

We are doing it; let's finish the job

Two economic plans:

My plan targets tax cuts to families, etc.

\$100 Billion tax cut will strengthen the economy, bal budget.

The other tax plan will harm the economy, explode deficit

The other plan would choke off growth

Are we going to make the same mistake again?

Are we going to make a U turn on our economic progress?

Don't forget what happened in the last two years... they tried to put in a tax cut and make cuts

Now they would need much deeper cuts than the ones I vetoed

I will never allow MMEE to be devastated

Never allow Congress to use blackmail

Reduced the size of govt by 250,000

They are asking us to blow a hole in deficit, accept greater cuts

We have a better plan, \$110 billion, not \$550 billion. Pay for them don't bet the farm.

Crime: made progress, must do more.

Want an America free from crime, gangs, and where kids know right from wrong.

Can't go forward as a people if drug use is up

New steps: Extend brady bill. Drug test parolees.

Ban cop-killer bullets

Protect victims of violent crime, constitutional amendment

Fight teenage gangs with RICO

made progress, but drug use is up

Must do more to turn young people away from drugs

McCaffrey is heading effort

Above all, must teach kids that drugs is wrong

Want America where families are safe from chemicals, toxins

Signed pesticides legislation, safe water legislation

Stopped polluters from re-writing environmental legislation

Meat regulations, saved yellowstone from ravages of mining

Cleaned up toxic waste, now we will clean up 2/3rds in the next four years

Will pass a right to know law about transportation and storage in community of toxics

Crime to attempt to pollute. New FBI division.

Place lien on property based on early showing of fault

World's greatest force for peace and freedom

Brought freedom to South Africa, democracy to Haiti, peace to Bosnia. Future: Continue MidEast, Ireland and hope for Cuba.

Helped Russia withdraw troops from Baltics...will bring some into NATO.

200 agreements on trade...must keep breaking down barriers

Lifting cloud of nuclear threats

 frozen Korea's program

 Must enforce Start II treaty

 Must ratify Chemical Weapons convention

 total ban on nuclear testing

 win war against terrorism

 1) zero world tolerance, sanctions on Iran, Lybia. Lybia must give up Pan

2) give us the tools to fight terrorists and criminals here. New act that will crack down on money laundering, punish terrorists.

Do taggents, wiretaps

Aviation security. Install modern equipment in airports, search every train.

We have a strong military

Need a sensible Missile defense program, not squander \$60 billion.

America is the indispensable nation.

There are times when only America can make a difference but we should not become the world's policeman.

Ending to come.

1) The opening speech:

Setting – picturesque, but should have been set up

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/9/96

August 26, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: ATTACHED REDRAFT OF THE
CONVENTION SPEECH

Attached is a redraft of the policy section of the convention speech, which begins on page 6 and goes to page 22. (This incorporates and replaces the redraft of the policy section that we gave you earlier -- which went from page 6 to page 13.)

We have not changed the introductory section; we will wait to do that until you have told us what you want. If you have drafts or revisions that you need typed, of course we would be happy to do so.

Researched

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

8/26/96 pm

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

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

Let me begin by saluting a man who is my strong partner and close friend, with whom I have had the privilege of working for the past four years, and with whom I expect to work for four more years -- the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

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

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. We set out to fulfill our vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. That night, in New York, together we made clear that we still believed in that most American of all places, a place called Hope.

Four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. Our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a

threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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

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

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not “who to blame,” but “what to do.” We have stepped up to the tough issues, the real problems that affect our people in their daily lives. We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world’s strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

We created economic opportunity to restore the American Dream. 10 million new jobs. The lowest combined rates of inflation and unemployment and montages in 30 years. Wages

rising again. And last week, I signed legislation raising the minimum wage, moving people from welfare to work, and assuring that when Americans change jobs, they can take their health insurance with them.

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

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

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

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

And most important, we are coming together to meet our challenges and protect our

values, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to an era of fend for yourself. We need a government that is leaner and more efficient -- but one that is strong enough to help people make it, to give them the tools to make the most of their God given potential.

Tonight, we embark again on a great debate about our country's direction. The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? How will we go into the 21st Century? What will America look like at the dawn of the next century? What will she look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?

So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp -- and Ross Perot -- are men who love our country and have served it with distinction. Let us honor their service, and our fellow citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. Let us clearly state the differences in our records and our vision for the future, but let us not demean each other, our parties, or our devotion to America. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together -- and takes us into the future.

The past, even my record, even the record of our opponents, only matter as guides to the future. I love and revere the history of America as much as any other President who has ever

served. I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past -- we need to build a bridge to the future.

A century ago, our grandparents built a bridge between eras -- and the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson millions of Americans cross into the industrial age and the new century. Progressive Era. We have met so many of the challenges of this century -- and our country is moving forward, confident and strong.

But must make sure that every American can reap the rewards of this new era. We know that there are still people who are not sharing in all the bounty of this new age of possibility. And this country will not be all it can be if we do not find a way to help everyone move confidently, forward, together. We must make sure that America is ready for the stiff challenges and remarkable opportunities of our new century.

So tonight I will outline a new progressive agenda for reform in America -- an agenda for action that will allow us to meet our challenges, protect our values and prepare this country for the 21st Century. We must help every parent to raise their child. We must help every young person and working person get the education and training they need. We must make families feel safe again on the streets. We must finally break the cycle of poverty and dependency that grips our cities. We must protect our environment for generations to come. We must keep America the strongest nation on earth. We must do all these things, and in so doing we will improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward to the new century.

I believe, more deeply than ever before, that the way we will move forward confident and strong into this new era is by holding fast to our enduring values. Four years ago, I told you and the American people what guided me: We must offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community. That is America's basic bargain. It has kept us strong and brought us this far. And it is how we will move forward, confident and vital, into the new century.

Then, when our time here is over, we will be able to watch the sun go down, and say, truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

OPPORTUNITY

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

Our new economy demands that we lift standards to ever higher levels -- to insist that students learn the old basics we learned, and the new basics they need.

Today, 40% of our children cannot read or write by the 3rd grade. In the Year 2000, I want an America where every third grader can read and write. So I am proposing a bold literacy program: To hire 50,000 reading specialists for our schools -- who will recruit an army of 1 million volunteers to teach our children to read. Literacy is freedom -- we must set our children free.

When this convention gathered four years ago, there was no such thing as a "web page." Today, even Socks, my cat, has one. If 8 year olds must be able to read, 12 year olds must be able to use a computer. We must connect every single classroom and library in America to the world wide web of computers, information and knowledge, by the Year 2000.

Our bridge to the future must include: tough tests that students must take to move from level to level; rewarding good teachers and removing those who don't measure up; keeping schools open late so young people can stay off the street. I want America's schools rebuilt, wired for computers and ready to cope with exploding enrollments; I propose federal aid to increase school construction by at least 25%. We cannot ask our children to learn in a landscape of peeling paint and broken glass.

If we had to ask one question that would tell us a person's economic future, it would not be about race, or gender. It would be: "Did you go to college?"

Crossing the bridge to the Year 2000 means we must make the 13th and 14th years of

school -- the first two years of college -- as universal as the first 12 years are today. And we should use targeted tax cuts to do it.

I propose giving every person in America a \$1500-a-year tuition tax credit -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the first two years of college, which will make the typical community college free. No single tax cut will do more to give Americans hope than this one.

And we should cut taxes to help Americans get a full four year college education. We should give every family a \$10,000 tuition tax deduction -- to pay for the 3rd and 4th years of college, or to pay for adults to go back to school. We will pay for this tax cut by closing loopholes for large multinational corporations. We will say to Americans: Do the work, expand your skills, and we will help you pay for it.

I am proposing an expanded IRA -- so that every year, parents can save \$2000 towards college tax-free for each child. We can change the tax code so that middle income Americans are never, ever taxed on money they spend for college.

In the new economy, it is never enough for education to stop on graduation day. That is why I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a \$2600 grant for all workers who need them, to get training, skills, all the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

Economy/budget

Along with education, building our bridge to the Year 2000 means balancing the budget -- in a way that reflects our values. Balancing the budget will lead to a permanent cut in interest rates; it will spark business enterprise, free up capital for jobs, and help consumers have a better life.

We know all about our opponents' plan after they won the Congress -- a massive tax cut that we could not afford, paid for with devastating cuts.

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

I vetoed their budget last year; I was proud to do it; and if I have to, I will do it again.

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

Our opponents in the other party have always complained that government is too big. But we, the Democrats, reduced the government to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. The federal employees we now have are more productive than ever . . . and these

public servants do not deserve a government shutdown.

Last year's proposal from our opponents was bad; this year's \$550 risky tax scheme would be much, much worse.

It will require cuts in Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment that are far, far deeper than last year's plan. Even that won't be enough. This tax scheme will explode the deficit . . . spike interest rates -- by 2% -- and require huge cuts in the very investments that will help our economy grow. Our opponents are asking us to accept slower growth, fewer jobs, a more divided America, and a compromised future -- for the sake of a theory we know won't work.

Will we now take a U-turn to the policies that have already failed us? Do we really want to make the same mistake again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? To follow the same pied pipers over the same cliff? My answer is simple: No way.

This is one area where I respectfully disagree with my opponent: We should not bet the farm . . . and we certainly shouldn't bet the country.

My plan balances the budget, with real, certified cuts in government and waste. It invests in education and our people. And it gives Americans tax cuts that will help our country grow.

Tonight, I propose that we pass a targeted tax cut to allow homeowners to sell their homes without paying a capital gains tax. And we should expand IRAs so people can save tax free to buy a home. And we will pay for this tax cut by cutting government spending. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: Welcome home.

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within the balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy -- they will help it. We should cut taxes for the family of the child going to college . . . for the worker who returns to college . . . for the family saving to buy a home -- or sell a home . . . for middle income families trying to raise their children. That's the right way to cut taxes.

Responsibility

We are expanding opportunity. But we know that opportunity is not enough. We must demand that every American take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country.

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we as a nation take responsibility to make sure that the boarded up storefronts of our inner-city are finally open for business -- in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. Those on welfare now have the responsibility to move to work. But the rest of us have a responsibility to keep up our end of the bargain, and make sure people have jobs. We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs.

This new law gives states the biggest job creation tool in history. From now on, any state can take the money now spent on welfare, and use it to help businesses hire people off welfare and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to take us up on this offer.

