

Clinton Library Transfer Form

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Description of Item(s)	3 1/2 x 5 inch floppy disks (2) - Dupes 0521Roosevelt.spc			

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
MAY 21, 2000

Thank you. Bill, thank you for welcoming me back to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library. I love coming here. I'm sorry I've only come three times. And, Al, thank you for your wonderful introduction. And to you and Ginger, thank you for your years of friendship. He's very good at giving the credit to everybody else, but the truth is it would be hard to think of a single American citizen who, as a private citizen, has had a more positive impact on the progress of American life in the last 25 years than Al From.

I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, Family Leave law, and NAFTA. Mack, the other day a commentator said you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's average approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened.

Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. Thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do.

I've often, in quiet moments at the White House, thought about my predecessors -- the ones who succeeded, the ones who didn't, why they did or didn't. Roosevelt had what Justice Holmes called a first-class temperament, a lot of personal courage, a good mind, and a great attitude. He had a good time being President, even in difficult times. And he learned to have a good time in the midst of almost constant personal pain.

It's worth remembering that life's successes are a curious blend of what you make happen and what happens to you; the gifts God gives you and what you do with them. But today I want to focus on the fact that he was always interested in ideas.

The other day I read Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get a feeling that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities -- and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add -- that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

So you come here today to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. And Al's already said a lot of what I want to say, but I want to say some of the things he said and tie it back to what we did in New Orleans in 1990, because I believe that thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas matter.

Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse -- I believe he's at Harvard now -- Thomas Patterson -- said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read -- and I've read a lot a stuff I just as soon not have in the last eight years -- was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments. ✓

The point I want to make today, to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about what I would do. And I had thought with many of you -- with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you who were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s -- so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing -- I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas -- but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration was a milestone in that process.

Therefore, you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

Let's just look the New Orleans Declaration. We met there in 1990. As Al said, the times were different -- the economy was bad, the deficit was high, the debt had exploded, all the social conditions were worsening. And Washington seemed to be stuck in a kind of ideological trench warfare, where the Republicans said that government was the problem, and we said that it was the solution. And we always had to have a false choice -- you had to choose the economy or the environment; you had to choose impoverishment or entitlement; you had to choose business or labor.

By contrast, the DLC -- this is one of the reasons the DLC succeeded, by the way -- had people who were in politics in Washington and out in the country, and a lot of our people in Washington spent a lot of time in the country, and we realized that no one else in the world thought about things or experienced things in the way the Washington media and political establishment talked about issues; and that we didn't agree with all these false choices. ✓

And so, in New Orleans 10 years ago, we set out to outline what we believed ought to be done. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. Basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

In 1992, the American people gave us a chance to put our ideas into action. And we have done our best to do that, working across party lines where possible, and where bitter partisanship forced it, going alone.

This is what the New Orleans Declaration said. We believe the Democratic Party's fundamental mission is to expand opportunity, not government; economic growth is a prerequisite for expanding opportunity for everyone; and the way to build America's economic security is to invest in the skills and ingenuity of our people, and to expand trade, not restrict it.

Now, these ideas were all turned into action in the '93 economic plan, in the '97 Balanced Budget Act, in the Telecommunications Act, in our commitment to science and technological research, and in our education budget. We doubled investment for education and training even as we were reducing the deficit, and we emphasized results and proven strategies. We very nearly opened the doors of college to all Americans. We had 300 trade agreements. Those ideas put into action have given us those 21,615,000 jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the highest home ownership ever, and the longest economic expansion in history. And the government is now continuing to shrink. It is now the smallest it has been since 1958.

We said we believe the purpose of social welfare is to bring the poor into this nation's economic mainstream, not to maintain their dependency. That idea, turned into action through the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Vice President's empowerment zone program, and welfare reform, has given us the smallest welfare rolls in absolute numbers in 32 years; a 20-year low in the poverty rate; the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years -- while we fought and succeeded in maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care and transportation for lower-income workers.

~~We said we believe in preventing crime and punishing criminals, not explaining away their behavior. That idea was turned into action through the crime bill, which gave us 100,000 police and assault weapons ban, and through the Brady law which has kept a half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers from getting handguns. That's given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest homicide rate in 30 years, and a 35-percent reduction in gun crime since 1993.~~ ✓

We said we believe in the politics of inclusion, in the protection of civil rights and the broad movement of minorities

into the American economic and cultural mainstream. That idea, turned into action, has given us the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded; record numbers of minority-owned businesses; vigorous enforcement of civil rights; and the widest participation of minorities in the federal government at high levels and in the federal judiciary in American history.

We said we believe in the imperative of work and the importance of family. I could give you lots of examples of that, but just take the Family and Medical Leave law, the first bill I signed, vetoed by the previous administration: 21 million-plus Americans have taken some time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. And they said it would wreck the economy. Well, 21 million families are stronger, and so is the American economy. The idea in the New Orleans Declaration was right.

We said we believe American citizenship entails responsibility as well as rights, and we mean to ask citizens to give something back to their community. That idea, turned into action, has led to a whole series of remarkable partnerships. The welfare-to-work partnership, for example, has led to 12,000 companies to voluntarily commit to hire now something like 400,000 people off the welfare rolls. The Vice President's partnership with the auto companies and the auto workers has led to this whole effort to develop the next generation vehicle, which already has prototypes that will be on the market within two years -- 60, 70, 80 miles a gallon. ✓

The partnership we had with the entertainment industry led to the passage of the v-chip requirement and rating systems for television programs and video games. And most of all, of course, it led to AmeriCorps, which now has permitted over 150,000 young Americans to serve in their communities. We had more people in AmeriCorps in its first five years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20 years, because of the idea that the DLC relentlessly advanced. 14

We said we believed the U.S. must remain energetically engaged in the worldwide struggle for individual liberty, human rights and prosperity, not retreat from the world. That idea turned into action has given us a stronger and expanded NATO; new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction; progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East; forceful stands against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and new initiatives to expand trade and advance democracy in Africa, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and the Asian Pacific region.

In short, because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones. They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life, and inspired the rise of new progressive governments throughout Europe and the industrialized world. Indeed, I'm going to be meeting with many of these leaders next month in Berlin, people all over the world who have seen what happened here, taken ideas seriously, and want to see what they can do to lift their people and make them a part of the new information age of globalization.

