

November 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB RUBIN

FROM: BRUCE REED
SUBJECT: The Clinton Legacy

In the end, Presidents are defined not by their budgets and programs, but by how their words and actions shape the nation's character and spirit. Many of this President's initiatives -- health care, welfare reform, community policing, national service -- will outlive our time here and make a real difference long after we're gone. But the true legacy of Bill Clinton's Presidency depends on whether he can redeem the promise of his Memphis speech, and end what he called our "great crisis of the spirit" by challenging Americans to change from the inside out.

Over the last year, we have searched valiantly for a theme around which to organize our agenda -- a journey which took us from "new directions" to "security" in less than 10 months. We ought to approach this challenge from the other way around: we should set forth the philosophy first, and the agenda will follow. The great social progress in our history has come from changes not in our laws but in our thinking (which often made new laws possible). If we pin our hopes to the fate of a particular program, we may see it fail or get watered down in Congress, backfire in practice, or die out when another Administration takes over. But if we can change people's expectations of themselves, their communities, their country, and one another, we will bring about lasting change that no one can repeal.

What the country needs more than anything else -- and what Bill Clinton is the first American leader since Robert Kennedy to provide -- is a moral challenge, a crusade to shake our cynicism and stir our weary souls. As the President said in Memphis, we need to fight for changes from the outside in that will inspire and enable Americans to make the changes only they can make from the inside out.

This crusade is new to Washington and to the Presidency, but not to Bill Clinton. For as long as I have known them, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton have been crusading to restore these basic values: work, faith, family, opportunity, and personal responsibility. The best moments of his campaign and Presidency have come when he put those values first. Whenever the Administration has tried to stand on some other organizing principle, we have sounded hollow and come up short.

Three challenges are at the heart of the change we seek:

1. Forging a new social contract built on opportunity and responsibility. For more than two decades, powerful social and economic forces -- the breakdown of the family, the stagnation of personal incomes, the decline of the schools, and the expansion of social welfare programs in an effort to make up for the collapse of everything else -- have destroyed the link between individual effort and success. We will not reverse those forces until we restore that basic social bargain.

Every item on our agenda should reward personal responsibility where possible and require it where necessary. We must end welfare as we know it, and replace it with work. We've got to make absent fathers pay their child support. We must let the rich, the poor, and the middle class know that there will be no more something for nothing in America -- but that hard work will once again be rewarded with success.

2. Restoring the conditions of civilized life. The President said last week that we have to challenge every individual, community, and organization in America to help us restore the conditions in which civilized life can go on. That means not only putting 100,000 cops on the street in community policing and taking every other available measure to prevent crime and violence, but also shoring up the institutions that used to sustain us -- family, community, schools, churches, and above all, work.

Ironically, the near collapse of civilized life in our cities may give us the best chance we've ever had to do something about it. Sen. Moynihan has spent three decades trying to focus the nation's attention on dependency, illegitimacy, and moral decay. At last Americans may be scared enough to listen.

We need a national campaign against teen pregnancy. Our welfare reform plan needs to send a clear signal to prospective young fathers and mothers that having a child out of wedlock is not an excuse to dodge child support or a ticket to a lifetime of benefits. We should use welfare reform, empowerment zones, and other new initiatives to restore work as the basis of our social policy and the organizing principle of all Americans' lives.

Finally, whether the issue is crime, violence, greed, racism, or illegitimacy, we need to be willing to say what is right and what is wrong. Of all the powers of the office, none is more important to the fate of this country than the moral authority the President brings to work every day.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK QUINN
BRUCE REED
PAUL WEINSTEIN

SUBJECT: SEIZING THE OUTSIDER'S AGENDA

We believe it is important that the President take the offensive on a series of issues and put forward a reform agenda for the rest of the decade that will enable him to remain the agent of change and political reform in 1996 and beyond.

Lamar Alexander's opening salvos suggest that the President's Republican opponents will try to capitalize on the American people's continued disenchantment with Washington, and accuse the President of abandoning his agenda for change and letting Congress go on with business as usual. Such attacks will always find a receptive audience among Perot voters — the 19 percent of the electorate most hungry for change and most hostile to the status quo.

The President can already make a strong case that he has fought for change, and defeated many special interests in the process. But we need to keep pressing for more sweeping change in how government works and the way Washington does business.

Here are a few innovative proposals for the President to consider after the 1994 legislative session is concluded:

GOVERNMENT REFORMS (REGO II)

1. Children's Tax Credit Paid for by Cutting Government Subsidies

The President's most prominent remaining campaign promise and the Republican's last hope for a wedge issue is the middle class tax cut. The version he always favored was the one you proposed in Gore-Downey: a children's tax credit. We recommend that the Administration propose establishing a trust fund to pay for a Children's Tax Allowance targeted towards middle-class families. It would be paid for by savings from eliminating unnecessary government subsidies. This cut and invest strategy would reward hard-working middle-class families who play by the rules and eliminate subsidies for industries that should be able to compete in the marketplace on their own.

Rob Shapiro has proposed a series of corporate subsidies and government programs that could be cut for this purpose. None of these cuts would be easy, but all would pit the President against established interests in Washington. Even the most entrenched special interests would be hard pressed to defeat middle-class tax relief. You could direct this effort as the second phase of Reinventing Government, and stress the theme that parents can do more for their children with this money than government can.

Some of Shapiro's examples include requiring polluting firms to pay more of the costs of cleaning up their toxic wastes (\$1.1 billion); allowing Federal agencies to buy goods and services directly from private firms at market rates (\$16.8 billion); ending subsidy payments for wealthy farmers and companies (\$1 billion); charging market rates for water from Bureau of Reclamation projects and water used to irrigate surplus crops (\$4.3 billion); charging market rates to mine on public lands (\$1.2 billion); charging firms using the inland waterways to cover government's costs (\$2.2 billion); charging utilities the government's costs to enrich their uranium (\$1.6 billion); ending extractive industries' special right to fully deduct their intangible drilling, exploration, and development costs, instead of depreciating them (\$5.9 billion).

The savings could go into a trust fund earmarked to provide tax relief for families with young children -- and nobody would get their tax cut until Congress agreed with the proposed savings.

We asked the Treasury Department to provide us with some preliminary estimates of the cost of increasing the personal exemption for dependent children by \$3,000. Because the costs of raising children decline as children grow older, we propose to phase down the increased exemption or credit for children above age 5. Above age 9, the exemption would return to the current level. Only middle-class families who earn up to \$60,000 Adjusted Gross Income (combined income) would qualify. We also would exclude families who will receive the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit. For families in the 15% tax bracket, the allowance would be worth an additional \$600 per child. For families in the 28% tax bracket, the exemption would be worth \$840 per child. Treasury estimates that this proposal would cost \$6.6 billion in FY96 and \$33 billion over five years.

2. National Referendum

One of the biggest complaints about Washington is that it is disconnected from the pulse of America. One way to give government back to the people would be to experiment with a national referendum that would allow people to express their views on issues of importance.

National referendums are commonplace in Europe. Citizens in France and Denmark voted on whether or not to stay in the European union. In Italy, voters rearranged the representative system. Even Russia's new democracy has a public referendum system.

In the United States the use of referenda is limited to the State and local levels. Twenty-three States have some form of voter initiatives where an issue can be placed on the ballot if a petition has enough signatures. Most of these States are west of the Mississippi.

Establishing a binding national referendum system would require a Constitutional Amendment. Since passage of an Amendment might take awhile, the President could institute a temporary, non-binding referendum system while pressing for a Constitutional Amendment. Or the President could ask Congress to experiment with non-binding referendum votes on a limited number of issues to see if the idea works before proposing a Constitutional Amendment.

The advance of information technology makes the prospect of some kind of national referendum increasingly inevitable. Done right, with appropriate Constitutional safeguards, such an idea could bypass gridlock on important issues and enfranchise voters who have lost faith in Washington. It wouldn't have to be as shallow as Ross Perot's "electronic town meeting"; it could be an Information Age version of LaFollette and the Progressives' idea -- a tool to give citizens more say when their representatives will not listen.

For example, a referendum could be placed on the ballot at the time of a general election if at least 1% of the population of each State indicate that they want a vote. During a transitional period, signatures could be collected electronically by E-Mail or Snail Mail (postal service) by the Federal Elections Commission. Electronically, the validity of the signatures could be verified using the new digital signature standard recently established by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). Participation would be limited to registered voters. (Over time, national referenda would probably lead to increased voter registration.)

3. Tax Simplification For Business

The tax code is littered with special preferences for certain types of businesses -- pharmaceutical, advertising, dairy, life and casualty insurance (savings approximately \$49 billion) -- that cost billions in higher prices for taxpayers and lost revenues for the Treasury. During his second term, Reagan made tax reform his number one priority: eliminating loopholes and lowering income tax rates for all levels of income. We suggest a similar approach for the business code. Simplify the tax code by eliminating special tax incentives for a few businesses and use the savings to implement an across-the-board long-term capital gains reduction and a ten percent worker training tax incentive for all employer spending on employee education and training programs. This would level the playing field for all business. Together these proposals would cost approximately \$24 billion per year (\$17 billion for capital gains reduction and \$7 billion for training tax credit).

Some examples of the special tax preferences we would eliminate include: repealing the special tax credit exempting income earned by U.S. firms on operations in U.S. possessions (\$21.5 billion); ending firms' right to fully deduct advertising costs by amortizing

20 percent as a capital cost of building name recognition (\$17.5 billion); ending the ability of firms to exclude 15 percent of their income from exports sold through special foreign subsidiaries set up as paper corporations (\$7.9 billion); ending farm firms' special right to defer tax on income from crops delivered the following year (\$1.2 billion); ending special tax exclusion for costs of raising dairy and breeding cattle (\$0.6 billion); taxing small property and casualty insurers on same basis as their larger counterparts (\$0.2 billion); ending small life insurers' special right to be taxed on invested income instead of gross adjusted income (\$0.6 billion).

Proposing a reduction in the long-term capital gains rate will promote investment and productivity. It will signal that the President is pro-business and also will take away an issue long dominated by Republicans. Coupling the reduction in the long-term capital gains rate with a training tax incentive should help win broader support.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORMS

To achieve his reform agenda, the President may have to turn up the heat on Congress. He doesn't have to point fingers at anybody, but he needs to enlist support for popular reform in order to overcome lingering resistance. We can't reinvent the Executive branch unless we get some help in reinventing Congress.

1. Require Congress and the Executive branch to abide by all the laws they pass, and challenge Congress to reduce its operating costs by 20%

The President has long maintained that one way to put government back in touch with the American people is to have Congress abide by the same laws it imposes on the rest of America. The President also challenged Congress to follow his lead in reducing its cost of doing business — Congress operates at a price tag of up to \$2.8 billion a year, or some \$5 million a Member. The budget battles of last year suggest that there is a great deal more support for these ideas than the leadership might like us to believe. This isn't a cheap shot at Congress; it's asking the same of them that we asked of ourselves. And in the current atmosphere, we would actually be doing most Members a favor by giving them a chance to vote for something that will play well back home.

2. Reduce the Number of Congressional Committees and Subcommittees

There are 239 committees and subcommittees in the House and Senate and 37,000 employees on Capitol Hill, many of them committee staff members. The proliferation of committees has led to the proliferation of redundant, duplicative, and ineffective Federal programs. These programs often exist not because they serve the interest of the American people but exist because so many committees want a piece of the action. We recommend legislation or a process that would reduce the number of Congressional committees by half.

3. Term Limits on Congressional Chairmanships

Committee chairmen, protected by a system that typically defers to seniority, resist reform. Most chairmen view their missions as expanding the scope and power of their committees rather than promoting change. Limiting chairmanships to six years would decrease the incentive to empire-build and encourage legislators to place the national interest above the narrow interest of their committees. Unlike Constitutional term limits, which would deprive Congress of many of its most talented Members, this proposal would simply require them to apply their experience and expertise in other legislative areas.

BUDGET REFORMS

1. Line Item Veto/Enhanced Rescission Authority

The House earlier this year passed expedited rescission authority, but the proposal is still sitting un-acted upon in the Senate because of the opposition of Senator Robert Byrd. The President has always supported some type of line-item veto authority, we believe this should be made a legislative priority next year. Only with the President's full support can we expect to pass this legislation next year. Unlike the Balanced Budget Amendment, the Line-Item Veto would actually help reduce the budget deficit, and its passage would help the President deflect criticism that he did not support the Balanced Budget Amendment. In addition, the President ought to be able to rescind a portion of an agency's appropriation as a way to enforce performance.

2. Sunset All New Programs

Nothing in government should last forever unless it works. You've called for sunseting the federal personnel regulations as part of the National Performance Review; you should go further, and require a sunset for all new initiatives. One example of where the Administration has already done this is the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Initiative, in which the tax incentives expire after ten years.

OTHER IDEAS

1. U.S.-South Africa Free Trade Agreement

On the trade front we've made great strides in defining the Administration as pro-business/new Democrat, but everything we've done so far was initiated in previous administrations. We recommend proposing a free-trade agreement with South Africa that would further cement our relationship with their new democracy and make it clear that the United States is not retrenching from the world community. At home, an FTA with South

Africa would be supported by members of the Black Caucus and Republicans, therefore making it one of the few trade agreements that could pass easily in Congress next year.

2. Public School Choice and Charter Schools

The Goals 2000 legislation put the Administration on record for innovation in education, but it will take a concerted national effort for these reforms to take root. Lamar Alexander will try to make the mediocrity of American education a defining theme -- it's his strongest suit. The President should build on his own remarkable record here and in Arkansas by launching a national crusade for higher standards and values. Two reforms he would surely like to push harder on a national scale are public school choice and charter schools. He should not leave this work to the Department of Education, even though Riley is doing a terrific job. Alexander will try to paint us as a prisoner of the education establishment unless the President is out front pushing for daring reforms.

October 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Rahm Emanuel
Don Baer
Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Defining a Centrist Presidency

Purpose

The purpose of this memo is to define a course for the Clinton Presidency that is consistent with his philosophy and career, and that will enable the Administration to govern in the current political environment.

The Course We Propose

For now, we would describe this course as "militant centrism." By that, we mean an aggressive attempt to reject the false choices of left and right and address real choices on issues of concern to ordinary people. These issues, and the values that inform our position on them, will enable the President to forge a lasting bond with the American people.

This approach is not an exercise in finding comfortable compromise between liberals and conservatives, or between Democrats and Republicans. The key is "militant" as much as "centrism" -- the willingness to take on narrow interests on the left and right on behalf of the broad interests and values of ordinary people.

This is the only approach to governing that works today, for two inescapable reasons: 1) For some time, neither political party has put forward a compelling purpose or commanded majority support; and 2) The collapse of public institutions at every level, from government to schools to civil society, has left a void too vast for one party alone to fill, and some basic, urgent problems too fundamental to ignore. The leaders who succeed against these odds are the ones who tackle those basic problems head on, and don't pay homage to interests on the left or right that steered their parties into the ditch in the first place.

Defining Principles

Three principles define this militant centrism:

1. **It starts with what government can do, not what some interest groups think it should do.** People want government to work; they're just angry at bureaucracy that keeps it from working, and at the vested interests which they believe have made government an obstacle to opportunity instead of an engine of it. That means focusing on basic responsibilities like crime, education, and controlling spending, and stripping away barnacles of the bureaucracy and the political system that prevent government from fulfilling those responsibilities for ordinary people. It also means getting out of the business of doing things the national government no longer does well, and looking for ways that states, cities, and individuals themselves can do them better.

2. **It fights for the values and interests of ordinary people.** People think government no longer looks out for their interests or honors their values. They think Washington takes care of the wealthy and the special interests of the right and the left, but no one is looking out for them. Whatever else we do, we must put the business of government -- from the political system to the welfare system to the criminal justice system -- back in the line with the basic values of the citizens who pay for it. And we should aggressively oppose any interest that would have us do otherwise.

3. **It speaks to the nation about taking responsibility, not placing blame.** Politics has become a game of finger-pointing over phony issues that don't relate to helping real people get ahead. People desperately want us to roll up our sleeves and work on solving real problems, and start taking responsibility instead of shifting blame. The same electorate that swept us in two years ago and threatens to sweep incumbents out next month is crying out for someone who will level with them, challenge them, and show them how we can work together again to get the job done.

Let us also be clear what militant centrism is not. It is a way to get things done and make a majority of people happy, but it is emphatically not about making everyone happy. It is a way to move beyond false choices, but it is not about avoiding the need to make choices. It is a way to abandon the old left-right labels for ideas that work, but it is not about finding new labels to peddle old ideas that will not. It means forging coalitions across party lines, not among organized interests; courting the country, not the Congress; and looking at American people as taxpayers and citizens, not as recipients of services or members of a particular constituency.

Most important, militant centrism must be a course, not a tactic. We cannot treat it like a suit of clothes that can be shed as soon as the sun comes out again. It has to be a real governing philosophy that runs throughout everything we do, not a convenient way to please as many people as possible.

Where This Has Worked

This course is not new for this President. Bill Clinton has always been about putting the real concerns of ordinary people ahead of partisanship and ideology. As governor, he put the education of the children of Arkansas ahead of the interests of the Arkansas Education Association. As a candidate, he spoke out against the brain-dead politics of both parties in favor of a third way that offered real answers to real people. As President, he has stood up to organized pressure from both directions on NAFTA, the Crime Bill, and other issues. This approach has worked for him because it has shown not only what he is for, but who he is willing to stand up against -- whether it's the ACLU, the big banks, or the NRA.

Many of the most successful politicians in America, without regard to party, are following a similar course at the state and local level. It explains the success of mayors like Rendell, Daley, and Giuliani, and governors like Weld, Whitman, and before them, Bill Clinton and Dick Riley. All of these politicians have defined themselves by reaching across party lines to build a majority coalition, at the risk of alienating interests within their own party.

Mayors and governors have had to consider this course sooner than most politicians in Washington, because they do not have the luxury of blaming the other party when things don't get done. They have to solve problems -- often left to them by stalemate in Washington -- or get booted out of office.

The day when Democrats and Republicans in Washington must face that reality as well has arrived. But the leadership will have to come from a White House that offers them the chance to be part of the solution, not from an increasingly polarized Congress in which they're still part of the problem. Many Americans expected us to lead the country out of that box, and we have made a valiant attempt. But we will not escape the left and right until the battles that define us are on our terms instead of theirs.

Risks

This course is not without risks. In Washington, as we have seen, the militant center is a lonely place. The interests we stand up to will not soon forget, and it will take some time before the ordinary people we stand up for decide to trust their government again.

But the far greater risk would be to resist pursuing this course with gusto. As Bill Clinton used to say, the definition of insanity is doing the same thing twice and expecting a different result.

What Else Is Needed

On its own, this course can only take us so far. It will do the country good to see that their President is rolling up his sleeves every day to solve real problems for ordinary people, not isolated interests. But the President has to be more than the mayor of America. He has to offer people a vision of where their country is going, and inspire them to follow.

This approach will free him to do much more of that -- to be head of the country, not head of the government or the Democratic Party. Once he has escaped the doomed confines of government, politics, and party, the President can fill what he has called "the hole in our politics where common purpose used to be."

In the end, this course offers him the chance to do one more thing that may matter most of all -- to identify himself again with the values and interests of ordinary people. More than any other politician of our time, Bill Clinton is uniquely qualified to restore the American Dream because he has lived by it, prospered by it, and remained true to its promise.

December 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Weekly Report -- New Ideas

Here is a brief update on some of the long-term ideas under development for the State of the Union and beyond. This list is very much a work in progress: These proposals are still being vetted with policy and political advisers in the White House and around the agencies, and some may not stand up to deeper scrutiny. Meanwhile, the search for additional ideas will continue. Don Baer and I have been working on a process for the State of the Union to ensure that in preparation for the speech, we ask the Cabinet and prominent thinkers outside the Administration to submit their thoughts on what you should say.