Tonight, I want to propose a plan to build on this new beginning, that will move 1 million welfare recipients into jobs that last.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare, provided that person is still working nine months later. We should offer job placement firms a \$3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in the job. We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, starting child care centers, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is right here in America. So let's expand our Empowerment Zones that draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; let's

have more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses; let's clean up urban toxic waste sites so that free enterprise can take root.

A few miles from this hall, young people are growing up in a neighborhood where only a third of the adults go to work every day. The rest are on welfare or out of work or gave up a long time ago. There are millions more like them, from the Mississippi Delta to South Central LA. If we don't meet this challenge, those young people may never know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, or the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

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

Let every American say tonight: We must end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America. In the 21st Century, we will not have a single person to waste.

Crime

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 where our children are not killing children . . . where our children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the

schoolyard . . . where a generation of young people is left to raise itself alone on the streets.

We are putting 100,000 police on the street . . . we are toughening penalties . . . we are taking guns off the street . . . but the only way to roll back crime is for every American to learn right from wrong and take personal responsibility to be a good citizen. These lessons have to be taught and taught from the very earliest age.

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

General Barry McCaffrey, hero of the Gulf War, now leads our citizen crusade to combat drugs as our nation's drug czar. He is pursuing a strategy that is focused on our children. [2 *sentences on details*]

We must teach our children that drugs are risky, illegal, and wrong. Time and again, I have asked Congress for more resources to fight drugs, but the leaders of this Congress have just said no. Tonight, I ask again. As soon as Congress returns next week, I challenge them to pass legislation funding all the anti-drug programs that our country needs. Let us vow to build an America where drug use among our children is going down, down, down.

And we must finish the job of putting community police on the street. [*new "drug cops" proposal*]

To put criminal teenage gangs in full retreat, we will use the anti-racketeering RICO statute. RICO brought the mob to its knees. RICO helped smash the Medellin drug cartel. It gives law enforcement the ability to track gangs and stop them before they act. Let's break the back of the gangs.

As we fight crime among the young, we must work to keep all our citizens secure. We must ban the cop-killer bullets that are designed with one purpose in mind: to kill police. If a bullet can cut through a police officer's bulletproof vest like a hot knife through butter, it has no place on our streets.

We must break the cycle of drugs and crime by drug-testing parolees. Our message to them clear: if you go back on drugs, you go back to jail.

To guarantee the right to be heard -- and the right to know when an assailant has been released -- we should pass a victims' rights Constitutional Amendment. That's the only way to do it.

I want to thank Sarah and Jim Brady for their courage in speaking to this convention. Now it is time to extend the proven protection of the Brady Bill to our families. If someone has a record of violence against their spouse or child, they should not own a gun.

My fellow Americans, in all these ways, let us work toward the day when we are shocked

and saddened, not numbed, by a report of crime on the evening news. Let's make crime the exception and not the rule.

COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most important thing we can do as a country is to continue to come together, in spite of all of our differences, as one community, one America, concerned about our future.

We begin with the family. You can't have a strong country, you can't have strong values, unless you have strong families.

The first person to teach me that was here with us four years ago. I miss my mother very much. And I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. And from her, I learned that you can't do it alone. We as a community -- neighbors, friends, all Americans working together -- have a duty to pull together.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where we cherish all our children, and strengthen our families. Where parents have our help protecting their children from outside influences, and giving their children something as simple, and precious as their time.

We must revolutionize the relationship between work and family, so that every parent can succeed at work and at home. We must extend the Family Medical Leave Law to give parents time off each month to take a child to a doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents to have the thing our children need more of: time with us.

We now have the FDA rule targeting the tobacco ads that target our children. Putting this into effect will take time, and powerful forces will oppose us. But today 3000 children started to smoke, 1000 of them will die early as a result. And I pledge to America's parents: as long as I am President we will protect our children from tobacco.

We are making sure that parents will have the V-chip, that TV shows will soon be rated for content, and that there will be 3 hours of quality children's programming every week on every network.

In just four years, we have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support.

Every child deserves a loving home. We all have to step up our efforts to prevent teen pregnancy. And we should make adoption more and more available. Last week, I signed a bill to provide a \$5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children and put an end to racial preferences in adoption.

Unlike our opponents, we do not whisper our position on choice, we proclaim it: abortion should be safe, legal and rare. This decision must be left to a woman, her conscience, and her God. We respect the individual conscience of every American on this difficult issue.

We should build a bridge to an America for the Year 2000 where every parent knows that their child has health insurance. The Kennedy-Kassebaum law -- the most significant health insurance reform in a generation -- says every American will be able to keep their health insurance coverage when they change jobs -- even if a family member is sick. Tonight we must take the next steps.

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

We have to make sure the best health care system in the world treats patients right. We should guarantee that insurance companies pay for mothers to stay at least 48 hours in the hospital after giving birth. We should make it illegal for HMOs to stop their doctors from telling patients the right treatment, not just the cheapest.

Environment

As we do all these things to help give our children stronger lives, we must pass on to future generations the earth that God gave us.

Last month, I signed laws that are taking health-threatening pesticides from our food and protecting our drinking water from poisons. Last month, we dramatically upgraded our meat and poultry inspection to take full advantage of modern technology. We saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-of-control development.

And when the leaders of this Congress let a small army of lobbyists for polluters into the back rooms, to roll back 25 years of bipartisan environmental protections, I said no.

Now we must do more.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where every family is safe from poisonous chemicals in the water they drink, in the food they eat, and in our rivers and streams.

We have cleaned up [#] toxic waste sites in the past two years -- more than in the previous 12 combined. Let us commit that by the end of this century, we will clean up [#] more -- 2/3 of all the toxic waste Superfund sites in the country.

We should give every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We should pass a new law that makes it a crime to attempt to pollute . . . and that lets us

freeze the assets of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

Foreign policy

America's strength as a community matters not only to us, but to the world. I want to lead an America that builds bridges to the world, where America remains the world's indispensable nation -- leading, as no other nation can, to keep our children safe from terror and weapons of mass destruction -- and to keep our world at peace.

I am determined that the peace signed on the White House lawn between Israelis and Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors . . . that the deep desire for peace I felt on the streets of Belfast will become real for all the people of Northern Ireland . . . and that, in the next four years, Cuba will finally join the family of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetimes has been more heartening than when the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of Communism. I want to continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And by the Year 2000, we will bring some of Europe's new democracies into NATO -- so their freedom is never in doubt again.

America is once again the world's number one exporter. In the next four years, we must break down even more barriers. We must make it possible for the best workers and products in

the world -- for America's workers and America's products -- to get the fair deal they deserve, with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. By the Year 2000, we must enforce and ratify those measures that will further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

By the Year 2000, we will have increased funding to modernize our weapons by 40%. Our military remains the best trained, best equipped fighting force in the world -- and we must always keep it that way.

We are developing a sensible National Missile Defense. But we will not -- now or by the Year 2000 -- squander \$60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

I want to build an America that is winning the war against terror, standing firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and the forces of hatred here at home, building on our three-front anti-terrorism strategy.

First, we must rally the world in a coalition of zero tolerance for terrorism. This month, I signed a law imposing harsh sanctions on foreign companies that invest in key sectors of the

Iranian or Libyan economy. They will pay the price for their actions . . . as long as Iran trains, supports and protects terrorists . . . and as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103.

Second, we will give law enforcement the tools to take the fight to terrorists and criminals. We must pass a law to crack down on money laundering, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. We must pass a law adding chemical markers to the gunpowder used in bombs, so that we can track down the bomb makers. And we must pass a law to extend the power to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use.

Third, we will install the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment in our major airports and search every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

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

ENDING TO COME

August 25, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: LATEST DRAFT

Here is a redraft of the convention speech. It includes the edits and suggestions you made in your discussions with us.

It is too long. It does not include the welfare section rewrite, which Bruce Reed is working on (and which will be based on your signing statement remarks), or the ending.

We will continue to work on those sections, and will pass drafts to you when they are ready.

Outline of new draft:

No vision four years ago, despair.

Unsolved problems, disunity, pointy fingers

four years ago, we began with hope, in hope

now a new faith in america

4 years ago, set out with hat to do, made progress on vision, American dream, strongest force, come together on values.

We cut 250,00 jobs, cut deficit 60%

100,000 more police, brady bill, assault rifles, crime down, assault rifles, brady bill, crime down

Quiet revolution in welfare, 1.3 million fewer there now

Kept america strongest force for peace and freedom

Coming together to meet challenges, protect our values -- block by block

Era of big government over, but not go back to fend for yourselves

Embark on a great debate about the direction of the country
What will it be?

Kemp, Dole good people, so let's make this campaign of ideas, not insults
future oriented.

Record is only a guide to the future...we need to build a bridge to the future

They built a bridge to the future a century ago, we need to do the same today
We must face new, stiff challenges

Announce new agenda of progressive reform that will ... improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward...

Will be able to say we prepared our children for the dawn

Begin with family, done the FLMA, V-chip, 3 hours of quality TV

Now I want to make families stronger by yr 2000, success at home and work, security of healthcare

Need to extend FLMA, have flex time

Pass child tax cut. Already did EITC, now propose \$500 for every child under 13. Can do it within balanced budget.

Want to see single mothers get every penny of child support. Put IRS to work collecting child support

Want to see every child with health insurance. KK first step...have it when you change jobs...helps people with diseases...ready for more

Want to see paid health insurance for 6 months for the unemployed
No child left without a doctor because parent loses a job

Guarantee 48 hours of car

possible small business access to federal pools of insurance

Make retaliation against doctors in HMOs who tell patients about expensive treatment illegal

want families to be able to pay for healthcare propose expanding IRAs for medical expenses tax free

want children not threatened by tobacco death...ban cartoon characters from billboards

want families to own their own homes...cut costs by \$1000..now we must pass a targeted tax cut to allow home owners to sell without capital gains tax, expand IRAs for downpayment

Encourage loving parents for every child

Keep abortion safe, legal, rare

Respect conscience of individuals

Make abortion rare through teen pregnancy campaign, make adoption more attractive. Signed \$5000 credit, ended racial preferences in adoption

Every American should know the kind of love he received from his mother, who has passed away and learn the lessons she taught him.

Economy is strong and growing. Give every American chance to participate through education. Progress being made. Must do more.