Most important of all, these ideas put into action have brought our country into a moment of unparalleled prosperity and promise. Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century. And I think the DLC -- to borrow a little of your own medicine -- has both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years.

That's your task. What is the new Democratic agenda for the 21st century? Here's what I think it ought to say.

First, we will keep the economy strong by paying down the debt, maintaining our lead in science and technology, and extending our economic benefits to people and places left behind, opening new markets and closing the investment and digital divide.

Second, we will lift up all working families out of poverty, and end child poverty, by increasing the EITC, the minimum wage, and our support for child care, housing, transportation, and responsible fatherhood.

Third, we will make sure every child starts school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, and has the chance to go to college, by investing more in education and demanding more of all the participants in our education process, and by opening college to everyone by making tuition deductible.

Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, a patients' bill of rights, and tax relief for middle class families to educate their kids, afford quality child care, and take care of aging or disabled relatives who need long-term care.

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care and for uninsured Americans over 55 to buy into Medicare, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow the economy and improve the environment. This is an even more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world -- and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations -- still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore.

By contrast, the other party is making an assault on my decision to set aside the 40 million roadless acres in the National Forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years.

The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed, should work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let the big wrong idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work.

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people who know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what can you get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold. ✓

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think an elected official needs to know. But we do need to know. This is a huge, huge issue.

Seventh, we will keep working to build one America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that we gave them a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and to understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century. ✓

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just got out of the airplane and there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, I do. And he said, why? I

said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. For a trade agreement, I get a few things and I have to give up a few things. But this is a membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. That's their dues for membership in the World Trade Organization.

That's why, in narrow, self-interested terms, it's a 100 to nothing deal not only for the United States, but for anybody else who votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

I think it is also worth pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people -- in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, and in the cities.

I think it is quite interesting that the people in China who hope we will beat this next week are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this.

This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered persona non grata. But he said to me, we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed bringing China into the international system.

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members than others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in America's next 10 years. Just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration. It really matters whether you think and whether you organize your thoughts into principles and specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three. You remember Franklin Roosevelt -- one of the great reasons for the success of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states, especially in New York, and went national with it.

State Senator Marc Pacheco from Massachusetts, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public

health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers' unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, the Georgia Labor Commissioner, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and given them training, jobs and the values of responsible fatherhood. Now 84 percent of those fathers who have been in this program are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about. ✓

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path, I couldn't have done it. And if it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had a far more positive impact on the way the American people live than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features -- one, it was pro-competition. We didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

Second, he developed and pushed our positions, on the environment, including the partnership for next generation vehicles, and climate change. Third, he ran the REGO program, which many of you were involved in, and which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies. Fourth, he and Tipper led our efforts on expanding the mental health parity issue, the fatherhood initiative, and the V-chip and ratings for TV programs and video games. ✓

He also cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate. And on every tough

decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico, to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for NAFTA at the beginning and making the calls on China PNTR, he's been there -- always.

Here's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament. He had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. What happens in 2000, fundamentally is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what your work at Hyde Park ought to be for the next decade. You can change America forever for the better.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release

May 21, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library
Hyde Park, New York

3:00 P.M. EDT

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I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, Family Leave law, and NAFTA. ~~Somebody said, Mack, the other day - I saw a commentator~~ ~~Hillary and I were watching the commentators~~ ~~you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened. (Laughter.)~~ *and*

~~and~~ Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. ~~and~~ thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

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I read ~~the~~ other day Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get some sense just in the curious, wonderful relationship between these two remarkable people that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities -- and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add -- that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

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Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse -- I believe he's at Harvard now -- ~~named Thomas North Patterson -- no, Thomas Patterson -- I can't remember what his middle name was --~~ anyway, he wrote this article and he said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read -- and I've read a lot of stuff I just as soon not have in the last eight years -- (laughter) -- was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments.

~~And~~ The point I want to make today to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about ~~that~~ what I would do. And I had thought with many of you -- with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you ~~that~~ ^{who} were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s -- so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing -- I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas -- but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration ~~had a lot to do with it.~~ ^{was a milestone in that process.}

~~Therefore,~~
~~So the first thing I want to say to you is,~~ you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

^{Declaration} ^{there}
Let's just look the New Orleans. We met in ~~New Orleans~~ in 1990. As Al said, the times were different -- the economy was bad, the deficit was high, the debt had exploded, all the social conditions were worsening. And Washington seemed to be stuck in a kind of ideological trench warfare, where the Republicans said that government was the problem, and we said that it was the solution. And we always had to have a false choice -- you had to choose the economy or the environment; you had to choose impoverishment or entitlement; you had to choose business or labor.

^{By contrast}
And ~~most of us,~~ many of the DLC people -- this is one of the reasons the DLC succeeded, by the way -- ~~is that we~~ had people who were in politics in Washington and out in the country, and a lot of our people in Washington spent a lot of time in the country, and we realized that no one else in the world thought about things or experienced things in the way the Washington media and political establishment talked about issues; and that we didn't agree with all these false choices.

And so, in New Orleans 10 years ago, we set out to ~~say and~~ to outline what we believed ought to be done. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. ~~But~~ Basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

In 1992, the American people gave us a chance to put our ideas ^{to} ~~in the~~ action. And we have done our best to do that, working across party lines where possible, and where bitter partisanship forced it, going alone.

~~In New Orleans --~~ ~~It's just look at some of the things we said in New Orleans, as against some of the things that Al has already mentioned.~~ This is what the New Orleans Declaration said. We believe the Democratic Party's fundamental mission is to expand opportunity, not government; ~~that~~ economic growth is a prerequisite for expanding opportunity for everyone; and ~~that~~ the way to build America's economic security is to invest in the skills and ingenuity of our people, and to expand trade, not restrict it.

Now, these ideas were all turned into action in the '93 economic plan, in the '97 Balanced Budget Act, in the Telecommunications Act, in our commitment to science and technological research, ^{and} in our education budget. ~~We~~ We doubled investment for education and training even as

we were reducing the deficit, and we emphasized results and proven strategies. We very nearly opened the doors of college to all Americans. We had 300 trade agreements. Those ideas put into action have given us those 21,615,000 jobs, ~~and~~ the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, ~~and~~ the highest home ownership ever, and the longest economic expansion in history. And the government is now continuing to shrink. It is now the smallest it has been since 1958.

