a ~~country, convictions embodied in our Declaration of Independence,~~ ^{Country,} Constitution and Bill of Rights. ~~Our entire history has been an~~ effort to ~~preserve the rights and meet the obligations they~~ ^{enshrine, and then to make them real in the lives of all} enshrine, ~~and then to make them real in the lives of all~~ ^{Americans.}

~~My vision for America at the dawn of a new century~~ ^{is of a nation in which} is of a nation in which ~~we can realize our American dream~~ ^{That same history tells us there are three things we must do} ~~creativity for all who are willing to work for us; our diverse America~~ ^{to meet the challenges of the present and reap the opportunities} ~~community is growing stronger, and our leadership~~ ^{for peace, freedom, and prosperity embolden us to lead the world} ~~for peace, freedom, and prosperity embolden us to lead the world~~

the K. S. ...

To achieve this vision we must pursue a 3 part strategy
~~of the future, and these three things are the organizing~~
 principle of this book. First, we must ^{create} ~~secure~~ the American dream
~~of~~ opportunity for all Americans willing to work for it. Second,
 we must demand responsibility from all Americans to ~~meet their~~
 obligations ~~as citizens, parents and members of the community.~~
 And third, we must forge a stronger American community ~~by~~
~~bringing our country together so we can move forward as the most~~
~~diverse, most united nation on earth.~~

In the three main sections of this book--Opportunity,
 Responsibility and Community--I explore what ~~I believe~~ are the
 most important challenges we face today, ~~the principles and~~
~~values that will help us meet them,~~ ^{what} ~~and the roles of individuals,~~ families
 the community, businesses, and government ^{as we work together} ~~as we work together~~ ^{More}
 toward the next century. We know that when we stay true to our
 values and work together, America always wins.

Recently, in Israel, I told a group of young people that I
 believe there is within each of us a kind of balance scale
 between hope and fear. And every day, we must make a choice:
 shall we live by our fears and define ourselves by what we are
 against, or shall we live by our hopes and define ourselves by
 what we are working for, by our vision of a better future. This
 is the choice that each of us--every individual, every family,
 every community, every generation--must make every day.

My balance scale tilts heavily in the direction of hope,
 just as America's does, and always has.

Be able to deal w/ experience

as progress
 is achieved
 is the
 result
 of
 work

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INTRODUCTION

Early in the morning of October 3, 1991, I left the governor's mansion in Little Rock to take a long walk. In a few hours I would announce one of the most important decisions of my life--that I would run for President--and I needed to clear my head. ~~I did what I've always done: I went out and talked with people I knew in town, listened to their concerns and asked for their advise.~~ ^{It always helped me to go} ~~I went out and talked with people I knew in town, listened to their concerns and asked for their advise.~~ ^{and} When I returned, a little while before I was to make the announcement, my staff was in a panic but I was calmer and more certain than I'd ever been before.

I declared for the Presidency because I felt our country was drifting into the future instead of steering a clear course for the 21st century. ~~and wanted to help lead a nation~~ American political thinking--in both political parties--had come to a stalemate. On the one hand you had those who felt the answer to our national challenges was to throw more money at them through ever-larger government bureaucracies and programs. On the other hand, you had those who said ^{the market would} ~~we should solve all our problems if only the government could get out of the way~~ stop believing there are issues that are our responsibility to ~~and leave people to fend for themselves. For the previous 12 years~~ ~~try to deal with as a nation, who suggested we should simply walk~~ ~~the town had committed our policies~~ away from our commitments and our duties to one another. What had this thinking yielded us? We were having the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. We had quadrupled our national debt in only 12 years. We were becoming more divided, racially and ethnically, at the very time that we needed to be

coming together. And there was even some question of whether we had the will to support America's continued ^{would} leadership ^{after} ~~in~~ the ^{Cold War} ~~world~~.