Want an America where neighborhood school is rebuilt and modern...every 8 year old can read

Proposing literacy program to bring reading up to grade level...hire 50,000 professionals...recruit 1 million volunteers

Keep schools open all day and night

make a diploma mean something

No more free passes, reward good teachers...charter schools

Will veto cuts in education

want America's schools rebuilt, modernized, prepared for new enrollments...largest class coming up.

Connect every classroom to the internet

Scrap existing programs, give every working person a skills grant

More must go to college

College is the critical determinant of income today

Every student in high school must be able to go to college...direct student loans has been improved, pell grants up, Americorps offered

Do more: First two years of college universal
Give \$1500 tax credit

Give \$10,000 deduction. Do your work and we will help you pay for it.

More: Help allow more savings for college through expanded IRAs.

Need a growing economy.

Positive fact set on economy: 10 million jobs, etc.

Strongest in 30 years, according to my opponent.

Want an America that is balancing the budget, but preserves values

CLOSE HOLD

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES

IMMEDIATE

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FROM/LOCATION

1. _____

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. Helen Howell - 62215 fax

2. _____

3. 62702 phone

4. _____

5. _____

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INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

CLASSIFICATION

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
 HAROLD ICKES
 GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: ATTACHED (PARTIAL) REDRAFT
 OF CONVENTION SPEECH

Attached is a redraft of the policy section -- the "guts" -- of the convention speech. It now follows the "opportunity, responsibility, community" structure of the President's book, etc.

The President is working on the beginning and the end of the speech, and we do not have new drafts to send on to you.

8/26/96 pm

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

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

Let me begin by saluting a man who is my strong partner and close friend, with whom I have had the privilege of working for the past four years, and with whom I expect to work for four more years -- the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

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

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. We set out to fulfill our vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. That night, in New York, together we made clear that we still believed in that most American of all places, a place called Hope.

Four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. Our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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

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

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not "who to blame," but "what to do." We have stepped up to the tough issues, the real problems that affect

our people in their daily lives. We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

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

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

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

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

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

And most important, we are coming together to meet our challenges and protect our values, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to an era of fend for yourself. We need a government that is leaner and more efficient -- but one that is strong enough to help people make it, to give them the tools to make the most of their God given potential.

Tonight, we embark again on a great debate about our country's direction. The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? How will we go into the 21st Century? What will America look like at the dawn of the next century? What will she look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?

So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp -- and Ross Perot -- are men who love our country and have served it with distinction. Let us honor their service, and our fellow

citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. Let us clearly state the differences in our records and our vision for the future, but let us not demean each other, our parties, or our devotion to America. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together -- and takes us into the future.

The past, even my record, even the record of our opponents, only matter as guides to the future. I love and revere the history of America as much as any other President who has ever served. I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past -- we need to build a bridge to the future.

A century ago, our grandparents built a bridge between eras -- and the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson millions of Americans cross into the industrial age and the new century. Progressive Era. We have met so many of the challenges of this century -- and our country is moving forward, confident and strong.

But must make sure that every American can reap the rewards of this new era. We know that there are still people who are not sharing in all the bounty of this new age of possibility. And this country will not be all it can be if we do not find a way to help everyone move confidently, forward, together. We must make sure that America is ready for the stiff challenges and remarkable opportunities of our new century.

So tonight I will outline a new progressive agenda for reform in America -- an agenda for action that will allow us to meet our challenges, protect our values and prepare this country for the 21st Century. We must help every parent to raise their child. We must help every young person and working person get the education and training they need. We must make families feel safe again on the streets. We must finally break the cycle of poverty and dependency that grips our cities. We must protect our environment for generations to come. We must keep America the strongest nation on earth. We must do all these things, and in so doing we will improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward to the new century.

I believe, more deeply than ever before, that the way we will move forward confident and strong into this new era is by holding fast to our enduring values. Four years ago, I told you and the American people what guided me: We must offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community. That is America's basic bargain. It has kept us strong and brought us this far. And it is how we will move forward, confident and vital, into the new century.

Then, when our time here is over, we will be able to watch the sun go down, and say, truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

OPPORTUNITY

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we expand opportunity

through education: where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself." And above all, I want to build an America where every person who wants to go to college, goes to college.

Our new economy demands that we lift standards to ever higher levels -- to insist that students learn the old basics we learned, and the new basics they need.

Today, 40% of our children cannot read or write by the 3rd grade. In the Year 2000, I want an America where every third grader can read and write. So I am proposing a bold literacy program: To hire 50,000 reading specialists for our schools -- who will recruit an army of 1 million volunteers to teach our children to read. Literacy is freedom -- we must set our children free.

When this convention gathered four years ago, there was no such thing as a "web page." Today, even Socks, my cat, has one. If 8 year olds must be able to read, 12 year olds must be able to use a computer. We must connect every single classroom and library in America to the world wide web of computers, information and knowledge, by the Year 2000.

Our bridge to the future must include: tough tests that students must take to move from level to level; rewarding good teachers and removing those who don't measure up; keeping schools open late so young people can stay off the street. I want America's schools rebuilt, wired for computers and ready to cope with exploding enrollments; I propose federal aid to increase school construction by at least 25%. We cannot ask our children to learn in a landscape of peeling paint and broken glass.

If we had to ask one question that would tell us a person's economic future, it would not be about race, or gender. It would be: "Did you go to college?"

Crossing the bridge to the Year 2000 means we must make the 13th and 14th years of school -- the first two years of college -- as universal as the first 12 years are today. And we should use targeted tax cuts to do it.

I propose giving every person in America a \$1500-a-year tuition tax credit -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the first two years of college, which will make the typical community college free. No single tax cut will do more to give Americans hope than this one.

And we should cut taxes to help Americans get a full four year college education. We should give every family a \$10,000 tuition tax deduction -- to pay for the 3rd and 4th years of college, or to pay for adults to go back to school. We will pay for this tax cut by closing loopholes for large multinational corporations. We will say to Americans: Do the work, expand your skills, and we will help you pay for it.

I am proposing an expanded IRA -- so that every year, parents can save \$2000 towards college tax-free for each child. We can change the tax code so that middle income Americans are never, ever taxed on money they spend for college.

In the new economy, it is never enough for education to stop on graduation day. That is why I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a \$2600 grant for all workers who need them, to get training, skills, all the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

Economy/budget

Along with education, building our bridge to the Year 2000 means balancing the budget -- in a way that reflects our values. Balancing the budget will lead to a permanent cut in interest rates; it will spark business enterprise, free up capital for jobs, and help consumers have a better life.

We know all about our opponents' plan after they won the Congress -- a massive tax cut that we could not afford, paid for with devastating cuts.

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

I vetoed their budget last year; I was proud to do it; and if I have to, I will do it again.

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

Our opponents in the other party have always complained that government is too big. But we, the Democrats, reduced the government to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. The federal employees we now have are more productive than ever . . . and these public servants do not deserve a government shutdown.

Last year's proposal from our opponents was bad; this year's \$550 risky tax scheme would be much, much worse.

It will require cuts in Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment that are far, far deeper than last year's plan. Even that won't be enough. This tax scheme will explode the deficit . . . spike interest rates -- by 2% -- and require huge cuts in the very investments that will help our economy grow. Our opponents are asking us to accept slower growth, fewer jobs, a more divided America, and a compromised future -- for the sake of a theory we know won't work.

Will we now take a U-turn to the policies that have already failed us? Do we really want to make the same mistake again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? To follow the same pied pipers over the same cliff? My answer is simple: No way.

This is one area where I respectfully disagree with my opponent: We should not bet the farm . . . and we certainly shouldn't bet the country.

My plan balances the budget, with real, certified cuts in government and waste. It invests in education and our people. And it gives Americans tax cuts that will help our country grow.

Tonight, I propose that we pass a targeted tax cut to allow homeowners to sell their homes without paying a capital gains tax. And we should expand IRAs so people can save tax free to buy a home. And we will pay for this tax cut by cutting government spending. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: Welcome home.

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within the balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy -- they will help it. We should cut taxes for the family of the child going to college . . . for the worker who returns to college . . . for the family saving to buy a home -- or sell a home . . . for middle income families trying to raise their children. That's the right way to cut taxes.

Responsibility

We are expanding opportunity. But we know that opportunity is not enough. We must demand that every American take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country.

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we as a nation take responsibility to make sure that the boarded up storefronts of our inner-city are finally open for business -- in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. Those on welfare now have the responsibility to move to work. But the rest of us have a responsibility to keep up our end of the bargain, and make sure people have jobs. We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs.

This new law gives states the biggest job creation tool in history. From now on, any state can take the money now spent on welfare, and use it to help businesses hire people off welfare and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to take us up on this offer.

Tonight, I want to propose a plan to build on this new beginning, that will move 1 million welfare recipients into jobs that last.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare, provided that person is still working nine months later. We should offer job placement firms a \$3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in the job. We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, starting child care centers, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is right here in America. So let's expand our Empowerment Zones that draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; let's have more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses; let's clean up urban toxic waste sites so that free enterprise can take root.

A few miles from this hall, young people are growing up in a neighborhood where only a third of the adults go to work every day. The rest are on welfare or out of work or gave up a long time ago. There are millions more like them, from the Mississippi Delta to South Central LA. If we don't meet this challenge, those young people may never know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, or the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

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

Let every American say tonight: We must end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America. In the 21st Century, we will not have a single person to waste.

Crime

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

We are putting 100,000 police on the street . . . we are toughening penalties . . . we are taking guns off the street . . . but the only way to roll back crime is for every American to learn right from wrong and take personal responsibility to be a good citizen. These lessons have to be taught and taught from the very earliest age.

We have made so much progress in so many areas; crime among young people is down; murder among young people is down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among

young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man -- and I hate them.

General Barry McCaffrey, hero of the Gulf War, now leads our citizen crusade to combat drugs as our nation's drug czar. He is pursuing a strategy that is focused on our children. [2 sentences on details]

We must teach our children that drugs are risky, illegal, and wrong. Time and again, I have asked Congress for more resources to fight drugs, but the leaders of this Congress have just said no. Tonight, I ask again. As soon as Congress returns next week, I challenge them to pass legislation funding all the anti-drug programs that our country needs. Let us vow to build an America where drug use among our children is going down, down, down.

And we must finish the job of putting community police on the street. [new "drug cops" proposal]

To put criminal teenage gangs in full retreat, we will use the anti-racketeering RICO statute. RICO brought the mob to its knees. RICO helped smash the Medellin drug cartel. It gives law enforcement the ability to track gangs and stop them before they act. Let's break the back of the gangs.