In the end, the State of the Union may not be the right moment to unveil our whole agenda -- either because it would be overshadowed by wherever we are in the budget talks, or because we want to keep enough new ideas in reserve so that you can stay in the news and put forth a positive agenda while the Republican candidates are attacking us and one another throughout the spring. But we need to make sure that the State of the Union sets the tone for our new agenda, and that the FY97 budget leaves room for it.

This week's report will focus on first-tier issues: the economy, crime, education, and personal responsibility. Next week, I will say more about political reform, the environment, and other issues.

I. ECONOMY

The best way for you to highlight your strong record of economic accomplishment is to put forward a positive, optimistic vision of economic opportunity. This is not just a matter of generating new economic ideas -- our actual policies have always been more appealing than the Republicans'. What we need is an overarching theory of economic growth as compelling and

simple as their message of cutting taxes and cutting government. Here are two possible theories of economic growth that are consistent with your record:

1. Economic Reform and Self-Reliance: One way to describe what we have done and need to keep doing is the idea that there's nothing wrong with the American economy that can't be fixed by getting rid of old rules, old deals, and old arrangements. That is what reducing the deficit, lowering trade barriers, and reinventing government are all about -- stripping away laws and habits that were meant for another era and are a burden to American workers, taxpayers, and business. Now, we must unleash the full energy of individuals and the private sector by phasing out corporate welfare, reforming the tax code to reward savings and investment instead of access and privilege, reducing regulation, and continuing to make government work better and cost less. Our guiding principle would be Andrew Jackson's motto, "Equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none."

- **Phasing Out Corporate Welfare:** This would not only reduce the deficit, it would get rid of tax and spending subsidies that distort the economy and discourage innovation. It's a bigger downpayment on tax reform than the Republicans will ever offer. We don't have to wait for the State of the Union -- we could capture the issue once and for all in the budget talks right now. For example, as a good-faith effort to close the gap between our 7-year budget and theirs, we could propose paying for the tax cut through a base-closing commission on corporate welfare. We should link the size of the tax cut directly to the size of the corporate welfare cuts: if the Republicans want to go higher than \$100 billion on the tax cut, they'll have to agree to an equally high number on the corporate welfare cuts. This proposal would win enormous editorial and public support, put the Republicans on the defensive on their tax cut, and establish a consensus Democratic position that if there's going to be a tax cut, it must be fully paid for. The commission could be designed with an annual trigger, so that each year it proposed enough corporate welfare cuts to pay for that year's tax cut (which would mean we would face relatively modest corporate welfare cuts in 1996).
- **Middle-Class Tax Reform:** What we can propose next year on tax reform depends largely on what is left to do after a budget deal. The Kemp Commission is likely to recommend a flax tax to Dole in January. That will leave us all kinds of running room, from narrow initiatives like tax simplification to broader proposals that encourage savings (like Lieberman's Kidsave idea to make the children's tax credit larger if parents put the money into savings). Rob Shapiro is working on a sweeping proposal that would close most loopholes but exempt personal savings and education as well as business research and development.
- **Ending Bureaucracy As We Know It:** We have never made an economic argument for reinventing government, but we should. The next generation of REGO ideas will make government smaller and more efficient, streamline regulation, and reduce fraud. For example:

- By the year 2000, no American should ever have to set foot in a government office: We can and should make every government service available by computer, telephone, or ATM card. (Already, people can pay their taxes, order stamps, and take care of their Social Security checks by phone.) That means we'll be able to close a lot of government offices -- but more important, no one will ever have to stand in line again. We may want to form a consortium with the private sector to ensure that this vision comes true.
- The federal government will begin to measure performance, not red tape: If we end up with block grants in areas like welfare and training, we should make the most of it by getting out of the business of red tape and regulation and into the business of rewarding performance. We can't let federal agencies go on operating the same way as if nothing happened -- we should make a clean break. For example, we could close down the welfare office at HHS and replace it with a performance office (either at OMB or HHS) that keeps track of results but doesn't regulate or tell states what to do. We don't get enough credit for downsizing government because we never actually eliminate an office. This would be a chance to get out of the welfare business altogether (at little sacrifice, since the current bill mandates a 60+% staff cut anyway).
- Common-sense regulation will promote economic growth: Paul Weinstein has been working with NEC, EPA, and Treasury on a Brownfields initiative that would provide a combination of tax incentives and liability relief to encourage cities and the private sector to develop abandoned industrial and commercial property. This proposal combines economic development and environmental cleanup in a way that appeals to suburbanites tired of seeing their "greenfields" developed as well as urban leaders who want to revitalize the inner city.
- A high-tech war on illegal immigration, welfare fraud, and other criminal abuse: We now have the technology (fingerprinting, biometrics, DNA testing) to stop all kinds of abuses that drive most Americans crazy: trading food stamps for drug money, applying for welfare benefits in more than one state, dodging paternity, etc.

2. Democratic Capitalism: Another economic approach, which Bruce Babbitt championed in 1988 and we touched on in 1992, is the idea that enabling Americans to earn a bigger stake in their companies and their economic destiny will make America richer and more competitive. This is an optimistic, forward-looking answer to the wage gap: Every American should have the chance to be an owner, every company that rewards its executives should reward its employees, and every American who works hard should earn the right to take their pension, health insurance, and training with them wherever they go. In a Microsoft economy, the best way for a secretary's

wages to keep pace with a star programmer's is for both to own stock in the same company or invest in the same mutual fund. This approach leads to market-based proposals with a populist edge:

- **Any company that gives bonuses or stock options to its executives should do the same for its employees:** Stocks and profits are soaring while wages are stagnant, but it does little good to plead with corporate leaders to "give America a raise." A policy of bonuses and options for all or none has more teeth -- companies could no longer deduct bonuses and stock options unless they're universal and company-wide. Individual ownership and workplace democracy could prove to be one of our most powerful weapons in reducing the income gap between the upper 20% and everyone else. Consider this: Wages and incomes for the average American have been flat for 25 years, but the stock market has nearly doubled after inflation. To underscore our commitment to workplace democracy, we could also experiment with citizen-owned government -- privatizing federal agencies by giving shares directly to citizens.
- **Companies that overpay their executives shouldn't get a tax break from the government:** In 1993, we eliminated the deductibility for CEO pay of over \$1 million, but Congress riddled it with loopholes. We could strengthen it by reducing the threshold to \$250,000 or \$500,000, and by adopting Hank Brown's proposal to apply the rules to private as well as public companies. Brown would eliminate the deductibility of high salaries unrelated to performance -- for example, utility infielders who earn \$1+ million to warm the bench.
- **Pensions, health care, and training should be portable, not entirely at the mercy of the employer:** We should be pushing portability in an optimistic way -- as a new freedom that will enable people to change jobs when they want, not just as a security blanket for workers who get laid off. The NEC is working on proposals in these areas (achieving portability is not as simple as it sounds), but the basic idea is that people who work hard should earn some independence as a result. In particular, we can put forward a series of measures on pensions: cracking down on pension ripoffs; warding off Republican efforts to make raiding easier; and stop making taxpayers pick up the whole tab for congressional pensions -- members of Congress should have to set money aside like everyone else.

II. CRIME

Rahm and I are working with the Justice Department on an aggressive anti-crime agenda for the coming year and beyond. We are focusing on three targets: youth violence, drugs, and reform of the criminal justice system:

1. **Youth Violence:** The overall crime rate has begun to decline on our watch, but random youth

violence continues to increase, and is expected to get much worse by the end of the decade as the number of 14-17-year-olds goes up. We are looking at a host of ideas to stem the tide:

- **Declaring war on gangs, the way Bobby Kennedy declared war on organized crime:** We would want to know how much we can actually accomplish before taking on such an ambitious challenge. But there is no question that gangs are responsible for much of the crime and drugs on our streets, and have literally destroyed childhood for millions of young Americans. A war on gangs might include:
 - More aggressive gang prosecution, including: an FBI Most Wanted List of the 10 Most Dangerous Gangs, high-profile indictments of gang leaders, and an anti-gang community policing initiative through the 100,000 cops program.
 - Banning gang members from public housing: We've asked Justice for constitutionally permissible ways to restrict gang activity. One housing authority is using a two-strikes-and-out policy to evict repeat offenders.
 - Stiffer sentences for criminals who wear bullet-proof vests.
 - Target criminals with guns: Justice is developing police gun detectors that can spot concealed weapons. These could be deployed in combination with more aggressive use of constitutionally permissible police authority to stop and frisk suspicious characters for weapons.

- **Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free:** We are working with the Justice and Education Departments to build upon our record on school safety, which includes a nationwide youth handgun ban, drug testing of school athletes, zero-tolerance for weapons in schools.
 - Put a police officer in every public high school that wants one: We have talked with Secretary Riley about using existing funds from federal drug education programs to enable communities to put police officers in every dangerous school. There are about 10,000 public high schools in America, but requiring a local match (as we do in the COPS program) would keep the demand well below that -- probably in the range of \$50-200 million a year.
 - Give schools a roadmap of constitutionally permissible ways to fight crime and drugs -- ranging from drug testing and locker searches to school uniforms: The Education Department has agreed to work with Justice on a set of constitutional guidelines for fighting crime and drugs, akin to the guidelines for school prayer. The Attorney General met with school officials in Long Beach this week to announce our interest in school uniforms.
 - Promote law enforcement ROTC in the high schools: NYPD Commissioner Bratton is pushing youth police academies as a way to steer teenagers toward discipline and law enforcement at an early age.

- **Challenge states to change the way they deal with young criminals:** Justice has drafted legislation on federal prosecution of juveniles as adults. But the real challenge will be to get states to reform their juvenile court systems to ensure that young criminals are punished. Justice has developed a Youth Violence Action Plan that includes model standards for states.

2. Drugs: We will need to maintain the offensive on drugs, which Republicans view as our weak spot. One of our most important initiatives, Drug Courts, is up for grabs in the appropriations battle. Other possible initiatives include:

- **Drug testing for parolees:** This initiative is ready to be announced at any time.
- **Zero tolerance for professional athletes:** It is time to close the revolving door for professional athletes like Darryl Strawberry, Steve Howe, and Dwight Gooden, who are repeatedly suspended for drug use, but manage to make their way back onto the field. We should challenge baseball and other professional sports to no longer tolerate drug use -- period. Imagine the message it would send to young people if athletes actually had to act like role models, and if using drugs meant the end of their professional career rather than a slap on the wrist. It should be a privilege to play in the major leagues, not a right.
- **Challenge high school coaches to adopt drug testing for athletes.**

3. Shutting the Revolving Door: Americans are fed up with the criminal justice system. We can't solve the problem on our own, since 95% of crime is state and local -- but we can ill afford to ignore it.

- **Make swift and certain justice the law of the land:** The federal system is actually a model of swift and certain justice: every defendant gets a speedy trial, every victim has certain rights, and every convicted felon serves his entire sentence. The real trouble is in the states. The Crime Bill gives states and localities billions of dollars to hire police, build prisons, and overhaul their systems. Now we should set forth a compelling vision of the national standards we expect them to meet. Every state should have a Speedy Trial Act, a Victims Bill of Rights, certainty of punishment for young offenders, drug testing for prisoners, and Truth in Sentencing for everybody. A sound three-strikes policy should be the law of the land.
- **Every victim has the right to a lawyer:** Many lawyers, if they do pro bono criminal work at all, do it on behalf of defendants on death row. There's nothing wrong with that, but why aren't we challenging the legal profession to do more to help victims and not just accused criminals? For example, we should urge the ABA membership to make a pro-bono national commitment that every victim of domestic violence who needs a lawyer can get one, free of charge. We should also find out whether we could make it easier for

lawyers to do pro-bono work to assist prosecutors and police.

III. EDUCATION

Carol and I met with Secretary Riley this week, and he agreed to come back to us next week with ambitious proposals on charter schools, school safety, work study, and technology. All these initiatives build on our achievements thus far, and contrast nicely with the Republicans' agenda.

- **Every public school in America should be accountable for results, and any parent who isn't satisfied should have the right to choose another public school for their child:** One of the best things we could do to spur reform would be to lead a national campaign for charter school and public choice laws in every state (19 states already have charter laws on the books, although some are too weak). The Education Department is also developing a bold federal initiative to provide start-up money for up to 1,000 new charter schools. Public school choice and competition should become as universal as public education. Since charter schools have to compete for customers and most school charters are tied to performance, the marketplace will eventually ensure parents can see a report card for every school.
- **Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free:** [see Crime section]
- **We should reward students who work their way through college:** Nothing symbolizes the American Dream more than the value of working one's way through school, as you did. Yet for all the battles over student loans and national service, work-study is the form of college aid that gets the least attention. The Republican budget cuts work-study in two ways -- by cutting the EITC and by taxing adults whose education is paid for by their employers. We have asked Education to come up with options for ways to expand work-study -- for example, by getting rid of current student loan rules that penalize students for working, or by offering grants to institutions to offer work-study jobs during the summer. Eventually, we could link all college aid to work or service.
- **Parent-teacher contracts:** [See Personal Responsibility section]

IV. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

It is always tempting to offer a program for every problem. But as we move toward an era of block grants and balanced budgets, we should face up to the fact that the government no longer has the money, the public confidence, or the moral authority to try to solve all the country's problems.

There is another way to go -- a more refreshing, honest approach that might do more to put our country and our politics back on track and bring our people together. Instead of new promises, we could set forth new challenges, and call on individuals to take more responsibility for their own lives, families to stick together, parents to look out for their children and children to respect their parents, politicians to find common ground and civility, corporations to share their gains with their workers, and citizens to give something back to their community and country.

The last 30 years have shown Americans that they can't count on government to solve all their problems. The last 12 months have shown them that they can't count on getting rid of government to solve all their problems. Americans don't want to go back -- so where else can they turn now but inward?

- **The virtue of self-reliance:** I believe this hunger for self-reliance is a good thing, for us and for the country. Self-reliance is America's oldest, most enduring virtue. It is not the same as the Republican ideal of every man for himself, which too often comes at the expense of everyone else. And it is a more powerful idea than our favorite buzzword, empowerment, because its ultimate goal is to figure out not simply what government can do for you, but what it will take (from family, from community, from government, and most important, from within) to make it possible for all Americans together to achieve the liberty and independence that this country was founded to secure.
- **A Challenge to America, not another list of promises:** Many Americans are longing for a crusade to turn the country around before it's too late -- to reverse family breakdown, moral decay, and complacency, and inspire responsibility, community, and patriotism. The Million Man March is powerful evidence that Americans are willing to ask more of themselves, and want their leaders to ask more of them as citizens.

I'm not sure that a moral crusade needs an agenda, but if it did, the organizing principle could be a 5- or 10-point challenge to the American people -- instead of a Contract with America full of easy promises, a Challenge to America that sets forth honest expectations and demands responsibility from Americans in all walks of life. For example:

- Challenge families to stay together: Restoring the family will do more to solve our economic and social problems than any government program. Incomes have gone up over the past 25 years for two-parent families; it's the rising number of single-parent families that holds household incomes down. You should repeat your challenge to every man in America never to raise his hand to a woman.
- Challenge parents to get more involved in their child's learning: Under Tony Blair, the Labour Party has begun pushing parent-school contracts that spell out responsibilities for parents (to help their children study, stay off drugs, and show up for school) and schools (to challenge children and provide a safe, disciplined environment). Many charter schools in the U.S. have begun to enter into these

contracts as well.

- Challenge young people to stay in school or lose their driver's license if they drop out for no good reason: This shouldn't be a federal mandate, but it's a good example of the personal responsibility agenda you pushed in Arkansas and could push from the bully pulpit.
- Challenge companies to invest in their workers and in America: Companies should let workers share more of the rewards from their hard work. The next time they open a new plant, they should do it in South Boston, South Texas, or South Central instead of South America or South Korea.
- Challenge politicians to make politics more civil, and citizens to get more involved in their democracy.
- Challenge Americans to give more back to their community: Dan Coats may be right -- perhaps we should provide more incentives for charity and family, as we have done for national service.
- Challenge everyone to reach across racial lines and come together as a community.

May 1, 1996

File:
FOTUS memos

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DON BAER
MICHAEL WALDMAN
BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES

This memorandum outlines themes and topics for this spring's commencement addresses. We propose that you do a total of four such speeches. These speeches would be thematically consistent, and presented to the press as being a package, best viewed as a whole.

These speeches would have several purposes.

First, they would give you a chance to show your vision for the country as it moves into the 21st Century. This future focus would bind the speeches together; they would not be "boilerplate," but sketch out this vision using concrete detail and rhetorical precision.

Second, these speeches would ^{show} that your future vision is fundamentally consistent with the goals and values articulated in 1992, and with the policies put in place during the first term. It would be an opportunity to discuss accomplishments ^{rad agenda} as part of a consistent, value-driven "story line."

Third, they would show the press (especially the elite press) and public your priorities for a second term, and spell out with greater specificity where you would plan to lead the country. Three speeches would focus on the topics of the Georgetown speeches of 1991: the economy, foreign policy, and the need to repair the social fabric. A fourth speech would address a topic not separately addressed in 1991: strengthening the family, and the new family agenda.

Finally, the series of speeches will enable you to frame this agenda in values terms — opportunity, responsibility, and community. You would make the argument that our challenge is to harness these traditional values, which brought America to this point, as we move into a new and very different age.

This proposal reflects the work and views of a number of people, including Dick Morris, Mark Penn, Bill Curry, Al From, [x, x, x].

Overview/community (Penn State, May 10)

This speech would discuss how we can mend our social fabric and restore the sense of duty and mutual responsibility that binds our people together. It will include a specific and memorable call to service.

Overview

Moment in history. We are approaching a new century, living through a new era. Students who start school in a few months will graduate in the new century. What kind of country do we want when we enter that new century? These four speeches seek to begin to answer this question.

Goals for country. Ran for President in 1992 with clear, straightforward goals for our country: To create opportunity for every American who would take responsibility to make the most of his or her own life. I wanted America to remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And I wanted our nation to come together as a community again. Opportunity, responsibility, community -- these have been my lodestars during the past 3 years. And I believe these are the values that will best guide our country into the new century.

Using old values to guide us through new times. In a sense our challenge is to use these traditional values -- the values that helped build our nation -- in new and unsettled times. This does not mean traditional methods (like centralized big government.) We need to stress empowerment, not entitlement. [That doesn't mean "giving a person a fish," but it also doesn't mean "draining the pond."] The era of big government is over. The era of personal responsibility has begun.

Community

Age of possibility/time of change. For decades, the bonds that linked neighbor to neighbor have been frayed, by crime, distrust, economic upheaval. The sense of community that was second nature in the immediate postwar world is long-gone. It is not enough to yearn for a lost era of backyard cookouts and local taverns. Our goal must be to recreate strong American communities in a new time -- to use traditional values as we cross the bridge into a new century.

What we have done. We have made real progress: crime record/accomplishments; welfare reform waivers, empowerment zone concept.

What we must do now. Now our goal must be to give people the capacity to build strong communities, and to give communities the capacity to defend themselves and grow, in three major ways:

Crime: When streets are empty and families are barricaded behind closed doors, crime flourishes. When neighbors walk the beat with police, a safe community is

→ Funds

reborn. We are putting 100,000 police on the streets. Today, we take the next step: we are calling for 100,000 new citizen patrols to join them ("red hats," etc.). Call on communities to us police under Crime Bill to set up citizen academies, blockwatch programs, squatter-eviction programs, etc.