I sought the presidency in large measure because we--~~and~~ especially my own generation--had work to do for America. I did not want my daughter to grow up to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents. I did not want her to live in a country that was coming apart when it ought to be coming together. I wanted to bring together the two great sources of strength that our nation has, the power of our representative government, ^{liberally} ~~as manifested~~ in the presidency, to address the challenges of every age and time, and the far, far greater power of the American people to transform themselves, their families and their communities, to seize the future and make it theirs. [from speech at UCLA, 5/20/94]

And so, on that October morning, from the steps of Little Rock's Old State House, I told the American people that I had three simple ideas that could take us confidently into the 21st century. First, and most important, I said we had to make sure the American Dream was alive and attainable for every single American willing to work for it. Second, I said I believed we had to make a virtue of our diversity, we had to celebrate it and use it to create a stronger sense of community, because it's obvious that we do better when we work together than when we let our differences divide us. And third, I said I wanted to make sure our nation stays secure by remaining the world's strongest

force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

In that announcement speech, and in many other speeches during that campaign year and since, I laid out a strategy to achieve these goals that is rooted in three values of great and enduring importance to our country: make sure everybody has the opportunity to make the most of their lives, require that they shoulder the responsibility to do so, as individuals, parents and citizens; and work together as a community to live up to all we can be as a nation. In 1991, I said these values should be the core of a new covenant with the American people. *offer a contribution*
~~of new ideas and ~~the~~~~ ~~reality,~~
 these values have always constituted the basic bargain of America, *with character of our people* ~~the essence of who we are~~ and the foundation for our success as a nation.

This strategy is also rooted in my own strong personal conviction that the future can be better than the present, that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to help make it so, and that we do best when we work at it together, finding common ground in ~~our~~ shared values and showing mutual respect for our differences.

It is also a reflection of my life and work--grounded in the values my grandparents instilled in me and my hard-working mother demonstrated day in and day out, values bolstered by the teachers with whom I studied and the Americans with whom I have worked and have tried to serve, beginning in my native state of Arkansas and continuing to this day.

Everything I have done in the nearly four years I have been

in the White House has been about reinforcing these values--
 opportunity, responsibility, community--and bringing them to bear
 on the needs of this country. We have worked hard to rebuild and
 strengthen the economic and social foundations of our nation. We
 have, ~~despite sharp budget constraints~~ ^{reduced the size of the deficit and the size of gov't dramatically, but we have still} made investments to
 ensure that individuals have the tools they need to take
 advantage of the opportunities our economy is creating. And we
 have tried hard to ensure that those whose lives are disrupted
 by the rapid changes underway in our country don't fall through
 the cracks or get left behind. ^{By almost every measure, America is better off than four years ago,} But we have much work yet to do;
~~our contribution to the world of the 21st century~~
~~America is, and always has been,~~ a work in progress.

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We live in an age of great possibility and difficult
 challenges, ~~an age of intense and rapid social, economic, and~~
~~political change.~~ ^{to be clear} ~~We are moving from the Industrial Age to an~~ ^{the}
~~Information Age, in which~~ ^{from the world to the global village, the pace and scope of change is staggering} Information, money, and services can and
 do move around the world in the blink of an eye. ~~Think about~~
~~this:~~ There's more computing power in a Ford Taurus than there
 was in Apollo 11 when Neil Armstrong took it to the moon. By the
 time a child born today is old enough to read, over 100 million
 people will be on the Internet; even my cat, Socks, has his own
 home page on the Work Wide Web. [Princeton, 6/4/96]

But the new technologies that connect us as never before to
 new people and communities of interest also can isolate us from
 each other and our traditional communities ~~of place.~~ ^{trust.} And the
 same technologies ~~are bringing about wholesale industrial~~

restructuring, ~~creating~~ tremendous opportunities but also high levels of economic uncertainty and anxiety. Many of our cultural traditions seem under attack ^{from the very source of entertainment we cherish of the age.} ~~from television programs and movies that violate our values, to the disrespect shown to parents, shepherds of whether or not we hear them, and the respect of the world teachers, public servants, even sometimes democracy itself.~~ ^{And to expose us about whether our next generation will be better off than our generation while we've won the cold war, new threats abound in the global} ~~village. The very openness of our society, and indeed of the~~

