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1996 PLATFORM

*** DRAFT ***

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is what today's Democratic Party offers: the end of the era of big government, a final rejection of the misguided call to leave our citizens to fend for themselves -- and bold leadership into the future: To meet America's challenges, protect America's values, and fulfill American 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. Andrew Jackson, the first Democratic President, put it best:
4 We believe in equal opportunity for all, and special privileges for none. The mission of the
5 Democratic Party in 1996 is to ensure that the great American Dream of opportunity for all is
6 within reach for all, and that it travels with us, whole and intact, as we walk together into
7 tomorrow.

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

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

31 *Balancing the budget.* For 12 years, Republicans hid behind rosy scenarios while
32 quadrupling the national debt. We knew this had to stop. In 1992, we promised to cut the
33 deficit in half over four years. We did. Our 1993 economic plan cut spending by over a
34 quarter trillion dollars in five years. The only deficit left today is interest payments on the debt
35 run up over the 12 Republican years before fiscal responsibility returned to the White House.
36 President Clinton is the first President to cut the deficit four years in a row since before the
37 Civil War.

38 Now the Democratic Party is determined to finish the job and balance the budget.

1 President Clinton has put forward a plan to balance the budget by 2002 while living up to our
2 commitments to our elderly and our children. The Republican Congress' own economists
3 admit the President's plan will balance the budget by 2002. It cuts hundreds of wasteful and
4 outdated programs, but it preserves Medicare and Medicaid, it protects education and the
5 environment, and it defends working families. The President's plan reflects America's values.
6 The Republicans' does not.

7 Today's Democratic Party believes we have a duty to care for our parents, so they can
8 live their lives in dignity. That duty includes securing Medicare and Medicaid, finding savings
9 without reducing quality or benefits, and protecting Social Security for future generations. The
10 Republican agenda rests on massive Medicare cuts, three times bigger than the largest
11 Medicare cuts in history -- including new premium increases on seniors.

12 Today's Democratic Party believes that all children should have the opportunity to
13 make the most of their own lives. We believe that schools should be run by teachers and
14 principals, not by Washington. The Republican agenda slashes college scholarships and
15 college loans, and funds to cut class size and improve teacher standards.

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

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

22 *Tax relief for working families and small businesses.* President Clinton and the
23 Democratic Party expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, cutting taxes to help 40 million
24 Americans in 15 million working families -- without a single Republican vote. The Dole-
25 Gingrich budget was designed to give a massive tax break to the wealthiest Americans, and
26 pay for it by raising taxes on ordinary Americans and slashing health care for the elderly.
27 America cannot afford to return to the era of something-for-nothing tax cuts and smoke-and-
28 mirrors accounting that produced a decade of exploding deficits. Today's Democratic Party is
29 committed to targeted tax cuts that help working Americans invest in their future, and we
30 insist that any tax cuts are completely paid for, because we are determined to balance the
31 budget.

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

1 affordable.

2 *Technology.* We know investments in technology drive economic growth, generate new
3 knowledge, create new high-wage jobs, build new industries, and improve our quality of life.
4 In the face of Republican efforts to undermine America's dedication to innovation, President
5 Clinton and the Democratic Party have fought to maintain vital investments in science and
6 technology. We remember that government investment in technology is responsible for the
7 computer, for jet aircraft, and for the Internet -- no investments have ever paid off better, in
8 jobs, in opportunity, or in growth. We support government policies that encourage private
9 sector investment and innovation to create a pro-growth economic climate, like a permanent
10 research and development tax credit. We want technology to create jobs and improve the
11 quality of life for American workers. President Clinton and Vice President Gore fought for
12 and, the President signed, a sweeping telecommunications reform bill that will unleash the
13 creative power of the information industry to create millions of high-wage American jobs.- As
14 we enter the 21st century, we will continue to invest in world-class research and development,
15 advanced technologies, agricultural and environmental research in partnership with American
16 business. We're working to reinvent the national laboratories and revitalize America's space
17 program.

18 *Creating jobs through trade.* We believe that if we want the American economy to
19 continue strong growth, we must continue to expand trade, and not retreat from the world.
20 America's markets are open to the world, so America has a right to demand that the world's
21 markets are open to our products. American products are the best in the world. When
22 American workers and American companies have the chance to compete around the world, we
23 do not take second place. That's why the Clinton-Gore Administration has signed over 200
24 trade agreements, including NAFTA and GATT, to open markets around the world to
25 American products, and create more jobs for the people who make them here at home. We
26 have put in place the most sweeping agreements to lower foreign trade barriers of any
27 administration in modern American history, including over 20 such agreements with Japan alone -
28 - and American exports to Japan in the sectors covered by those agreements have increased by 85
29 percent. All over the world, barriers to American products have come down, exports are at an all
30 time high -- and we have created over one million high-paying export-related jobs.

31 We believe we must continue to work to lower foreign trade barriers; insist that foreign
32 companies play by fair rules at home and abroad; strengthen rules that protect the global economy
33 from fraud and dangerous instability; advance American commercial interests abroad; and ensure
34 that the new global economy is directly beneficial to American working families. As we work to
35 open new markets, we must continue to guarantee that all trade agreements protect American
36 workers and the global environment. We must ensure adequate trade adjustment assistance and
37 education and training programs to help working families compete and win in the global economy.

38 *Education.* Today's Democratic Party knows that education is the key to opportunity.
39 In the new global economy, it is more important than ever before. Today, education is the

1 fault line that separates those who will prosper from those who cannot. President Clinton and
2 the Democratic Party have spared no effort over the last four years to improve the quality of
3 American education and expand the opportunity for all Americans to get the education they
4 need to succeed.

5 Every step of the way, we have been opposed by Republicans intent on cutting
6 education. Now, they want to cut college scholarships. They want to make borrowing for
7 college more difficult for millions of students.

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

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

20 Now we must do more to make sure America has the best public schools on earth. If
21 we want to be the best, we should expect the best: We must hold students, teachers, and
22 schools to the highest standards. Students should be required to demonstrate competency and
23 achievement for promotion or graduation. Teachers should be required to meet high standards
24 for performance and be rewarded for the good jobs they do -- and there should be a fair,
25 timely, cost-effective process to remove those who do not measure up. And we should get rid
26 of the barriers that discourage talented young people from becoming teachers in the first place.
27 We shouldn't bash teachers. We should applaud them, and find ways to keep the best teachers
28 in the classroom. Schools should be held accountable for results. We should redesign or shut
29 down schools that fail. We should expand public school choice, but we shouldn't take
30 American tax dollars from public schools and give them to private schools. We should
31 promote public charter schools that are held to the highest standards of accountability and
32 access. And we should continue to ensure that America provides good education to children
33 with disabilities, because high-quality public education is the key to opportunity for all
34 American children.

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

1 education.

2 *Safe schools and healthy students.* If young people don't have the freedom to learn in
3 safety, they don't have the freedom to learn at all. We have worked hard to keep schools safe
4 and drug-free. Now we must launch a major rebuilding effort to make sure our children go to
5 school in high-quality facilities where they can learn. We must help schools set the highest
6 standards for good behavior and discipline in the classroom. Children can't learn -- and
7 teachers can't teach -- without order in the classroom. When Senator Dole and Speaker
8 Gingrich led Republican efforts to destroy the nation's school lunch program, President Clinton
9 and the Democrats stopped them cold.

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

19 *Preparing students for jobs.* We passed School-to-Work so young people can learn the
20 skills they need to get and keep high wage jobs. The Republican Congress is trying to destroy
21 it, and we pledge to stop them. We want to keep working with the private-sector, to
22 encourage community partnerships that build the bridge between a good education and a good
23 job.

24 *Higher education for all Americans.* Finally, we must make sure that every American
25 has the opportunity to go to college. Higher education is the key to a successful future in the
26 21st century. The typical worker with a college education earns 73 percent more than one
27 without. America has the best higher education in the world. We don't need to change it --
28 we need to make it available for all Americans.

29 Our goal must be nothing less than to make the 13th and 14th years of education as
30 universal as the first 12. The Democratic Party under President Clinton has put an
31 unprecedented college opportunity strategy in place: We reformed the student loan program, to
32 make college more affordable for 5.5 million students -- and we saved money for the taxpayers
33 by eliminating the middleman, cutting red tape, and cutting the cost of student loan defaults in
34 half. We have expanded Pell Grant college scholarships for deserving students. And the
35 President's national service program has already helped 45,000 Americans earn money for
36 college by helping their communities.