Service: The second way to renew our communities is to summon an ethic of service from our people. The national service program has shown the benefits to society and to those who serve when young people work for their community. We will propose a "service scholarship," so that young people who performed community service in high schools will get priority for college scholarships.

challenges
communities
colleges
to offer

~~Focus civic responsibility~~
Civic organizations: Churches, civic groups, and informal associations that used to be the backbone of our communities. Today, too often people don't join, retreating instead behind their own walls. These local organizations have too often been replaced by government, even when private charity or community organizations can do the job better. Our job should be to help these institutions of "civil society." The speech would endorse elements of the bill proposed by Sen. Dan Coats, possibly including adoption tax credit, incentives for charity, and a general commitment that as we reform the tax code, we should press for middle-class tax relief but also rewards for savings and charity – not an across-the-board flat tax that punishes charity and hurts the middle class.

civic response
not just
what you
leave off
as we think
we must not

Family (Washington University, St. Louis, xx)

By breaking out as separate topic

This speech will deal with personal responsibility within our families -- how parents should take seriously their most important responsibility, raising their children, and how we can help families do the right thing. Because your Georgetown speeches did not include this topic as a distinct issue, its inclusion will be noteworthy. (This speech will encompass much of the "families" challenge from the State of the Union Address.)

sl
confront
to solving
problems

Smaller
got
but
large
spirit

Age of possibility/time of change. The family is our most important institution -- it is how we raise our children, build character, build economic security. It is the way we exercise our duties toward our parents and our children. And for decades, the American family and its values have been under assault -- rocked by seismic social changes, increased work pressures, deteriorating schools, TV violence, advertising and mass culture. We need to help families help themselves to live out their values.

No prob
America
can't
solve
what we
put on
heads -
heads higher

What we have done. We have made progress: saving Medicare/Medicaid, education, environment; Family leave, smoking; V-chip, stepped up child support, violence against women.

What we must do. Now we must continue with a new family agenda that helps parents protect their children and raise them into their traditional values:

- families and work / family friendly workplace (flextime, corporate citizenship)
- attack on illegitimacy: 2 parents are better than one

to
as
breakdown
of family etc.
- just cannot solve these prob, but Americans can

- welfare reform
- marriage initiative
- adoption
- call on Vice-President to lead a sweeping review of every government program to ensure that it is pro-family. (Announce some example that we are about to change -- e.g., more mayried families in public housing.)
- mandatory cooling-off period in divorce.

Foreign policy (Coast Guard Academy, May 22)

Summary to be provided by the National Security Council.

Economy/education (Princeton, June 4)

Age of possibility/time of change. This speech will set forth a concrete, detailed discussion of the move into a knowledge economy. But churning change creates uncertainty, threatens to wash away our moorings. People have to work harder than ever to keep up.

What we have done. Put in place an economic strategy to address this moment of change: cut deficit, invest in people, trade, reform and shrink government. Result: 8.5 million jobs, etc.

What we must do now. Must press forward with a strategy of opportunity and responsibility. Now we must move forward. 1) Keep economy growing (need to balance budget, etc.). 2) Need to empower people, to give them the confidence and security to move forward in new era. Portable and secure health care, pensions, training. 3) New ethic of mutual responsibility for economic growth: Every employee has a responsibility to make their company more profitable, and every employer has a responsibility to make their employees more valuable.

Above all, education. Education reform at all levels. President will travel the country to persuade every state to enact education reform challenges as issued at NGA. In a knowledge economy, we must make the single greatest element of success available to more people than ever before: college. We must make higher education more available than ever before. \$10,000 college tax deduction; 1 million in work study. Our goal: just as, after World War II, society made a decision that a 10th grade education was no longer enough, and set a goal of 12 years of schooling for everyone, now we should have as a goal 14 years of schooling -- i.e., at least community college for everyone who wants it. This goal should enlist energies of busines, educators, communities, and government. *College*

Alternative order for the speeches

An alternative ordering for the speech topics and settings would be as follows:

- Economy/education (Penn State)

- Foreign policy (Coast Guard academy)
- Community/responsibility (Princeton)
- Family (a high school graduation in California)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-15-96

July 8, 1996

96 JUL 8 8:54
I have worked
on this
with the
COWS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED AND JONATHAN PRINCE

SUBJECT: 1996 Democratic Platform

A draft platform is attached. It has three sections: Opportunity; Responsibility; and Community. The foreign policy section -- Security, Freedom and Peace -- will be forwarded separately. Within each section, planks are designed to show how today's Democratic party supports American values on every issue. The planks generally follow a three-part structure: your accomplishments; our differences with Republicans; and our vision for the future.

We do not expect any major controversies, but if there are any, they are likely to come from four places: the choice plank, which includes a conscience clause we hope will satisfy both sides; the trade plank which may meet opposition from labor; the statement of support for a victims' rights amendment; and the lack of any statement about same-sex marriages. The choice plank is on page 10; the trade plank is on pages 3 and 4; and victims' rights is mentioned on page 15.

This platform is significantly different from any other Democratic platform in many ways, including even the 1992 platform. It presents compelling evidence as to how much you have transformed the Democratic party. For example, there is a particularly strong and lengthy section on fighting crime, a statement of support for religious expression, and explicit recognition by the Democratic party that the era of big government is over.

There will be a public hearing on Wednesday in Kansas City, followed by a meeting of the Drafting Committee on Thursday. Both meetings are open to the press. The full Platform Committee will meet in Pittsburgh on August 5. As you know, Governor Miller will be chairing the Drafting Committee, and we will be there along with Elaine Kamarck and Ann Lewis.

Let us know if you would like us to make changes.

Output

~~Philippines~~
Phil:

Asean

Agenda

- ① Econ/Trade: ^{Prod, EZ} _{Res, Cash}
- ② ~~Trade~~ Trade
- ③ 20+Tg, Health, etc

Region

Phil

Asean

Agenda

- ① Crui
- ② weifu
- ③ disupp
- ④ adapt
- ⑤ negs
- ⑥ COTB
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US spend

(Cuba?)

Comm

Phil

Asean

Agenda

- ① Fam W S
- ② ~~Trade~~

Policy

Mandates
Cong and laws
Working
Win them

To do: Casey fixer

Prog. tax?

Trade

Schools
Cinema
Amusement
Dolls, Art, Music
Meat safety

Platform
Committee

→ Trade

C.U.

Missive

China
Pol Reform
Drugs
Domestic violence
Comm Expansion
Nat. Service
Budget

week

Educ.
WR.
HC
App. / Officers

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

This is the draft of the 1996 Democratic Platform which was distributed to the drafting committee.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-23-96
Todd Stern

BoReed
- 3 minor suggestions
- letter writing
- original of the proposal
Action -
CALL NUM -
105-1000-974
BK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-96

96 JUL 24 P2:00

1 07/23/96 2:30pm

2 1996 PLATFORM

3 *** DRAFT ***

4 *** NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION ***

5 INTRODUCTION

6 In 1996, America will choose the President who will lead us from the millennium
7 which saw the birth of our nation, and into a future that has all the potential to be even greater
8 than our magnificent past. Today's Democratic Party is ready for that future. Our vision is
9 simple. We want an America that gives all Americans the chance to live out their dreams and
10 achieve their God-given potential. We want an America that is still the world's strongest force
11 for peace and freedom. And we want an America that is coming together around our enduring
12 values, instead of drifting apart.

13 Today's Democratic Party is determined to renew America's most basic bargain:
14 Opportunity to every American, and responsibility from every American. And today's
15 Democratic Party is determined to reawaken the great sense of American community.

16 Opportunity. Responsibility. Community. These are the values that made America
17 strong. These are the values of the Democratic Party. These are the values that must guide us
18 into the future.

19 Today, America is moving forward with the strong leadership it deserves. The economy is
20 stronger, the deficit is lower, and government is smaller. Education is better, families are
21 healthier, and our streets are safer. There is more opportunity in America, more responsibility in
22 our homes, and more peace in the world.

23 Today's Democratic party stands proudly on the record of the last four years. We are
24 living in an age of enormous possibility, and we are working to make sure that all Americans can
25 make the most of it. America is moving in the right direction.

26 Now we must move forward, and we know the course we must follow. We need a
27 smaller, more effective, less bureaucratic government that reflects our time-honored values. The
28 American people do not want big government solutions and they do not want empty promises.
29 They want a course that is reasonable, help that is realistic, and solutions that can be delivered -- a
30 moderate, achievable, common-sense agenda that will improve people's daily lives and not
31 increase the size of government.

32 That is what today's Democratic Party offers: the end of the era of big government, a final
33 rejection of the misguided call to leave our citizens to fend for themselves -- and bold leadership
34 into the future: To meet America's challenges, protect America's values, and fulfill American
35 dreams.

1 **OPPORTUNITY**

2 For 220 years, America has been defined by a single ideal: Opportunity for all who
3 take the responsibility to seize it. President Andrew Jackson put it best: We believe in equal
4 opportunity for all, and special privileges for none. The mission of the Democratic Party in
5 1996 is to ensure that the great American Dream of opportunity for all is within reach for all,
6 and that it travels with us, whole and intact, as we walk together into tomorrow.

7 **Economic growth.** Since Bill Clinton became President, America has seen an
8 explosion of job growth, economic renewal, and opportunity. The American people have
9 created 10 million new jobs. After trailing Japan for 14 years, America once again became the
10 world's leading manufacturer of automobiles in 1994, and remained number one last year.
11 The combined rate of inflation, unemployment, and mortgage interest rates is the lowest in
12 three decades. Now, 3.7 million more Americans own their own home, and Americans have
13 started a record number of new small businesses in each of the last three years.

14 In the 12 years before President Clinton took office, Republicans in the White House
15 allowed the deficit to spiral out of control, and ignored the economic interests of ordinary
16 Americans. Bill Clinton was determined to turn things around and move America in a new
17 direction. With his leadership, we put in place a comprehensive strategy for economic
18 growth. We fought to put America's economic house in order so private business could
19 prosper, because today's Democratic Party knows that the private sector is the engine of
20 economic growth. We worked to tap the full potential of a new global economy through open
21 and fair trade. We fought to invest in the American people so they would have the capacity to
22 meet the demands of the new economy. And we have invested in the roads, bridges, and
23 highways that are the lifelines of American commerce.

24 Democrats in Congress supported this course and America is better off because they
25 did. Republicans opposed our economic plan; America's economic growth over the last four
26 years makes it clear that they were wrong. Our strategy is in place, and it is working. We are
27 proud of our economic record over the last four years -- and we know that our record is a
28 record to build on, not to rest on. We have to move forward, to make sure that every
29 American willing to work hard has the opportunity to build a good life and share in the
30 benefits of economic success.

31 In the last four years we worked to get the American economy going: cutting the
32 deficit, expanding trade, and investing in our people. In the next four years we have to make
33 the new economy work for all Americans: balancing the budget, creating more jobs, making
34 sure all families can count on good health care and a secure retirement, and, most of all,
35 expanding educational opportunities so all Americans can learn the skills they need to build the
36 best possible future.

37 *Balancing the budget.* For 12 years, Republicans hid behind rosy scenarios while

1 quadrupling the national debt. We knew this had to stop. In 1992, we promised to cut the
2 deficit in half over four years. We did. Our 1993 economic plan cut spending by over a
3 quarter trillion dollars in five years. The only deficit left today is interest payments on the debt
4 run up over the 12 Republican years before fiscal responsibility returned to the White House.
5 President Clinton is the first President to cut the deficit four years in a row since before the
6 Civil War.

7 Now the Democratic Party is determined to finish the job and balance the budget.
8 President Clinton has put forward a plan to balance the budget by 2002 while living up to our
9 commitments to our elderly and our children and maintaining strong economic growth. The
10 Republican Congress' own economists admit the President's plan will balance the budget by
11 2002. It cuts hundreds of wasteful and outdated programs, but it preserves Medicare and
12 Medicaid, it protects education and the environment, and it defends working families. The
13 President's plan reflects America's values. The Republican plan does not.

14 Today's Democratic Party believes we have a duty to care for our parents, so they can
15 live their lives in dignity. That duty includes securing Medicare and Medicaid, finding savings
16 without reducing quality or benefits, and protecting Social Security for future generations. The
17 Republican agenda rests on massive Medicare cuts, three times bigger than the largest
18 Medicare cuts in history, including new premium increases on seniors, and drastic changes to
19 Medicaid that will jeopardize the health care of children and seniors.

20 Today's Democratic Party believes that all children should have the opportunity to
21 make the most of their own lives. We believe that schools should be run by teachers and
22 principals, not by Washington. The Republican agenda slashes college scholarships and
23 college loans, cuts Head Start, and cuts funds to reduce class size and improve teacher
24 standards.

25 Today's Democratic Party believes we have a duty to preserve God's earth and
26 American quality of life for future generations. We are committed to reform, so that
27 environmental protection does not trap business in a tangle of red tape. The Republican
28 budget guts environmental protection.

29 Today's Democratic Party believes that working people should not be taxed into
30 poverty. The Republican budget raises taxes on millions of working families.

31 Today's Democratic Party believes that America must put our families first. The
32 Republican budget takes Big Bird away from 5-year-olds, school lunches away from 10-year-
33 olds, summer jobs away from 15-year-olds, and college loans away from 20-year-olds.

34 *Tax relief for working families and small businesses.* President Clinton and Democrats
35 in Congress expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, cutting taxes to help 40 million
36 Americans in 15 million working families -- without a single Republican vote. The Dole-

1 Gingrich budget was designed to give a massive tax break to the wealthiest Americans, and
2 pay for it by raising taxes on ordinary Americans and slashing health care for the elderly.
3 America cannot afford to return to the era of something-for-nothing tax cuts and smoke-and-
4 mirrors accounting that produced a decade of exploding deficits. Today's Democratic Party is
5 committed to targeted tax cuts that help working Americans invest in their future, and we
6 insist that any tax cuts are completely paid for, because we are determined to balance the
7 budget.

8 We want to strengthen middle-class families by providing a \$500 tax cut for children.
9 We want to cut taxes to help families pay for education after high school and to guarantee the
10 first two years of college. We want people to be able to use their IRA's to buy a first home,
11 deal with a medical emergency, or provide for education. We want to cut taxes for small
12 businesses that invest in the future and set up pensions for their workers. And we want to cut
13 taxes for people who are self-employed and self-insured so their health care is more
14 affordable.

15 *Technology.* We know investments in technology drive economic growth, generate new
16 knowledge, create new high-wage jobs, build new industries, and improve our quality of life.
17 In the face of Republican efforts to undermine America's dedication to innovation, President
18 Clinton and the Democratic Party have fought to maintain vital investments in science and
19 technology. We remember that government investment in technology is responsible for the
20 computer, for jet aircraft, and for the Internet -- no investments have ever paid off better, in
21 jobs, in opportunity, or in growth.

22 We support government policies that encourage private sector investment and
23 innovation to create a pro-growth economic climate, like a permanent research and
24 development tax credit. We want technology to create jobs and improve the quality of life for
25 American workers. President Clinton and Vice President Gore fought for and, the President
26 signed, a sweeping telecommunications reform bill that will unleash the creative power of the
27 information industry to create millions of high-wage American jobs. As we enter the 21st
28 century, we will continue to invest in world-class research and development, advanced
29 technologies in transportation, information, and other industries, and agricultural and
30 environmental research in partnership with American business. We are working to reinvent
31 the national laboratories and revitalize America's space program.

32 *Creating jobs through trade.* We believe that if we want the American economy to
33 continue strong growth, we must continue to expand trade, and not retreat from the world.
34 America's markets are open to the world, so America has a right to demand that the world's
35 markets are open to our products. American products are the best in the world. When
36 American workers and American companies have the chance to compete around the world, we
37 do not take second place.

38 In the last four years, the Clinton-Gore Administration has signed over 200 trade

1 agreements, including NAFTA and GATT, to open markets around the world to American
2 products, and create more jobs for the people who make them here at home. We have put in
3 place the most sweeping agreements to lower foreign trade barriers of any administration in
4 modern American history, including over 20 such agreements with Japan alone -- and American
5 exports to Japan in the sectors covered by those agreements have increased by 85 percent. All
6 over the world, barriers to American products have come down, exports are at an all time high --
7 and we have created over one million high-paying export-related jobs.

8 In the next four years, we must continue to work to lower foreign trade barriers; insist
9 that foreign companies play by fair rules at home and abroad; strengthen rules that protect the
10 global economy from fraud and dangerous instability; advance American commercial interests
11 abroad; and ensure that the new global economy is directly beneficial to American working
12 families. As we work to open new markets, we must continue to guarantee that all trade
13 agreements include standards to protect children, workers, and the environment. We must ensure
14 adequate trade adjustment assistance and education and training programs to help working
15 families compete and win in the global economy.

16 **Education.** Today's Democratic Party knows that education is the key to opportunity.
17 In the new global economy, it is more important than ever before. Today, education is the
18 fault line that separates those who will prosper from those who cannot. President Clinton and
19 Democrats in Congress have spared no effort over the last four years to improve the quality of
20 American education and expand the opportunity for all Americans to get the education they
21 need to succeed.

22 Every step of the way, we have been opposed by Republicans intent on cutting
23 education. Now, they want to cut education from Head Start through college scholarships.
24 They want to make borrowing for college more difficult for millions of students.

25 Today's Democratic Party will stand firmly against the Republican assault on
26 education. Cutting education as we move into the 21st century would be like cutting defense
27 spending at the height of the Cold War. We must do more to expand educational opportunity -
28 - not less.

29 *Strengthening public schools.* We increased Head Start funding to expand early
30 education for more children who need it. We passed Goals 2000 to help schools set high
31 standards, and find the resources they need to succeed: the best books, the brightest teachers,
32 the most up-to-date technology. We restructured federal education programs and eliminated
33 federal regulations to give local schools, teachers, and principals the flexibility and help they
34 need to meet those standards. We've worked to make sure our children have the best teachers
35 by expanding teacher education. We applaud the work of state and local Democrats to develop
36 innovative solutions to make sure our children get the best possible education.

37 In the next four years, we must do even more to make sure America has the best public

1 schools on earth. If we want to be the best, we should expect the best: We must hold students,
2 teachers, and schools to the highest standards. Students should be required to demonstrate
3 competency and achievement for promotion or graduation. Teachers should be required to
4 meet high standards for performance and be rewarded for the good jobs they do -- and there
5 should be a fair, timely, cost-effective process to remove those who do not measure up. And
6 we should get rid of the barriers that discourage talented young people from becoming teachers
7 in the first place. We should not bash teachers. We should applaud them, and find ways to
8 keep the best teachers in the classroom. Schools should be held accountable for results. We
9 should redesign or shut down schools that fail. We should expand public school choice, but
10 we should not take American tax dollars from public schools and give them to private schools.
11 We should promote public charter schools that are held to the highest standards of
12 accountability and access. And we should continue to ensure that America provides good
13 education to children with disabilities, because high-quality public education is the key to
14 opportunity for all American children.

15 *Teaching values in schools.* Today's Democratic Party knows our children's education
16 is not complete unless they learn good values. We applaud the efforts of the Clinton-Gore
17 Administration to promote character education in our schools. Teaching good values, strong
18 character, and the responsibilities of citizenship must be an essential part of American
19 education.

20 *Safe schools and healthy students.* If young people do not have the freedom to learn in
21 safety, they do not have the freedom to learn at all. Over the last four years, we have worked
22 hard to keep schools safe and drug-free, and students healthy. When Senator Dole and
23 Speaker Gingrich led Republican efforts to cut school safety funding, President Clinton and
24 Democrats in Congress wouldn't let them get away with it. When Senator Dole and Speaker
25 Gingrich led Republican efforts to destroy the nation's school lunch program, President Clinton
26 and Democrats in Congress stopped them cold. Now, we must launch a major rebuilding effort
27 to make sure our children go to school in high-quality facilities where they can learn. We
28 must help schools set the highest standards for good behavior and discipline in the classroom.
29 Children cannot learn -- and teachers cannot teach -- without order in the classroom.