*Very
Recent*

~~interconnected global village as well,~~ ^{that cross national borders} makes us vulnerable to new forces of destruction: organized crime, drug cartels, ~~rogue states with biological and chemical weapons~~ ^{one and most of all here at home frontier WTC towers} and, as we've seen in Tokyo's subways, in the Middle East, and ~~on the streets of~~ ^{various terrorist} Oklahoma City, ~~vicious and cowardly~~ terrorists. [Tel Aviv,

3/14/96]

~~The opportunities and challenges we face are profound, sometimes wrenching and unprecedented but our present condition has often confusing and contradictory. In the intensity of our~~ ^{our} ~~present moment, these challenges seem unprecedented, but in many ways they're not.~~ ^{present moment parallel in the not too distant past}

About 100 years ago, America found itself in a similar period of profound, ^{sometimes} ~~even~~ paradoxical change, ~~A century ago,~~ ^{as} ~~the~~ nation made the transition from the Agricultural Age to the Industrial Age, ^{with vast numbers of people moving from farms to urban centers} ~~people realized that their world was changing rapidly and that, for their own economic survival, they had to~~ ^{change too.} ~~change too.~~ It caused a massive uprooting of people and deep dislocation of our way of life. Folks ~~moved from rural communities to towns and cities in droves.~~

The very nature of work changed. People who had risen,

worked, and rested following the cycles of the sun now punched time clocks--often day and night. Craftsmanship gave way to mass production. Workers became more specialized and began to feel more like cogs in a great machine. Markets changed from local to national. Old work disappeared and new work emerged. And the opportunities for creating wealth were staggering.

The idea of community changed. With the advent of railroads and telegraphs, the small self-reliant town, often isolated both geographically and socially, found itself connected to the outside world. As cities expanded, whole new urban neighborhoods grew and old ones were transformed--they throbbed with life, but many were also crowded, dirty and unsafe. The makeup of the population itself changed too; new immigrants flooded into the country and long time residents became fearful, creating social unrest and prompting calls for immigration controls.

The political system began changing too. Quite suddenly, a class of incredibly wealthy businessmen gained more and more control over economic, social, and political life. The gap between the richest and the rest widened; some did very well indeed, but many saw their dreams fade. Unchecked, driven by greed, the "robber barons," as they were called, got richer and ordinary folks became cynical and resentful.

People became concerned with what they saw as the deterioration of moral standards and campaigned to shore up the values they felt were eroding. Some people attacked immigration

using thinly-veiled racist statements about the loss of community "purity." Industry ran roughshod over workers: children and women, many of them immigrants, were locked in sweatshops working night and day; conditions in many factories were unsafe; there was fraud in the insurance and banking industries, and more.

~~Why does this sound so familiar? Because if you replace a few words here or there,~~ ^{the turn of the last century begins to} look very much like the turn of this century. ^{Workers are better} protected today than they once were, ~~though there are still~~ ^{abuses,} and we have a stronger middle class today; ~~and that the~~ ^{widening gap} lessens the extremeness of the gap between the rich and the poor ^{is lessened somewhat by our social safety net. Still the upheaval seen} ~~that existed back then. But the upheaval, and even many of the~~ ^{of that time are so familiar to us today.} challenges ~~are very similar.~~

A hundred years ago, the public demanded national action to deal with the problems rapid change created, ~~and local government couldn't solve.~~ What emerged was the Progressive Movement. It was given voice and direction by Theodore Roosevelt, ~~a Republican~~ ^{who was} and ~~a former governor,~~ committed to ensuring that the free market worked for all Americans, protecting them from the abuses of the Industrial Age, conserving the nation's natural resources, reforming government and asserting America's leadership in the world.