37 *Tax cuts for college.* Now we want to go even further: We should expand work-study

1 so one million students a year can work their way through college by the year 2000. We should
2 let people use money from their IRA to help pay for college. We should give a \$1000 honor
3 scholarship for the top 5 percent of graduates in every high school. And we must make 14
4 years of education the standard for every American. The Democratic Party wants to create a
5 \$10,000 tax deduction for families to help pay for education after high school. And we want to
6 create a \$1,500 tax cut for Americans, modeled after Georgia's successful HOPE scholarships,
7 to guarantee the first year of tuition at a typical community college, and the second year if
8 individuals earn it by maintaining a B average. No tax cut will do more to raise American
9 incomes than a tax cut to pay for college.

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

20 **Rewarding work.** Americans work hard, and they have a right to expect that work will
21 pay. President Clinton fought for and won the largest expansion of the Earned Income Tax
22 Credit in history, a tax cut for 15 million working families, because no parent who takes the
23 responsibility to work full time should have to raise children in poverty. The President and the
24 Democratic Party fought and defeated fierce Republican opposition, led by Senator Dole and
25 Speaker Gingrich, to raise the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour, because the minimum wage
26 should be a wage you can live on. We want to strengthen families, and we challenge the
27 private sector to help their workers earn enough to support a family.

28 **Health care.** We've expanded the Women, Infants, and Children program that
29 provides prenatal and early childhood nutrition, so that all eligible women, infants, and
30 children will have access to the health and nutrition services they need. We established a
31 comprehensive effort to immunize children, after defeating Republican opposition led by
32 Senator Dole. Last year, the percentage of two-year-olds in America who were fully
33 immunized reached an historic high. The Clinton-Gore Administration has dramatically
34 shortened the approval process for new lifesaving drugs at the Food and Drug Administration;
35 we have paid special attention to women's health issues, including a 65 percent increase for
36 breast cancer research; and we have made AIDS research, prevention, and treatment a top
37 priority, increasing funding by almost 40 percent, including more than doubling the Ryan
38 White Care Act to help care for people with AIDS. We are committed to finding a cure for
39 breast cancer and AIDS.

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

12 In 1993 -- without a single Republican vote -- the Democratic Party under President
13 Clinton extended the Medicare Trust Fund into the 21st century. We have 12 given states
14 more flexibility to run their Medicaid programs more efficiently and expand coverage, while
15 maintaining the guarantee of meaningful benefits. Two million more Americans have health
16 insurance as a result. We have given Medicare beneficiaries more health plan choices and
17 increased benefits. We have cracked down on health care waste, fraud, and abuse, saving more
18 than \$15 billion in three years. Now we must finish the job -- we can balance the budget
19 while we preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, protecting millions of middle class
20 families from being overwhelmed by health care costs for their parents, children, or family
21 members with disabilities.

22 The Democratic Party remains committed to ensuring that Americans have access to
23 affordable, high-quality health care coverage. We must move forward to reform our health
24 care system to stop insurance companies from denying coverage to families where one member
25 has a preexisting condition, and we must make sure that people can take their health insurance
26 with them when they change jobs. No more Americans should have to turn down a better job
27 because they would lose their health care if they took it. As we take steps to ensure that
28 Americans have access to quality, affordable health care, we should start by making sure that
29 people get help paying premiums so they don't lose health care while they're looking for a
30 new job. We support expanded coverage of home and community-based services, so people
31 with disabilities of all ages can live in their own communities and as independently as possible.

32 *Retirement.* President Clinton took strong steps to protect the pensions of more than 40
33 million workers and retirees by fixing the federal pension insurance system and demanding that
34 companies fund their retirement plans fully. We established a nationwide retirement protection
35 program to protect workers' 401K retirements savings from fraud and abuse. We [recognize
36 the unique concerns of women when it comes to preparing for retirement] have worked to
37 protect women's pension rights. Now we want to take further steps to make sure that
38 Americans who have worked hard for their whole lives can enjoy retirement in the dignity and
39 security they have earned. We want to make sure people can carry their pensions with them

1 when they change jobs, protect pensions even further, and make it easier for small businesses
2 to offer pension plans to their workers. Democrats created Social Security and we will fight to
3 save it. We must ensure that it is on firm financial footing well into the next century. We call
4 on Republicans to put politics aside and join us in a serious bipartisan effort to make sure that
5 Social Security will continue to provide true security for future generations, as it has done for
6 millions of older Americans for decades.

7 *Training.* We must do more to make sure all Americans have the skills they need to
8 compete. We want a G.I. Bill for Workers to transform the confusing tangle of federal
9 training programs into a simple job-training voucher that will go directly to unemployed
10 workers so they will be able to get the training that's right for them. We want to strengthen
11 training opportunities for people with disabilities, so they can learn the skills they need to live
12 independent, productive lives.

13
14 *Standing up for working Americans.* We nearly doubled funding for the dislocated
15 worker program and launched special projects to help workers displaced by base closures,
16 natural disasters, and mass layoffs. We're reforming OSHA so it can do a better job to protect
17 worker safety with less bureaucracy, and we continue to oppose Republican efforts to gut it.
18 We beat back efforts to dismantle the enforcement powers of the National Labor Relations
19 Board. We vigorously oppose Republican efforts to pass Right-to-Work legislation, and to
20 undermine collective bargaining through the TEAM Act. We are working to eradicate
21 sweatshops in the U.S. apparel industry by stepping up enforcement and public education. We
22 oppose the hiring of permanent workers to replace lawful economic strikers; we support the
23 President's action to stop the government from procuring goods and services from companies
24 that do so; and we support legislation to prohibit the permanent replacement of lawfully
25 striking workers. We believe in equal pay for equal work and pay equity.

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

35 *Corporate responsibility.* Employers must do their part as well. President Clinton and
36 the Democratic Party stand on the side of working families. We call on our corporate leaders
37 to invest in the long-term, by providing workers with good wages and benefits, education and
38 training, and opportunities for greater involvement in company decision making. As workers
39 increase their hours and their productivity, employers should make sure they share in the
40 benefits of the good years, as well as the burdens of the bad ones. Employers should respect

1 the commitment of workers to their families, and do their best to provide good pensions and
2 health care. When CEOs put their workers and long-term success ahead of short-term gain,
3 their workers will do better and so will they.

4 5 RESPONSIBILITY

6 Today's Democratic Party knows that the era of big government is over. Big
7 bureaucracies and Washington solutions don't have the real answers to today's challenges. We
8 need a smaller government . . . and we must have a larger national spirit. Government's job
9 should be to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. Americans must
10 take the responsibility to use them, to build good lives for themselves and their families. Personal
11 responsibility is the most powerful force we have to meet our challenges and shape the future we
12 want for ourselves, for our children, and for America.

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

20 *Standing up for parents.* In the first month of Bill Clinton's Presidency, the Democratic
21 Party ended eight years of Republican gridlock and enacted the Family and Medical Leave
22 Act. Americans blessed with a new child or troubled by a family health crisis can no longer be
23 forced to choose between their families and their jobs. A bipartisan panel reported that 12
24 million workers have already been able to live up to their family obligations without risking
25 their jobs. And almost 90 percent of businesses found that complying with this law cost them
26 little or nothing. Despite how important this is to American families, Senator Dole continues
27 to lead misguided efforts to repeal it. This law is good for families, it is good for America,
28 and it would not be the law today without the Democratic Party. Now we want to take the next
29 step. We believe parents should be able to take unpaid leave from work so they can do their job as
30 parents: to do things like go to parent-teacher conferences or take a child to the doctor. We
31 support allowing employee-choice flex time so employees can trade in earned overtime hours to
32 spend more time with their families. We support tax credits to encourage adoption, because every
33 child deserves a mother and father who will love them and raise them.

34 *Responsible entertainment.* President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led the fight
35 to help parents control what their children see on television. Because of their leadership, Congress
36 passed a law requiring all new televisions to include a device called a V-chip that will block
37 violent programs when it is activated by an adult. Senator Dole likes to talk about TV violence,
38 but when it came time to act, he stood with a small minority to oppose the bipartisan V-chip bill.

1 The President announced a breakthrough agreement with the media and entertainment industries
2 to develop a rating system for TV shows similar to the motion picture rating system, so parents
3 can make informed decisions about what they want their children to watch. When parents control
4 the remote, it's not censorship, it's personal responsibility for their children's upbringing.