We said we believe the purpose of social welfare is to bring the poor into this nation's economic mainstream, not to maintain them ~~independently~~. That idea, turned into action through the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Vice President's empowerment zone program, and welfare reform, has given us the smallest welfare rolls in absolute numbers in 32 years; a 20-year low in the poverty rate; the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years -- while we fought and succeeded in maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care and transportation for lower-income workers.

We said we believe in "preventing crime and punishing criminals, not explaining away their behavior." That idea was turned into action through the crime bill, which gave us 100,000 police, assault weapons ban, and through the ~~passage of~~ the Brady law which has kept a half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers from getting handguns. That's given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest homicide rate in 30 years, and a 35-percent reduction in gun crime since 1993.

We said we believe in the politics of inclusion, in the protection of civil rights and the broad movement of minorities into the American economic and cultural mainstream. That idea, turned into action, has given us the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded; record numbers of minority-owned businesses; vigorous enforcement of civil rights; and the widest participation of minorities in the federal government at high levels and the federal judiciary in American history.

We said we believe in the imperative of work and the importance of family. I could give you lots of examples of that, but ~~it's~~ just take the Family and Medical Leave law, the first bill I signed, vetoed by the previous administration. 21 million-plus Americans have taken some time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick, and they said it would wreck the economy. Well, 21 million families are stronger, and so is the American economy. The idea ~~was right~~ in the New Orleans Declaration ~~was right~~.

We said we believe American citizenship entails responsibility as well as rights, and we mean to ask citizens to give something back to their community. That idea, turned into action, has led to a whole series of remarkable partnerships. The welfare-to-work partnership, for example, has led to 12,000 companies to voluntarily commit to hire now something like 400,000 people off the welfare rolls. The Vice President's partnership with the auto companies and the auto workers has led to this whole effort to develop the next generation vehicle, which already has prototypes that will be on the market within two years -- 60, 70, 80 miles a gallon.

The partnership we had with the ~~entertainment~~ industry led to the passage of the v-chip requirement and rating systems for ~~movies~~, television programs and video games. And most of all, of course, it led to AmeriCorps, which now has permitted over 150,000 young Americans to

serve in their communities. We had more people in AmeriCorps in ^{up front} five years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20 years ~~of existence~~, because of the idea that the DLC relentlessly advanced.

We said we believed "the U.S. must remain energetically engaged in the worldwide struggle for individual liberty, human rights and prosperity, not retreat from the world. That idea turned into action has given us a stronger and expanded NATO; new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction; progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East; forceful stands against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and new initiatives to expand trade and advance democracy in Africa, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and the Asian Pacific region.

In short, because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones. They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life, and inspired the rise of new progressive governments throughout Europe and the industrialized world. Indeed, I'm going to be meeting with many of these leaders next month in Berlin, ^{and} people all over the world ~~now~~ who have seen what happened here, taken ideas seriously, and want to see what they can do to lift their people and make them a part of the new information age of globalization.

~~And~~ Most important of all, these ideas put into action have brought our country into a moment of unparalleled prosperity and promise. Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century. And I think the DLC -- to borrow a little of your own medicine -- has both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years.

That's your task. ^{What} What is the new Democratic agenda for the 21st century? Here's what I think it ought to say.

First, we will keep the economy strong by paying down the debt, maintaining our lead in science and technology, and extending our economic benefits to people and places left behind, opening new markets and closing the investment and digital divide.

Second, we will lift up all working families out of poverty, ^{and} ending child poverty, by increasing the EITC, the minimum wage, ^{and} our support for child care, housing ~~and~~ transportation, and ~~for~~ responsible fatherhood.

Third, we will make sure every child starts school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, ^{and} has the chance to go to college, by investing more in education and demanding more of all the participants in our education process, and by opening college ~~access~~ to everyone by making tuition deductible.

Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, ~~passing~~ a patients' bill of rights, and

~~providing~~ ^{tax relief for} middle class families ~~to~~ ^{offer quality} ~~care~~ to educate their kids, ~~take care of them through~~ child care, ~~take care of their parents if they need long-term care.~~ ^{aging or disabled relatives who}

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, ~~and~~ providing a tax cut for long-term care, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth. ^{and for universal health care so to buy into Medicare}

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow ^{seven} the economy and improve the environment. ~~And this is a much~~ ^{And this is a much} more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the ~~global~~ ^{global} impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world -- and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations -- still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore. ~~And there are all kinds of manifestations of this.~~

^{Boyce's last} The assault ^{assault} that the other party is making ^{40 million} on my decision to set aside the roadless acres in the National Forests. ~~The~~ ^{The} Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years. ~~It's just a~~ -- (applause.)

~~I say that not the applause is nice, but that's not the point I'm trying to make here.~~ The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed, should work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let ~~this~~ ^{this} idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work. ^{this is wrong}

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people ~~who~~ ^{every one of our people}, we need to know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what can you get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that ~~lets in more heat and light~~ lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold. ~~We need to know these things.~~

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think of as something ~~that~~ an elected official needs to know. ^{But we} We need to know ~~this~~. This is a huge, huge issue. ~~And we will not be able to convince either our own people or even more importantly, developing countries who are our partners around the world, unless we have the evidence in hand and we understand the argument.~~

^{Sincerely,}

~~Next~~, we will keep working to build one America at home – to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that ~~has~~ ^{my} gave ~~me~~ ^{them} a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and ^{to} understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just ~~stopped~~ ^{asked} when I got out of the airplane ~~here~~ ^{where I drove up} there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, ~~it is~~ I do. (Laughter.) And he said, why? ~~And~~ I said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. I said, you know, when I made the agreement with ~~Mexico and Canada~~ ^{Japan}, it was a trade agreement. ~~So I got~~ ^{So I got} a few things and I had to give up a few things. ~~And~~ ^{And} this is a membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. ~~And~~ ^{Trade} That's their dues for membership in the ~~World~~ ^{World} Organization. ^{for}

That's why, in narrow self-interested terms, it's a 100 to nothing deal not only ~~from~~ ^{for} the United States, but for anybody else ~~who lets the Chinese~~ votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, ~~I have to tell you~~, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today ~~I was shaking hands with~~, and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies ~~into~~ bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