Teddy Roosevelt, and later Woodrow Wilson, ^{went beyond the conventional} ~~a Democrat and~~ ^{theology of both their parties in their determination} another former governor, were determined to use the power of the United States Government to ensure that America secured the benefits of the new age without being broken by it, ^{so that} ~~without~~

~~having~~ our identity as a nation, our character as a people, ^{the} ~~our~~
 ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the
 Constitution ^{would be relevant} ~~savaged~~. That's what the Progressive Movement was
^{in the 1900s.} all about--about a shared vision of what America ^{would} ~~can~~ and should
 be, about mending the frayed fabric of family and community, ^{been individual goals}
 about harnessing the forces of change and using them to meet ~~our~~ ^{and}
 common national goals. Many of its guiding principles are still
 useful today as we strive to meet our challenges while protecting
 our values in another period of rapid change.

Our challenge today is to prepare for a new century, for a
 future in which we must learn to live ^{in harmony} with people who may seem
^{very} different, work with technologies that may seem difficult, pursue
 opportunities and markets that may seem distant. ^{It} In the face of
 bewildering, intense, sometimes overpowering change, people
 understandably recoil. There are those who would try to avoid
 the future, to turn back the clock, or simply to hold out for as
 long as they can. And there are those who embrace the future
 with all its changes and challenges and engage in what Justice
 Oliver Wendell Holmes once called, "the action and passion ^{of}
^{our} ~~your~~ time." The choices we make as individuals and as a
 generation make ~~s~~ all the difference.

^{Three before}
~~Three times~~ in this century ~~alone~~, our nation has faced this
 choice--whether we would embrace or reject the future. After the
 slaughter of the Great War, we entered a time of wrenching change
 and enormous anxiety, a period in which the hottest novelist of
 the era, F. Scott Fitzgerald, said we grew up "to find all gods

dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken." America withdrew from the world, seeking security in isolationism and protectionism. An ugly withdrawal occurred here at home too, a retreat into the trenches of racial prejudice, of class bigotry and a refusal to prepare our people to live in the world as it was. Ten years later, in 1929, that decade of neglect produced the Great Depression. And soon thereafter, we learned we could not withdraw from a world menaced by dictators and found ourselves in yet another world war.

At the end of that bloody conflagration, we made a second, but this time different choice. We decided to reach out to the future together--together here at home and together with the other nations of the world. We embraced a view of ourselves and our history Franklin Delano Roosevelt described as "a highway on which your fellow men and women are advancing with you." Abroad, we lifted former allies and former enemies alike from the ashes. At home, we invested in the future by investing in our returning warriors. We passed the GI Bill to help millions of Americans to get an education, helped them buy homes, and built the great American middle class. Those and other wise investments produced four decades of robust economic growth and expanding opportunity.

Today, at the edge of a new century, we face that critical choice for a third time: will we embrace the immense opportunities and difficult challenges before us or will we try to avoid them? ~~I think we learned that lesson after World War I;~~ ^{We have learned the lesson of the past!} we must embrace the future.

As we do so, however, we must constantly remind ourselves of the basic bargain: ^{we must go forward together, an opportunity for all} ensure the dream of opportunity, ^{and responsibility from all.} stay true to ~~the tradition of responsibility and commit to bringing our~~ ~~country together, amidst all its diversity, so we can find common~~ ~~ground and go forward together.~~

~~It would be good for all of us~~
 The only way ~~we're going to succeed in the next century is~~ ^{to} if we all tack our Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Bill of Rights to the wall and ~~remember to~~ look it over from time to time. The promise imbedded in America's basic bargain is there: America promises liberty, but demands civic responsibility ~~from its free citizens.~~ America promises everyone the opportunity to pursue happiness, but it does not guarantee it. America does not guarantee prosperity either, but ~~promises~~ ^{must} ~~to help~~ provide the conditions ^{and the tools} ~~under~~ which all citizens willing to work hard and play by the rules have the chance to ^{maintain it} ~~live up to~~ their God-given potential.

That is America's promise. Today, just as in the Progressive Era, we can only redeem that promise by embracing the future, confronting its challenges and seizing its opportunities.