30 *Technology in the classroom.* We must bring the 21st century into every classroom in
31 America. There is a vast realm of knowledge waiting for our children to tap into. Computers
32 are powerful tools to teach students to read better, write better, and understand math.
33 President Clinton and Vice President Gore understand that technological literacy is essential to
34 success in the new economy. The only way to achieve that for every student is to give them
35 all access to a computer, good software, trained teachers, and the Internet -- and President
36 Clinton and Vice President Gore have launched a partnership with high-tech companies,
37 schools, state, and local governments to wire every classroom and library to the Information
38 Superhighway by the year 2000.

39 *Preparing students for jobs.* We passed School-to-Work so young people can learn the

1 skills they need to get and keep high wage jobs. The Republican Congress is trying to destroy
2 it, and we pledge to stop them. We want to keep working with the private sector, to
3 encourage community partnerships that build the bridge between a good education and a good
4 job.

5 *Higher education for all Americans.* Finally, we must make sure that every American
6 has the opportunity to go to college. Higher education is the key to a successful future in the
7 21st century. The typical worker with a college education earns 73 percent more than one
8 without. America has the best higher education in the world. We do not need to change
9 we need to make it available for all Americans. Our goal must be nothing less than to make
10 the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as the first 12.

11 Over the last four years, the Democratic Party under President Clinton has put an
12 unprecedented college opportunity strategy in place: We reformed the student loan program, to
13 make college more affordable for 5.5 million students -- and we saved money for the taxpayers
14 by eliminating the middleman, cutting red tape, and cutting the cost of student loan defaults in
15 half. We have expanded Pell Grant college scholarships for deserving students. And the
16 President's national service program has already helped 45,000 Americans earn money for
17 college by helping their communities.

18 *Tax cuts for college.* Over the next four years, we want to go even further: We should
19 expand work-study so one million students a year can work their way through college by the
20 year 2000. We should let people use money from their IRA to help pay for college. We should
21 give a \$1000 honor scholarship for the top 5 percent of graduates in every high school. And
22 we must make 14 years of education the standard for every American. The Democratic Party
23 wants to create a \$10,000 tax deduction for families to help pay for education after high
24 school. And we want to create a \$1,500 tax cut for Americans, modeled after Georgia's
25 successful HOPE scholarships, to guarantee the first year of tuition at a typical community
26 college, and the second year if individuals earn it by maintaining a B average. No tax cut will
27 do more to raise American incomes than a tax cut to pay for college.

28 *Economic security for American families in the 21st century.* In the old economy,
29 most workers could count on one job for life. They knew that hard work was rewarded with
30 raises and steady jobs; they were confident the company would take care of them, their
31 families, their health, and their retirement. Success was tied to the success of their employer:
32 sacrifice when times were tough and a share in the wealth when times were good. In the new
33 economy, the rules have changed. We need to find new ways to help working families find
34 economic security: better training to help workers learn skills to get new and better jobs; the
35 security of good health care and safe pensions so they can take care of themselves and their
36 families. This is a challenge that American workers and managers are ready to face, and the
37 Democratic Party will continue to tackle.

38 *Rewarding work.* We honor work in America. Americans work hard, and they have a

1 right to expect that work will pay. We want to continue reversing the trend of the eighties, so
2 all Americans benefit from continued economic growth and rising wages. President Clinton
3 and Congressional Democrats fought for and won the largest expansion of the Earned Income
4 Tax Credit in history, a tax cut for 15 million working families, because no parent who takes
5 the responsibility to work full time should have to raise children in poverty. The President,
6 with Democrats in Congress, fought and defeated fierce Republican opposition, led by Senator
7 Dole and Speaker Gingrich, to raise the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour, because the
8 minimum wage should be a wage you can live on. We want to strengthen families, and we
9 challenge the private sector to help their workers earn enough to support a family.

10 *Health care.* The Democratic Party is committed to ensuring that Americans have
11 access to affordable, high-quality health care. We have expanded the Women, Infants, and
12 Children program that provides prenatal and early childhood nutrition, so that all eligible
13 women, infants, and children will have access to the health and nutrition services they need.
14 We established a comprehensive effort to immunize children, after defeating Republican
15 opposition led by Senator Dole. Last year, the percentage of two-year-olds in America who
16 were fully immunized reached an historic high.

17 The Clinton-Gore Administration has dramatically shortened the approval process for
18 new lifesaving drugs at the Food and Drug Administration and will continue to work to
19 streamline the process further; we have paid special attention to women's health issues,
20 including a 65 percent increase for breast cancer research; and we have made AIDS research,
21 prevention, and treatment a top priority, increasing funding by almost 40 percent, including
22 more than doubling the Ryan White Care Act to help care for people with AIDS. We are
23 committed to finding a cure for breast cancer and AIDS, and doing more to help all Americans
24 live longer, healthier lives.

25 The Democratic Party is proud that we held the line against the Republicans' mean-
26 spirited Medicare and Medicaid cuts that would risk the health care of millions of Americans,
27 from infants to seniors. Senator Dole voted against Medicare when it was first created, and
28 now Republican leaders want Medicare to "wither on the vine." The Dole-Gingrich Medicare
29 plan would put millions of our parents into a second class health care system for the first time
30 in their lives, and we will not stand for it. The Dole-Gingrich Medicaid plan would end the
31 guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of children, older Americans, and people
32 with disabilities. The Democratic Party wants America to preserve and strengthen Medicare
33 and Medicaid, so we honor our values and protect the health of our children, parents, and
34 grandparents, ensuring they can get the health care they need, from doctors' visits to long-term
35 care.

36 In 1993 -- without a single Republican vote -- President Clinton and Democrats in
37 Congress extended the Medicare Trust Fund into the 21st century. We have 12 given states
38 more flexibility to run their Medicaid programs more efficiently and expand coverage, while
39 maintaining the guarantee of meaningful benefits. When these plans are implemented, two

1 million more Americans will have health insurance because of them. We have given Medicare
2 beneficiaries more health plan choices and increased benefits. We have cracked down on
3 health care waste, fraud, and abuse, saving more than \$15 billion in three years. Now we
4 must finish the job -- we can balance the budget while we preserve and strengthen Medicare
5 and Medicaid, protecting millions of middle class families from being overwhelmed by health
6 care costs for their parents, children, or family members with disabilities.

7 We must move forward to reform our health care system to stop insurance companies
8 from denying coverage to families where one member has a preexisting condition, and we
9 must make sure that people can take their health insurance with them when they change jobs.
10 No more Americans should have to turn down a better job because they would lose their health
11 care if they took it. As we take steps to ensure that Americans have access to quality,
12 affordable health care, we should start by making sure that people get help paying premiums
13 so they do not lose health care while they're looking for a new job. We support expanded
14 coverage of home care, hospice, and community-based services, so the elderly and people with
15 disabilities of all ages can live in their own communities and as independently as possible.

16 *Retirement.* Over the last four years, President Clinton took strong steps to protect the
17 pensions of more than 40 million workers and retirees by fixing the federal pension insurance
18 system and demanding that companies fund their retirement plans fully. We established a
19 nationwide retirement protection program to protect workers' 401K retirements savings from
20 fraud and abuse. We recognize the unique concerns of women when it comes to preparing for
21 retirement have worked to protect women's pension rights.

22 Over the next four years, we want to take further steps to make sure that Americans
23 who have worked hard for their whole lives can enjoy retirement in the dignity and security
24 they have earned. We want to make sure people can carry their pensions with them when they
25 change jobs, protect pensions even further, and expand the number of workers with pension
26 coverage. Democrats created Social Security, we oppose efforts to dismantle it, and we will
27 fight to save it. We must ensure that it is on firm financial footing well into the next century.
28 We call on Republicans to put politics aside and join us in a serious bipartisan effort to make
29 sure that Social Security will continue to provide true security for future generations, as it has
30 done for millions of older Americans for decades.

31 *Training.* We must do more to make sure all Americans have the skills they need to
32 compete. We want a G.I. Bill for Workers to transform the confusing tangle of federal
33 training programs into a simple job-training skill grant that will go directly to unemployed
34 workers so they will be able to get the training that is right for them. We want to strengthen
35 training opportunities for people with disabilities, so they can learn the skills they need to live
36 independent, productive lives.

37
38 *Standing up for working Americans.* We nearly doubled funding for the dislocated
39 worker program and launched special projects to help workers displaced by base closures,

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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1 natural disasters, and mass layoffs. We are reforming OSHA so it can do a better job to
2 protect worker safety with less red tape, and we continue to oppose Republican efforts to gut
3 it. We beat back efforts to undermine workers' rights to form and join unions and to
4 dismantle the enforcement powers of the National Labor Relations Board. We vigorously
5 oppose Republican efforts to pass Right-to-Work legislation, and to undermine collective
6 bargaining through the TEAM Act. We are working to eradicate sweatshops in the U.S.
7 apparel industry by stepping up enforcement and public education. We oppose the hiring of
8 permanent workers to replace lawful economic strikers; we support the President's action to
9 stop the government from procuring goods and services from companies that do so; and we
10 support legislation to prohibit the permanent replacement of lawfully striking workers. We
11 believe in equal pay for equal work and pay equity.

12 *Promoting economic growth and opportunity for all Americans.* We know that it is
13 good for America when small, minority, and women-owned businesses have the opportunity to
14 grow and prosper. These business-owners create new jobs, expand opportunities, and serve as
15 powerful role models for young people. Over the last four years, the President has
16 transformed the Small Business Administration to eliminate burdensome paperwork and deliver
17 real assistance to entrepreneurs as they work to start or expand their businesses. The
18 President ordered all federal agencies to comply with laws designed to ensure that small,
19 minority, and women-owned businesses can compete for their fair share of procurement
20 dollars.

21 *Corporate citizenship.* Employers have a responsibility to do their part as well.
22 President Clinton and the Democratic Party stand on the side of working families. We believe
23 that values like loyalty, fairness, and responsibility are not inconsistent with the bottom line.
24 We call on our corporate leaders to invest in the long-term, by providing workers with good
25 wages and benefits, education and training, and opportunities for greater involvement in
26 company decision making. As workers increase their productivity, employers should make
27 sure they share in the benefits of the good years, as well as the burdens of the bad ones.
28 Employers should respect the commitment of workers to their families, and should work to
29 provide good pensions and health care. When CEOs put their workers and long-term success
30 ahead of short-term gain, their workers will do better and so will they.

31 RESPONSIBILITY

32
33 Today's Democratic Party knows that the era of big government is over. Big
34 bureaucracies and Washington solutions do not have the real answers to today's challenges. We
35 need a smaller government . . . and we must have a larger national spirit. Government's job
36 should be to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. Americans must
37 take the responsibility to use them, to build good lives for themselves and their families. Personal
38 responsibility is the most powerful force we have to meet our challenges and shape the future we
39 want for ourselves, for our children, and for America.

900-1
Small Business
Administration
5

1 **Fighting crime.** Today's Democratic Party believes the first responsibility of
2 government is law and order. Four years ago, crime in America seemed intractable. The
3 violent crime rate and the murder rate had climbed for seven straight years. Drugs seemed to
4 flow freely across our borders and into our neighborhoods. Convicted felons could walk into
5 any gun shop in the country and buy a handgun. Military-style assault weapons were sold
6 freely. Our people didn't feel safe in their homes, walking their streets, or even sending their
7 children to school. Under the thumb of special interests like the gun lobby, Republicans talked
8 tough about crime but did nothing to fight it.

9 Bill Clinton promised to turn things around, and that is exactly what he did. After a
10 long hard fight, President Clinton beat back fierce Republican opposition, led by Senator Dole
11 and Speaker Gingrich, to answer the call of America's police officers and pass the toughest
12 Crime Bill in history. The Democratic Party under President Clinton is putting more police on
13 the streets and tougher penalties on the books; we are taking guns off the streets and working
14 to steer young people away from crime and gangs and drugs in the first place. And it is
15 making a difference. In city after city and town after town, crime rates are finally coming
16 down.

17 *Community policing.* Nothing is more effective in the fight against crime than police
18 officers on the beat, engaged in community policing. The Crime Bill is putting 100,000 new
19 police officers on the street. We deplore cynical Republican attempts to undermine our
20 promise to America to put 100,000 new police officers on the street. We pledge to stand up
21 for our communities and stand with our police officers by opposing any attempt to repeal or
22 weaken this effort. But we know that community policing only works when the community
23 works with the police. We echo the President's challenge to Americans: If 50 citizens joined
24 each of America's 20,000 neighborhood watch groups, we would have a citizen force of one
25 million strong to give our police forces the backup they need.

26 *Protecting our children, our neighborhoods, and our police from criminals with guns.*
27 Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, and George Bush were able to hold the Brady Bill hostage for the
28 gun lobby until Bill Clinton became President. With his leadership, we made the Brady Bill
29 the law of the land. And because we did, more than 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers
30 have been stopped from buying guns. President Clinton led the fight to ban 19 deadly assault
31 weapons, designed for one purpose only -- to kill human beings. We oppose efforts to restrict
32 weapons used for legitimate sporting purposes, and we are proud that not one hunter or
33 sportsman was forced to change guns because of the assault weapons ban. But we know that
34 the military-style guns we banned have no place on America's streets, and we are proud of the
35 courageous Democrats who defied the gun lobby and sacrificed their seats in Congress to make
36 America safer.

37 Today's Democratic Party stands with America's police officers. We are proud to tell
38 them that as long as Bill Clinton and Al Gore are in the White House, any attempt to repeal
39 the Brady Bill or assault weapons ban will be met with a veto. We must do everything we can

1 to stand behind our police officers, and the first thing we should do is pass a ban on cop-killer
2 bullets. Any bullet that can rip through a bulletproof vest should be against the law; that is the
3 least we can do to protect the brave police officers who risk their lives to protect us.

4 *Tough punishment.* We believe that people who break the law should be punished, and
5 people who commit violent crimes should be punished severely. President Clinton made three-
6 strikes-you're-out the law of the land, to ensure that the most dangerous criminals go to jail for
7 life, with no change of parole, and signed a law to limit appeals. We established the death
8 penalty for nearly 50 violent crimes, including murder of a law enforcement officer. We
9 provided almost \$8 billion in new funding to help states build new prison cells so violent
10 offenders serve their full sentences. We call on the states to meet the President's challenge
11 and guarantee that serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence. The
12 American people deserve a criminal justice system in which criminals are caught, the guilty
13 are convicted, and the convicted serve their time.

14 *Fighting youth crime and violence.* Nothing we do to fight crime is more important
15 than fighting the crime and violence that threatens our children. We have to protect them from
16 criminals who prey on them -- and we have to teach them good values and give them
17 something to say yes to, so they stay away from crime and trouble in the first place.

18 The Democratic Party understands what the police have been saying for years: The best
19 way to fight crime is to prevent it. That is why we fought for drug-education and gang-
20 prevention programs in our schools. We support well thought out, well organized, highly
21 supervised youth programs to provide young people with a safe and healthy alternative to
22 hanging out on the streets. We made it a federal crime for any person under the age of 18 to
23 carry a handgun except when supervised by an adult. It is why Democrats fought to pass, and
24 President Clinton ordered states to impose, zero tolerance for guns in school, requiring schools
25 to expel for one year any student who brings a gun to school.

26 At the same time, when young people cross the line, they must be punished. When
27 young people commit serious violent crimes, they should be prosecuted like adults. We
28 established boot camps for young non-violent offenders. If Senator Dole and the Republicans
29 are serious about fighting juvenile crime, they should listen to America's police officers and
30 support the steps Democrats have taken, because they are making a difference, and then they
31 should join us as we work to do more.

32 We want parents to bring order to their children's lives and teach them right from
33 wrong, and we want to make it easier for them to take that responsibility. We support schools
34 that adopt school uniform policies, to promote discipline and respect. We support community-
35 based curfews to keep kids off the street after a certain time, so they're safe from harm and
36 away from trouble. We urge schools and communities to enforce truancy laws: Young people
37 belong in school, not on the street.

1 We also know that we must do everything we can to help families protect their
2 children, especially from dangerous criminals who have made a dark habit of preying on
3 young people. Study after study shows that sex offenders are likely to repeat their crimes again
4 and again. Under President Clinton, we have taken strong steps to help keep children safe.
5 We required every state in the country to compile a registry of sex offenders. The President
6 signed Megan's Law to require that states tell a community whenever a dangerous sexual
7 predator enters its midst. We support the President's directive to the Attorney General, calling
8 on her to work with the states and Congress to develop a national sex offender registry. This
9 will ensure that police officers in every state can get the information they need from any state
10 to track sex offenders down and bring them to justice when they commit new crimes.

11 *Battling illegal drugs.* We must keep drugs off our streets and out of our schools.
12 President Clinton and the Democratic Party have waged an aggressive war on drugs. The Crime
13 Bill established the death penalty for drug kingpins. The President signed a directive requiring
14 drug testing of anyone arrested for a federal crime, and he challenged states to do the same for
15 state offenders. We established innovative drug courts which force drug users to get treatment or
16 go to jail. We stood firm against Republican efforts to gut the Safe and Drug Free Schools effort
17 that supports successful drug-education programs like D.A.R.E. The Clinton Administration
18 went to the Supreme Court to support the right of schools to test athletes for drugs. The
19 President launched Operation Safe Home to protect the law-abiding residents of public housing
20 from violent criminals and drug dealers who use their homes as a base for illegal activities. We
21 support the President's decision to tell those who commit crimes and peddle drugs in public
22 housing: You will get no second chance to threaten your neighbors; it is one strike and you're
23 out. We are making progress. Overall drug use in America is dropping; the number of Americans
24 who use cocaine has dropped 30 percent since 1992. Unfortunately casual drug use by young
25 people continues to climb. We must redouble our efforts against drug abuse everywhere,
26 especially among our children.

27 Earlier this year, the President appointed General Barry McCaffrey to lead the nation's
28 war on drugs. General McCaffrey is implementing an aggressive four part strategy to reach
29 young children and prevent drug use in the first place; to catch and punish drug users and dealers;
30 to provide treatment to those who need help; and to cut drugs off at the source before they cross
31 the border and pollute our neighborhoods. But every adult in America must take responsibility to
32 set a good example, and to teach children that drugs are wrong, they are illegal, and they are
33 deadly.

34 *Ending domestic violence.* When it strikes, nothing is a more dangerous threat to the
35 safety of our families than domestic violence, because it is a threat from within.
36 Unfortunately, violence against women is no stranger to America, but a dangerous intruder we
37 must work together to drive from our homes. We know that domestic violence is not a
38 "family problem" or a "women's problem." It is America's problem, and we must all fight it.
39 The Violence Against Women Act in the 1994 Crime Bill helps police officers, prosecutors,
40 and judges to understand domestic violence, recognize it when they see it, and know how to

1 deal with it. In February, the President launched a 24 hour, seven-day, toll-free hotline so
2 women in trouble can find out how to get emergency help, find shelter, and report abuse to the
3 authorities. The number is 1 800 799-SAFE. Everyone who knows it should pass it on to
4 anyone who might need it. Every American must take the responsibility to stop this terrible
5 scourge. As we fight it, we must remember that the victims are not to blame. This is a crime
6 to be punished, not a secret to be concealed.

7 We must do everything we can to make sure that the victims of violent crime are
8 treated with the respect and the dignity they deserve. We support the President's call for a
9 constitutional amendment to protect the rights of victims. We believe that when a plea bargain
10 is entered in public, a criminal is sentenced, or a defendant is let out on bail, the victims ought
11 to know about it, and have a say. A constitutional amendment is the only way to protect those
12 rights in every courtroom in America.

13 **Immigration.** Democrats remember that we are a nation of immigrants. We recognize
14 the extraordinary contribution of immigrants to America throughout our history. We welcome
15 legal immigrants to America. We support a legal immigration policy that is pro-family, pro-work,
16 pro-responsibility, and pro-citizenship, and we deplore those who blame immigrants for economic
17 and social problems. But today's Democratic Party also believes that we must remain a nation
18 of laws. We cannot tolerate illegal immigration and we must stop it. For years before Bill
19 Clinton became President, Washington talked tough but failed to act. In 1992, our borders
20 might as well not have existed. The Southwest border was under-patrolled, and what patrols
21 there were, were under-equipped. Drugs flowed freely. Illegal immigration was rampant.
22 Criminal immigrants, deported after committing crimes in America, returned the very next day
23 to commit crimes again.