As we fight crime among the young, we must work to keep all our citizens secure. We must ban the cop-killer bullets that are designed with one purpose in mind: to kill police. If a bullet can cut through a police officer's bulletproof vest like a hot knife through butter, it has no place on our streets.

We must break the cycle of drugs and crime by drug-testing parolees. Our message to them clear: if you go back on drugs, you go back to jail.

To guarantee the right to be heard -- and the right to know when an assailant has been released -- we should pass a victims' rights Constitutional Amendment. That's the only way to do it.

I want to thank Sarah and Jim Brady for their courage in speaking to this convention. Now it is time to extend the proven protection of the Brady Bill to our families. If someone has a record of violence against their spouse or child, they should not own a gun.

My fellow Americans, in all these ways, let us work toward the day when we are shocked and saddened, not numbed, by a report of crime on the evening news. Let's make crime the exception and not the rule.

COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most important thing we can do as a country is to continue to come together, in spite of all of our differences, as one community, one America, concerned about our future.

We begin with the family. You can't have a strong country, you can't have strong values, unless you have strong families.

The first person to teach me that was here with us four years ago. I miss my mother very much. And I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. And from her, I learned that you can't do it alone. We as a community -- neighbors, friends, all Americans working together -- have a duty to pull together.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where we cherish all our children, and strengthen our families. Where parents have our help protecting their children from outside influences, and giving their children something as simple, and precious as their time.

We must revolutionize the relationship between work and family, so that every parent can succeed at work and at home. We must extend the Family Medical Leave Law to give parents time off each month to take a child to a doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents to have the thing our children need more of: time with us.

We now have the FDA rule targeting the tobacco ads that target our children. Putting this into effect will take time, and powerful forces will oppose us. But today 3000 children started to smoke, 1000 of them will die early as a result. And I pledge to America's parents: as long as I am President we will protect our children from tobacco.

We are making sure that parents will have the V-chip, that TV shows will soon be rated for content, and that there will be 3 hours of quality children's programming every week on every network.

In just four years, we have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support.

Every child deserves a loving home. We all have to step up our efforts to prevent teen pregnancy. And we should make adoption more and more available. Last week, I signed a bill to provide a \$5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children and put an end to racial preferences in adoption.

Unlike our opponents, we do not whisper our position on choice, we proclaim it: abortion should be safe, legal and rare. This decision must be left to a woman, her conscience, and her God. We respect the individual conscience of every American on this difficult issue.

We should build a bridge to an America for the Year 2000 where every parent knows that

their child has health insurance. The Kennedy-Kassebaum law -- the most significant health insurance reform in a generation -- says every American will be able to keep their health insurance coverage when they change jobs -- even if a family member is sick. Tonight we must take the next steps.

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

We have to make sure the best health care system in the world treats patients right. We should guarantee that insurance companies pay for mothers to stay at least 48 hours in the hospital after giving birth. We should make it illegal for HMOs to stop their doctors from telling patients the right treatment, not just the cheapest.

Environment

As we do all these things to help give our children stronger lives, we must pass on to future generations the earth that God gave us.

Last month, I signed laws that are taking health-threatening pesticides from our food and protecting our drinking water from poisons. Last month, we dramatically upgraded our meat and poultry inspection to take full advantage of modern technology. We saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-of-control development.

And when the leaders of this Congress let a small army of lobbyists for polluters into the back rooms, to roll back 25 years of bipartisan environmental protections, I said no.

Now we must do more.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where every family is safe from poisonous chemicals in the water they drink, in the food they eat, and in our rivers and streams.

We have cleaned up [#] toxic waste sites in the past two years -- more than in the previous 12 combined. Let us commit that by the end of this century, we will clean up [#] more -- 2/3 of all the toxic waste Superfund sites in the country.

We should give every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We should pass a new law that makes it a crime to attempt to pollute . . . and that lets us freeze the assets of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

Foreign policy

America's strength as a community matters not only to us, but to the world. I want to lead an America that builds bridges to the world, where America remains the world's indispensable nation -- leading, as no other nation can, to keep our children safe from terror and weapons of mass destruction -- and to keep our world at peace.

I am determined that the peace signed on the White House lawn between Israelis and Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors . . . that the deep desire for peace I felt on the streets of Belfast will become real for all the people of Northern Ireland . . . and that, in the next four years, Cuba will finally join the family of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetimes has been more heartening than when the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of Communism. I want to continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And by the Year 2000, we will bring some of Europe's new democracies into NATO -- so their freedom is never in doubt again.

America is once again the world's number one exporter. In the next four years, we must break down even more barriers. We must make it possible for the best workers and products in the world -- for America's workers and America's products -- to get the fair deal they deserve, with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. By the Year 2000, we must enforce and ratify those measures that will further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

By the Year 2000, we will have increased funding to modernize our weapons by 40%. Our military remains the best trained, best equipped fighting force in the world -- and we must always keep it that way.

We are developing a sensible National Missile Defense. But we will not -- now or by the Year 2000 -- squander \$60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

I want to build an America that is winning the war against terror, standing firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and the forces of hatred here at home, building on our three-front anti-terrorism strategy.

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

up Pan Am 103.

Second, we will give law enforcement the tools to take the fight to terrorists and criminals. We must pass a law to crack down on money laundering, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. We must pass a law adding chemical markers to the gunpowder used in bombs, so that we can track down the bomb makers. And we must pass a law to extend the power to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use.

Third, we will install the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment in our major airports and search every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

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

ENDING TO COME

8/26/96 pm

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

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

Let me begin by saluting a man who is my strong partner and close friend, with whom I have had the privilege of working for the past four years, and with whom I expect to work for four more years -- the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

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

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. We set out to fulfill our vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. That night, in New York, together we made clear that we still believed in that most American of all places, a place called Hope.

Four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. Our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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

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

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not "who to blame," but "what to do." We have stepped up to the tough issues, the real problems that affect

our people in their daily lives. We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

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

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

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

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

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

And most important, we are coming together to meet our challenges and protect our values, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to an era of fend for yourself. We need a government that is leaner and more efficient -- but one that is strong enough to help people make it, to give them the tools to make the most of their God given potential.

Tonight, we embark again on a great debate about our country's direction. The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? How will we go into the 21st Century? What will America look like at the dawn of the next century? What will she look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?

So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp -- and Ross Perot -- are men who love our country and have served it with distinction. Let us honor their service, and our fellow

citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. Let us clearly state the differences in our records and our vision for the future, but let us not demean each other, our parties, or our devotion to America. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together -- and takes us into the future.

The past, even my record, even the record of our opponents, only matter as guides to the future. I love and revere the history of America as much as any other President who has ever served. I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past -- we need to build a bridge to the future.

A century ago, our grandparents built a bridge between eras -- and the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson millions of Americans cross into the industrial age and the new century. Progressive Era. We have met so many of the challenges of this century -- and our country is moving forward, confident and strong.

But must make sure that every American can reap the rewards of this new era. We know that there are still people who are not sharing in all the bounty of this new age of possibility. And this country will not be all it can be if we do not find a way to help everyone move confidently, forward, together. We must make sure that America is ready for the stiff challenges and remarkable opportunities of our new century.

So tonight I will outline a new progressive agenda for reform in America -- an agenda for action that will allow us to meet our challenges, protect our values and prepare this country for the 21st Century. We must help every parent to raise their child. We must help every young person and working person get the education and training they need. We must make families feel safe again on the streets. We must finally break the cycle of poverty and dependency that grips our cities. We must protect our environment for generations to come. We must keep America the strongest nation on earth. We must do all these things, and in so doing we will improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward to the new century.

I believe, more deeply than ever before, that the way we will move forward confident and strong into this new era is by holding fast to our enduring values. Four years ago, I told you and the American people what guided me: We must offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community. That is America's basic bargain. It has kept us strong and brought us this far. And it is how we will move forward, confident and vital, into the new century.

Then, when our time here is over, we will be able to watch the sun go down, and say, truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

OPPORTUNITY

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we expand opportunity

through education: where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself." And above all, I want to build an America where every person who wants to go to college, goes to college.

Our new economy demands that we lift standards to ever higher levels -- to insist that students learn the old basics we learned, and the new basics they need.

Today, 40% of our children cannot read or write by the 3rd grade. In the Year 2000, I want an America where every third grader can read and write. So I am proposing a bold literacy program: To hire 50,000 reading specialists for our schools -- who will recruit an army of 1 million volunteers to teach our children to read. Literacy is freedom -- we must set our children free.

When this convention gathered four years ago, there was no such thing as a "web page." Today, even Socks, my cat, has one. If 8 year olds must be able to read, 12 year olds must be able to use a computer. We must connect every single classroom and library in America to the world wide web of computers, information and knowledge, by the Year 2000.

Our bridge to the future must include: tough tests that students must take to move from level to level; rewarding good teachers and removing those who don't measure up; keeping schools open late so young people can stay off the street. I want America's schools rebuilt, wired for computers and ready to cope with exploding enrollments; I propose federal aid to increase school construction by at least 25%. We cannot ask our children to learn in a landscape of peeling paint and broken glass.

If we had to ask one question that would tell us a person's economic future, it would not be about race, or gender. It would be: "Did you go to college?"

Crossing the bridge to the Year 2000 means we must make the 13th and 14th years of school -- the first two years of college -- as universal as the first 12 years are today. And we should use targeted tax cuts to do it.

I propose giving every person in America a \$1500-a-year tuition tax credit -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the first two years of college, which will make the typical community college free. No single tax cut will do more to give Americans hope than this one.

And we should cut taxes to help Americans get a full four year college education. We should give every family a \$10,000 tuition tax deduction -- to pay for the 3rd and 4th years of college, or to pay for adults to go back to school. We will pay for this tax cut by closing loopholes for large multinational corporations. We will say to Americans: Do the work, expand your skills, and we will help you pay for it.

I am proposing an expanded IRA -- so that every year, parents can save \$2000 towards college tax-free for each child. We can change the tax code so that middle income Americans are never, ever taxed on money they spend for college.

In the new economy, it is never enough for education to stop on graduation day. That is why I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a \$2600 grant for all workers who need them, to get training, skills, all the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

Economy/budget

Along with education, building our bridge to the Year 2000 means balancing the budget -- in a way that reflects our values. Balancing the budget will lead to a permanent cut in interest rates; it will spark business enterprise, free up capital for jobs, and help consumers have a better life.