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

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

22 *Child support.* Nobody has the right to walk away from the responsibility to care for his
23 or her children. If you owe child support, paying it fully and promptly is just the first step in living
24 up to your responsibility as a parent. The Clinton Administration has made a determined effort to
25 crack down on deadbeat parents, collecting a record \$11 billion in 1995 through tough
26 enforcement -- almost a 40 percent increase over 1992. President Clinton issued an Executive
27 Order to track down federal workers who fail to pay child support, and force them to pay. The
28 Democratic Party believes that the toughest possible child support enforcement must be a central
29 part of any real welfare reform plan, including the President's plan to deny drivers licenses and
30 professional licenses to people who don't pay their child support. We must tell deadbeats: If you
31 neglect your responsibility to your children, we'll suspend your license, garnish your wages, track
32 you down, and make you pay.

33 *Teen pregnancy.* For the first time in years, the teen pregnancy rate has leveled off and
34 begun to drop. But we all know it is still far too high. Government alone cannot solve this
35 problem. That's why President Clinton challenged community, business, and religious leaders
36 together to form a national campaign to keep the teen pregnancy rate going down. And he
37 expanded support for community-based prevention programs that teach abstinence and demand
38 responsibility. We must send the strongest possible signal to young people that it is wrong to get
39 pregnant or father a child until they are married and ready to support that child and raise that

1 child.

2 We also know that half of all underage mothers were made pregnant by a man in his
3 twenties, or even older. Statutory rape is a crime, but unfortunately the laws that protect young
4 women from it are almost never enforced. We echo the President's call to America's prosecutors:
5 Enforce the statutory rape laws vigorously against men who prey on underage women.

6 *Parents' responsibility.* All of this is important, and we pledge to continue to fight for
7 ways to strengthen our families. But today's Democratic Party knows that governments don't
8 raise children, parents do. That's why President Clinton and Vice President Gore took action to
9 order all federal agencies to make sure everything government does for children promotes
10 responsibility from all parents, fathers as well as mothers. Now we challenge every parent to put
11 their children first: to help them with their homework, to read to them, to know their teachers,
12 and above all, to teach their children right from wrong and set the best example.

13 **Welfare reform.** Today's Democratic Party knows there is no greater gap between
14 mainstream American values and modern American government than our failed welfare system.
15 When Bill Clinton became President, the welfare system undermined the very values -- work,
16 family, and personal responsibility -- that it should promote. Over the past four years, President
17 Clinton -- acting alone -- has dramatically transformed the welfare system. He has freed 40 states
18 from federal rules and regulations so they can reform their welfare systems. The Clinton
19 Administration has granted 67 waivers -- more than twice as many waivers as granted in the
20 Reagan-Bush years. For 75 percent of all Americans on welfare, the rules have changed for good,
21 and welfare is becoming what it should be: a second chance, not a way of life. Welfare rolls are
22 finally coming down -- there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were when
23 President Clinton took office in January 1993.

24 The President has also taken strong executive action to make sure that the welfare system
25 strengthens families and demands responsibility. He ordered states to require minor mothers to
26 stay in school and turn their lives around so they can get a job and get off welfare for good. He
27 also directed states to require mothers to help identify and find absent fathers so we can make
28 them pay the child support they owe. And he challenged all states to require teen mothers to live
29 at home or with a responsible adult.

30 Now we must finish the job, and pass national welfare reform. Unfortunately, the plan
31 proposed by Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich was weak on work and tough on children.
32 That's the wrong approach. We should be tough on work and demand responsibility, but we
33 should not punish children for their parents' mistakes. A real bipartisan welfare reform plan
34 should require that, anyone on welfare who can work, goes to work. And we should provide
35 child care and health care so parents can work. We should impose strict time limits so that no one
36 who can work can stay on welfare forever. We should require minor mothers to live with their
37 parents or another responsible adult. If the Republican Party puts politics aside, we can finish the
38 job President Clinton started, and end welfare as we know it across America. Passing legislation

1 is not enough, and we should make sure people get the skills they need to get jobs, and there are
2 jobs for them to go to so they leave welfare and stay off.

3 **Choice.** The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose,
4 consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, and regardless of ability to pay. President Clinton took executive
5 action to make sure that the right to make such decisions is protected for all Americans. Over the
6 last four years, we have taken action to end the gag rule and ensure safety at family planning and
7 women's health clinics. We believe it is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual
8 Americans -- not government -- can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and
9 intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction.

10 The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of
11 each American on this difficult issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every
12 level of our party.

13 Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more
14 dangerous. We support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life
15 education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. For four years in a row, we have
16 increased support for family planning. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to
17 support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal
18 responsibility to meet this important goal.

19 **Reinventing government.** The American people have a right to demand that
20 responsibility is the order of the day in Washington. The mission of today's Democratic Party is
21 to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy. We have worked hard over the last four years to rein in
22 big government, slash burdensome regulations, eliminate wasteful programs, and shift problem-
23 solving out of Washington and back to people and communities who understand their situations
24 best. In the last four years, President Clinton, working with the National Performance Review
25 chaired by Vice President Gore, has cut the federal government by almost 240,000 positions,
26 making the smallest federal government in 30 years. The federal government is eliminating 16,000
27 pages of outdated and unnecessary regulations, has abolished 179 programs and projects, and
28 saved taxpayers billions of dollars. The President fought for and signed unfunded mandates
29 legislation. This stops Congress from requiring state and local governments to implement
30 expensive policies without providing any means to pay for them, and encourages better
31 partnerships and more balance of resources and responsibilities. After presidents since Ulysses S.
32 Grant tried to get the line-item veto and failed, President Clinton signed landmark legislation that
33 will give the President this powerful tool to cut pork-barrel spending from bills passed by
34 Congress.

35 For years, Republicans talked about making government smaller while letting it grow --
36 Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about cutting the deficit while letting it
37 climb -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about shifting power back to
38 states and communities -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about making

1 government more businesslike and efficient -- Democrats are doing it. Democrats are bringing
2 responsibility back to Washington. In the last two years, Republicans under Senator Dole and
3 Speaker Gingrich shut the federal government down in an irresponsible attempt at partisan
4 blackmail. Democrats under President Clinton said, and America agreed: Partisan threats are no
5 way to run a government. Nobody should ever shut down the government again. The Republican
6 shutdown cost the taxpayers \$1.4 billion. Democrats believe government should work better and
7 cost less -- not work less and cost more.

8 The Republican shutdown was an affront to the hardworking public servants in our cities,
9 towns, states, and nation who devote their lives to improving life in our country. Thanks to them
10 our streets are safer, our water is cleaner, and our nation is secure.

11 Over the next four years, the Democratic Party will continue to make responsibility the
12 rule in Washington: cutting bureaucracy further, improving customer service, demanding better
13 performance, holding people and agencies accountable for producing the best results, and forging
14 new partnerships with the private sector including small, minority, and women-owned businesses,
15 and with state and local governments.

16 **Political reform.** Today's Democratic Party knows we have a responsibility to make
17 our democracy work better for America, by limiting the influence of special interests and
18 expanding the influence of the American people. Organized interests have too much power in
19 the halls of government. They often operate in secret and have special privileges ordinary
20 Americans don't even know exist. Elections have become so expensive that big money can
21 sometimes drown out the voices of ordinary voters -- who should always speak the loudest.

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

32 But we must take further strong action. The President and the Democratic Party
33 support the bipartisan McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill. It will limit campaign
34 spending, curb the influence of PACs and lobbyists, and end the soft money system. Perhaps
35 most important of all, this bill provides free TV time for candidates, so they can talk directly
36 to citizens about real issues and real ideas. Unfortunately, Republicans in Congress won't
37 even let this bill come up for a vote. We call on them to stop stonewalling. It is time to take
38 the reins of democracy away from big money and put them back in the hands of the American

1 people, where they belong. We applaud efforts by broadcasters and private citizens alike, to
2 increase candidates' direct access to voters through free TV. Finally, we believe all
3 Americans have a right to fair political representation -- including the citizens of the District of
4 Columbia which deserves statehood. We recognize the existing status of the Commonwealth of
5 Puerto Rico and the strong economic relationship between the people of Puerto Rico and the
6 United States. We pledge to support the right of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto
7 Rico to choose freely, and in concert with the U.S. Congress their relationship with the United
8 States, either as an enhanced commonwealth, a state or an independent nation.

9 SECURITY, FREEDOM, AND PEACE

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

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

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

21 Four years ago, the forces of reform in the former Soviet Union were embattled. Today,
22 U.S. initiatives are helping democracy and free markets take root throughout the region and
23 democracy has triumphed in Russia's elections.