~~And~~ I think it is worth ~~also~~ pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people -- in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, ~~and in other places.~~ *and in the cities,*

~~So this is very important.~~ I think it is quite interesting that the people ^{*in China*} who hope we will beat this next week ~~in China~~ are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, ~~want us to adopt this,~~ want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this. This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered persona non grata. But he said to me, ~~he said, you know,~~ we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. ~~We have got to move this way.~~ This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, ~~I think,~~ he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be ~~happening~~ happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed ~~PNTR with China.~~ *into the actual system,*

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members ^{*now*} and others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. ~~You have to understand that~~ By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in the next 10 years ^{*of America*}. ~~If you just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration today, and every specific thing that I could cite to you that grew right out of~~

that. It really matters whether you think and whether you ^{organize your thoughts} put your feelings into ^{principles} organized fashion, and whether that then organizes the process for developing specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three to give you an illustration of how we got started, ~~partly on what we did~~. You remember Franklin Roosevelt -- one of the great ^{best} successes of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states and went national with it, Especially in New York which is ~~one way~~ ^{because of the} Frances Perkins got to be Secretary of Labor.

^{State Senator}

~~But~~ Marc Pacheco ~~back there~~ from Massachusetts, ~~the state senator~~, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, ^{on} ~~the~~ Georgia Labor Commission, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and giving them training ^{and} jobs and values of responsible fatherhood. ~~And~~ now 84 percent of those fathers are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about.

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path ~~and~~ ^(laughter) I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

~~And I just want to -- I have said this in other places, but I have~~ I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had far more positive impact ~~in practical ways~~ on the way the American people live ~~as Vice President~~ than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good, long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features -- one, it was pro-competition. We didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

^{Developed and pushed}
Second, he ~~managed~~ our positions, ~~many of them~~ on the environment, including the partnership for ~~new~~ ^{next} generation vehicles, which I mentioned, and ~~the~~ climate change. Third, he

REGO

ran the RISE program, which many of you were involved in, which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies ~~and~~ expanding health care for children and parents of working families, and the mental health parity issue, and the fatherhood initiative, ~~and the ship and money for TV and program and other stuff.~~

He cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate, ~~and~~ on every tough decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico ~~(now, there was a winner. The day I made that decision, there was a poll that said, by 81-15, the people didn't want me to do it.)~~ to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for ~~NSA~~ at the beginning and ~~now~~ all the calls ~~he's made~~ on China PNTR ~~at the end, he's been there.~~

He's been there — always.

So I wanted to say that because we did this together. And that's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament, ~~and~~ he had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. ~~afterward, remember, this document is a big deal.~~

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what ~~what~~ you ~~do~~ at Hyde Park ought to be. And if you do it, you ~~will~~ change America forever for the better. ~~and~~ What happens in 2000, fundamentally is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END 3:55 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

pls get ² copies of
most recent DLC/
Hyde Park remarks
from May, 2000
on hand + on disk (2).

Thanks,

(W)

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ATTACHED

ACTION MEMORANDUM**SUBMITTED 10/17/00****DUE: COB 10/19/00****TO:** See Distribution list below**FR:** Minyon Moore and Debbie Boylan

Please review the attached time-sensitive document that needs your approval. **After reviewing it, please call Debbie Boylan to arrange for pick-up of your edits or approval, or fax it to her at X67929.** If you have any questions, please contact Debbie at X67016. A non-response by the due date will be presumed "OK as is."

Items Attached: **1. DLC Hyde Park Declaration document with POTUS speech**

Distribution	Department & Approval Requires	Initials/Date	Action
<u> X </u>	Political Affairs Minyon Moore, 2 nd Fl, WW	<u> </u>	<u> </u> OK as is <u> </u> OK w/ changes
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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
MAY 21, 2000

Thank you. Bill, thank you for welcoming me back to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library. I love coming here. I'm sorry I've only come three times. And, Al, thank you for your wonderful introduction. And to you and Ginger, thank you for your years of friendship. He's very good at giving the credit to everybody else, but the truth is it would be hard to think of a single American citizen who, as a private citizen, has had a more positive impact on the progress of American life in the last 25 years than Al From.

I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, Family Leave law, and NAFTA. Mack, the other day a commentator said you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's average approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened.

Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. Thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do.

I've often, in quiet moments at the White House, thought about my predecessors -- the ones who succeeded, the ones who didn't, why they did or didn't. Roosevelt had what Justice Holmes called a first-class temperament, a lot of personal courage, a good mind, and a great attitude. He had a good time being President, even in difficult times. And he learned to have a good time in the midst of almost constant personal pain.

It's worth remembering that life's successes are a curious blend of what you make happen and what happens to you; the gifts God gives you and what you do with them. But today I want to focus on the fact that he was always interested in ideas.

The other day I read Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get a feeling that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities -- and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add -- that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

So you come here today to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. And Al's already said a lot of what I want to say, but I want to say some of the things he said and tie it back to what we did in New Orleans in 1990, because I believe that thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas matter.

Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse -- I believe he's at Harvard now -- Thomas Patterson -- said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read -- and I've read a lot a stuff I'd just as soon not have in the last eight years -- was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments.

The point I want to make today, to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about what I would do. And I had thought with many of you -- with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you who were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s -- so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing -- I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas -- but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration was a milestone in that process.

Therefore, you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

Let's just look the New Orleans Declaration. We met there in 1990. As Al said, the times were different -- the economy was bad, the deficit was high, the debt had exploded, all the social conditions were worsening. And Washington seemed to be stuck in a kind of ideological trench warfare, where the Republicans said that government was the problem, and we said that it was the solution. And we always had to have a false choice -- you had to choose the economy or the environment; you had to choose impoverishment or entitlement; you had to choose business or labor.

By contrast, the DLC -- this is one of the reasons the DLC succeeded, by the way -- had people who were in politics in Washington and out in the country, and a lot of our people in Washington spent a lot of time in the country, and we realized that no one else in the world thought about things or experienced things in the way the Washington media and political establishment talked about issues; and that we didn't agree with all these false choices.