We know all about our opponents' plan after they won the Congress -- a massive tax cut that we could not afford, paid for with devastating cuts.

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

I vetoed their budget last year; I was proud to do it; and if I have to, I will do it again.

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

Our opponents in the other party have always complained that government is too big. But we, the Democrats, reduced the government to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. The federal employees we now have are more productive than ever . . . and these public servants do not deserve a government shutdown.

Last year's proposal from our opponents was bad; this year's \$550 risky tax scheme would be much, much worse.

It will require cuts in Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment that are far, far deeper than last year's plan. Even that won't be enough. This tax scheme will explode the deficit . . . spike interest rates -- by 2% -- and require huge cuts in the very investments that will help our economy grow. Our opponents are asking us to accept slower growth, fewer jobs, a more divided America, and a compromised future -- for the sake of a theory we know won't work.

Will we now take a U-turn to the policies that have **already** failed us? Do we really want to make the same mistake again? To raise interest rates again? To stop economic growth again? To court recession again? To follow the same pied pipers over the same cliff? My answer is simple: No way.

This is one area where I respectfully disagree with my opponent: We should not bet the farm . . . and we certainly shouldn't bet the country.

My plan balances the budget, with real, certified cuts in government and waste. It invests in education and our people. And it gives Americans tax cuts that will help our country grow.

Tonight, I propose that we pass a targeted tax cut to allow homeowners to sell their homes without paying a capital gains tax. And we should **expand IRAs** so people can save tax free to buy a home. And we will pay for this tax cut by cutting government spending. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: **Welcome home**.

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within the balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy -- they will help it. We should cut taxes for the family of the child going to college . . . for the worker who returns to college . . . for the family saving to buy a home -- or sell a home . . . for middle income families trying to raise their children. That's the right way to cut taxes.

Responsibility

We are expanding opportunity. But we know that opportunity is not enough. We must demand that every American take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country.

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we as a nation take responsibility to make sure that the boarded up storefronts of our inner-city are finally open for business -- in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. Those on welfare now have the responsibility to move to work. But the rest of us have a responsibility to keep up our end of the bargain, and make sure people have jobs. We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs.

This new law gives states the biggest job creation tool in history. From now on, any state can take the money now spent on welfare, and use it to help businesses hire people off welfare and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to take us up on this offer.

Tonight, I want to propose a plan to build on this new beginning, that will move 1 million welfare recipients into jobs that last.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare, provided that person is still working nine months later. We should offer job placement firms a \$3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in the job. We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, starting child care centers, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is right here in America. So let's expand our Empowerment Zones that draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; let's have more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses; let's clean up urban toxic waste sites so that free enterprise can take root.

A few miles from this hall, young people are growing up in a neighborhood where only a third of the adults go to work every day. The rest are on welfare or out of work or gave up a long time ago. There are millions more like them, from the Mississippi Delta to South Central LA. If we don't meet this challenge, those young people may never know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, or the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

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

Let every American say tonight: We must end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America. In the 21st Century, we will not have a single person to waste.

Crime

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

We are putting 100,000 police on the street . . . we are toughening penalties . . . we are taking guns off the street . . . but the only way to roll back crime is for every American to learn right from wrong and take personal responsibility to be a good citizen. These lessons have to be taught and taught from the very earliest age.

We have made so much progress in so many areas; crime among young people is down; murder among young people is down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among

young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man -- and I hate them.

General Barry McCaffrey, hero of the Gulf War, now leads our citizen crusade to combat drugs as our nation's drug czar. He is pursuing a strategy that is focused on our children. [2 sentences on details]

We must teach our children that drugs are risky, illegal, and wrong. Time and again, I have asked Congress for more resources to fight drugs, but the leaders of this Congress have just said no. Tonight, I ask again. As soon as Congress returns next week, I challenge them to pass legislation funding all the anti-drug programs that our country needs. Let us vow to build an America where drug use among our children is going down, down, down.

And we must finish the job of putting community police on the street. [new "drug cops" proposal]

To put criminal teenage gangs in full retreat, we will use the anti-racketeering RICO statute. RICO brought the mob to its knees. RICO helped smash the Medellin drug cartel. It gives law enforcement the ability to track gangs and stop them before they act. Let's break the back of the gangs.

As we fight crime among the young, we must work to keep all our citizens secure. We must ban the cop-killer bullets that are designed with one purpose in mind: to kill police. If a bullet can cut through a police officer's bulletproof vest like a hot knife through butter, it has no place on our streets.

We must break the cycle of drugs and crime by drug-testing parolees. Our message to them clear: if you go back on drugs, you go back to jail.

To guarantee the right to be heard -- and the right to know when an assailant has been released -- we should pass a victims' rights Constitutional Amendment. That's the only way to do it.

I want to thank Sarah and Jim Brady for their courage in speaking to this convention. Now it is time to extend the proven protection of the Brady Bill to our families. If someone has a record of violence against their spouse or child, they should not own a gun.

My fellow Americans, in all these ways, let us work toward the day when we are shocked and saddened, not numbed, by a report of crime on the evening news. Let's make crime the exception and not the rule.

COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most important thing we can do as a country is to continue to come together, in spite of all of our differences, as one community, one America, concerned about our future.

We begin with the family. You can't have a strong country, you can't have strong values, unless you have strong families.

The first person to teach me that was here with us four years ago. I miss my mother very much. And I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. And from her, I learned that you can't do it alone. We as a community -- neighbors, friends, all Americans working together -- have a duty to pull together.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where we cherish all our children, and strengthen our families. Where parents have our help protecting their children from outside influences, and giving their children something as simple, and precious as their time.

We must revolutionize the relationship between work and family, so that every parent can succeed at work and at home. We must extend the Family Medical Leave Law to give parents time off each month to take a child to a doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents to have the thing our children need more of: time with us.

We now have the FDA rule targeting the tobacco ads that target our children. Putting this into effect will take time, and powerful forces will oppose us. But today 3000 children started to smoke, 1000 of them will die early as a result. And I pledge to America's parents: as long as I am President we will protect our children from tobacco.

We are making sure that parents will have the V-chip, that TV shows will soon be rated for content, and that there will be 3 hours of quality children's programming every week on every network.

In just four years, we have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support.

Every child deserves a loving home. We all have to step up our efforts to prevent teen pregnancy. And we should make adoption more and more available. Last week, I signed a bill to provide a \$5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children and put an end to racial preferences in adoption.

Unlike our opponents, we do not whisper our position on choice, we proclaim it: abortion should be safe, legal and rare. This decision must be left to a woman, her conscience, and her God. We respect the individual conscience of every American on this difficult issue.

We should build a bridge to an America for the Year 2000 where every parent knows that

their child has health insurance. The Kennedy-Kassebaum law -- the most significant health insurance reform in a generation -- says every American will be able to keep their health insurance coverage when they change jobs -- even if a family member is sick. Tonight we must take the next steps.

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

We have to make sure the best health care system in the world treats patients right. We should guarantee that insurance companies pay for mothers to stay at least 48 hours in the hospital after giving birth. We should make it illegal for HMOs to stop their doctors from telling patients the right treatment, not just the cheapest.

Environment

As we do all these things to help give our children stronger lives, we must pass on to future generations the earth that God gave us.

Last month, I signed laws that are taking health-threatening pesticides from our food and protecting our drinking water from poisons. Last month, we dramatically upgraded our meat and poultry inspection to take full advantage of modern technology. We saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-of-control development.

And when the leaders of this Congress let a small army of lobbyists for polluters into the back rooms, to roll back 25 years of bipartisan environmental protections, I said no.

Now we must do more.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where every family is safe from poisonous chemicals in the water they drink, in the food they eat, and in our rivers and streams.

We have cleaned up [#] toxic waste sites in the past two years -- more than in the previous 12 combined. Let us commit that by the end of this century, we will clean up [#] more -- 2/3 of all the toxic waste Superfund sites in the country.

We should give every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We should pass a new law that makes it a crime to attempt to pollute . . . and that lets us freeze the assets of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

Foreign policy

America's strength as a community matters not only to us, but to the world. I want to lead an America that builds bridges to the world, where America remains the world's indispensable nation -- leading, as no other nation can, to keep our children safe from terror and weapons of mass destruction -- and to keep our world at peace.

I am determined that the peace signed on the White House lawn between Israelis and Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors . . . that the deep desire for peace I felt on the streets of Belfast will become real for all the people of Northern Ireland . . . and that, in the next four years, Cuba will finally join the family of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetimes has been more heartening than when the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of Communism. I want to continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And by the Year 2000, we will bring some of Europe's new democracies into NATO -- so their freedom is never in doubt again.

America is once again the world's number one exporter. In the next four years, we must break down even more barriers. We must make it possible for the best workers and products in the world -- for America's workers and America's products -- to get the fair deal they deserve, with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. By the Year 2000, we must enforce and ratify those measures that will further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

By the Year 2000, we will have increased funding to modernize our weapons by 40%. Our military remains the best trained, best equipped fighting force in the world -- and we must always keep it that way.

We are developing a sensible National Missile Defense. But we will not -- now or by the Year 2000 -- squander \$60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

I want to build an America that is winning the war against terror, standing firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and the forces of hatred here at home, building on our three-front anti-terrorism strategy.

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

up Pan Am 103.

Second, we will give law enforcement the tools to take the fight to terrorists and criminals. We must pass a law to crack down on money laundering, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. We must pass a law adding chemical markers to the gunpowder used in bombs, so that we can track down the bomb makers. And we must pass a law to extend the power to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use.

Third, we will install the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment in our major airports and search every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

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

ENDING TO COME

MEMORANDUM FOR

LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

105E 500

FROM:

MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT:

ATTACHED (PARTIAL) REDRAFT
OF CONVENTION SPEECH

Attached is a redraft of the policy section -- the "guts" -- of the convention speech. It now follows the "opportunity, responsibility, community" structure of the President's book, etc.

The President is working on the beginning and the end of the speech, and we do not have new drafts to send on to you.

CLOSE HOLD

given to
Tony Lake's
ofc. 8/27
6:00pm.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8/27/96

TO: Tony Lake

FROM: Staff Secretary

Leon wanted you to
review this -- please
give comments to Michael
Waldman on the road.

9/9/96

Helen -

Can we put this in Political
Box in Todd's Office?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C.