24 President Clinton is making the Southwest border a place where the law is respected
25 and drugs and illegal immigrants are turned away. We have increased the Border Patrol by
26 over 40 percent; in El Paso, our Border Patrol agents are so close together they can see each
27 other. Last year alone, the Clinton Administration removed over 11,000 illegal workers from
28 jobs across the country. Just since January of 1995, we have arrested more than 1,700
29 criminal aliens and prosecuted them on federal felony charges because they returned to
30 America after having been deported.

31 However, as we work to stop illegal immigration, we call on all Americans to avoid
32 the temptation to use this issue to divide people from each other. We deplore those who use
33 the need to stop illegal immigration as a pretext for discrimination. And we applaud the
34 wisdom of Republicans like Mayor Giuliani and Senator Domenici who oppose the mean-
35 spirited and short-sighted effort of Republicans in Congress to bar the children of illegal
36 immigrants from schools -- it is wrong, and forcing children onto the streets is an invitation for
37 them to join gangs and turn to crime. Democrats want to protect American jobs by increasing
38 criminal and civil sanctions against employers who hire illegal workers, but Republicans continue
39 to favor inflammatory rhetoric over real action. We will continue to enforce labor standards to

1 protect workers in vulnerable industries. We continue to firmly oppose welfare benefits for illegal
2 immigrants. We believe family members who sponsor immigrants into this country should take
3 financial responsibility for them, and be held legally responsible for supporting them.

4 **Welfare reform.** Today's Democratic Party knows there is no greater gap between
5 mainstream American values and modern American government than our failed welfare system.
6 When Bill Clinton became President, the welfare system undermined the very values -- work,
7 family, and personal responsibility -- that it should promote. The welfare system should reflect
8 those values: we want to help people who want to help themselves and their children.

9 Over the past four years, President Clinton -- acting alone -- has dramatically transformed
10 the welfare system. He has freed 40 states from federal rules and regulations so they can reform
11 their welfare systems. The Clinton Administration has granted 67 waivers -- more than twice as
12 many waivers as granted in the Reagan-Bush years. For 75 percent of all Americans on welfare,
13 the rules have changed for good already, and welfare is becoming what it should be: a second
14 chance, not a way of life. Welfare rolls are finally coming down -- there are 1.3 million fewer
15 people on welfare today than there were when President Clinton took office in January 1993.

16 The President has also taken strong executive action to make sure that the welfare system
17 strengthens families and demands responsibility. He ordered states to require minor mothers to
18 stay in school and turn their lives around so they can get a job and get off welfare for good. He
19 also directed states to require mothers to help identify and find absent fathers so we can make
20 them pay the child support they owe. He challenged all states to require teen mothers to live at
21 home or with a responsible adult. And the President fought to make sure that poor children get
22 health care and nutrition to meet their basic needs.

23 Now we must finish the job, and pass national welfare reform. Unfortunately, the plan
24 proposed by Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich was weak on work and tough on children. That
25 is the wrong approach. We should be tough on work and demand responsibility, but we should
26 not punish children for their parents' mistakes. A real bipartisan welfare reform plan should
27 require that, anyone on welfare who can work, goes to work. And we should provide child care
28 and health care so parents can work. We should impose strict time limits so that no one who can
29 work can stay on welfare forever. We should require minor mothers to live with their parents or
30 another responsible adult. If the Republican Party puts politics aside, we can finish the job
31 President Clinton started, and end welfare as we know it across America. Passing legislation is
32 not enough; we should make sure people get the skills they need to get jobs, and that there are
33 jobs for them to go to so they leave welfare and stay off. Welfare reform should put more people
34 to work and move them into the economic mainstream, not take jobs away from working families.

35 **Child support.** Nobody has the right to walk away from the responsibility to care for his
36 or her children. If you owe child support, paying it fully and promptly is just the first step in living
37 up to your responsibility as a parent. The Clinton Administration has made a determined effort to
38 crack down on deadbeat parents, collecting a record \$11 billion in 1995 through tough

FOR MORE

1 to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy. We have worked hard over the last four years to rein in
2 big government, slash burdensome regulations, eliminate wasteful programs, and shift problem-
3 solving out of Washington and back to people and communities who understand their situations
4 best.

5 In the last four years, President Clinton, working with the National Performance Review
6 chaired by Vice President Gore, has cut the federal government by almost 240,000 positions,
7 making the smallest federal government in 30 years. The federal government is eliminating 16,000
8 pages of outdated and unnecessary regulations, has abolished 179 programs and projects, and
9 saved taxpayers billions of dollars. The President fought for and signed unfunded mandates
10 legislation. This stops Congress from requiring state and local governments to implement
11 expensive policies without providing any means to pay for them, and encourages better
12 partnerships and more balance of resources and responsibilities. After presidents since Ulysses S.
13 Grant tried to get the line-item veto and failed, President Clinton signed landmark legislation that
14 will give the President this powerful tool to cut pork-barrel spending from bills passed by
15 Congress.

16 For years, Republicans talked about making government smaller while letting it grow --
17 Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about cutting the deficit while letting it
18 climb -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about shifting power back to
19 states and communities -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about making
20 government more businesslike and efficient -- Democrats are doing it. Democrats are bringing
21 responsibility back to Washington. In the last two years, Republicans under Senator Dole and
22 Speaker Gingrich shut the federal government down in an irresponsible attempt at partisan
23 blackmail. Democrats under President Clinton said, and America agreed: Partisan threats are no
24 way to run a government. Nobody should ever shut down the government again. The Republican
25 shutdown cost the taxpayers \$1.4 billion. Democrats believe government should work better and
26 cost less -- not work less and cost more.

27 The Republican shutdown was an affront to the hardworking public servants in our cities,
28 towns, states, and nation who devote their lives to improving life in our country. Thanks to them
29 our streets are safer, our water is cleaner, and our nation is secure. Front-line federal workers
30 committed to providing quality services have joined the President's efforts to make government
31 work better for the American people. With their help, we are saving money for the taxpayers and
32 improving services for our people.

33 In the last four years, we have transformed the Federal Emergency Management Agency
34 from an outdated bureaucracy into a swift and effective agent of relief for victims of earthquakes,
35 floods, hurricanes, or other disasters. Americans with life-threatening diseases like cancer and
36 AIDS gain access to new drugs faster, because the Food and Drug Administration has streamlined
37 its approval process, become more flexible in certifications, and eliminated unnecessary
38 paperwork. The Small Business Administration has eliminated half of its regulations, cut loan
39 applications as long as 100 pages down to one, and doubled its loan volume -- all helping

1 Americans to produce record numbers of small businesses in each of the last three years.
2 American homebuyers are saving an average of \$1,000 in closing costs because the Department of
3 Housing and Urban Development has eliminated paperwork and other unnecessary burdens.

4 Over the next four years, the Democratic Party will continue to make responsibility the
5 rule in Washington: cutting bureaucracy further, improving customer service, demanding better
6 performance, holding people and agencies accountable for producing the best results, ensuring all
7 Americans have access to high quality public services, and forging new partnerships with the
8 private sector including small, minority- and women-owned businesses, and with state and local
9 governments.

10 Political reform. Today's Democratic Party knows we have a responsibility to make
11 our democracy work better for America, by limiting the influence of special interests and
12 expanding the influence of the American people. Special interests have too much power in the
13 halls of government. They often operate in secret and have special privileges ordinary
14 Americans do not even know exist. Elections have become so expensive that big money can
15 sometimes drown out the voices of ordinary voters -- who should always speak the loudest.

16 Shortly after Bill Clinton took office, he implemented the toughest ethics code on
17 executive officials in history: Senior appointees are barred from lobbying their own agencies
18 for five years after they leave, and they can never lobby for foreign governments. After years
19 of Republican delay, Democrats passed and the President signed the Motor Voter Bill to make
20 it easier for people to participate in our democracy and exercise their civic responsibility in the
21 voting booth. The President led the fight to repeal the tax loophole that let lobbyists deduct
22 the cost of their activities, and prevailed. In 1995, after a Republican filibuster, Congress
23 finally answered the President's call to stop taking gifts, meals, and trips from lobbyists; to
24 bring lobbyists out from dark rooms and into the bright light of public scrutiny by requiring
25 full disclosure; and to apply to itself the laws that apply to the rest of the country.

26 But we must take further strong action. The President and the Democratic Party
27 support the bipartisan McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill. It will limit campaign
28 spending, curb the influence of PACs and lobbyists, and end the soft money system. Perhaps
29 most important of all, this bill provides free TV time for candidates, so they can talk directly
30 to citizens about real issues and real ideas. Unfortunately, Republicans in Congress will not
31 even let this bill come up for a vote. We call on them to stop stonewalling. It is time to take
32 the reins of democracy away from big money and put them back in the hands of the American
33 people, where they belong. We applaud efforts by broadcasters and private citizens alike, to
34 increase candidates' direct access to voters through free TV.

35 Finally, we believe all Americans have a right to fair political representation --
36 including the citizens of the District of Columbia which deserves statehood. We recognize the
37 existing status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the strong economic relationship
38 between the people of Puerto Rico and the United States. We pledge to support the right of the

1 people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to choose freely, and in concert with the U.S.
2 Congress their relationship with the United States, either as an enhanced commonwealth, a state
3 or an independent nation.

4 SECURITY, FREEDOM, AND PEACE

5 The firm, sustained use of American might and diplomacy helped win the greatest victory
6 for freedom in this half-century -- the end of the Cold War. But to meet the challenges of
7 this new era of promise and peril, America needed leadership that was able to see the contours of
8 the new world -- and willing to act with steadiness, strength, and flexibility in the face of change
9 to make the most of it.

10 President Clinton and Vice President Gore have seized the opportunities of the post Cold
11 War era. Over the past four years, their leadership has made America safer, more prosperous, and
12 more engaged in solving the challenges of a new era.

13 Four years ago, thousands of Russian nuclear weapons were aimed at American cities.
14 Today, not a single Russian missile points at our children, and through the START treaties, we
15 will cut American and Russian nuclear arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height.

16 Four years ago, the forces of reform in the former Soviet Union were embattled. Today,
17 U.S. initiatives are helping democracy and free markets take root throughout the region, Russian
18 troops are out of the Baltics, and democracy has triumphed in Russia's elections.

19 Four years ago, the Middle East process had not moved beyond a set of principles, and
20 there were no signs of peace in Northern Ireland. Today, in the Middle East we have seen real
21 agreements toward peace, and handshakes of history, and the people of Northern Ireland have
22 seen a cease-fire and the first negotiations among the parties.

23 Four years ago, the North Koreans were operating a dangerous nuclear program. Today,
24 that program is frozen, under international inspection, and slated to be dismantled.

25 Four years ago, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization -- the bulwark of Western security
26 during the Cold War -- was losing direction and support. Today, NATO is keeping the peace in
27 Bosnia with its Partnership for Peace allies and, as a result of American leadership, preparing to
28 welcome new members from Central Europe.

29 Four years ago, America stood aloof as war and genocide spread through the former
30 Yugoslavia. Today, thanks to NATO airstrikes, American diplomacy and the deployment of
31 troops from the U.S. and other nations, the war has stopped and Bosnia has its first real chance
32 for a lasting peace.

1 Four years ago, dictators ruled in Haiti, abusing human rights and leaving hundreds of its
2 citizens desperate to flee to our shores. Today, the dictators are gone, democracy has been
3 restored, and Haiti's mass-exodus has stopped.

4 Four years ago, South Africa was struggling under political violence associated with
5 apartheid. Now, following the 1994 elections -- which the United States strongly supported --
6 there is a national unity government and South Africa is free and democratic.

7 Four years ago, there was good reason to worry that the world was dividing into separate,
8 isolated, regional trading blocks. Today, thanks to Clinton Administration efforts to find new
9 markets for American products and strengthen our existing ties, America's relations with our
10 trading parties around the world are stronger than ever. We applaud efforts like the Summit of
11 the Americas, the Asian Pacific Economic Council meetings, and, especially, the extraordinary
12 leadership of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown on behalf of American industry and workers
13 everywhere. Ron Brown will always be remembered with great pride and the deepest gratitude by
14 the Democratic Party and by all Americans.

15 The Clinton-Gore Administration's record of leadership has deterred America's
16 adversaries and earned respect from our allies and partners. The Dole-Gingrich Congress and the
17 Republican Party have a different approach to America's security. Too often they would force
18 America to go it alone -- or not at all. Their shortsighted approach has cut resources for
19 diplomacy that could strengthen our security, and reflects an inadequate understanding of the
20 threats and opportunities of this new era.

21 Today's Democratic Party is unwilling to surrender to the voices of retreat and
22 indifference. We believe the only way to ensure America's security and prosperity over the long
23 run is to continue exerting American leadership across a range of military, diplomatic, and
24 humanitarian, challenges around the world. Led by President Clinton and Vice President Gore,
25 today's Democratic Party has set a far reaching agenda to strengthen our security, and promote
26 peace and freedom.

27 **Strengthening our security.** The highest imperative for our security is the protection of
28 our people, our territory, and our key interests abroad. While both parties share a commitment to
29 strong security, there is a real difference. The Republican desire to spend more money on defense
30 than the Pentagon requests cannot obscure their inability to recognize the challenges of a new era,
31 and build the balanced defenses we need to meet them.

32 Today's Democratic Party is committed to strengthening our military and adapting it to
33 new challenges; reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction; and meeting new challenges
34 to our security such as terrorism, international crime, and drug trafficking.

35 *Strengthening our military.* Over the past four years, the Administration has undertaken
36 the most successful restructuring of our military forces in history. Even as the size of our forces

1 has decreased, their capabilities, readiness and qualitative edge have increased. The
2 Administration has ensured that America is prepared to fight alongside others when we can, and
3 alone when we must. We have defeated attempts to cut our defense budget irresponsibly. Three
4 times in three years, President Clinton has increased defense resources -- a total of almost \$50
5 billion -- for readiness, force modernization, and quality of life improvements. We will continue
6 our work to ensure that the men and women who wear American uniforms receive adequate pay
7 and support, including: childcare, housing, and access to quality health care for themselves and
8 their families. The Administration defense plan reverses the downward trend in procurement with
9 a 40% real increase for weapons modernization by 2001. At the same time, as part of its
10 reinventing government program, the Administration has fundamentally reformed government
11 procurement rules in order to get the most for our money.

12 Repeatedly during the past four years -- from the Persian Gulf to Bosnia -- our men and
13 women in uniform have proven they are the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting
14 force in the world. The Democratic Party is committed to build on this record by fully funding the
15 Pentagon's 5-year defense plan; undertaking a second fundamental review of our defense
16 structure; finding new ways for our service branches to work jointly to increase our war fighting
17 capabilities; and ensuring that our troops can dominate the battlefield of the future.

18 We honor America's veterans; they put their lives on the line to protect our way of life and
19 promote our values around the world. Today's Democratic Party will stand by America's duty to
20 our veterans. President Clinton and Vice President Gore have fought hard to protect veterans'
21 benefits; to expand disability benefits for Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange;
22 aggressively responding to veterans of the Persian Gulf War suffering from undiagnosed illnesses;
23 promoting veterans employment; and improving and strengthening the medical system of the
24 Veterans' Administration.

25
26 *Reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction.* Strengthening our security also
27 requires an aggressive effort against weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear, chemical, and
28 biological -- and their means of delivery. From the nuclear weapons programs in Iraq and North
29 Korea to the Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway, our nation has seen that this threat is clear
30 and present. To meet it, we must seize the opportunities presented by the end of the Cold War to
31 cut weapons of mass destruction stockpiles while working to prevent lethal weapons and
32 materials from falling into the wrong hands.

33 President Clinton and Vice President Gore have pursued the most far reaching arms
34 control and non-proliferation agenda in history. They negotiated an agreement to end the
35 targeting of Russian nuclear missiles on American cities and citizens. They ratified START II
36 which, along with START I, will reduce Russian and American arsenals by two-thirds. They
37 prevented the breakup of the Soviet Union from yielding three new nuclear weapons states, by
38 convincing Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to give up their nuclear weapons. They secured the
39 indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They acted to
40 freeze North Korea's nuclear program.

1 The Democratic Party supports efforts to sign a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this year
2 and to bring it into force as soon as possible. We support immediate ratification of the Chemical
3 Weapons Convention -- delayed too long by the Dole Senate. We support full funding of the
4 Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program to ensure that nuclear materials in the former
5 Soviet Union do not fall into the wrong hands. We support vigilant efforts, in cooperation with
6 the Republic of Korea, Japan, and others, to ensure North Korea fully abides by its agreements to
7 dismantle its nuclear program, and we support the Administration's vigorous efforts to prevent
8 Iraq, Iran, and other dangerous states from acquiring or developing weapons of mass destruction.

9 The Democratic Party is committed to a strong and balanced National Missile Defense
10 program. The Administration is spending \$3 billion a year on six different systems to protect our
11 troops in the field and our allies from short and medium range missiles. To prepare for the
12 possibility of a long range missile attack on American soil by a rogue state, the Clinton
13 Administration is committed to developing by the year 2000 a defensive system that could be
14 deployed by 2003, well before the threat becomes real. The Democratic Party opposes the
15 Republican NMD plan -- spending up to \$60 billion on a revival of the Star Wars program that
16 would force us to choose a costly system today that could be obsolete tomorrow. The
17 Republican plan would waste money, weaken America's defenses and violate existing arms
18 control agreements that make us more secure. It is the wrong way to defend America.

19 *Meeting new challenges.* Today's Democratic Party knows that stronger security requires
20 vigorous efforts to address the new dangers of this era. Chief among these are the interwoven
21 threats of terrorism, drug trafficking, and international crime. We have seen the terrible toll they
22 have exacted -- the murder of American soldiers in their barracks in Saudi Arabia and of innocent
23 civilians on buses in Israel; corruption and crime from the former Soviet Union to Latin America.
24 We know these vicious criminals pay no heed to borders; we have seen firsthand the awful, evil
25 work of the forces of terror at the World Trade Center and in Oklahoma City. And we know all
26 too well the havoc drugs wreak when they cross our borders and flow through our
27 neighborhoods.

28 The Clinton-Gore Administration has mounted the most aggressive effort in American
29 history to combat terrorism, drug trafficking, and international crime. We captured and convicted
30 the perpetrators of the World Trade Center bombing. We enacted a strong new anti-terrorism
31 law, in spite of foot dragging by the Republican Congress. We convened an historic summit of
32 Mideast leaders at Sharm el-Sheik to coordinate anti-terrorism efforts, and made anti-terrorism a
33 centerpiece of the 1996 G-7 summit. We imposed strong sanctions against states that sponsor
34 terrorism, including Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan, and made clear to Syria that normal relations
35 depend on concrete steps to end its support for groups involved with terrorism. We opposed
36 irresponsible cuts to U.S. intelligence programs and supported efforts to reorganize and
37 strengthen the full range of intelligence agencies and programs. We opened FBI centers to
38 provide anti-crime and anti-terrorism training. We made Colombia ineligible for most American
39 assistance after that country's leadership failed to cooperate with American anti-narcotics efforts.

1 Today's Democratic Party is determined to keep the war on global terrorism, narcotics,
2 and crime at the center of our security agenda. We will seek increased cooperation from our
3 allies and friends abroad in fighting these threats. We will continue to work aggressively to shut
4 off foreign drug flows, eradicate foreign drug crops, and assist countries that demonstrate active
5 cooperation.