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

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

30 Four years ago, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization -- the bulwark of Western security
31 during the Cold War -- was losing direction and support. Today, NATO is keeping the peace in
32 Bosnia and, as a result of American leadership, preparing to welcome new members from Central
33 Europe.

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

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

8 The Clinton-Gore Administration's record of leadership has deterred America's
9 adversaries and earned respect from our allies and partners. The Dole-Gingrich Congress and the
10 Republican Party have a different approach to America's security. They are increasingly hostage
11 to extremists who want to revert to the isolationism and protectionism that were Republican
12 hallmarks earlier this century. Their dangerous philosophy too often would force America to go it
13 alone -- or not at all. Their shortsighted approach has cut resources for diplomacy that could
14 strengthen our security. Locked in a Cold War mentality and frozen by indifference to global
15 needs, they fundamentally do not understand the threats and opportunities of this new era.

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

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

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

30 **Strengthening our military.** Over the past four years, the Administration has undertaken
31 the most successful restructuring of our military forces in history. Even as the size of our forces
32 has decreased, their capabilities, readiness and qualitative edge have increased. The
33 Administration has ensured that America is prepared to fight alongside others when we can, and
34 alone when we must. We have defeated attempts to cut our defense budget irresponsibly. Three
35 times in three years, President Clinton has increased defense resources -- a total of almost \$50
36 billion -- for readiness, force modernization, and quality of life improvements. We will continue
37 our work to ensure that the men and women who wear American uniforms receive adequate pay

1 and support, including: childcare, housing, and access to quality health care for themselves and
2 their families. The Administration defense plan reverses the downward trend in procurement with
3 a 40% real increase for weapons modernization by 2001. At the same time, as part of its
4 reinventing government program, the Administration has fundamentally reformed government
5 procurement rules in order to get the most for our money.

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

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

19
20 *Reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction.* Strengthening our security also
21 requires an aggressive effort against weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear, chemical, and
22 biological -- and their means of delivery. From the nuclear weapons programs in Iraq and North
23 Korea to the Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway, our nation has seen that this threat is clear
24 and present. To meet it, we must seize the opportunities presented by the end of the Cold War to
25 cut weapons of mass destruction stockpiles while working to prevent lethal weapons and
26 materials from falling into the wrong hands.

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

35 The Democratic Party supports efforts to sign a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this year
36 and to bring it into force as soon as possible. We support immediate ratification of the Chemical
37 Weapons Convention -- delayed too long by the Dole Senate. We support full funding of the
38 Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program to ensure that nuclear materials in the former
39 Soviet Union do not fall into the wrong hands. We support vigilant efforts, in cooperation with

1 the Republic of Korea, Japan, and others, to ensure North Korea fully abides by its agreements to
2 dismantle its nuclear program, and we support the Administration's vigorous efforts to prevent
3 Iraq, Iran, and other dangerous states from acquiring or developing weapons of mass destruction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29 *Asia.* We know that many of America's most pressing security challenges and most
30 promising commercial opportunities lie in the Asia Pacific region. The Democratic Party applauds
31 the important new security charter with Japan, the Administration's close cooperation with the
32 Republic of Korea toward the goal of a unified and non-nuclear peninsula, and the deployment of
33 an American naval task force to the Taiwan Straits to ensure that China's military exercises did
34 not imperil the security of Taiwan or the region. The Party supports the Administration's policy
35 of steady engagement to encourage a stable, open and prosperous China -- a China that respects
36 human rights throughout its land and in Tibet, that joins international efforts against weapons
37 proliferation, and that plays by the rules of free and fair trade. Today's Democratic Party strongly
38 supports continued American troop presence in East Asia and efforts to promote increased
39 regional security. And we are committed to building long-term relationships with India, Pakistan,
40 and others in South Asia in order to advance America's diverse interests in that region, from

1 democracy and commerce to nuclear non-proliferation.

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

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

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

30 *Promoting democracy.* America remains a beacon of hope to all who cherish democracy
31 and human rights, and America's security benefits from the enlargement of the community of
32 market democracies. The Clinton-Gore Administration has actively promoted the consolidation
33 and spread of democracy and human rights: in Russia and throughout the former Soviet Union,
34 Central Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. President Clinton directed Vice President Gore
35 to lead bi-national efforts to establish trading relationships to help promote democracy in three
36 strategic areas: Russia, South Africa, and Egypt. The Democratic Party supports the aspirations
37 of all those who seek to strengthen civil society and accountable governance. To this end, we
38 support continued funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, Radio Free Europe/Radio
39 Liberty, the Asia Pacific Network, Radio Marti and other efforts to promote democracy and the

1 free flow of ideas.

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

12 COMMUNITY

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

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

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

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

10 *Protecting our children, our neighborhoods, and our police from criminals with guns.*
11 Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, and George Bush were able to hold the Brady Bill hostage for the
12 gun lobby until Bill Clinton became President. With his leadership, we made the Brady Bill
13 the law of the land. And because we did, more than 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers
14 have been stopped from buying guns. President Clinton led the fight to ban 19 deadly assault
15 weapons, designed for one purpose only -- to kill human beings. We oppose efforts to restrict
16 weapons used for legitimate sporting purposes, and we are proud that not one hunter or
17 sportsman was forced to change guns because of the assault weapons ban. But we know that
18 the military-style guns we banned have no place on America's streets, and we are proud of the
19 courageous Democrats who defied the gun lobby and sacrificed their seats in Congress to make
20 America safer. Today's Democratic Party stands with America's police officers. We are
21 proud to tell them that as long as Bill Clinton and Al Gore are in the White House, any attempt
22 to repeal the Brady Bill or assault weapons ban will be met with a veto. We must do
23 everything we can to stand behind our police officers, and the first thing we should do is pass
24 a ban on cop-killer bullets. Any bullet that can rip through a bulletproof vest should be against
25 the law; that's the least we can do to protect the brave police officers who risk their lives to
26 protect us.

27 *Tough punishment.* We believe that people who break the law should be punished, and
28 people who commit violent crimes should be punished severely. President Clinton made three-
29 strikes-you're-out the law of the land, to ensure that the most dangerous criminals go to jail for
30 life, with no chance of parole, and signed a law to limit appeals. We established the death
31 penalty for nearly 60 violent crimes, including murder of a law enforcement officer. We
32 provided almost \$8 billion in new funding to help states build new prison cells so violent
33 offenders serve their full sentences. We call on the states to meet the President's challenge
34 and guarantee that serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence. The
35 American people deserve a criminal justice system in which criminals are caught, the guilty
36 are convicted, and the convicted serve their time.

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

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

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

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

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

31 *Battling illegal drugs.* We must keep drugs off our streets and out of our schools.
32 President Clinton and the Democratic Party have waged an aggressive war on drugs. The Crime
33 Bill established the death penalty for drug kingpins. The President signed a directive requiring
34 drug testing of anyone arrested for a federal crime, and he challenged states to do the same for
35 state offenders. We established innovative drug courts which force drug users to get treatment or
36 go to jail. We stood firm against Republican efforts to gut the Safe and Drug Free Schools effort
37 that supports successful drug-education programs like D.A.R.E. The Clinton Administration
38 went to the Supreme Court to support the right of schools to test athletes for drugs. The
39 President launched Operation Safe Home to protect the law-abiding residents of public housing

1 from violent criminals and drug dealers who use their homes as a base for illegal activities. We
2 support the President's decision to tell those who commit crimes and peddle drugs in public
3 housing: You will get no second chance to threaten your neighbors; it's one strike and you're out.
4 We are making progress. Overall drug use in America is dropping; the number of Americans who
5 use cocaine has dropped 30 percent since 1992. Unfortunately casual drug use by young people
6 continues to climb. We must redouble our efforts against drug abuse everywhere, especially
7 among our children.

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

15 *Ending domestic violence.* When it strikes, nothing is a more dangerous threat to the
16 safety of our families than domestic violence, because it is a threat from within.
17 Unfortunately, violence against women is no stranger to America, but a dangerous intruder we
18 must work together to drive from our homes. We know that domestic violence is not a
19 "family problem" or a "women's problem." It is America's problem, and we must all fight it.
20 The Violence Against Women Act in the 1994 Crime Bill helps police officers, prosecutors,
21 and judges to understand domestic violence, recognize it when they see it, and know how to
22 deal with it. In February, the President launched a 24 hour, seven-day, toll-free hotline so
23 women in trouble can find out how to get emergency help, find shelter, and report abuse to the
24 authorities. The number is 1 800 799-SAFE. Everyone who knows it should pass it on to
25 anyone who might need it. Every American must take the responsibility to stop this terrible
26 scourge. As we fight it, we must remember that the victims are not to blame. This is a crime
27 to be punished, not a secret to be concealed.