And so, in New Orleans 10 years ago, we set out to outline what we believed ought to be done. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. Basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

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Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care and for uninsured Americans over 55 to buy into Medicare, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow the economy and improve the environment. This is an even more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world -- and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations -- still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore.

By contrast, the other party is making an assault on my decision to set aside the 40 million roadless acres in the National Forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years.

The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed should, work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let the big wrong idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work.

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people who know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what you can get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold.

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think an elected official needs to know. But we do need to know. This is a huge, huge issue.

Seventh, we will keep working to build One America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that we gave them a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and to understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just got out of the airplane and there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, I do. And he said, why? I

said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. For a trade agreement, I get a few things and I have to give up a few things. But this is a membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. That's their dues for membership in the World Trade Organization.

That's why, in narrow, self-interested terms, it's a 100 to nothing deal not only for the United States, but for anybody else who votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

I think it is also worth pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people -- in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, and in the cities.

I think it is quite interesting that the people in China who hope we will beat this next week are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this.

This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered persona non grata. But he said to me, we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed bringing China into the international system.

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members than others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in America's next 10 years. Just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration. It really matters whether you think and whether you organize your thoughts into principles and specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three. You remember Franklin Roosevelt -- one of the great reasons for the success of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states, especially in New York, and went national with it.

State Senator Marc Pacheco from Massachusetts, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public

health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers' unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, the Georgia Labor Commissioner, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and given them training, jobs and the values of responsible fatherhood. Now 84 percent of those fathers who have been in this program are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about.

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path, I couldn't have done it. And if it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had a far more positive impact on the way the American people live than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features -- one, it was pro-competition. We didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

Second, he developed and pushed our positions, on the environment, including the Partnership for Next Generation Vehicles, and climate change. Third, he ran the REGO program, which many of you were involved in, and which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies. Fourth, he and Tipper led our efforts on expanding the mental health parity issue, the fatherhood initiative, and the V-chip and ratings for TV programs and video games.

He also cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate. And on every tough

decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico, to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for NAFTA at the beginning and making the calls on China PNTR, he's been there -- always.

Here's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament. He had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. What happens in 2000, fundamentally, is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what your work at Hyde Park ought to be for the next decade. You can change America forever for the better.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
MAY 21, 2000

Thank you. Bill, thank you for welcoming me back to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library. I love coming here. I'm sorry I've only come three times. And, Al, thank you for your wonderful introduction. And to you and Ginger, thank you for your years of friendship. He's very good at giving the credit to everybody else, but the truth is it would be hard to think of a single American citizen who, as a private citizen, has had a more positive impact on the progress of American life in the last 25 years than Al From.

I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, Family Leave law, and NAFTA. Mack, the other day a commentator said you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's average approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened.

Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. Thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do.

I've often, in quiet moments at the White House, thought about my predecessors -- the ones who succeeded, the ones who didn't, why they did or didn't. Roosevelt had what Justice Holmes called a first-class temperament, a lot of personal courage, a good mind, and a great attitude. He had a good time being President, even in difficult times. And he learned to have a good time in the midst of almost constant personal pain.

It's worth remembering that life's successes are a curious blend of what you make happen and what happens to you; the gifts God gives you and what you do with them. But today I want to focus on the fact that he was always interested in ideas.

The other day I read Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get a feeling that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities -- and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add -- that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

So you come here today to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. And Al's already said a lot of what I want to say, but I want to say some of the things he said and tie it back to what we did in New Orleans in 1990, because I believe that thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas matter.

Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse -- I believe he's at Harvard now -- Thomas Patterson -- said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read -- and I've read a lot a stuff I just as soon not have in the last eight years -- was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments.

The point I want to make today, to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about what I would do. And I had thought with many of you -- with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you who were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s -- so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing -- I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas -- but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration was a milestone in that process.

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Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, a patients' bill of rights, and tax relief for middle class families to educate their kids, afford quality child care, and take care of aging or disabled relatives who need long-term care.

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care and for uninsured Americans over 55 to buy into Medicare, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow the economy and improve the environment. This is an ^{even} ~~ever~~ more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world -- and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations -- still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. ✓

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore.

By contrast, the other party is making an assault on my decision to set aside the 40 million roadless acres in the National Forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years.

The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed, should work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let the big wrong idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work.

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people who know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what can you get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold.

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think an elected official needs to know. But we do need to know. This is a huge, huge issue.

Seventh, we will keep working to build one America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that we gave them a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and to understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just got out of the airplane and there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, I do. And he said, why? I

said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. For a trade agreement, I get a few things and I have to give up a few things. But this is a membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. That's their dues for membership in ~~this~~ World Trade Organization. ✓

~~the~~ That's why, in narrow self-interested terms, it's a 100 to nothing deal not only for the United States, but for anybody else who votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

I think it is also worth pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people -- in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, and in the cities.

I think it is quite interesting that the people in China who hope we will beat this next week are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this.

This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered persona non grata. But he said to me, we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed bringing China into the international system.

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members than others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in America's next 10 years. Just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration. It really matters whether you think and whether you organize your thoughts into principles and specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three. You remember Franklin Roosevelt -- one of the great reasons for the success of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states, especially in New York, and went national with it.

State Senator Marc Pacheco from Massachusetts, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public

health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, the Georgia Labor Commissioner, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and given them training, jobs and the values of responsible fatherhood. Now 84 percent of those fathers who have been in this program are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about. skt

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path, I couldn't have done it. And if it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had a far more positive impact on the way the American people live than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features -- one, it was pro-competition. We didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

Second, he developed and pushed our positions, on the environment, including the partnership for next generation vehicles, and climate change. Third, he ran the REGO program, which many of you were involved in, and which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies. Fourth, he and Tipper led our efforts on expanding the mental health parity issue, the fatherhood initiative, and the V-chip and ratings for TV programs and video games.

He also cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate. ~~But~~ on every tough ✓

And

decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico, to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for NAFTA at the beginning and making the calls on China PNTR, *He's been there -- always.* ✓

Here's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament. He had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. What happens in 2000, fundamentally is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what your work at Hyde Park ought to be. You can change America forever for the better. *for the next decade*

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.