6 **Promoting peace and democracy.** Today's Democratic Party knows that peace and
7 democracy are products of decisive strength and active diplomacy. That diplomacy must protect
8 our interests while also projecting our values. The Republican Party too often has neglected
9 diplomatic opportunities, slashed the budgets necessary for diplomatic successes, and overlooked
10 the importance to our own security of democracy and human rights abroad. At its core, the
11 Republican Party is locked in a Cold War mentality, and lacks a coherent strategy to nurture and
12 strengthen the global progress toward peace and democracy.

13 The Democratic Party believes a key to strengthening peace is stable and peaceful
14 relations among the world's major powers. That has been the driving force behind much of the
15 Clinton-Gore Administration's work, from its peace initiative in Bosnia to new security
16 agreements with Japan. We are committed to promoting democracy in regions and countries
17 important to America's security, and to standing with all those willing to take risks for peace,
18 from the Middle East to Northern Ireland. And we are committed to doing it with all the tools we
19 have: with diplomacy where possible, with force where necessary, and working with others where
20 appropriate -- our allies, willing partners, the U.N. and other security organizations -- to share the
21 risks and costs of our leadership.

22 *Europe and the former Soviet Union.* Today's Democratic Party knows that the security
23 of Europe remains a vital American interest. We applaud the Clinton-Gore Administration's
24 efforts to foster a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe -- including expanded support for
25 reform in former communist states; dramatically increased assistance to Ukraine; the Partnership
26 for Peace program of military cooperation with Europe's new democracies; its steady, determined
27 work to add new Central European members to NATO in the near future; and its efforts to
28 resolve regional disputes such as between Greece and Turkey. We support continued efforts to
29 secure a just and lasting peace in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and Cyprus. We are committed to the
30 success of independence in Ukraine and the Baltics. And we support the continuing evolution of
31 a prosperous and peaceful Russia. And as part of our effort to support we will pursue a
32 relationship in which we seek cooperation when we can, and frankly express disagreements where
33 they exist, such as on Chechnya.

34 *Asia.* We know that many of America's most pressing security challenges and most
35 promising commercial opportunities lie in the Asia Pacific region. The Democratic Party applauds
36 the important new security charter with Japan, the Administration's close cooperation with the
37 Republic of Korea toward the goal of a unified and non-nuclear peninsula, and the deployment of
38 an American naval task force to the Taiwan Straits to ensure that China's military exercises did
39 not imperil the security of Taiwan or the region. The Party supports the Administration's policy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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1 of steady engagement to encourage a stable, open and prosperous China -- a China that respects
2 human rights throughout its land and in Tibet, that joins international efforts against weapons
3 proliferation, and that plays by the rules of free and fair trade. Today's Democratic Party strongly
4 supports continued American troop presence in East Asia and efforts to promote increased
5 regional security. And we are committed to building long-term relationships with India, Pakistan,
6 and others in South Asia in order to advance America's diverse interests in that region, from
7 democracy and commerce to nuclear non-proliferation.

8 *The Middle East.* President Clinton has overseen a remarkable record of achievement
9 toward peace and security in the Middle East -- the Israeli-Palestinian accords; the peace
10 agreement between Israel and Jordan; new regional security and investment summits; Israel's
11 increased acceptance throughout the Middle East and the world; the dual containment of Iraq and
12 Iran. The Democratic Party is committed to help build on this record, knowing that peace and
13 security are indivisible. The Democratic Party remains committed to America's long-standing
14 special relationship with Israel, based on shared values, a mutual commitment to democracy and a
15 strategic alliance that benefits both nations. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and should remain
16 an undivided city accessible to people of all faiths. We also support close ties with states and
17 peoples in the Arab and Islamic world committed to non-aggression and willing to take risks for
18 peace.

19 *Latin America.* The Clinton-Gore Administration forged an historic partnership with the
20 democracies of the Western Hemisphere -- and now every country in the Hemisphere is a
21 democracy except Cuba -- reflected in the 1994 Summit of the Americas. Because democratic
22 stability and prosperity in the countries to our south are in their interest and ours, President
23 Clinton took bold steps to bolster Mexico's economy when it was threatened by crisis; worked to
24 resolve internal and border conflicts in the Hemisphere; joined with regional partners to combat
25 narcotics trafficking; and maintained a tough embargo against Cuba while reaching out to its
26 people. The Democratic Party is committed to consolidating democracy, stability, and open
27 markets throughout the hemisphere.

28 *Africa.* The Clinton Administration championed South Africa's democratic transition;
29 supported Africa's many emerging democracies and led international efforts to speed the return of
30 democracy in Nigeria; helped save countless lives in Somalia, Rwanda, and elsewhere through
31 conflict resolution, removal of land mines, and humanitarian relief; and took steps to help sub-
32 Saharan Africa's 700 million people develop into strong economies and markets. The Democratic
33 Party believes that continuing to help the people of Africa nurture their continent's extraordinary
34 potential and address its serious problems is both the right thing to do and profoundly in
35 America's interest.

36 *Promoting democracy.* America remains a beacon of hope to all who cherish democracy
37 and human rights, and America's security benefits from the enlargement of the community of
38 market democracies. The Clinton-Gore Administration has actively promoted the consolidation
39 and spread of democracy and human rights: in Russia and throughout the former Soviet Union,

1 Central Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. President Clinton directed Vice President Gore
2 to lead bi-national efforts to establish trading relationships to help promote democracy in three
3 strategic areas: Russia, South Africa, and Egypt. The Democratic Party supports the aspirations
4 of all those who seek to strengthen civil society and accountable governance. To this end, we
5 support continued funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, Radio Free Europe/Radio
6 Liberty, the Asia Pacific Network, Radio Marti and other efforts to promote democracy and the
7 free flow of ideas.

8 *Resources for diplomacy.* There is a price to be paid for America's security and its
9 leadership in world affairs -- and the Republican Party now refuses to pay that price. Even though
10 less than one percent of the federal budget goes to foreign policy spending, the Republican Party
11 has savaged our diplomatic readiness, defaulted on treaty obligations to pay dues to the United
12 Nations, slashed assistance to the poorest and most vulnerable populations on earth, and pushed
13 the United States to dead last among developed nations in the global fight against starvation,
14 infant mortality, natural disasters and environmental degradation and other worldwide problems.
15 The Democratic Party understands that these efforts strengthen our security and express our
16 values, and strongly supports the Clinton-Gore Administration's work to ensure adequate
17 resources for American foreign policy.

18 COMMUNITY

19 Across America, in far too many places, the bonds of community that tie us together and
20 remind us that we rise or fall together, have too often frayed. Today's Democratic Party believes
21 we must reawaken the strong sense of community that has helped America to prosper for 220
22 years. America is uniquely suited to lead the world into the 21st century because of our great
23 diversity and our shared values. We must never let our differences divide us from each other;
24 instead we must come together on a new common ground, based on the enduring values we
25 share. When Americans work together -- in our homes, our schools, our houses of worship, our
26 civic groups, our businesses -- we can meet any challenge, and realize every dream.

27 **Putting families first.** The first and most sacred responsibility of every parent is to
28 cherish our children and strengthen our families. The family is the foundation of American life.
29 After 12 years of all family-values-talk and no family-values-action by the Republicans, President
30 Clinton took office determined to put families first. We support the fundamental themes of the
31 Families First Agenda -- promoting paycheck, health care, retirement, and personal security;
32 creating greater educational and economic opportunity; and requiring greater responsibility from
33 individuals, businesses, and government.

34 *Standing up for parents.* In the first month of Bill Clinton's Presidency, the Democratic
35 Party ended eight years of Republican gridlock and enacted the Family and Medical Leave
36 Act. Americans blessed with a new child or troubled by a family health crisis can no longer be
37 forced to choose between their families and their jobs. A bipartisan panel reported that 12

1 million workers have already been able to live up to their family obligations without risking
2 their jobs. And almost 90 percent of businesses found that complying with this law cost them
3 little or nothing. Despite how important this is to American families, Senator Dole led
4 Republican opposition to it and still insists it was wrong. This law is good for families, it is
5 good for America, and it would not be the law today without the Democratic Party.

6 Now we want to take the next step. We believe parents should be able to take unpaid
7 leave from work and choose flex time so they can do their job as parents: to do things like go to
8 parent-teacher conferences or take a child to the doctor. We support tax credits to encourage
9 adoption, because every child deserves a mother and father who will love them and raise them.

10 *Responsible entertainment.* President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led the fight
11 to help parents control what their children see on television. Because of their leadership, Congress
12 passed a law requiring all new televisions to include a device called a V-chip that will block
13 violent programs when it is activated by an adult. Senator Dole likes to talk about TV violence,
14 but when it came time to act, he stood with a small minority to oppose the bipartisan V-chip bill.
15 The President achieved a breakthrough agreement with the media and entertainment industries to
16 develop a rating system for TV shows similar to the motion picture rating system, so parents can
17 make informed decisions about what they want their children to watch. When parents control the
18 remote, it is not censorship, it is personal responsibility for their children's upbringing.

19 We believe in public support for the arts, and especially for high-quality, family-friendly
20 programming. We are proud to have stopped the Republican attack on the Corporation for Public
21 Broadcasting -- we want our children to watch Sesame Street, not Power Rangers. And we echo
22 the President's call to the entertainment industry: Work harder to develop and promote movies,
23 music, and TV shows that are suitable -- and educational -- for children.

24 *Tobacco.* Cigarette smoking is rapidly becoming the single greatest threat to the health of
25 our children. We know that 3,000 young people start smoking every day, and 1,000 of them will
26 lead shorter lives because of it. Despite that, Senator Dole and other Republicans continue to
27 ignore volumes of medical research to make baffling claims that cigarettes are not addictive. They
28 even argue with distinguished Republican experts like President Reagan's Surgeon General C.
29 Everett Koop. President Clinton and Vice President Gore understand that we have a responsibility
30 to protect our children's future by cracking down on illegal sales of tobacco to minors and by
31 curbing sophisticated advertising campaigns designed to entice kids to start smoking before they
32 are old enough to make an informed decision. The President has proposed measures to cut off
33 children's access to cigarettes, crack down on those who sell tobacco to minors illegally, and
34 curtail advertising designed to appeal to children. We believe tobacco companies should market
35 to adults if they wish, but take the responsibility to draw the line on children.

36 *Parents' responsibility.* All of this is important, and we pledge to continue to fight for
37 ways to strengthen our families. But today's Democratic Party knows that governments do not
38 raise children, parents do. That is why President Clinton and Vice President Gore took action to

1 order all federal agencies to make sure everything government does for children promotes
2 responsibility from all parents, fathers as well as mothers. Now we challenge every parent to put
3 their children first: to help them with their homework, to read to them, to know their teachers,
4 and above all, to teach their children right from wrong and set the best example.

5 **Community empowerment.** Today's Democratic Party understands that we cannot
6 rebuild our poorest communities by imposing cookie-cutter solutions from Washington. We have
7 to give communities the tools they need to create opportunity. Citizens, local government, the
8 private sector, and civic groups must come together and take the responsibility to rebuild their
9 communities from the bottom up.

10 *Encouraging private sector investment, and community-based solutions.* After over a
11 decade of sustained Republican neglect and empty Republican promises, President Clinton and
12 Democrats in Congress launched a comprehensive strategy to unleash economic growth and
13 restore opportunity to our distressed neighborhoods. Without a single Republican vote, we
14 created 105 Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. This effort, chaired by Vice
15 President Gore, is bringing jobs and businesses to our poorest urban and rural areas. Thousands
16 of new businesses have already moved into these areas, or expanded existing operations, bringing
17 new hope and new jobs to these neighborhoods. We reformed the Community Reinvestment Act
18 to shift the focus from process toward results; we implemented low income mortgage purchase
19 requirements on Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac; and we created a Community Development
20 Financial Institutions Fund. Together, these efforts are unleashing billions of dollars in new
21 private sector lending and investment for housing and economic development in our inner cities
22 and poorest rural areas. The President and Vice President have created a brownfields initiative to
23 bring life back to abandoned and contaminated property by reforming outdated regulations and
24 providing incentives for cleanup.

25 Over the next four years, we want a second round of Empowerment Zones to bring
26 economic growth to more American communities; a significant expansion of the Community
27 Development Financial Institutions Fund to spur more private sector investment in local
28 economies; and a new tax incentive to encourage further cleanup and redevelopment of
29 brownfields. Today's Democratic Party knows that the best way to bring jobs and growth back
30 to our poorest neighborhoods is to harness the job-creating power of the private sector.

31 *Helping people afford safe, secure housing.* Safe, secure housing is an essential part of
32 strong communities and strong families. We are proud that after four years of a Democrat in the
33 White House, the percentage of people who own their own house climbed faster than it has in 30
34 years. Bill Clinton took executive action to make it easier and cheaper for working and middle-
35 class homebuyers to get a home loan. We pledge to stand against Republican efforts to repeal the
36 deductibility of home mortgage interest payments. Fulfilling his 1992 pledge, President Clinton
37 made the low-income housing tax credit permanent, encouraging private developers to build more
38 affordable housing. This tax credit is making it easier for families to get housing, and we will
39 stand against Republican attacks on it.

1 The Clinton Administration has made sweeping changes to transform the nation's public
2 housing system after decades of neglect. In the last four years, Democrats demolished more units
3 of unlivable public housing than Republicans did in the previous twelve years, replacing them with
4 lower-density developments that can serve as anchors for neighborhood renewal. In the next four
5 years, we want to transform the worst public housing from a system that traps people in rundown,
6 crime-ridden projects into one which gives families the freedom to choose where they live by
7 providing vouchers to help them with housing costs. We have dramatically increased help for the
8 homeless, and shifted focus from temporary shelters toward permanent solutions designed to
9 help bring people back into the mainstream, into jobs and a home of their own.

10 **Agriculture and the rural community.** America has the most abundant agricultural
11 economy on earth, and it must be preserved and strengthened as we enter a new century.
12 President Clinton and the Democrats have worked hard to promote economic growth in rural
13 areas, protect the family farm, and ensure that farmers get a fair return for their labor and
14 investment and consumers can continue to count on safe and nutritious foods. In the face of
15 Republican efforts to gut food safety, the Clinton Administration has revolutionized meat
16 inspection and set a new standard of consumer protection. President Clinton has reinvented the
17 Agriculture Department, reducing regulations and bureaucracy and improving service. The
18 Clinton Administration has cracked down on food stamp fraud, and approved experiments in state
19 after state to reform the food stamp program. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress
20 supported new voluntary conservation programs and saved economic development programs for
21 rural areas through the 1996 Farm Bill. We are committed to expanding agricultural exports by
22 reducing unfair subsidies and trade barriers around the world.

23 **Protecting our environment.** Today's Democratic party wants all Americans to be able
24 to enjoy America's magnificent natural heritage -- and we want our people to know that the air
25 they breathe is pure, the water they drink is clean, and the land they live on is safe from hazard.
26 We understand we have a sacred obligation to protect God's earth and preserve our quality of life
27 for our children and our children's children. For the 12 Republican years before Bill Clinton and
28 Al Gore took office, protecting the environment was far from a priority. And in the last two
29 years, 25 years of bipartisan environmental progress -- started by a Democratic Congress under a
30 Republican President -- has come under attack from the far right. Time and again, President
31 Clinton and the Democratic Party have stood firm against this onslaught.

32 The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, voted to cut
33 environmental enforcement by 25 percent. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no.
34 We believe government has a responsibility to enforce the laws that help keep toxic chemicals
35 from our water, pesticides from our food, and smog from our air.

36 The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, let lobbyists for the
37 polluters write their own loopholes into bills to weaken laws that protect the health and safety of
38 our children. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no. We believe America's
39 elected officials have a responsibility to protect America's families from threats to their health,

1 and that trust must never be abdicated -- especially not by placing control of environmental
2 safeguards in the hands of the very polluters those safeguards are meant to keep in line.

3 The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, tried to make
4 taxpayers pick up the tab for toxic wastes, and let polluters who caused the problem and can
5 afford to fix it off the hook. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no. We believe
6 America should insist that toxic waste cleanup is paid for by those responsible for it in the first
7 place -- and not foisted off on the taxpayers.

8 In the last four years, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have taken strong action
9 to make our air and water cleaner. They reformed the Superfund program -- in each of the last
10 two years nearly as many toxic dumps were cleaned as in the previous decade. They dramatically
11 strengthened Community Right-to-Know efforts, because Americans should be informed about
12 toxic chemicals being released into the air and water so they can take steps to protect themselves
13 and their families. They took measures to cut toxic air pollution from chemical plants by 90
14 percent, and after years of Republican neglect they cleaned up hundreds of nuclear weapons sites
15 and are committed to finishing the job.

16 Today's Democratic Party knows that we can protect the environment and expand the
17 economy. We believe we can create more jobs over the long run by cleaning the environment.
18 We want to challenge businesses and communities to take more initiative in protecting the
19 environment, and we want to make it easier for them to do it. President Clinton and Vice
20 President Gore launched Project XL which tells businesses: If you can find a cheaper, more
21 efficient way than government regulations require to meet even tougher pollution goals, do it -- as
22 long as you do it right. This new approach offers business flexibility, incentives, and
23 accountability.

24 Environmental protection should include more education on compliance for small and
25 medium sized business, more strategies to increase compliance for all businesses, and tough
26 enforcement -- including criminal prosecution -- for those who put human health and the
27 environment at risk.

28 We are committed to protecting the majestic legacy of our National Parks and enhancing
29 recreational opportunities; restoring the Florida Everglades; preserving our wildlife refuges and
30 fighting off any effort to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. We will
31 be good stewards of our old-growth forests, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral
32 exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and protect our
33 oceans from oil spills and the dumping of toxic and radioactive waste.

34 The President and Vice President announced an historic partnership with the Big Three
35 American automakers to develop the technology to produce cars up to three times more fuel
36 efficient than those made today -- cleaner cars for a cleaner environment. We will continue to
37 support responsible recycling, and encourage energy efficiency that makes our economy more

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-25-96

1 efficient and less reliant on foreign oil. We believe that investments in better mass transit, cleaner
2 cars, and renewable energy sources are good for the environment and good for the economy.

3 After years in which Republicans neglected the global environment, the Clinton
4 Administration has made America a leader in the fight to meet environmental challenges that
5 transcend national borders and require global cooperation. The Clinton-Gore Administration led
6 the world in calling for a global ban on ocean-dumping of low-level radioactive waste and for a
7 legally binding treaty to phase out persistent organic pollutants such as DDT and PCBs. We will
8 seek a strong international agreement to further reduce greenhouse gas emissions worldwide. We
9 are committed to preserving the planet's biodiversity, repairing the depleted ozone layer, and
10 working with other nations to stabilize population growth.

11 Democrats recognize that sustainable development is the key to protecting the
12 environment and promoting economic growth. That is why the Clinton-Gore Administration has
13 reformed our foreign aid programs to focus on sustainable development. At home, Democrats
14 know that sound economic development means sound environmental protection.

15 The American community. Today's Democratic Party knows that when America is
16 divided we will likely fail, but when America is united we will always prevail. Americans will
17 always have differences, and when we reach across those differences, we are stronger for it. And
18 we share an abiding set of values that define us as Americans. Our task is to draw strength from
19 both -- from our great diversity and our constant values -- to fashion the future we want for our
20 children.

21 *Fighting discrimination and protecting civil rights.* Today's Democratic Party knows we
22 must renew our efforts to stamp out discrimination and hatred of every kind, wherever and
23 whenever we see it. We deplore the recent wave of burnings that has targeted African-American
24 churches in the South, as well as other houses of worship across the country. We must remember
25 we do not have an American to waste. We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the
26 basis of race, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. The Democratic
27 Party believes in full equality for women as exemplified by the Equal Rights Amendment. We
28 support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end work-based
29 discrimination against gay men and lesbians and further their full inclusion in the life of the nation.