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: Aug. 28 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____SUBJECT: Convention Speech - Aug. 28 DRAFT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
PANETTA	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☒	☐	QUINN	☒	☐
LIEBERMAN	☐	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☒	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	HAWLEY	☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☒	☐
HILLEY	☐	☐	<u>Spearing</u>	☒	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LAKE	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Waldman/Baer

RESPONSE: _____

CLOSE HOLD

August 28, 1996

96 AUG 28 P3:05

CLOSE HOLD

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
 HAROLD ICKES
 GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: ATTACHED REDRAFT OF
 CONVENTION SPEECH

Attached is another redraft of the convention speech. The opening section is unchanged from the last draft you saw; the policy section (page six to the end) has been redrafted and restructured.

This does not reflect new edits by the President. He has this draft and will be meeting with us early Wednesday morning to go over it.

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

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

Let me begin by saluting a man who is my strong partner and close friend, with whom I have had the privilege of working for the past four years, and with whom I expect to work for four more years -- the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

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

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. We set out to fulfill our vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. That night, in New York, together we made clear that we still believed in that most American of all places, a place called Hope.

Four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. Our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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

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

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not "who to blame," but "what to do." We have stepped up to the tough issues, the real problems that affect

our people in their daily lives. We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

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

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

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

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

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

And most important, we are coming together to meet our challenges and protect our values, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to an era of fend for yourself. We need a government that is leaner and more efficient -- but one that is strong enough to help people make it, to give them the tools to make the most of their God given potential.

Tonight, we embark again on a great debate about our country's direction. The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? How will we go into the 21st Century? What will America look like at the dawn of the next century? What will she look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?

So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp -- and Ross Perot -- are men who love our country and have served it with distinction. Let us honor their service, and our fellow

citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. Let us clearly state the differences in our records and our vision for the future, but let us not demean each other, our parties, or our devotion to America. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together -- and takes us into the future.

The past, even my record, even the record of our opponents, only matter as guides to the future. I love and revere the history of America as much as any other President who has ever served. I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past -- we need to build a bridge to the future.

A century ago, our grandparents built a bridge between eras -- and the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson millions of Americans cross into the industrial age and the new century. Progressive Era. We have met so many of the challenges of this century -- and our country is moving forward, confident and strong.

But must make sure that every American can reap the rewards of this new era. We know that there are still people who are not sharing in all the bounty of this new age of possibility. And this country will not be all it can be if we do not find a way to help everyone move confidently, forward, together. We must make sure that America is ready for the stiff challenges and remarkable opportunities of our new century.

So tonight I will outline a new progressive agenda for reform in America -- an agenda for action that will allow us to meet our challenges, protect our values and prepare this country for the 21st Century. We must help every parent to raise their child. We must help every young person and working person get the education and training they need. We must make families feel safe again on the streets. We must finally break the cycle of poverty and dependency that grips our cities. We must protect our environment for generations to come. We must keep America the strongest nation on earth. We must do all these things, and in so doing we will improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward to the new century.

I believe, more deeply than ever before, that the way we will move forward confident and strong into this new era is by holding fast to our enduring values. Four years ago, I told you and the American people what guided me: We must offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community. That is America's basic bargain. It has kept us strong and brought us this far. And it is how we will move forward, confident and vital, into the new century.

Then, when our time here is over, we will be able to watch the sun go down, and say, truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

OPPORTUNITY

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we expand opportunity through education: where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards,

where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself."

And above all, over the past half century, the most important thing we have done to extend opportunity is to make real the dream of college for more and more Americans. In the remaining years of this century, the single most important thing we can do is to make college available to every single American who wants it.

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

I propose giving every person in America a \$1500-a-year tuition tax credit -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the first two years of college, which will make the typical community college free. Every family ought to be able to deduct the cost of college tuition up to \$10,000 per year. Every parent ought to be able to save money for college every year in a tax free IRA. Middle income Americans should not have to pay a nickel of taxes on the money they spend for college.

The tax cuts in my plan are fully paid for, with specific budget cuts and loophole closings. No tax cuts will do more than to expand opportunity and help the economy to grow than tax cuts for education.

In the new economy, education can't stop on graduation day. That is why I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a \$2600 grant for all workers who need one, to get training, skills, all the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

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

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

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

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

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

Economy/budget

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

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

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

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

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

Our opponents in the other party have always complained that government is too big. But we, the Democrats, reduced the government to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. The federal employees we now have are more productive than ever . . . and these public servants do not deserve a government shutdown.

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

Tonight, I propose that we pass a major new targeted tax cut that will safeguard the value of the biggest single asset of American families — their homes. Homeowners should be allowed to sell their homes without paying a capital gains tax. And we should expand IRAs so people can save tax free to buy a home. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: Welcome home.

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within the balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy — they will help it. We should cut taxes for

to accept slower growth, fewer jobs, a more divided America, and a compromised future -- for the sake of a theory we know won't work.

And if you thought last year's cuts were bad, these will be much, much worse.

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

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

RESPONSIBILITY

Opportunity alone is not enough. We must demand that every American take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country.

Welfare

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we as a nation take responsibility to make sure that the boarded up storefronts of our inner-city are finally open for business -- in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

A few miles from this hall, young people are growing up in a neighborhood where only a third of the adults go to work every day. The rest are on welfare or out of work or gave up a long time ago. There are millions more like them, from the Mississippi Delta to South Central LA. We want these young people to know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs. We are finally requiring everyone who can work, to go to work -- now we have a responsibility to make sure there are jobs to go to. We have a moral obligation to bring

the dignity of work and the increasing power of free enterprise to our nation's innermost cities.

Tonight, I want to propose a plan to build on this new beginning, that will move 1 million welfare recipients into jobs that last.

The law I signed has given states the biggest job creation tool in history. From now on, any state can take the money now spent on welfare, and use it to help businesses hire people off welfare and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to take us up on this offer.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare and keep in a job for 9 months. We should offer job placement firms a \$3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in the job. We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, starting child care centers, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is right here in America. So let's expand our Empowerment Zones that draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; let's have more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses; let's clean up urban toxic waste sites so that free enterprise can take root.

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

Let me tell you who this is all about. A decade ago, a woman named Lillie Hardin moved from welfare to work with the help of a program I started in my home state. I asked her, "What is the best thing about being off of welfare?" She told me: "The best thing about being off welfare is that when my boy goes to school, and they ask him, 'What does your momma do?' he has an answer." Today, Lillie Hardin works in a grocery store in Little Rock. One daughter is an honors student. One is a physical therapist. Her oldest son has a job and a family. And her other son is going to college.

I want every family to have the opportunity and to take the responsibility that Lillie Hardin and her family have. And I want every person in America to pledge tonight: We will end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America. In the 21st Century, we will not have a single person to waste.

Crime

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 where our children are not killing

children . . . where our children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard . . . where a generation of young people is not left to raise itself alone on the streets.

We are putting 100,000 police on the street . . . making three-strikes-and-you're out the law of the land . . . and taking deadly assault weapons off the street . . . but the only way to truly turn back crime is for every American to learn right from wrong and take personal responsibility to be a good citizen.

We ask the police to keep us safe. We must do our part to keep them safe. We must ban cop-killer bullets -- designed for one reason: to kill police. They have no place on America's streets.

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

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

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

We must break the cycle of drugs and crime. General Barry McCaffrey, a four star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade against drugs -- stopping drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and calling on America to turn our children away from drugs and gangs.

Time and again, I have asked Congress for more resources to fight drugs, but the leaders of this Congress have just said no. Tonight, I ask again. I challenge Congress, when they return next week, to pass each and every anti-drug program I have submitted, and that America needs.

Parolees who go back on drugs should go back to jail.

And never forget: Parents have a responsibility to teach their children this truth: Drugs are deadly, drugs are wrong, drugs may cost you your life.

We and we must put a stop to the violence of teen gangs. We used the anti-racketeering laws to put the leaders of the Mob away. The new crime organizations that are terrorizing our children and taking over our streets are the gangs. Now we will use the anti-racketeering law to break the back of the gangs.

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

COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most important thing we can do as a country is to continue to come together, in spite of all of our differences, as one community, one America, concerned about our future.

We begin with the family. You can't have a strong country, you can't have strong values, unless you have strong families.

The first person to teach me that was here with us four years ago. I miss my mother very much. And I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. And from her, I learned that you can't do it alone. We as a community — neighbors, friends, all Americans working together — have a duty to pull together.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where we cherish all our children, and strengthen our families. Where parents have our help protecting their children from outside influences, and giving their children something as simple, and precious as their time.

We must do nothing less than revolutionize the relationship between work and family, so every parent can succeed at work and at home. We must extend the Family Medical Leave Law to give parents time off each month to take a child to a doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a flextime law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents to have the thing our children need more of: time with us.

Our children deserve to be protected from influences that are more powerful than they are. An FDA rule now targets the tobacco ads that target our children. It will take time for this rule to take effect, and powerful forces will oppose us. But today 3000 children started to smoke, 1000 of them will die early as a result. And I pledge to America's parents: as long as I am President we will protect our children from tobacco.

We are making sure that parents will have the V-chip, that TV shows will soon be rated for content, and that there will be 3 hours of quality children's programming every week on every network.

We should build a bridge to an America for the Year 2000 where every parent knows that

spell out now we take the next steps.

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

We should make it illegal for HMOs to stop their doctors from telling patients the best treatment, not just the cheapest. We should require insurance companies to pay for mothers to stay at least 48 hours in the hospital after giving birth. The best health care system in the world should treat patients right.

And we must do more, as a community, to make sure that every child gets the love and support of her parents.

In four years, we have brought the rate of teen pregnancy down. In the next four years, a national campaign against teen pregnancy should help us bring it down more.

In just four years, we have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support.

Unlike our opponents, we do not whisper our position on choice, we proclaim it: abortion should be safe, legal and rare. This decision must be left to a woman, her conscience, and her God. We respect the individual conscience of every American on this issue.

Whatever your views on this difficult issue, let us agree on this: We should make adoption more and more available. Last week, I signed a bill to provide a \$5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children and put an end to racial preferences in adoption.

Environment

As we do all these things to help give our children stronger lives, we must pass on to future generations the earth that God gave us.

We are making our food safer from pesticides and protecting our drinking water from poisons . . . we dramatically upgraded meat and poultry inspection . . . we saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-of-control development.

And when the leaders of this Congress let a small army of lobbyists for polluters into the back rooms, to roll back 25 years of bipartisan environmental protections, I said no.