Memorandum to: Debbie Boylan, The White House

From:  Jennifer Callahan, Director, Office of the DLC President

Re: President Clinton Speech for Hyde Park Declaration Publication

Date: October 13, 2000

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library
Hyde Park, New York

May 21, 2000

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do today.

You come here to Hyde Park to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. Though it may sound obvious, thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas truly matter. So the first thing I want to say to you is that you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

Ten years ago in New Orleans, we set out to outline what we believed ought to be done in our country for the next decade. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. But basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

In the New Orleans Declaration, we said believe the Democratic Party's fundamental mission is to expand opportunity, not government; that economic growth is a prerequisite for expanding opportunity for everyone; and that the way to build America's economic security is to invest in the skills and ingenuity of our people, and to expand trade, not restrict it.

In 1992, the American people gave us a chance to put our ideas in the action. And we have done our best to do that, working across party lines where possible, and where bitter partisanship forced it, going alone.

These ideas were put in action in the 1993 economic plan, in the 1997 Balanced Budget Act; in the Telecommunications Act and our commitment to science and technological research; in our education budget; in our 300 trade agreements. These ideas put into action have given us those 21,615,000 new jobs, and the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, and the highest home ownership ever, and the longest economic expansion in history; and the smallest federal government since 1958.

We said we believe the purpose of social welfare is to bring the poor into this nation's economic mainstream not maintain them in dependence. That idea, turned into action through the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Vice President's empowerment zone program, and welfare reform, has given us the smallest welfare rolls in absolute numbers in 32 years; a 20-year low in the poverty rate; the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years --

while we fought and succeeded in maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care and transportation for lower-income workers.

We said we believe in "preventing crime and punishing criminals, not explaining away their behavior." That idea was turned into action through the crime bill, which gave us 100,000 police; the assault weapons ban; and through the passage of the Brady law which has kept a half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers from getting handguns. That's given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest homicide rate in 30 years, and a 35-percent reduction in gun crime since 1993.

We said we believe in the politics of inclusion, in the protection of civil rights and the broad movement of minorities into the American economic and cultural mainstream. That idea, turned into action, has given us the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded; record numbers of minority-owned businesses; vigorous enforcement of civil rights; and the widest participation of minorities in the federal government at high levels and the federal judiciary in American history.

We said we believe in the imperative of work and the importance of family. I could give you lots of examples of that, but if you just take the Family and Medical Leave law, the first bill I signed, vetoed by the previous administration on grounds that it would wreck the economy--21 million-plus Americans have taken some time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. 21 million families are stronger, and so is the American economy. That idea was right in the New Orleans Declaration.

We said we believe American citizenship entails responsibility as well as rights, and we mean to ask citizens to give something back to their community. That idea, turned into action, has led to a whole series of remarkable partnerships. The welfare-to-work partnership, for example, has led to 12,000 companies to voluntarily commit to hire about 400,000 people off the welfare rolls. The Vice President's partnership with the auto companies and the auto workers has led to the effort to develop the next generation vehicle, getting 60, 70, 80 miles per gallon.

The partnership we had with the entertainment industry led to the passage of the v-chip requirement and rating systems for movies, television programs and video games. And most of all, of course, it led to AmeriCorps, which now has permitted over 150,000 young Americans to serve in their communities. We had more people in AmeriCorps in five years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20 years of existence, because of the idea that the DLC relentlessly advanced.

We said we believe "the U.S. must remain energetically engaged in the worldwide struggle for individual liberty, human rights and prosperity, not retreat from the world." That idea turned into action has given us a stronger and expanded NATO; new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction; progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East; forceful stands against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and new initiatives to expand trade and advance democracy in Africa, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and the Asian Pacific region.

In short, because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones. They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life, and inspired the rise of new progressive governments throughout Europe and the industrialized world.

And most important of all, these ideas put into action have brought our country into a moment of unparalleled prosperity and promise. Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century. And I think the DLC -- to borrow a little of your own medicine -- has both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years.

That's your task -- to develop the new Democratic agenda for the 21st century. Here's what I think it ought to say.

First, we will keep the economy strong by paying down the debt, maintaining our lead in science and technology, and extending our economic benefits to people and places left behind, opening new markets and closing the investment and digital divide.

Second, we will lift up all working families out of poverty, ending child poverty by increasing the EITC, the minimum wage, our support for child care, housing and transportation, and for responsible fatherhood.

Third, we will make sure every child starts school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, has the chance to go to college by investing more in education and demanding more of all the participants in our education process, and by opening college access to everyone by making tuition tax-deductible.

Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, passing a patients' bill of rights, and providing middle class families tax relief to educate their kids, take care of them through child care, and take care of their parents if they need long-term care.

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Seventh, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Eighth, we will keep working to build one America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that this gave me a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

So these are my suggestions for your work here in Hyde Park, but you will have a bigger role than I in the next 10 years of American history. Just remember what our Administration was able to do with the New Orleans Declaration, and the accomplishments that grew out of it. That process of thinking through our values and policies in the New Orleans Declaration was largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on the New Orleans Declaration as a foundation for the success stories of the 1990s. You should aim just as high here at Hyde Park. And if you do it, you will change America forever for the better. And what happens in 2000, fundamentally is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

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Thank you and God bless you.

ACTION MEMORANDUM

SUBMITTED 10/17/00
DUE: COB 10/19/00TO: See Distribution list below
FR: Minyon Moore and Debbie Boylan

OCT 18 10:55

Please review the attached time-sensitive document that needs your approval. **After reviewing it, please call Debbie Boylan to arrange for pick-up of your edits or approval, or fax it to her at X67929.** If you have any questions, please contact Debbie at X67016. A non-response by the due date will be presumed "OK as is."