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

34 *Immigration.* Today's Democratic Party remembers that we are a nation of
35 immigrants, but insists that we remain a nation of laws. We welcome legal immigrants to
36 America, but we cannot tolerate illegal immigration and we must stop it. For years before Bill
37 Clinton became President, Washington talked tough but failed to act. In 1992, our borders
38 might as well not have existed. The Southwest border was under-patrolled, and what patrols
39 there were, were under-equipped. Drugs flowed freely. Illegal immigration was rampant.

1 Criminal immigrants, deported after committing crimes in America, returned the very next day
2 to commit crimes again. President Clinton is making the Southwest border a place where the
3 law is respected and drugs and illegal immigrants are turned away. We have increased the
4 Border Patrol by over 40 percent; in El Paso, our Border Patrol agents are so close together
5 they can see each other. We have deployed underground sensors, infrared night scopes, and
6 encrypted radios. We have built miles of new fences and installed massive amounts of new
7 lighting. Last year alone, the Clinton Administration removed over 11,000 illegal workers
8 from jobs across the country. Just since January of 1995, we have arrested more than 1,700
9 criminal aliens and prosecuted them on federal felony charges because they returned to
10 America after having been deported.

11 However, as we work to stop illegal immigration, we call on all Americans to avoid
12 the temptation to use this issue to divide people from each other. We deplore those who use
13 the need to stop illegal immigration as a pretext for discrimination. And we applaud the
14 wisdom of Republicans like Mayor Giuliani and Senator Domenici who oppose the mean-
15 spirited and short-sighted effort of Republicans in Congress to bar the children of illegal
16 immigrants from schools -- it is wrong, and forcing children onto the streets is an invitation for
17 them to join gangs and turn to crime. Democrats want to protect American jobs by increasing
18 criminal and civil sanctions against employers who hire illegal workers, but Republicans continue
19 to favor inflammatory rhetoric over real action. We will continue to enforce labor standards to
20 protect workers in vulnerable industries. We continue to firmly oppose welfare benefits for illegal
21 immigrants. We believe family members who sponsor immigrants into this country should take
22 financial responsibility for them, and be held legally responsible for supporting them. Democrats
23 recognize the extraordinary contribution of immigrants to America throughout our history. We
24 support a legal immigration policy that is pro-family, pro-work, pro-responsibility, and pro-
25 citizenship.

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

31 *Encouraging private sector investment, and community-based solutions.* After over a
32 decade of sustained Republican neglect and empty Republican promises, President Clinton and the
33 Democratic Party launched a comprehensive strategy to unleash economic growth and restore
34 opportunity to our distressed neighborhoods. Without a single Republican vote, we created 105
35 Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. This effort, chaired by Vice President Gore,
36 is bringing jobs and businesses to our poorest urban and rural areas. Thousands of new
37 businesses have already moved into these areas, or expanded existing operations, bringing new
38 hope and new jobs to these neighborhoods. We reformed the Community Reinvestment Act to
39 shift the focus from process toward results; created a Community Development Financial
40 Institutions Fund; and implemented low income mortgage purchase requirements on Fannie Mae

1 and Freddie Mac. Together, these efforts are unleashing billions of dollars in new private sector
2 lending and investment for housing and economic development in our inner cities and poorest
3 rural areas. The President and Vice President have created a brownfields initiative to bring life
4 back to abandoned and contaminated property by reforming outdated regulations and providing
5 incentives for cleanup. We support the President's call for a second round of Empowerment
6 Zones, a significant expansion of the CDFI Fund, and a new tax incentive to encourage further
7 cleanup and redevelopment of brownfields. Today's Democratic Party knows that the best way
8 to bring jobs and growth back to our poorest neighborhoods is to harness the job-creating power
9 of the private sector.

10 *Helping people afford safe, secure housing.* Safe, secure housing is an essential part of
11 strong communities and strong families. We're proud that after four years of a Democrat in the
12 White House, the percentage of people who own their own house climbed faster than it has in 30
13 years. Bill Clinton took executive action to make it easier and cheaper for working and middle-
14 class homebuyers to get a home loan. We pledge to stand against Republican efforts to repeal the
15 deductibility of home mortgage interest payments. Fulfilling his 1992 pledge, President Clinton
16 made the low-income housing tax credit permanent, encouraging private developers to build more
17 affordable housing. This tax credit is making it easier for families to get housing, and we will
18 stand against Republican attacks on it. The Clinton Administration has made sweeping changes to
19 transform the nation's public housing system after decades of neglect. In the last four years,
20 Democrats demolished more units of unlivable public housing than Republicans did in the
21 previous twelve years, replacing them with lower-density developments that can serve as anchors
22 for neighborhood renewal. We want to transform the worst public housing from a system that
23 traps people in rundown, crime-ridden projects into one which gives families the freedom to
24 choose where they live by providing vouchers to help them with housing costs. We have
25 dramatically increased help for the homeless, and shifted focus from temporary shelters toward
26 permanent solutions designed to move people back into the mainstream, into jobs and a home of
27 their own.

28 **Agriculture and the rural community.** America has the most abundant agricultural
29 economy on earth, and it must be preserved and strengthened as we enter a new century.
30 President Clinton and the Democrats have worked hard to promote economic growth in rural
31 areas, protect the family farm, and ensure that farmers get a fair return for their labor and
32 investment and consumers can continue to count on safe and nutritious foods. In the face of
33 Republican efforts to gut food safety, the Clinton Administration has revolutionized meat
34 inspection and set a new standard of consumer protection. President Clinton has reinvented the
35 Agriculture Department, reducing regulations and bureaucracy and improving service. The
36 Clinton Administration has cracked down on food stamp fraud, and approved experiments in state
37 after state to reform the food stamp program. President Clinton and Vice President Gore
38 supported new voluntary conservation programs as part of the 1996 Farm Bill. We are
39 committed to expanding agricultural exports by reducing unfair subsidies and trade barriers
40 around the world.

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

10 The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, voted to cut
11 environmental enforcement by 25 percent. President Clinton and the Democrats said no. We
12 believe government has a responsibility to enforce the laws that help keep toxic chemicals from
13 our water, pesticides from our food, and smog from our air. The Republican Congress, under
14 Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, let lobbyists for the polluters write their own loopholes into
15 bills to weaken laws that protect the health and safety of our children. President Clinton and the
16 Democrats said no. We believe America's elected officials have a responsibility to protect
17 America's families from threats to their health, and that trust must never be abdicated -- especially
18 not by placing control of environmental safeguards in the hands of the very polluters those
19 safeguards are meant to keep in line. The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker
20 Gingrich, tried to make taxpayers pick up the tab for toxic wastes, and let polluters who caused
21 the problem and can afford to fix it off the hook. President Clinton and the Democrats said no.
22 We believe America should insist that toxic waste cleanup is paid for by those responsible for it in
23 the first place -- and not foisted off on the taxpayers.

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

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

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

5 We are committed to protecting the majestic legacy of our National Parks and enhancing
6 recreational opportunities; restoring the Florida Everglades; preserving our wildlife refuges and
7 fighting off any effort to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. We will
8 be good stewards of our old-growth forests, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral
9 exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and protect our
10 oceans from oil spills and the dumping of toxic and radioactive waste. We will continue to
11 support responsible recycling, and encourage energy efficiency that makes our economy more
12 efficient and less reliant on foreign oil. We believe that investments in better mass transit, cleaner
13 cars, and renewable energy sources are good for the environment and good for the economy.

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

22 Democrats recognize that sustainable development is the key to protecting the
23 environment and promoting economic growth. That's why the Clinton-Gore Administration has
24 reformed our foreign aid programs to focus on sustainable development. At home, Democrats
25 know that sound economic development means sound environmental protection.

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

32 *Fighting discrimination and protecting civil rights.* Today's Democratic Party knows we
33 must renew our efforts to stamp out discrimination and hatred of every kind, wherever and
34 whenever we see it. We deplore the recent wave of burnings that has targeted African-American
35 churches in the South, as well as other houses of worship across the country. We must remember
36 we do not have an American to waste. We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the
37 basis of race, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. We support
38 continued efforts to end work-based discrimination against gay men and lesbians and further their

1 full inclusion in the life of the nation. Over the last four years, President Clinton and the
2 Democrats have worked aggressively to enforce the letter and spirit of the law. The President and
3 Vice President remain committed to an Administration that looks like America, and we are proud
4 of the Administration's extraordinary judicial appointments -- they are both more diverse and
5 more qualified than any previous Administration. We know there is still more we can do to ensure
6 equal opportunity for all Americans, so all people willing to work hard can build a strong future.
7 President Clinton has led the way in reforming affirmative action so that it works, it's improved,
8 and promotes opportunity, but doesn't accidentally hold others back in the process. When it
9 comes to affirmative action, we should mend it, not end it.