Today, 12 million children live within 6 miles of a toxic waste dump. That's 12 million too many. We have cleaned up 197 toxic waste sites in the past two years — more than in the previous 12 combined. Let us commit that by the end of this century, we will clean up 500 more — 2/3 of all the toxic waste Superfund sites in the country.

We should give every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We should pass a new law that makes it a crime to attempt to pollute . . . and that lets us freeze the assets of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

Foreign policy

America's strength as a community matters not only to us, but to the world. I want to lead an America that builds bridges to the world, where America remains the world's indispensable nation — leading, as no other nation can, to keep our children safe from terror and weapons of mass destruction — and to keep our world at peace.

I am determined that the peace signed on the White House lawn between Israelis and Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors . . . that the deep desire for peace I felt on the streets of Belfast will become real for all the people of Northern Ireland . . . and that, in the next four years, Cuba will finally join the family of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetimes has been more heartening than when the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of Communism. I want to continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And by the Year 2000, we will bring some of Europe's new democracies into NATO — so their freedom is never in doubt again.

America is once again the world's number one exporter. In the next four years, we must break down even more barriers. We must make it possible for the best workers and products in the world — for America's workers and America's products — to get the fair deal they deserve, with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. By the Year 2000, we must enforce and ratify those measures that will further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

We are developing a sensible National Missile Defense. But we will not -- now or by the Year 2000 -- squander \$60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

I want to build an America that is winning the war against terror, standing firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and the forces of hatred here at home, building on our three-front anti-terrorism strategy.

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

Second, we will give law enforcement the tools to take the fight to terrorists and criminals. We must pass a law to crack down on money laundering, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. We must pass a law adding chemical markers to the gunpowder used in bombs, so that we can track down the bomb makers. And we must pass a law to extend the power to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use.

Third, we will install the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment in our major airports and search every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

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

ENDING TO COME

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: Aug. 28 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: Convention Speech - Aug. 28 DRAFT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
PANETTA	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☒	☐	QUINN	☒	☐
LIEBERMAN	☐	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☒	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	HAWLEY	☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☒	☐
HILLEY	☐	☐	<u>Spurling</u>	☒	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LAKE	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Comments to Waldman/Baer

RESPONSE: _____

CLOSE HOLD

Staff Comments

August 28, 1996

96 AUG 28 P 3: 05

CLOSE HOLD

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
 HAROLD ICKES
 GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: ATTACHED REDRAFT OF
 CONVENTION SPEECH

Attached is another redraft of the convention speech. The opening section is unchanged from the last draft you saw; the policy section (page six to the end) has been redrafted and restructured.

This does not reflect new edits by the President. He has this draft and will be meeting with us early Wednesday morning to go over it.

012376 12:45 am

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

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

Let me begin by saluting a man who is my strong partner and close friend, with whom I have had the privilege of working for the past four years, and with whom I expect to work for four more years -- the Vice-President of the United States of America, Al Gore.

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

Four years ago, you honored me with your nomination to the highest office in the land. We set out to fulfill our vision -- to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a new American community. That night, in New York, together we made clear that we still believed in that most American of all places, a place called Hope.

Four years ago, we had to begin our journey with hope. Our people were losing heart and our most important resource: our belief in our ability to move forward -- together. Crime seemed on an inevitable climb. Welfare seemed to be an impenetrable system of dependence. The budget deficit seemed a permanent shackle on our economic dreams. A new global economy seemed a threat to our dreams, not the gateway to a new age of possibility for all of our hardworking people.

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

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

Four years ago, I was determined to offer a leadership that would tell America not "who to blame," but "what to do." We have stepped up to the tough issues, the real problems that affect

our people in their daily lives. We have made progress on the straightforward vision we set forth to fulfill: To keep the American dream alive for all our people. To remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And to come together as a nation around our fundamental values.

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

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

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

We worked with states to launch dozens of experiments to replace welfare with work. Because of this quiet revolution, 1.6 million fewer people are on welfare than on the day I took office.

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

And most important, we are coming together to meet our challenges and protect our values, united, as one America. That is why I have spoken out over these months, to show how we can work to meet the challenges in our people's lives and to protect the values that have always made us strong -- community by community, school by school, block by block.

The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to an era of fend for yourself. We need a government that is leaner and more efficient -- but one that is strong enough to help people make it, to give them the tools to make the most of their God given potential.

Tonight, we embark again on a great debate about our country's direction. The issue in this election is this: What kind of country will we build for the Year 2000? How will we go into the 21st Century? What will America look like at the dawn of the next century? What will she look like when our children and our grandchildren are our age?

So let me make clear that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp -- and Ross Perot -- are men who love our country and have served it with distinction. Let us honor their service, and our fellow

citizens, by making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. Let us clearly state the differences in our records and our vision for the future, but let us not demean each other, our parties, or our devotion to America. I say to all of you: This must be a campaign that brings us together — and takes us into the future.

The past, even my record, even the record of our opponents, only matter as guides to the future. I love and revere the history of America as much as any other President who has ever served. I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past — we need to build a bridge to the future.

A century ago, our grandparents built a bridge between eras — and the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson millions of Americans cross into the industrial age and the new century. Progressive Era. We have met so many of the challenges of this century — and our country is moving forward, confident and strong.

But must make sure that every American can reap the rewards of this new era. We know that there are still people who are not sharing in all the bounty of this new age of possibility. And this country will not be all it can be if we do not find a way to help everyone move confidently, forward, together. We must make sure that America is ready for the stiff challenges and remarkable opportunities of our new century.

So tonight I will outline a new progressive agenda for reform in America — an agenda for action that will allow us to meet our challenges, protect our values and prepare this country for the 21st Century. We must help every parent to raise their child. We must help every young person and working person get the education and training they need. We must make families feel safe again on the streets. We must finally break the cycle of poverty and dependency that grips our cities. We must protect our environment for generations to come. We must keep America the strongest nation on earth. We must do all these things, and in so doing we will improve every aspect of daily life as we move forward to the new century.

I believe, more deeply than ever before, that the way we will move forward confident and strong into this new era is by holding fast to our enduring values. Four years ago, I told you and the American people what guided me: We must offer opportunity to all ... demand responsibility from all ... and come together as a community. That is America's basic bargain. It has kept us strong and brought us this far. And it is how we will move forward, confident and vital, into the new century.

Then, when our time here is over, we will be able to watch the sun go down, and say, truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

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... demand peak performance from our children, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say: "I read it myself."

And above all, over the past half century, the most important thing we have done to extend opportunity is to make real the dream of college for more and more Americans. In the remaining years of this century, the single most important thing we can do is to make college available to every single American who wants it.

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

I propose giving every person in America a \$1500-a-year tuition tax credit -- a "Hope Scholarship" for the first two years of college, which will make the typical community college free. Every family ought to be able to deduct the cost of college tuition up to \$10,000 per year. Every parent ought to be able to save money for college every year in a tax free IRA. Middle income Americans should not have to pay a nickel of taxes on the money they spend for college.

The tax cuts in my plan are fully paid for, with specific budget cuts and loophole closings. No tax cuts will do more than to expand opportunity and help the economy to grow than tax cuts for education.

In the new economy, education can't stop on graduation day. That is why I have proposed a new GI Bill for America's workers -- a \$2600 grant for all workers who need one, to get training, skills, all the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

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

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

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

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

Economy/budget

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

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

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

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

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

Our opponents in the other party have always complained that government is too big. But we, the Democrats, reduced the government to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. The federal employees we now have are more productive than ever . . . and these public servants do not deserve a government shutdown.

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

Tonight, I propose that we pass a major new targeted tax cut that will safeguard the value of the biggest single asset of American families — their homes. Homeowners should be allowed to sell their homes without paying a capital gains tax. And we should expand IRAs so people can save tax free to buy a home. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words: Welcome home.

Every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, responsible, and paid for within the balanced budget. My tax cuts won't undermine the economy — they will help it. We should cut taxes for

to accept slower growth, fewer jobs, a more divided America, and a compromised future -- for the sake of a theory we know won't work.

And if you thought last year's cuts were bad, these will be much, much worse.

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

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

RESPONSIBILITY

Opportunity alone is not enough. We must demand that every American take personal responsibility for themselves, their families and their country.

Welfare

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 in which we as a nation take responsibility to make sure that the boarded up storefronts of our inner-city are finally open for business -- in which every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

A few miles from this hall, young people are growing up in a neighborhood where only a third of the adults go to work every day. The rest are on welfare or out of work or gave up a long time ago. There are millions more like them, from the Mississippi Delta to South Central LA. We want these young people to know the thrill of that first paycheck, the challenge of starting a business, the pride of following in a parent's footsteps.

The welfare reform law I signed last week is a chance for America to have a new beginning -- to strike a new social bargain with the poor. We have to take our responsibility -- so they can take theirs. We are finally requiring everyone who can work, to go to work -- now we have a responsibility to make sure there are jobs to go to. We have a moral obligation to bring

the dignity of work and the increasing power of free enterprise in our nation's innermost cities.

Tonight, I want to propose a plan to build on this new beginning, that will move 1 million welfare recipients into jobs that last.

The law I signed has given states the biggest job creation tool in history. From now on, any state can take the money now spent on welfare, and use it to help businesses hire people off welfare and train them for jobs. I challenge every state to take us up on this offer.

We should give businesses a tax credit for every person they hire off welfare and keep in a job for 9 months. We should offer job placement firms a \$3000 bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job if the worker stays in the job. We should help communities to put welfare recipients to work -- repairing schools, starting child care centers, making their neighborhoods shine again.

We spend enormous time opening markets for America around the world, and we should. But let's never forget: The greatest untapped market for America . . . is right here in America. So let's expand our Empowerment Zones that draw businesses into poor neighborhoods; let's have more community development banks -- like South Shore here in Chicago -- to help start small businesses; let's clean up urban toxic waste sites so that free enterprise can take root.

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

Let me tell you who this is all about. A decade ago, a woman named Lillie Hardin moved from welfare to work with the help of a program I started in my home state. I asked her, "What is the best thing about being off of welfare?" She told me: "The best thing about being off welfare is that when my boy goes to school, and they ask him, 'What does your momma do?' he has an answer." Today, Lillie Hardin works in a grocery store in Little Rock. One daughter is an honors student. One is a physical therapist. Her oldest son has a job and a family. And her other son is going to college.