Items Attached: 1. DLC Hyde Park Declaration document with POTUS speech

Distribution	Department & Approval Requires	Initials/Date	Action
<u>X</u>	Political Affairs Minyon Moore, 2 nd Fl, WW	_____	____ OK as is ____ OK w/ changes
<u>X</u>	Communications Loretta Ucelli, GF, WW	_____	____ OK as is ____ OK w/ changes
<u>X</u>	Speechwriting Terry Edmonds, GF, WW	<i>Amberger to TE</i> _____	____ OK as is ____ <u>OK w/ changes</u>
<u>X</u>	Legal Counsel Dawn Chirwa, OEOB 130	_____	____ OK as is ____ OK w/ changes
_____	Staff Secretary Lisel Loy/Adam Rossman, GF1, WW	_____	____ OK as is ____ OK w/ changes
<u>X</u>	Deputy Director Political Affairs Linda Moore OEOB 130	_____	____ OK as is ____ OK w/ changes

Lisel
I THOUGHT YOU
SHOULD SEE THIS —
Josh



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From:  Jennifer Callahan, Director, Office of the DLC President

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Eighth, we will keep working to build one America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that this gave me a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

So these are my suggestions for your work here in Hyde Park, but you will have a bigger role than I in the next 10 years of American history. Just remember what our Administration was able to do with the New Orleans Declaration, and the accomplishments that grew out of it. That process of thinking through our values and policies in the New Orleans Declaration was largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on the New Orleans Declaration as a foundation for the success stories of the 1990s. You should aim just as high here at Hyde Park. And if you do it, you will change America forever for the better. And what happens in 2000, fundamentally is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.



THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION
A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND
A POLICY AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY



"BOLD, PERSISTENT EXPERIMENTATION."

—FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT



PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

Last May, at the invitation of the Democratic Leadership Council, elected officials from across the country met at Franklin D. Roosevelt's estate in Hyde Park, N.Y. Their goal was to begin drafting a statement of New Democrat principles and a broad national policy agenda for the next decade. This manifesto, The Hyde Park Declaration, is the result of their work.

The Hyde Park Declaration has a historic antecedent. At their 1990 annual meeting, held in New Orleans, DLC members — chaired by then-Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas — issued The New Orleans Declaration. That statement of principles became the guiding philosophy of Clinton's 1992 run for the presidency and later that of his presidential administration. The New Orleans Declaration's call for a citizen-government relationship based on the values of opportunity, responsibility, and community subsequently became the main organizing principle of Third Way political movements in Britain and around the world.

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"Because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that ~~for the decade of the '90s~~ our ideas were the right ones," President Clinton told the Hyde Park gathering. "They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life."

"Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century," he continued. "[You have] both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years. ... I've done everything I could to turn the ship ~~of state~~ around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction."

Al From



President
Democratic Leadership Council

I would excise —
IMPLIES IDEAS

AREN'T
RIGHT
NOW
IN THE
YEAR
2000

*Democratic Leadership Council
600 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20003*

DLC — WHO WE ARE

The Democratic Leadership Council is an idea center, catalyst, and national voice for a reform movement that is reshaping American politics by moving it beyond the old left-right debate. Under the leadership of co-founder and President Al From, the DLC seeks to define and galvanize popular support for a new public philosophy built on progressive ideals, mainstream values, and innovative, non bureaucratic, market-based solutions. At its heart are three principles: promoting opportunity for all; demanding responsibility from everyone; and fostering a new sense of community.

Since its inception, the DLC has championed policies from spurring private sector economic growth, fiscal discipline and community policing to work based welfare reform, expanded international trade, and national service.

Throughout the 90's, innovative, New Democrat policies implemented by former DLC Chairman President Bill Clinton have helped produce the longest period of sustained economic growth in our history, the lowest unemployment in a generation, 22 million new jobs, cut the welfare rolls in half, reduced the crime rate for seven straight years, balanced the budget and streamlined the federal bureaucracy to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration.

Now, with the help of Chairman Senator Joe Lieberman (D-CT), the DLC is promoting new ideas — such as a second generation of environmental protection and new economy and technology development strategies — at the local, state, and national levels, working through a national network of reformers and practitioners, and offering an approach to governing that is distinctly different from traditional liberalism and conservatism to build the next generation of America's leaders.

The DLC publishes *The New Democrat*, a bimonthly magazine. In 1998, it launched *Blueprint: Ideas for a New Century*, an innovative policy journal aimed at identifying the central ideas and policies that will carry American politics into the 21st century.

The DLC was founded in 1985. The past chairs include President Bill Clinton, former Rep. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma, Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana, former Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, Sen. Charles Robb of Virginia and House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri.

To order additional copies of The Hyde Park Declaration, call the DLC at 1-800-546-0027.

THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION

A NEW POLITICS FOR A NEW AMERICA

At the beginning of a new century and new millennium we see a nation in the midst of a great transformation.

As modernizers of the American progressive political tradition, we call for a new politics for the next decade to reflect new realities.

These new realities include:

An information, technology-driven, and ever more global New Economy which is changing the way Americans work, live, and communicate with each other.

A population that is rapidly becoming more diverse, more affluent, more educated, more suburban, more "wired," less political, and more centrist.

The emergence of a new social structure, in which the "learning class" of well-educated and skilled citizens prospers while those without education and skills are at risk of being left behind.

The aging of the population, creating new intergenerational tensions over resources for schools, retirement, and health care.

A generational change in attitudes as the New Deal/World War II generation gives way to the baby boom and GenX generations that are far more skeptical about politics and government, even as they crave a "higher politics" of moral purpose.

A rapidly changing global environment in which American values and interests are predominant, but in which we face a new series of international challenges based not on a monolithic threat from another superpower, but on regional instability, economic rivalries, ethnic conflicts, rogue states, and terrorism.



WHERE WE STAND

In keeping with our party's grand tradition, we reaffirm Jefferson's belief in individual liberty and capacity for self-government. We endorse Jackson's credo of equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none. We embrace Roosevelt's thirst for innovation and Kennedy's summons to civic duty. And we intend to carry on Clinton's insistence upon new means to achieve progressive ideals.

As New Democrats, we believe in a Third Way that rejects the old, left-right debate and affirms America's basic bargain: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and community of all.

We believe in free enterprise to stimulate economic innovation and growth and in public activism to ensure that everyone can share in America's prosperity. We believe that government's proper role in the New Economy is to equip working Americans with new tools for economic success and security.

We believe in expanding trade and investment, because we must be a party of economic progress, not economic reaction.

We believe that global markets demand global rules and institutions to ensure fair competition and to provide checks and balances on private power.

We believe that fiscal discipline is fundamental to sustained economic growth as well as responsible government.

We believe that a progressive tax system is the only fair way to pay for government.

We believe the Democratic Party's mission is to expand opportunity, not government.

We believe that education must be America's great equalizer, and we will not abandon our public schools or tolerate their failure.