10 *Religious freedom.* Today's Democratic Party understands that all Americans have a right
11 to express their faith. The Constitution prohibits the state establishment of religion, and it
12 protects the free exercise of religion. Americans have a right to express their love of God in
13 public, and we applaud the President's work to ensure that children are not denied private
14 religious expression in school. Whenever the religious rights of our children -- or any American --
15 are threatened, we will stand against it.

16 *Responsibility to our community and our country.* Today's Democratic Party believes
17 every American has a duty and a responsibility to give something back to their community and
18 their country. In the past three years, 45,000 Americans have performed national service as part
19 of the AmeriCorps program President Clinton and the Democrats fought so hard to create -- and
20 we commend Senator Grassley and other Republicans who joined a bipartisan effort to preserve
21 AmeriCorps when Speaker Gingrich's House tried to kill it. We applaud the American spirit of
22 volunteerism and charity. As we balance the budget, we must work even harder in our own lives
23 to live up to the duties we owe one another. We must shrink the government, but we cannot
24 shrink from our challenges. We believe every school and college in America should make service
25 a part of its basic ethic, and we want to expand national service by helping communities give
26 scholarships to high school students for community service. We challenge Americans in all walks
27 of life to make a new commitment to taking responsibility for themselves, their communities, and
28 their country.

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

- * Their Medicaid plan would end the guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of children, people with disabilities and older Americans.

I don't think you need to say stuff in brackets but that's why it will.

unemployed workers so they have the freedom to pay for the training that's right for them.

Health care. We established a comprehensive effort to immunize children, after defeating Republican opposition led by Senator Dole. Last year, the percentage of two-year olds in America who were fully immunized reached an historic high. We've expanded the WIC program that provides pre-natal and early childhood nutrition to all the women, infants, and children who need it. The Clinton Administration has dramatically shortened the approval process for new life-saving drugs at the FDA; we have increased funding for breast cancer research by 65 percent; and we have made AIDS research, prevention, and treatment a top priority, increasing funding by almost 40 percent, including more than doubling the Ryan White Care Act to help treat children with AIDS.

I wouldn't immunize first.

so that all eligible

funding for

The Democratic party is proud that we held the line against mean-spirited Medicare and Medicaid cuts that would risk the health care of millions of Americans, from infants to seniors. Senator Dole voted against Medicare when it was first created, and now Republican leaders want Medicare to "wither on the vine." The Dole-Gingrich Medicare plan would put millions of our parents into a second class health care system for the first time in their lives, and we will not stand for it. The Democratic Party wants America to preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, so we honor our values and protect the health of our parents and grandparents, ensuring they can get the health care they need, from doctor's visits to long-term care.

In 1993 -- without a single Republican vote -- the Democratic Party under President Clinton extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund into the 21st century. Now we must finish the job -- we can balance the budget while we preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, protecting millions of middle class families from being overwhelmed by health care costs for their parents, children, or family members with disabilities.

President Clinton remains committed to ensuring that Americans have access to affordable health care. We must move forward to reform our health care system to stop insurance companies from denying coverage to families where one member has a pre-existing condition, and we must make sure that people can take their health insurance with them when they change jobs. No more Americans should have to turn down a better job because they would lose their health care if they took it. As we take steps to ensure that Americans have access to quality, affordable health care, we should start by making sure that the temporarily unemployed still get health care while they're looking for a new job. We support the movement toward home and community based services, so people with disabilities can live in their own communities and as independently as possible.

high 4

affordable health care coverage

help pay premiums so people don't lose

of all ages

expanded coverage of

Rewarding work. If we expect people to work hard -- and we do -- then people should expect that work will pay. President Clinton fought for and won the largest expansion of the Earned Income tax Credit in history, a tax cut for 15 million working families, because no parent who takes the responsibility to work full time should have to raise children in poverty. Now the Democratic Party is fighting -- against fierce Republican opposition led by Senator

- * We have given states more flexibility to run their Medicaid programs more efficiently and expand coverage, while maintaining the guarantee. We have given Medicare beneficiaries more health plan choices and increased benefits. We have cracked down on fraud and abuse, ~~in these programs~~ saving more than \$15 billion in three years.

health waste

1 let people use money from their IRA to help pay for college. We should give a \$1000 honor
2 scholarship for the top 5 percent of graduates in every high school. And we must make 14
3 years of education the standard for every American. The Democratic Party wants to create a
4 \$10,000 tax deduction for families to help pay for education after high school. And we want to
5 create a \$1,500 tax cut for Americans, modeled after Georgia's successful HOPE scholarships,
6 to guarantee the first year of tuition at a typical community college, and the second year if
7 individuals earn it by maintaining a B average. No tax cut will do more to raise American
8 incomes than a tax cut to pay for college.

9 **Economic security for American families in the 21st century.** In the old economy,
10 most workers were anchored to one job for life. They signed on as young adults, worked
11 hard, and rose through the ranks, confident that the company would take care of them, their
12 families, their health, and their retirement. In the new economy, that's no longer true.
13 Workers need new skills to get new and better jobs. They need the security of good health
14 care and safe pensions so they can take care of themselves and their families as they move
15 from job to better job.

16 **Training.** We passed School-to-Work so young people who choose not to go to college
17 right after high school can learn the skills they need to get and keep high wage jobs. The
18 Republican Congress is trying to destroy it. We must do more to make sure all Americans
19 have the skills they need to compete. We want a G.I. Bill for Workers to transform the
20 confusing tangle of federal training programs into a simple \$2,600 job-training voucher that
21 will go directly to unemployed workers so they have the freedom to pay for the training that's
22 right for them.

23 **Health care.** We established a comprehensive effort to immunize children, after
24 defeating Republican opposition led by Senator Dole. Last year, the percentage of two-year
25 olds in America who were fully immunized reached an historic high. We've expanded the
26 Women, Infants, and Children program that provides pre-natal and early childhood nutrition,
27 so that all eligible women, infants, and children will have access to the health and nutrition
28 services they need. The Clinton-Gore Administration has dramatically shortened the approval
29 process for new life-saving drugs at the Food and Drug Administration; we have increased
30 funding for breast cancer research by 65 percent; and we have made AIDS research,
31 prevention, and treatment a top priority, increasing funding by almost 40 percent, including
32 more than doubling the Ryan White Care Act to help care for people with AIDS.

ORDER

Increased
NIH
funding
70% since 1993

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34 spirited Medicare and Medicaid cuts that would risk the health care of millions of Americans,
35 from infants to seniors. Senator Dole voted against Medicare when it was first created, and
36 now Republican leaders want Medicare to "wither on the vine." The Dole-Gingrich Medicare
37 plan would put millions of our parents into a second class health care system for the first time
38 in their lives, and we will not stand for it. The Dole-Gingrich Medicaid plan would end the
39 guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of children, older Americans, and people

structural
changes

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2 and Medicaid, so we honor our values and protect the health of our children, parents, and
3 grandparents, ensuring they can get the health care they need, from doctor's visits to long-term
4 care.

5 In 1993 -- without a single Republican vote -- the Democratic Party under President
6 Clinton extended the life of the Medicare Trust Fund into the 21st century. We have given
7 states more flexibility to run their Medicaid programs more efficiently and expand coverage,
8 while maintaining the guarantee of meaningful benefits. We have given Medicare beneficiaries
9 more health plan choices and increased benefits. We have cracked down on health care waste,
10 fraud, and abuse, saving more than \$15 billion in three years. Now we must finish the job --
11 we can balance the budget while we preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid,
12 protecting millions of middle class families from being overwhelmed by health care costs for
13 their parents, children, or family members with disabilities.

14 The Democratic Party remains committed to ensuring that Americans have access to
15 affordable, high-quality health care coverage. We must move forward to reform our health
16 care system to stop insurance companies from denying coverage to families where one member
17 has a pre-existing condition, and we must make sure that people can take their health insurance
18 with them when they change jobs. No more Americans should have to turn down a better job
19 because they would lose their health care if they took it. As we take steps to ensure that
20 Americans have access to quality, affordable health care, we should start by making sure that
21 people don't lose health care while they're looking for a new job. We support expanded
22 coverage of home and community based services, so people with disabilities of all ages can
23 live in their own communities and as independently as possible.