30 Over the last four years, President Clinton and the Democrats have worked aggressively to
31 enforce the letter and spirit of civil rights law. The President and Vice President remain
32 committed to an Administration that looks like America, and we are proud of the Administration's
33 extraordinary judicial appointments -- they are both more diverse and more qualified than any
34 previous Administration. We know there is still more we can do to ensure equal opportunity for
35 all Americans, so all people willing to work hard can build a strong future. President Clinton has
36 led the way in reforming affirmative action so that it works, it is improved, and promotes
37 opportunity, but does not accidentally hold others back in the process. When it comes to
38 affirmative action, we should mend it, not end it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-25-96

1 Religious freedom. Today's Democratic Party understands that all Americans have a right
2 to express their faith. The Constitution prohibits the state establishment of religion, and it
3 protects the free exercise of religion. The President fought for and signed the Religious Freedom
4 Restoration Act, to reaffirm the great protection the Constitution gives to religious expression,
5 and to recognize the historic role people of faith have played in America. Americans have a right
6 to express their love of God in public, and we applaud the President's work to ensure that
7 children are not denied private religious expression in school. Whenever the religious rights of
8 our children -- or any American -- are threatened, we will stand against it.

9 Responsibility to our community and our country. Today's Democratic Party believes
10 every American has a duty and a responsibility to give something back to their community and
11 their country. In the past three years, 45,000 Americans have performed national service as part
12 of the AmeriCorps program President Clinton and the Democrats fought so hard to create -- and
13 we commend Senator Grassley and other Republicans who joined a bipartisan effort to preserve
14 AmeriCorps when Speaker Gingrich's House tried to kill it.

15 We applaud the American spirit of voluntarism and charity. As we balance the budget, we
16 must work even harder in our own lives to live up to the duties we owe one another. We must
17 shrink the government, but we cannot shrink from our challenges. We believe every school and
18 college in America should make service a part of its basic ethic, and we want to expand national
19 service by helping communities give scholarships to high school students for community service.
20 We challenge Americans in all walks of life to make a new commitment to taking responsibility
21 for themselves, their communities, and their country.

22 ~~In the end, that is how we will make the next American century as great as each one that~~
23 ~~has come before it.~~ We must renew our pledge to one another, to our families, our children, our
24 future, and to the promise of America -- One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and
25 justice for all.

② If we do our job, we can enter the 21st century
w/ the honor & pride for all, w/ our skin wide & tight
for peace & freedom, w/ our community coming together
enslaved by our diversity, stronger than ever. ~~the~~
America's best days lie ahead, as we renew our
historic pledge to uphold & advance the promise of America --
Democracy etc.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: Youth Issues

I. Thematic Overview

Over the last four years, your Administration has made real progress in helping families and communities deal with the problems and pressures young Americans face, involving violence, drugs, alcohol, tobacco, and sexual activity. Youth violence has begun to drop for the first time in a decade, teen pregnancy is down four years in a row, and you have sent an historic message on tobacco.

In the next four years, we face the considerable task of building on that hard-fought progress and taking on other persistent problems. Drug use among our young people continues to climb. Gangs still wreak a terrible toll of violence and fear in every major city and many rural areas. Unwed teen pregnancy remains far too high. It will take sustained use of executive and legislative action and the bully pulpit to secure lasting results.

II. Legacy

A. Youth Violence

Although overall crime rates have declined in each year of your Administration, youth crimes have until recently resisted this trend. The number of juvenile violent crime arrests dropped 3% in 1995, after a 67% increase in the past decade. If your second-term policies can contribute to reducing juvenile crime further, you will have recorded a major accomplishment.

The difficulty of reaching this objective should not be understated. The population of juveniles aged 12-17 will increase for the rest of this decade. Some in Congress will resist your crime-fighting priorities and seek to attach unpalatable proposals of their own.

Applying Community Policing to Reduce Juvenile Crime. Perhaps the most critical component of a strategy to reduce juvenile offenses is the application of community-based policing practices to youth violence. Boston's community-based response to youth violence -- which, among other things, cracked down on gangs, focused on gun trafficking, and gave probation officers enhanced powers to make arrests -- has led to an 80% reduction in juvenile homicides between 1990 and 1995. As we work to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street and persuade more major police departments to fully embrace the community policing revolution, we should put particular emphasis on applying these strategies to youth violence.

Cracking Down on Gangs. A related effort, central to most community-based efforts to reduce youth violence, is to crack down on gangs in urban areas. Federal prosecutors have worked with state and local law enforcement and prosecutors in your first term to achieve a number of notable successes around the country. In addition to continuing such cooperative efforts, the Administration should work hard for passage of a grant program, within a broader anti-gang and youth violence bill, that will enable states and localities to devote more resources to investigating and prosecuting gang cases. Robert Kennedy did not eliminate the Mafia, and we will not eliminate gang violence. But just as Kennedy dealt organized crime a blow from which it never recovered, we have a chance to break the gangs' stranglehold on entire sections of our largest cities.

Keeping Schools Open Late. As you have recognized in supporting truancy initiatives and curfews, one of the best ways to reduce youth crime is to keep children in school and off the streets. You can add to that legacy by helping communities to keep schools open late as well; your new budget includes \$50 million to do so. Over time, this effort could be remembered not only for helping reduce juvenile crime rates in the peak hours between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., but for helping deal with one of the most pressing concerns of working parents with latch-key kids.

Gun Initiatives. A number of gun initiatives can also play a role in a successful youth violence program. You have already signed into law a youth handgun ban, as well as issuing a directive to enforce "zero tolerance" for guns in our schools. Now we have an opportunity to fight for further legislative action extending Brady background checks to violent juvenile offenses and requiring that guns have safety locks preventing unauthorized users from firing them.

B. Youth Drug Use

As early as 1990, youth attitudes about drug use began to soften; youths became less concerned about the dangers of drugs. Drug use increased dramatically between 1991 and 1995 (although it has not reached the epidemic levels of the 1970s). For example, among eighth graders, drug use increased by 250 percent during those years. Marijuana accounts for the bulk of the rise in illicit drug use among youths aged 12-17.

Alcohol and tobacco are "gateway" drugs: youths who use these drugs are much more likely to use illicit drugs. Alcohol remains the number one drug problem among young people: three to four million teenagers currently drink alcohol daily, and the age at which children begin to use alcohol is declining. In 1996, more than one-third of high-school seniors smoked cigarettes, with more than one-fifth smoking daily. This is the highest use of tobacco among youth since the 1970s.

You already have established a legacy on youth tobacco use. The FDA regulations issued last year restrict youth access to tobacco products and limit the advertising and promotional activities that make these products appealing to young people. In your second term, this issue will remain in the spotlight, beginning when the first part of the regulation, relating to sale of cigarettes to minors, goes into effect in February (assuming no judicial injunction).

You also have taken steps to reduce the use of illicit drugs by young people -- for example, by signing legislation that restricted emerging youth drugs such as methamphetamine and Rohypnol (the "date rape" drug), encouraging states to adopt a "zero tolerance" standard for drunk drivers under the age of 21, and supporting high school athlete drug testing.

In the coming months, the Administration can take the following actions:

Expand Youth Drug Testing: As technology advances, drug testing becomes cheaper, more effective, and less intrusive. You should continue to advocate drug testing as a deterrent to drug use and an element of treatment. In October 1996, you directed General McCaffrey and Secretary Pena to provide you with recommendations on a strategy to reduce adolescent drug use by requiring drug tests for a driver's license. They will report back to you on January 17th, recommending that the first step be a demonstration program operating in two to four states. We will need legislation to implement this program. Assuming we get authorizing legislation and the program goes well, we can expand it in coming years.

National Public Communications Campaign: Increased youth drug use is a reflection of a change in attitudes that stems at least in part from popular culture. Our children are not receiving an anti-drug message through the media and popular culture; indeed, pop culture is again conveying a message that drugs are "cool." Since 1991, the number of drug-related public service announcements carried on television and in the print media has decreased by 30 percent. One response is for the Administration to initiate a public education campaign, which would include a challenge to the media to change the way it depicts drug use and to fund public service announcements on the issue. The ultimate goal of the campaign would be to end the entertainment industry's (and also the professional sports industry's) glamorization of drugs.

Enhance School-Based Prevention Programs: You successfully defeated Republican efforts to decimate the Safe and Drug Free Schools Act, which provides prevention funding to

over 97 percent of our nation's school districts. The next step is to ensure that this money is being used in the most effective manner. The Department of Education should improve monitoring and evaluation, so that this funding will go only to programs that work.

Defeat the Legalization Movement: The California and Arizona medical marijuana initiatives emerged from a national marijuana legalization movement, which is hiding behind supposed health concerns. The movement already has targeted several more states for similar initiatives. The Administration already has taken steps to counter this legalization movement, in part because of the threat it poses to our youth. Continued and well-publicized enforcement of federal laws, notwithstanding passage of state initiatives, is necessary to send a message to young people that marijuana use is illegal and dangerous.

C. Teen Pregnancy

The teen birth rate has declined each year between 1991 and 1995, by a total of about 8 percent. There are still, however, far too many teen births -- about 500,000 each year.

The new welfare law will aid in continuing the progress the Administration has made in reducing teen pregnancy. Under the law, unmarried minor parents are required to stay in school and live at home, or in an adult-supervised setting, in order to receive assistance. The law also provides for HHS to award a bonus to states with large decreases in out-of-wedlock births.

The new law also provides additional monies for abstinence education. HHS already administers a range of grant programs, reaching an estimated 30 percent of communities in the nation, that support efforts to prevent teen pregnancy. The new law provides \$50 million in new funding each year for state abstinence education activities.

Efforts to toughen and improve enforcement of child support and statutory rape laws can also contribute to preventing teen pregnancy. The Justice Department is ready to issue a report that will aid states in cracking down on statutory rape. The new welfare law includes numerous measures to improve child support enforcement, and this year the Administration will develop ways to implement these measures, perhaps through executive orders, in order to achieve the best possible results. In addition, we should continue to press for passage of our bill to make it a felony to cross state lines to avoid paying child support.

Perhaps most important, you should continue to lead the way in sending a clear message through the bully pulpit. We will not reduce teen pregnancy until we change the attitudes of young people. You will have an opportunity to help the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy launch its media campaign in May calling for abstinence and responsibility.

III. Potential Obstacles

In pursuing the priorities listed above, you will undoubtedly encounter significant obstacles. Broadly speaking, these obstacles emerge from three different sources: Congress, the courts, and statistics.

Legislative Obstacles: The Republicans will make every effort to attach to the Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Act -- or even to the bill reauthorizing the ONDCP -- provisions that, taken alone, would provoke a veto. For example, Speaker Gingrich may attempt to attach a very broad provision that effectively allows imposition of the death penalty for any drug trafficking.

On the other side, the Congressional Black Caucus blocked House passage of youth violence legislation last year and will probably follow the same strategy again. The CBC's main goal is to enact legislation that will reduce the disparity in crack and cocaine sentencing; once again, the CBC will push this issue to the forefront by demanding that such a provision be added to any youth violence bill.

Legal Obstacles: The FDA's Youth Tobacco Regulations are currently being challenged in a federal district court in North Carolina. That court has promised to issue a decision on the core legal issues this spring. If the government loses (in part or in whole), it of course will have the chance to appeal, but such a decision will at the least interfere with implementation of the regulation. In addition, the Supreme Court will rule on the constitutionality of the Brady Law this spring.

Release of Statistical Data: Several times during the year, the FBI will release statistics on youth drug use and youth crime. Current indications are that the next drug statistics will continue to show an upward trend. There is necessarily a lag between efforts and results, and reasonable people will not expect immediate success. But the issuance of such statistics can provide grist for the Administration's opponents.

IV. Timeline

January

Drivers License / Drug Testing Directive

Receive McCaffrey/Pena Report on January 17th and send implementing legislation to Congress.

February

Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Bill

Announce in State of the Union address and introduce bill shortly thereafter.

1997 National Drug Control Strategy

Issue annual report outlining Administration's anti-drug objectives for the coming year.

Spring

National Anti-Drug Communication Campaign

Launch communication campaign focused on sports and entertainment industries.

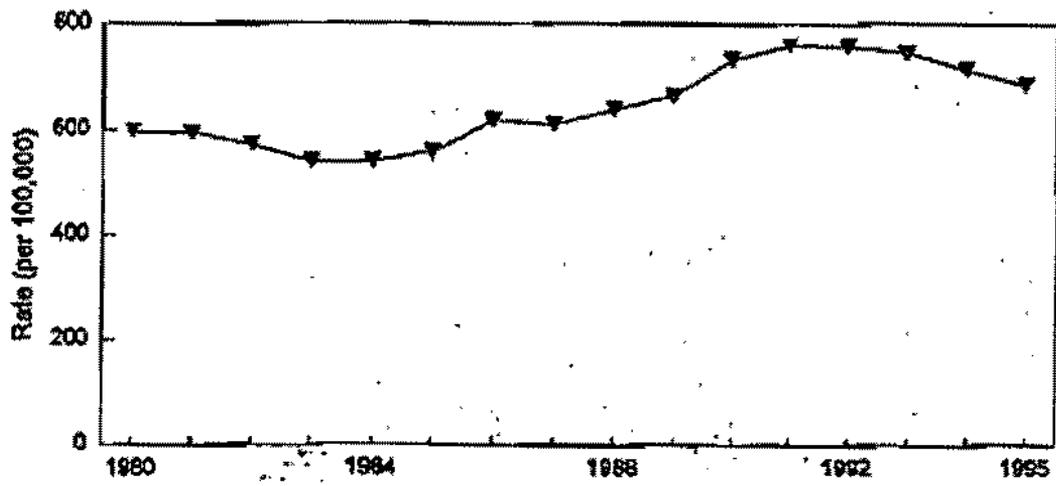
Brady Decision

Respond to decision of Supreme Court, which will either invalidate or approve the Brady law.

Teen Pregnancy Media Campaign

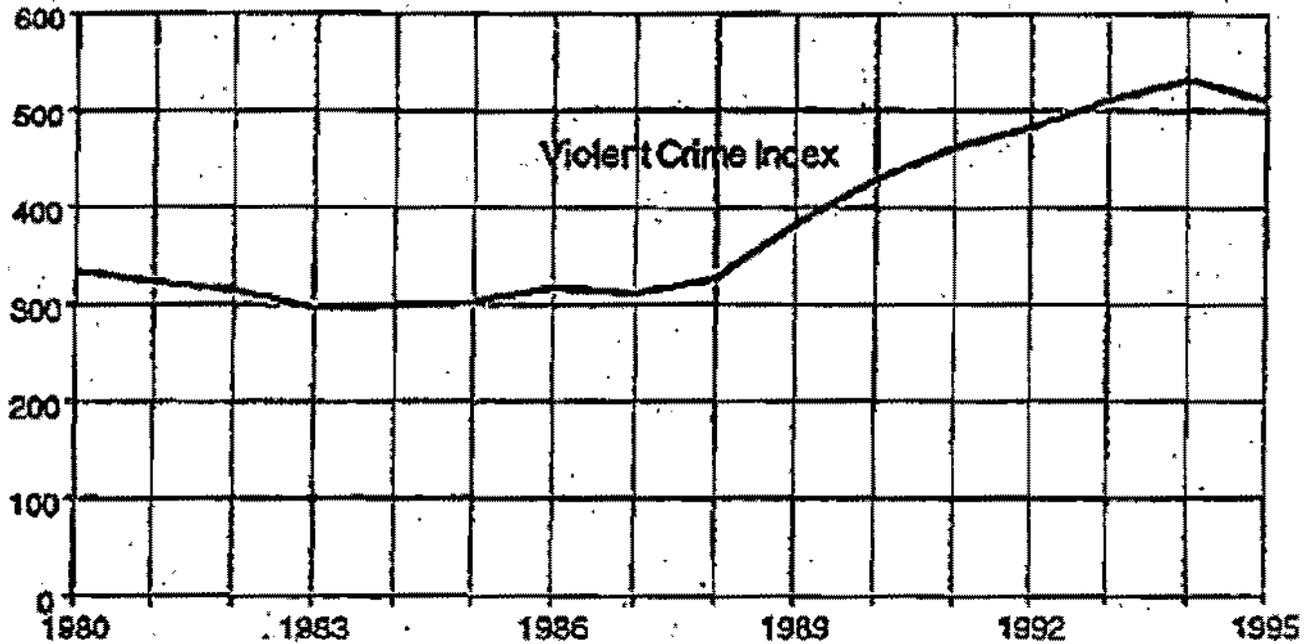
Help launch nationwide media effort by National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy.

National Violent Crime Rates, 1980-1995



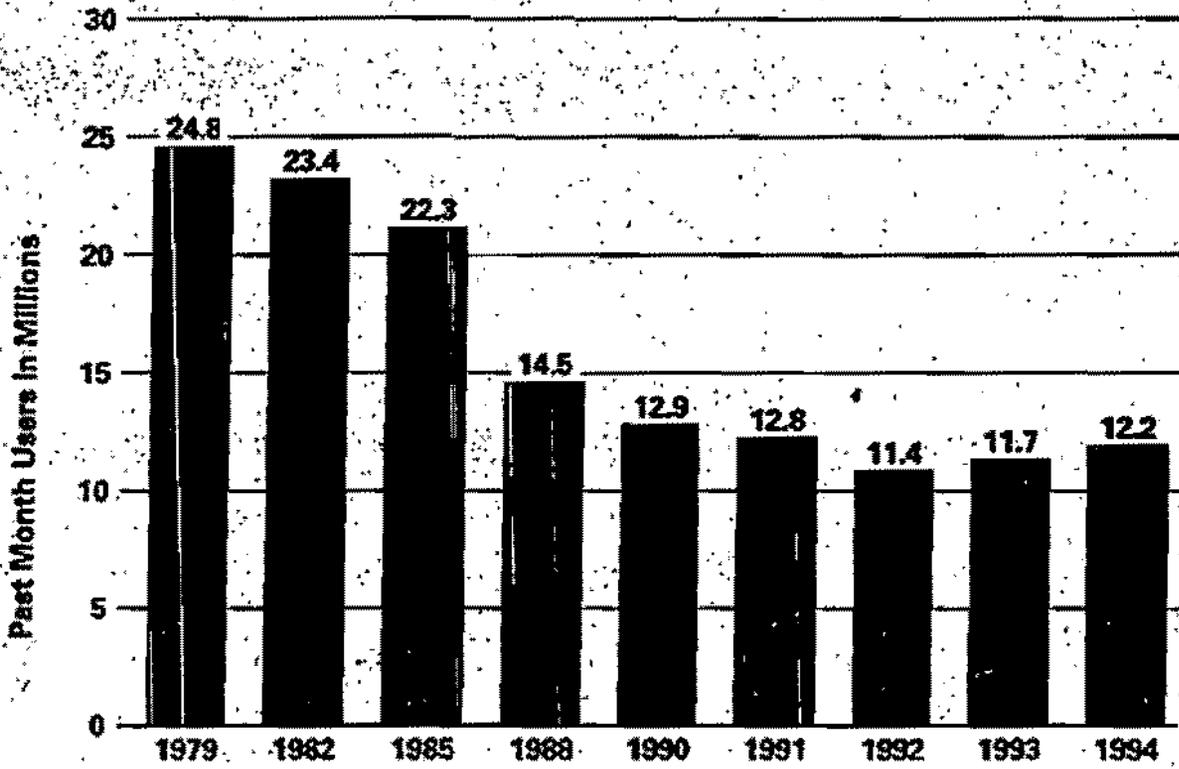
The juvenile violent crime arrest rate held constant for more than a decade, rose steadily from 1988 through 1994, then finally fell in 1995

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10 to 17



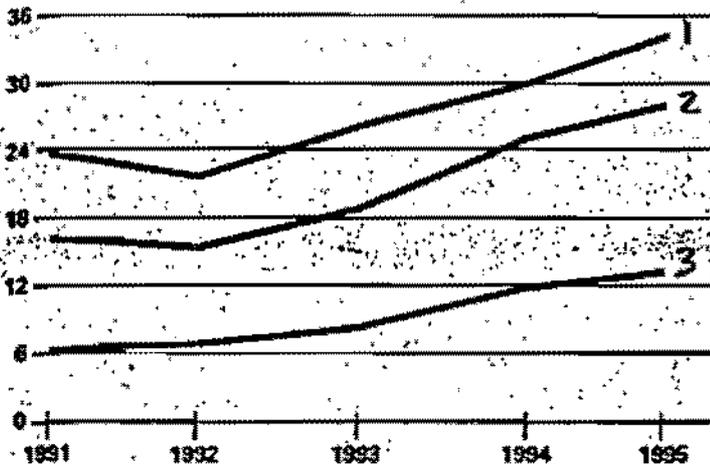
Data sources: Unpublished arrest data provided by the FBI and population estimates from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Series P-25*.