I want every family to have the opportunity and to take the responsibility that Lillie Hardin and her family have. And I want every person in America to pledge tonight: We will end the permanent underclass -- isolated, forgotten, and exiled from the promise of America. In the 21st Century, we will not have a single person to waste.

Crime

I want America to build a bridge to the Year 2000 where our children are not killing

children . . . where our children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard . . . where a generation of young people is not left to raise itself alone on the streets.

We are putting 100,000 police on the street . . . making three-strikes-and-you're out the law of the land . . . and taking deadly assault weapons off the street . . . but the only way to truly turn back crime is for every American to learn right from wrong and take personal responsibility to be a good citizen.

We ask the police to keep us safe. We must do our part to keep them safe. We must ban cop-killer bullets -- designed for one reason: to kill police. They have no place on America's streets.

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

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

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

We must break the cycle of drugs and crime. General Barry McCaffrey, a four star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade against drugs -- stopping drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and calling on America to turn our children away from drugs and gangs.

Time and again, I have asked Congress for more resources to fight drugs, but the leaders of this Congress have just said no. Tonight, I ask again. I challenge Congress, when they return next week, to pass each and every anti-drug program I have submitted, and that America needs.

Parolees who go back on drugs should go back to jail.

And never forget: Parents have a responsibility to teach their children this truth: Drugs are deadly, drugs are wrong, drugs may cost you your life.

We and we must put a stop to the violence of teen gangs. We used the anti-racketeering laws to put the leaders of the Mob away. The new crime organizations that are terrorizing our children and taking over our streets are the gangs. Now we will use the anti-racketeering law to break the back of the gangs.

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

COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most important thing we can do as a country is to continue to come together, in spite of all of our differences, as one community, one America, concerned about our future.

We begin with the family. You can't have a strong country, you can't have strong values, unless you have strong families.

The first person to teach me that was here with us four years ago. I miss my mother very much. And I will never forget what she gave me. She worked long hours as a nurse; she came home, bone tired, and worked longer hours as a mother. From her, I learned how deeply a parent wants to succeed at work and at home. And from her, I learned that you can't do it alone. We as a community — neighbors, friends, all Americans working together — have a duty to pull together.

I want to build an America for the Year 2000 where we cherish all our children, and strengthen our families. Where parents have our help protecting their children from outside influences, and giving their children something as simple, and precious as their time.

We must do nothing less than revolutionize the relationship between work and family, so every parent can succeed at work and at home. We must extend the Family Medical Leave Law to give parents time off each month to take a child to a doctor or to visit her school. And we must pass a flextime law allowing employees to ask their bosses for time and a half overtime in either pay, or time off. We want parents to have the thing our children need more of: time with us.

Our children deserve to be protected from influences that are more powerful than they are. An FDA rule now targets the tobacco ads that target our children. It will take time for this rule to take effect, and powerful forces will oppose us. But today 3000 children started to smoke, 1000 of them will die early as a result. And I pledge to America's parents: as long as I am President we will protect our children from tobacco.

We are making sure that parents will have the V-chip, that TV shows will soon be rated for content, and that there will be 3 hours of quality children's programming every week on every network.

We should build a bridge to an America for the Year 2000 where every parent knows that

spell out now we take the next steps.

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

We should make it illegal for HMOs to stop their doctors from telling patients the best treatment, not just the cheapest. We should require insurance companies to pay for mothers to stay at least 48 hours in the hospital after giving birth. The best health care system in the world should treat patients right.

And we must do more, as a community, to make sure that every child gets the love and support of her parents.

In four years, we have brought the rate of teen pregnancy down. In the next four years, a national campaign against teen pregnancy should help us bring it down more.

In just four years, we have increased child support collections by 40%. In the next four years, we must put the IRS to work collecting overdue child support.

Unlike our opponents, we do not whisper our position on choice, we proclaim it: abortion should be safe, legal and rare. This decision must be left to a woman, her conscience, and her God. We respect the individual conscience of every American on this issue.

Whatever your views on this difficult issue, let us agree on this: We should make adoption more and more available. Last week, I signed a bill to provide a \$5000 tax credit -- again, fully paid for -- to help families adopt children and put an end to racial preferences in adoption.

Environment

As we do all these things to help give our children stronger lives, we must pass on to future generations the earth that God gave us.

We are making our food safer from pesticides and protecting our drinking water from poisons . . . we dramatically upgraded meat and poultry inspection . . . we saved Yellowstone from the ravages of mining, the priceless Arctic Refuge from oil drilling, and the Everglades from out-of-control development.

And when the leaders of this Congress let a small army of lobbyists for polluters into the back rooms, to roll back 25 years of bipartisan environmental protections, I said no.

Today, 12 million children live within 6 miles of a toxic waste dump. That's 12 million too many. We have cleaned up 197 toxic waste sites in the past two years — more than in the previous 12 combined. Let us commit that by the end of this century, we will clean up 500 more — 2/3 of all the toxic waste Superfund sites in the country.

We should give every family in every community the right to know exactly which toxic chemicals are being transported through their streets or stored in their neighborhood.

We should pass a new law that makes it a crime to attempt to pollute . . . and that lets us freeze the assets of the polluter until he pays to clean up the mess he has made.

Foreign policy

America's strength as a community matters not only to us, but to the world. I want to lead an America that builds bridges to the world, where America remains the world's indispensable nation — leading, as no other nation can, to keep our children safe from terror and weapons of mass destruction — and to keep our world at peace.

I am determined that the peace signed on the White House lawn between Israelis and Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors . . . that the deep desire for peace I felt on the streets of Belfast will become real for all the people of Northern Ireland . . . and that, in the next four years, Cuba will finally join the family of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetimes has been more heartening than when the people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of Communism. I want to continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And by the Year 2000, we will bring some of Europe's new democracies into NATO — so their freedom is never in doubt again.

America is once again the world's number one exporter. In the next four years, we must break down even more barriers. We must make it possible for the best workers and products in the world — for America's workers and America's products — to get the fair deal they deserve, with the free trade they deserve. That's how we compete and win.

After 50 years of nuclear terror, there are now no Russian missiles pointed at our cities or our children. By the Year 2000, we must enforce and ratify those measures that will further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas from this earth, and ban nuclear tests once and for all time.

... we are developing a sensible National Missile Defense. But we will not -- now or by the Year 2000 -- squander \$60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

I want to build an America that is winning the war against terror, standing firm against reckless rogue states like Iran, Iraq and Libya and the forces of hatred here at home, building on our three-front anti-terrorism strategy.

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

Second, we will give law enforcement the tools to take the fight to terrorists and criminals. We must pass a law to crack down on money laundering, and lengthen our reach in prosecuting and punishing those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. We must pass a law adding chemical markers to the gunpowder used in bombs, so that we can track down the bomb makers. And we must pass a law to extend the power to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use.

Third, we will install the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment in our major airports and search every plane flying to or from America -- every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

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

ENDING TO COME

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/9/96

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Community Right-to-Know: Provided communities with new access to more information about chemicals released into their air and water. Issued Pollution Disclosure Executive Order requiring federal contractors to inform the public about pollution. Launched new labelling and disclosure programs to help consumers use household products safely and protect against lead paint hazards.

Revitalizing Communities: Accelerated the cleanup of brownfields -- abandoned, contaminated urban property -- by removing 27,000 sites from the Superfund list, clearing the way for local redevelopment while protecting the green areas outside our cities. Communities from Cleveland to Sacramento are gaining new jobs, new tax base, new hope. Proposed a *targeted tax incentive* for investors who purchase and clean up old waste sites in communities across the country.

Safe Water: Signed Safe Drinking Water Act, including new, tough health standards, consumer right-to-know, and first-ever funding for communities to upgrade drinking water treatment; important provisions to protect public health and ensure resources for communities were proposed by President Clinton three-and-a-half years ago. Set first-ever toxic water quality standards for all of the Great Lakes -- lakes that provide drinking water for 23 million Americans. Negotiated consensus plan to protect the San Francisco Bay Delta, which provides drinking water to two-thirds of Californians and irrigation for 45 percent of American fruits and vegetables. Announced bold new plan to protect the Everglades.

Safe Food: Signed food safety law a setting protective, comprehensive, health-based standard for all pesticides, all risks, all foods. Law embodies President's proposals set forth three-and-a-half years ago.

Toxic Waste Clean-Up: Accelerated cleanup of toxic waste dumps by 20 percent and significantly reduced the cost. Completed more cleanups in three years than in the previous 12 years of the Superfund program.

Clean Air: Cut toxic air pollution from chemical plants by 90 percent. Through tough enforcement of the Clean Air Act, millions of Americans in dozens of cities are breathing cleaner air that meets public health standards.

Safer Incineration: As part of the Clinton Administration's "safety-first combustion strategy," EPA proposed the toughest public health standards ever for toxic air pollution from hazardous waste incinerators and cement kilns and issued new requirements for municipal incinerators that will result in a 99 percent reduction in emissions of cancer-causing dioxin.

Enforcement: Collected the largest fines in history from polluters charged with endangering public health and environment. Launched new compliance assistance program to help honest business owners comply with environmental laws.

Reinventing Government: Announced innovative new ways to achieve greater environmental results at less cost. Clinton Administration reforms have eliminated more than 10 million hours of paperwork for business and communities -- the equivalent of returning a quarter-million work-weeks back to the private sector.

Talking Points on the 1968 Democratic National Convention

Mayor Richard M. Daley:

"The whole world will again be watching our city. We've come a long way since 1968, but so has America. It could have been any place in the country. It was the right place at the wrong time. 1968 was a year filled with turmoil because of Vietnam and the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King."

Matt L. Rodriguez
Superintendent of Police:

"For three decades, our city has been subjected to recurring flashbacks of TV footage from the '68 convention. 1996 becomes an opportunity to fundamentally change how Chicago is viewed by the rest of the country and the rest of the world. 1968 is what makes possible the unique opportunity we have in 1996."

"1968 was 1968. And what happened back then is forever a part of our history. 1968 should be remembered and studied, and we should constantly seek to learn new things from that time."

Debra Delee
Democratic National Convention Committee Chief Executive Officer:

"It's obvious we can't ignore 1968, but I think it's important to put 1968 in context, or put the convention in the context of 1968. Let's take a look at it in our history, because again, people are going to see 1968 only in terms of the convention, when actually it was a very small item in a year which was one of the most turbulent and traumatic in our history."