24 *Rewarding work.* If we expect people to work hard -- and we do -- then people should
25 expect that work will pay. President Clinton fought for and won the largest expansion of the
26 Earned Income tax Credit in history, a tax cut for 15 million working families, because no
27 parent who takes the responsibility to work full time should have to raise children in poverty.
28 Now the Democratic Party is fighting -- against fierce Republican opposition led by Senator
29 Dole and Speaker Gingrich -- to raise the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour, because the
30 minimum wage should be a wage you can live on.

31 *Standing up for working Americans.* We nearly doubled funding for the dislocated
32 worker program and launched special projects to help workers displaced by base closures,
33 natural disasters, and mass layoffs. We reformed OSHA so it does a better job to protect
34 worker safety with less bureaucracy, and we continue to oppose Republican efforts to gut it.
35 We beat back efforts to dismantle the enforcement powers of the National Labor Relations
36 Board. The President took action to stop the government from procuring goods and services
37 from companies that have hired permanent replacement workers for lawful economic strikers.
38 We believe in equal pay for equal work.

MEMORANDUM

TO: JENNIFER KLEIN

FROM: ANN LEWIS

RE: ABORTION and DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

DATE: JUNE 26, 1996

To: Friends
From: Ann Lewis
Date: 6/25/96

Answering Questions about abortion and the Democratic platform

Strategic Principles:

We will not use language which says or implies that the current language is untouchable. To do so would allow the press to criticize us as less "tolerant" than Bob Dole. Nor do we want to start negotiating language, or suggest that we are retreating from our pro-choice position.

The abortion issue is a serious problem for Republicans, not for us. We don't want to get into debates which could justify "they both have problems with the issue" stories.

That means **process now is as important as language later**; we must keep our friends informed. (So if you get calls, please let me know.)

If you get questions, remember:

- The essence of the pro-choice position is **respect for the moral authority of individuals**. Other words to describe our position are **inclusion** and **diversity** --that's what being pro-choice means. (See Bob Casey, below)
- The real difference between the two party platforms is that the Republican platform will still call for criminalizing abortion through a constitutional amendment; while the Democratic platform will advocate policies that can reduce the number of abortions through prevention, education, family planning., etc. (See '92 platform, attached)

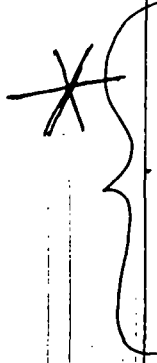
We can't say it too often:

- This is a serious problem for Republicans because the extremism of their position will be unacceptable to mainstream voters, especially suburban and independent women. (For example, the Texas Republican convention banned abortion even to save the life of the mother, and birth control to people under the age of 17!)
- Last month Bob Dole said that tolerance language in the abortion plank was "non-negotiable" He has now backed away from that position, and has been negotiating ever since --that's a cave to the extremist right wing of his party.

NOTE: If you hear "Bob Casey was not allowed to speak at the Convention in '92.." remember that 8 pro-life speakers addressed the Democratic convention, including Ray Flynn. Bob Casey did not speak because he refused to endorse Bill Clinton, our nominee.

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tion from welfare to work, and require people who can work to go to work within two years in available jobs either in the private sector or in community service to meet unmet needs. This will restore the covenant that welfare was meant to be: a promise of temporary help for people who have fallen on hard times.

 **Choice.** Democrats stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right. It is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans — not government — can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction. The goal of our nation must be to make abortion less necessary, not more difficult or more dangerous. We pledge to support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing and enable parents to care most effectively for their children. *

Making Schools Work. Education is a cooperative enterprise that can only succeed if everyone accepts and exercises personal responsibility. Students must stay in school and do their best; parents must get involved in their children's education; teachers must attain, maintain, and demonstrate classroom competency; school administrators must enforce discipline and high standards of educational attainment; governments must end the inequalities that create educational ghettos among school districts and provide equal educational opportunity for all; and ensure that teachers' pay measures up to their decisive role in children's lives; and the American people should recognize education as the core of our economy, democracy and society.

Labor-Management Responsibilities. The private sector is the engine of our economy and the main source of national wealth. But it is not enough for those in the private sector just to make as much money as they can. The most irresponsible people in all the 1980s were those at the top of the ladder: the inside traders, quick buck artists, and S&L kingpins who looked out for themselves and not for the country. America's corporate leaders have a responsibility to invest in their country. CEOs, who pay themselves 100 times what they pay the average worker, shouldn't get big raises unrelated to performance. If a company wants to overpay its executives and underinvest in the future or transfer jobs to foreign countries, it shouldn't get special treatment and tax breaks from the Treasury. Managers must work with employees to make the workplace safer, more satisfying and more efficient.

Workers must also accept added responsibilities in the new economy. In return for an increased voice and a greater stake in the success of their enterprises, workers should be prepared to join in cooperative efforts to increase productivity, flexibility and quality. Government's neutrality between labor and management cannot mean neutrality about the collective bargaining process, which has been purposely crippled by Republican administrations. Our economic growth depends on processes, including collective bargaining, that permit labor and management to work together on their common interests, even as they work out their conflicts.

Responsibility for the Environment. For ourselves and future generations, we must protect our environment. We will protect our old growth forests, preserve critical habitats, provide a genuine "no net loss" policy on wetlands, reduce our dependence on toxic chemicals, conserve the critical resources of soil, water and air, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and address ocean pollution by reducing oil and toxic waste spills at sea. We believe America's youth can serve its country well through a

President Clinton recognizes that WIC is a good investment in children's nutritional health and well-being. This Administration has annually requested substantial funding increases for the WIC program, which have resulted in WIC appropriations being increased by ~~38~~ percent. These funding increases are intended to enable every eligible woman, infant and young child seeking services--estimated at about 7.5 million--to access this valuable health and nutrition program by the end of Fiscal Year 1997.

*about a third. (couldn't confirm use of
the 36% w/ OMB)*

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages ► 1

To JENNIFER	From B. Hallman
Dpt./Agency	Phone # 703-305-2730
Fax #	Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7388

5030-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

June 28, 1996

TO: Bruce Reed
 Paul Weinstein

FROM: Jennifer Klein

Section 1

When the Clinton/Gore Administration came into office:

- Health care costs were rising at two to three times the rate of inflation.
- 40 million Americans did not have health insurance and millions more risked losing it. In 1993, 84% of the uninsured were in working families and more than 55% lived in families headed by full-time workers. As many as 4 million people have been affected by "job lock" -- the inability to change jobs for fear of losing insurance -- and every year 18 million people change insurance when someone in their family changes jobs.
- The Medicare Trust Fund was projected to become exhausted in 1999.
- Fraud and abuse in the health care system was going unchecked, adding billions of wasted health care expenditures to the nation's health tab.
- The Food and Drug Administration drug approval process was excessively slow, delaying the introduction of needed, new prescriptions onto the marketplace.

[I can also get similar bullets on other subjects -- e.g. AIDS, immunization -- if you want more detail on those.]

Section II

During the last four years, the Administration has:

- Enacted an economic program, (without the support of one Republican), that included Medicare savings and policy changes that added three years to the life of the Medicare Trust Fund.
- Fought to give all Americans quality affordable health care and helped put the focus on rising health care costs -- last year, medical care inflation had the smallest increase in nearly two decades.

- Proposed a plan that would balance the budget while preserving and strengthening Medicare by extending the life of the Trust Fund by over a decade, increasing choices of health plans for beneficiaries, providing more preventive benefits and a downpayment on long-term care through a new respite benefit, and strengthening anti-fraud and abuse activities -- all without any new cost increases for beneficiaries.
- Proposed a plan that would balance the budget while maintaining the Medicaid program's guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of people with disabilities, pregnant women, children, and older Americans. This builds on the Administration's efforts to give states more flexibility to manage the program more efficiently, while maintaining quality standards and financial protections for families.
- Cracked down on health care fraud, waste and abuse. Launched "Operation Restore Trust" to combat health care fraud and abuse in Medicare and Medicaid. This program has brought a \$10 return for every dollar spent. Over 90% of this money is returned to the Medicare Trust Fund.
- Simplified and reduced paperwork and regulation in federal health programs.
- Established a comprehensive Childhood Immunization Initiative to ensure vaccinations and health futures for all children. In 1995, 75% of two year old children were fully immunized, an historic high.
- Proposed a bold initiative to cut off children's access to tobacco products and to ban advertising directed at children.
- Put the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) nutrition program on a full funding path.
- Increased funding for breast cancer by 65%.
- Made investment in AIDS programs a top priority, increasing funding for AIDS research, prevention and treatment by nearly 40%, including increasing funding for the Ryan White Care Act by almost 112%.
- Proposed a \$1.3 billion increase in veterans' benefits -- of which \$1 billion will be directed to the VA health system to provide treatment for 43,000 more veterans.
- Called for the passage of legislation assuring that women and their new born babies be permitted to stay in the hospital for a minimum of 48 hours.
- Significantly sped up the review and approval of new, life-saving drug products at the FDA to the extent that the agency is as fast or faster than any other similar regulatory body in the world.