Figure 1-1
Number of Users of Any Illicit Drug

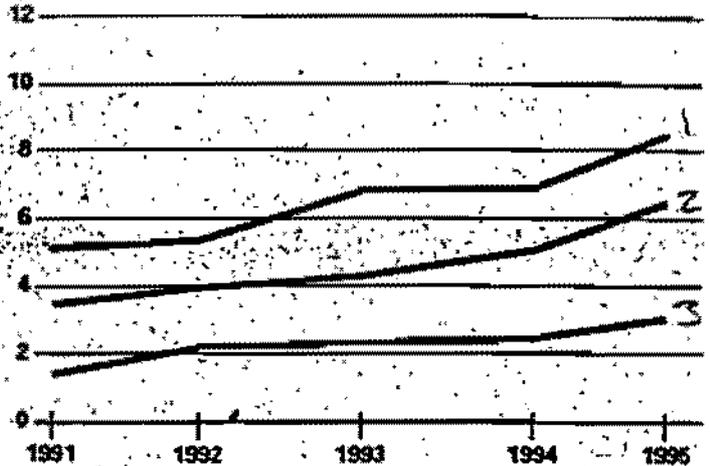


Source: National Household Survey on Drug Abuse

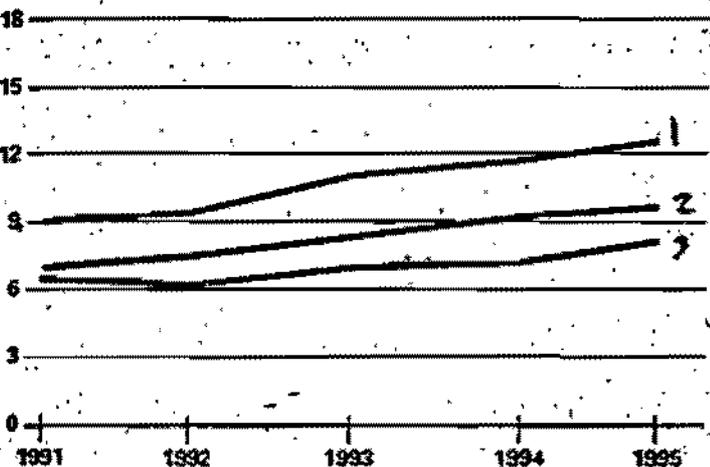
**Figure 1-2
Adolescent Drug Use**



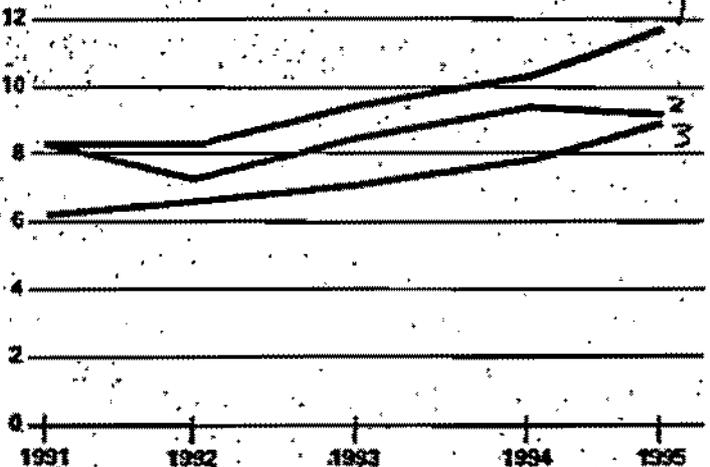
Marijuana



LSD



Inhalants

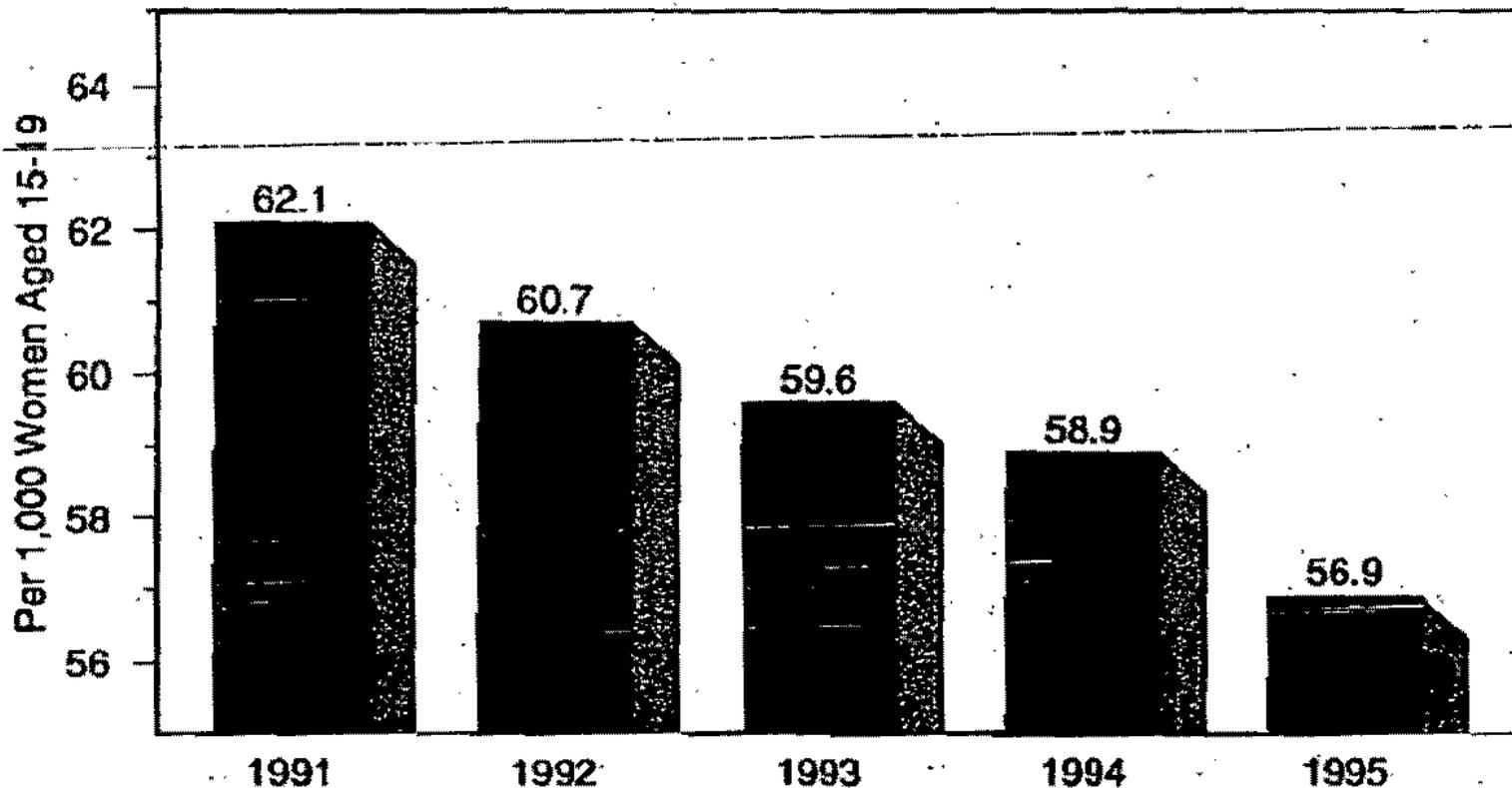


Stimulants

- 1 — Percentage of 12th Graders
- 2 — Percentage of 10th Graders
- 3 — Percentage of 8th Graders

Source: Monitoring the Future

Teen Birth Rates Have Declined Under the Clinton Administration*



Source: "Births and Deaths: United States, 1995" Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Vol. 45, No. 3, October 4, 1996

* Live births per 1,000 women aged 15-19

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Potential Policy Announcements for the Summit

The following are potential policy announcements you could make at the upcoming Summit on service and in the radio address on Saturday.

RADIO ADDRESS

You will announce that we are sending our America Reads legislation to the Hill, and use that opportunity to emphasize AmeriCorps' role in America Reads. You can also talk about your vision of the Summit and highlight America Reads as a great example of meeting the Summit's challenge on volunteering, tutoring, and literacy. In addition, you can announce that Federal agencies are making a "commitment" to the Summit that they will expand the number of schools that they have adopted or established partnerships with from approximately 1,500 schools to 2,000 schools by the year 2000. Working through partnerships established by their agencies, Federal employees tutor, purchase equipment, and hold career days.

MONDAY SPEECH AT SUMMIT

When you laid out your original vision of national service back in 1992, you set forth two fundamental principles that captured the public imagination: first, that all young Americans willing to give something back should have the chance to get help for college; and second, that we should challenge those young people to help solve our toughest problems, "as teachers, police officers, child care workers -- doing work our country desperately needs," as you said in the first Georgetown speech.

AmeriCorps, though still a well-kept secret, has gone a long way toward realizing your overall ideal of citizen service. But for budgetary and partisan political reasons, it will not become universal anytime soon, and because of its decentralized structure, AmeriCorps has not succeeded in marshaling a nation-wide effort to target a compelling national problem like education or crime.

Your speech in Philadelphia is a chance to breathe new life into that original ideal. We can't escape the budgetary constraints, but we can give more young people an incentive to serve, and most important, we can set forth a clear national mission of the problems we need them to solve. The following proposal are designed with that in mind.

1. Interest-free Year of Service

As you know, Rev. Tony Campolo has urged you to make it easier for college students and recent graduates to take a year off for service. Thanks to your income-contingent loan program and to earlier changes allowing loan deferments for service, students can already take advantage of reduced loan payments if they take low-paying service jobs, and can take time off for service without having to begin repayment of their loans. Your FY98 budget also includes a proposal to encourage service by no longer treating loan forgiveness as taxable income, so that students who universities forgive their loans will no longer have to pay taxes on it.

The only remaining barrier is the interest that accumulates on unsubsidized loans during the period of service. The cost of having the Federal government pay that interest is minimal — \$7 million over 5 years. This is an inexpensive proposal, and the typical benefit is not enormous, but it would make this policy universal, and it would allow any young person to take time off to serve without increasing his or her debt burden. The Education Department has expressed some concerns about this.

2. Police Corps

You can announce \$20 million in grants to 17 states for the Police Corps program. The Police Corps was created in your 1994 Crime Bill to increase the number of community police officers with advanced education and training, and was one of your pledges during the 1992 presidential campaign.

The Police Corps offers educational assistance to qualified college students who commit to enter the police after graduation and serve in the force for at least four years. Students accepted into the Police Corps receive up to \$7,500 in educational assistance for up to four years of undergraduate study. In addition, Corps recruits receive 16 weeks of rigorous training to help make them effective community police officers. As an incentive to police departments to take recruits, state and local law enforcement agencies receive cash assistance for employing Police Corps officers — \$10,000 per participant for each year of the recruit's service.

This announcement nearly triples the number of states that will receive Police Corps funds, from 6 to 17 states, and is double the funding appropriated in FY 1996 for the program. It will fund about 650 recruits. Your FY 1998 budget contains \$20 million in funding for Police Corps.

3. Teacher Corps

We believe your Summit speech should include a ringing call to service for young people to teach in inner cities. Nothing would do more to breathe new life into the ethic of service than to enlist young Americans in a national effort to transform inner-city schools that are crying out for their energy, idealism, and talent.

One way to do this would be to announce the proposal described below, which provides \$400 million over four years in incentives for approximately 48,000 new teachers. If this seems too costly to propose in the current budget environment, it could be ramped up more slowly at about

half the cost and impact. You could also propose a more modest expansion of AmeriCorps' support for Teach for America, as long as we also address quality concerns about that program. Alternatively, your speech could simply include a strong call to young people to take up the challenge of teaching in inner cities without proposing a new initiative to provide federal support. Such an initiative could still be included in the Administration's Higher Education Act proposal, which will be transmitted this summer.

Over the next decade, the nation will need to hire some 2.3 million teachers. Of these, approximately 15%, or 345,000 (approximately 35,000 per year), will be hired in central cities, in schools with large concentrations of low income students. An additional 207,000 (approximately 20,000 per year) will be needed in isolated, and often poor, rural areas. These types of communities face the greatest difficulties in attracting and retaining qualified teachers. Urban areas in particular receive significantly fewer applications for positions than neighboring suburban districts, and attrition rates in urban areas can often reach 30% to 50% in the first five years. They are therefore most likely to fill classroom vacancies with teachers who lack preparation, don't meet licensure requirements, or who are teaching outside their field. As a result, the students in these communities -- who need the *most* qualified teachers in order to meet higher academic standards -- often get exactly the opposite in the classroom.

We propose a new national effort to help attract and retain teachers in high poverty central city and rural schools. This new initiative would be a part of the Administration's proposal for the reauthorization of Title V of the Higher Education Act. The basic framework for this initiative could be announced at the summit, while many of the details could be further developed by the Education Department over the coming months.

This initiative would provide competitive grants to 100 local partnerships involving urban or rural school districts and institutions of higher education, to be used to provide incentives for individuals to prepare to teach, and to remain, in underserved schools. These would include 2-3 year fellowships for undergraduate students (including for a "5th year" program that provides intensive and sustained classroom experience for undergraduates after they have acquired a strong liberal arts background); one-year graduate fellowships for post-baccalaureate students, including recent liberal arts graduate and mid-career professionals seeking to enter teaching; stipends for teachers' aides and other education paraprofessionals seeking to move up a career ladder into full teaching positions; and 1-2 year "residencies" for beginning teachers that would provide a lighter teaching load coupled with additional time for class preparation, being coached or mentored, or working in other ways with more experienced teachers.

The incentives would range from fellowships that cover tuition and fees (which average \$3,500 at undergraduate public institutions) to forgivable loans to salary supplements for beginning teachers. Successful competitors would have to demonstrate that they have a high quality teacher preparation program, and that the program fits into a comprehensive, thoughtful strategy for recruiting and retaining teachers.

The Education Department proposes to fund this initiative at \$100 million a year for five years, beginning with the FY1999 budget. The Education Department estimates that this initiative will help attract and retain at least 48,000 teachers into high poverty central city and rural schools. This is approximately 17% of the estimated need in those communities. This is not an issue for this year's appropriations battles, and we have not tried to identify a specific offset. However, it will compete with your other discretionary priorities in the out-years. If you wish to proceed, we will work with OMB to determine what funding level we can commit to right now, recognizing that the parameters of NDD spending may change before we submit the FY99 budget.

We are also exploring ways to link this initiative to AmeriCorps, which already provides scholarships (but no stipends) to 1,000 teachers in Teach for America. As you know, Teach for America has been fairly successful in capturing the imagination of the public and of college students, but to this point has not provided the preparation and support those new teachers need to succeed in the classroom and remain in the profession. We could use existing scholarship funds to expand AmeriCorps' commitment to Teach for America, but we should also look for ways to make sure that preparation needs are addressed.

4. Child Care Corps

You could also announce that you will expand AmeriCorps to include a new child care corps. The child care field has great difficulty attracting and retaining qualified workers, especially well-educated and trained workers who can go on to become leaders in the field. Your recent conference on early learning was the latest confirmation that it is critical to increase the quality of child care. Yet very few of our most talented young people enter this field.

The program would offer AmeriCorps scholarships to individuals who agree to work in child care in low-income areas for two years. It would be open both to those currently working in the field and to those seeking to enter. Members of the corps would not get a stipend from AmeriCorps, but a scholarship of \$4,725 a year for two years, which could be used either to repay existing student loans or to pay for further education. Some of these scholarships could be earmarked to help people leaving welfare to get college training to become child care workers.

The Corporation for National Service estimates that it could support a corps of 2,000 people a year without any increase in their budget or permission from Congress, as long as these individuals get only scholarships and not stipends as well. Under pressure from members of Congress to reduce the cost of an AmeriCorps member, the Corporation has begun to emphasize these "scholarship only" awards, and its scholarship trust fund has excess funds.

Non-profit groups would apply to become part of this program, and would have to demonstrate that they could offer participants high-quality training and mentoring during their two years of service, including development of management and leadership skills. In addition, corporations could sponsor members by paying for their salaries, and universities that specialize in early childhood education could match our scholarships.

5. Mentoring/Tutoring 1 Million Kids

In preparation for the Summit, Federal agencies have joined their counterparts in the private and non-profit sectors by making public "commitments" to the goals of the Summit. Agencies have identified over 40 initiatives where they will work with partners in the volunteer or service sectors to mentor and tutor kids, expand afterschool programs, and offer young people opportunities to serve. We are trying to determine whether these commitments add up to an additional 1 million kids being mentored or tutored as a result of Federal government efforts.

FIRST LADY SPEECH AT CLOSING CEREMONY

The First Lady will represent the Administration at the closing ceremony on Tuesday. We are exploring the option that she could announce Kaiser Permanente's commitment of \$100 million over the next five years to provide health coverage to 50,000 children in California.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-7-97

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

97 AUG 29 PM 3:19

August 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Elena Kagan

Handwritten signature/initials

*Capital
Reed/EK
Kagan
CoS*

SUBJECT: DPC Weekly Report

I. Education -- National Testing Initiative: A team from the White House and Department of Education worked throughout the week to refine and implement our strategy for defeating the Goodling amendment. Among the key steps taken:

Legislative

- Secretary Riley announced that we will send up legislation at the beginning of next week to put NAGB in charge of the tests. This announcement helped to solidify support in the business community; it also may help to reenlist support from Diane Ravitch and other conservative opinion leaders. Rep. Riggs told us that he would talk with Rep. Goodling about using the NAGB legislation as a basis for a compromise. We remain doubtful that Goodling wants to compromise (or that Riggs will do so without him), but we encouraged Riggs to proceed.
- Secretary Riley made calls to key members in both houses in an effort to shore up our support and explore avenues for compromise. Many similar staff-level conversations have also taken place.
- Reps. George Miller, Bill Clay, and Matthew Martinez are sending a "Dear Colleague" letter in support of the tests and in opposition to the Goodling amendment.

Outreach

- Supporters in the education and business community have stepped up their efforts to contact key members of Congress; a number have also submitted op-eds in support of the tests.
- OPL and DPC have set up meetings with African-American and Hispanic groups in an effort to address their concerns.
- We have enlisted the support of mayors and governors from participating cities

and states.

Communications

- Your radio address will discuss the importance of national standards and note the threat your initiative faces in Congress.
- Secretary Riley will participate in an event in Philadelphia on Tuesday with Mayor Rendell and Superintendent Hornbeck to highlight impressive test score gains over the last two years -- including gains among LEP students on tests in English.
- The Vice President will do an event on the testing initiative on Thursday and will enlist the support of business leaders in a conference call on Wednesday.

2. Food Safety: As you know from yesterday's daily, Secretary Glickman held a press conference today to announce new proposed legislation to give USDA enhanced authority to enforce food safety laws. To emphasize the coordinated nature of our food safety policies, the Secretary also announced that the FDA would seek similar enforcement authority. Both pieces of legislation will go to Congress next week.