[I left out Family and Medical Leave and choice because I assume those are being handled elsewhere.]

Section III: The Republican approach is wrong because...

- Republicans continue to insist on excessive Medicare cuts and damaging structural changes that would, in Speaker Gingrich's words, cause Medicare to "wither on the vine." (10/24/95). The President's budget shows that their deep cuts and damaging structural changes are not necessary to balance the budget and guarantee the life of the Medicare Trust Fund for 10 years.
- Republicans continue to insist on block granting Medicaid and cutting as much as \$250 billion over 7 years if states spend only the minimum required to receive their full share of federal dollars. The Medicaid guarantee to meaningful benefits would no longer be secure for millions of children, people with disabilities and older Americans -- putting millions of middle class families at risk of paying for health care for their parents, children or family members with disabilities.
- Republicans are more interested in getting untried, untested Medical Savings Accounts enacted into law than they are in seeing passed needed insurance reforms and step-by-step positive approaches toward improving access to affordable health care.

Section IV

We should not reference issues of universal coverage/guarantee of health care for all Americans. We can, however, talk about taking steps to ensure that Americans have access to affordable, quality health care.

The only other specific promise that we have not kept is: "make drug treatment available for all addicts who seek it." I also need to check on "expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines."

Section V. Vision:

- Continue to fight against steps backward -- excessive Republican Medicare and Medicaid cuts AND policy changes (Medicare plan options that compete on basis of attracting the healthy and wealthy and Medicaid block grants) -- and for reasonable efforts to ensure that Americans cannot be denied insurance because they have a preexisting medical condition and to ensure that they do not lose their insurance if they lost a job or change jobs.
- We will also continue to fight for premium assistance to pay for health insurance for workers and their families who lose their jobs, as the President proposed in his balance budget plan.

Concepts -- access to affordable health care; giving Americans economic security through dependable, high quality health care.

(1)

TO: Bruce Reed
Paul Weinstein
FROM: Jennifer Klein

Section I

When the Clinton/Gore Administration came into office:

- health care costs were rising at two to three times the rate of inflation
- 40 million Americans did not have health insurance and millions more risked losing it (*)

[I can also get similar bullets on other subjects - - e.g. AIDS, immunization - - if you want more detail on those.]

Section II

During the last four years, the Administration has:

- Proposed a plan that would balance the budget while preserving and strengthening Medicare by increasing choices of health plans for beneficiaries, ~~and~~ extending the life of the Medicare Trust Fund by over a decade,

(building on a plan passed without one Republican vote that extended the life of the Trust Fund for three years),

providing more preventive benefits and a downpayment on long-term care through a new respite benefit, ^{and} strengthening ^{anti-} fraud and abuse activities ^{all} without increasing costs for Medicare beneficiaries.

- Proposed a plan that would balance the budget while maintaining the guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of people with disabilities, pregnant women,

(*) In 1993, 84% of the uninsured were in working families and more than 55% lived in families headed by full-time workers. As many as 4 million people have been affected by "job lock" -- the inability to change jobs for fear of losing insurance -- and every year 18 million people change insurance when someone in their family changes jobs.

(**) Launched "Operation Restore Trust" to combat health care fraud and abuse in Medicare and Medicaid. This program has brought a \$10 return for every dollar spent. Over 90% of this money is ~~new~~ returned to the Medicare Trust Fund.

poor children, and older Americans -- particularly those in need of nursing home care. This builds on the Administration's efforts to give states more flexibility to manage the program more efficiently, while maintaining the guarantee, quality standards and protections for families.

- Cracked down on health care fraud, waste and abuse. **(**)**
- Simplified and reduced ^{paperwork and} ~~regulations~~ ~~burden~~ in ~~Medicare~~ federal health programs
- Fought to give all Americans quality health care and helped put the focus on rising health care costs -- last year, medical care inflation had the smallest increase in nearly two decades.
- Established a comprehensive Childhood Immunization Initiative to ensure vaccinations and healthy futures for all children. In 1995, 75% of ~~all~~ two year old children were fully immunized, an historic high.
- Proposed a bold initiative to ~~cut~~ cut off children's access to tobacco products and to ban advertising directed at children.
- Put the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) nutrition program on a full-funding path.

- Increased funding for breast cancer by 65%.
- Made investment in AIDS programs a top priority, increasing funding for AIDS research, prevention and treatment by nearly 40%, including increasing funding for the Ryan White CARE Act by almost 112%.
- Proposed a ~~AAA~~ \$ 1.3 billion increase in veterans' benefits - - of which \$ 1 billion will be directed to the VA health system to provide treatment for 43,000 more veterans.

[I left out Family and Medical Leave and choice because I assume those are being handled elsewhere.]

Section III.

The Republican approach is wrong because...

- Republicans continue to insist on ~~own~~ excessive Medicare cuts and damaging structural changes that would, in Speaker Gingrich's words, cause Medicare to "wither on the vine" (10/24/95).

The President's budget shows that their deep cuts and damaging structural changes are not necessary to balance the budget and guarantee the life of the Medicare Trust Fund for 10 years.

- Republicans continue to insist on block granting Medicaid and cutting as much as \$250 billion over 7 years if states spend only the minimum required to receive their full ~~block grant~~ ^{share of} federal ~~share~~ ^{dollars}.
~~of~~ The Medicaid guarantee to meaningful benefits ~~is~~ would no longer be secure for millions of children, people with disabilities and older Americans -- putting millions of middle class families at risk of paying for health care for their parents, children or family members with disabilities.

Section IV

~~See edits on platform language.~~

We can't focus on universal coverage / guarantee of health care for all Americans.

We can, however, talk about taking steps to ensure that Americans have access to affordable, quality health care.

The only other specific promise that we have not kept is: "make drug treatment available for all addicts who seek it".
 I also need to check on "expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines."

Section V

Vision

- Continue to fight against steps backward -- Republican Medicare and Medicaid cuts -- and for reasonable efforts to ensure that Americans can not be denied insurance ^{because} ~~if~~ they have a preexisting medical condition and to ensure that they do not lose their insurance if they lose a job or change jobs.
- We will also continue to fight for subsidies ~~for~~ to pay for health insurance for workers and their families who lose their jobs, as the President proposed in his balanced budget plan.

Concepts -- access to affordable health care; giving Americans economic security through dependable, high quality health care.

Roz -

Here is the stuff that needs to be typed and given to Paul Weinstein and Bruce Reed. Please feel free to call with any questions (808-882-7222). It needs to get to them by COB Wednesday, June 26. Thanks so much for your help!

😊 Jen

P.S. I miss you and Chris, but I don't miss anything else!

P.P.S. Please explain to Bruce and Paul that they can reach me through you if they need me.

H. CARE

JEN KLEIN —

you don't have to follow
this precise model
if you've already
started something

**Information to be collected for the Drafting
Subcommittee of the Platform.
Please Provide in bullet form no later than COB on
June 26th.**

Section I

"When the Clinton/Gore Administration came into office ..."
[This section should consist of a few factual bullets that
illustrate the problems Clinton/Gore faced when they came into
office.]

Section II

"During the last four years, the Clinton/Gore Administration
has..."
[List major accomplishments in your area. Please cite sources
whenever statistics are used.]

Section III

"The Republican approach to these issues is wrong because..."
[List major disagreements and criticisms, with and of the
Gingrich/Dole Congress, Dole or any other Republicans including
the Republican Governors.]

Section IV

Review your section of the 1992 platform and list:

- language that can be used again because it is still relevant
- promises made in that platform that were kept
- provisions in need of revision

Section V

Vision for the next four years
[Paint a vision of the kinds of things Clinton/Gore can do in the
next four years. This can be programmatic or it can be done in
goals values terms.]

Call Bruce
re guidance