We believe that all Americans must have access to health insurance in a system that balances governmental and individual responsibility.

We believe in preventing crime and punishing criminals and that America's criminal justice system should be rooted in and responsive to the communities it serves.

We believe in a new social compact that requires and rewards work in exchange for public assistance, and that ensures that no family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

We believe that public policies should reinforce marriage, promote family, demand parental responsibility, and discourage out-of-wedlock births.

We believe in shifting the focus of America's anti-poverty and social insurance programs from transferring wealth to creating wealth. We believe in replacing top-down bureaucracy with more flexible public institutions that enable citizens and communities to solve their own problems.

We believe government should harness the forces of choice and competition to achieve public goals.

We believe in enhancing the role that civic entrepreneurs, voluntary groups, and religious institutions play in tackling America's social ills.

We believe in strengthening environmental protection by giving communities the flexibility to tackle new challenges that cannot be solved with top-down mandates.

We believe government must combat discrimination on the basis of race, creed, gender, or sexual orientation; defend civil liberties; and stay out of our private lives.

We believe that the common civic ideals Americans share transcend group differences and forge unity from diversity.

We believe that abortion should be safe, legal, and rare.

We believe in progressive internationalism — the bold exercise of U.S. leadership to foster peace, prosperity, and democracy.

We believe that the United States must maintain a strong, technologically superior defense to protect our interests and values.

Finally, *we believe* that American citizenship entails responsibilities as well as rights, and we mean to ask our citizens to give something back to their communities and their country.



A NEW AGENDA FOR THE NEW DECADE

Based on the new realities of American life, and our enduring values as progressives, we present the following agenda for America's next decade.

1) EXPAND THE ECONOMY WHILE EXPANDING THE "WINNER'S CIRCLE"

Our first economic priority must be to keep today's "long boom" alive through the formula that created it: fiscal discipline, open trade, support for innovation and entrepreneurship, and investment in the knowledge and skills of the workforce.

Fiscal discipline means not only balanced federal budgets, but action to reduce the national debt and to deal with the obligations associated with the retirement of the baby boom generation.

Open trade is integral to growth because it creates new markets abroad for our goods and services, lowers consumer prices, and spurs innovation. At the same time, we must tap new markets in inner-city and rural neighborhoods at home.

The key to lifting wages and living standards for all Americans is to boost productivity by investing heavily in technology and skills. As the economic rewards of education rise, we must continue to expand access to higher education. We should also stimulate the spread of new technologies and the Internet to every industry, every classroom, and every family. As e-commerce grows, citizens must be empowered to control the use of personal information they disclose online.

As we expand our economy, we must expand the winner's circle of Americans equipped to benefit from the New Economy. This is the New Deal for economic security in the New Economy: lifelong learning for everyone, portable pensions and health insurance, and new opportunities for working families to save, build financial assets, and become homeowners.

Goals for 2010:

- Boost investment in technology and lifelong learning
- Pay down the national debt
- Increase the percentage of Americans owning capital assets (including homes) from 50 percent to 75 percent
- Double the percentage of minority families owning homes
- Make access to the Internet as common as access to telephones
- Assure that all students who make a "B" average or agree to serve their country can afford to go to college

2) WRITE NEW RULES FOR THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

The rise of global markets has undermined the ability of national governments to control their own economies. The answer is neither global laissez faire nor protectionism but a Third Way: New international rules and institutions to ensure that globalization goes hand in hand with higher living standards, basic worker rights, and environmental protection.

U.S. leadership is crucial in building a rules-based global trading system as well as international structures that enhance worker rights and the environment without killing trade. For example, instead of restricting trade, we should negotiate specific multilateral accords to deal with specific environmental threats.

Goals for 2010:

- Conclude a new round of trade liberalization under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (WTO)
- Open the WTO, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund to wider participation and scrutiny
- Strengthen the International Labor Organization's power to enforce core labor rights, including the right of free association
- Launch a new series of multinational treaties to protect the world environment



MAKING THE NEW ECONOMY WORK FOR ALL AMERICANS

3) CREATE WORLD-CLASS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Now more than ever, quality public education is the key to equal opportunity and upward mobility in America. Yet our neediest children often attend the worst schools. While lifting the performance of all schools, we must place special emphasis on strengthening those institutions serving, and too often failing, low-income students.

To close this achievement and opportunity gap, underperforming public schools need more resources, and above all, real accountability for results. Accountability means ending social promotion, measuring student performance with standards-based assessments, and testing teachers for subject-matter competency.

As we demand accountability, we should ensure every school has the resources needed to achieve higher standards, including safe and modern physical facilities, well-paid teachers and staff, and opportunities for remedial help after school and during summers. Parents, too, must accept greater responsibility for supporting their children's education.

We need greater choice, competition, and accountability within the public school system, not a diversion of public funds to private schools that are unaccountable to taxpayers.

With research increasingly showing the critical nature of learning in the early years, we should move toward universal access to pre-kindergarten education.

Goals for 2010:

- Turn around every failing public school
- Make charter schools an option in every state and community
- Offer every parent a choice of public schools to which to send his or her child
- Make sure every classroom has well-qualified teachers who know the subjects they teach, and pay teachers more for performance
- Create a safe, clean, healthy, disciplined learning environment for every student
- Make pre-kindergarten education universally available

CREATING A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR THE NEW ECONOMY

1) HELP WORKING FAMILIES LIFT THEMSELVES FROM POVERTY

In the 1990s, Americans resolved to end welfare dependency and forge a new social compact on the basis of work and reciprocal responsibility. The results so far are encouraging: the welfare rolls have been cut by more than half since 1992 without the social calamities predicted by defenders of the old welfare entitlement. People are more likely than ever to leave welfare for work, and even those still on welfare are four times more likely to be working. But the job of welfare reform will not be done until we help all who can work to find and keep jobs — including absent fathers who must be held responsible for supporting their children.

In the next decade, progressives should embrace an even more ambitious social goal — helping every working family lift itself from poverty. Our new social compact must reinforce work, responsibility, and family. By expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, increasing the supply of affordable child care, reforming tax policies that hurt working families, making sure absent parents live up to their financial obligations, promoting access to home ownership and other wealth-building assets, and refocusing other social policies on the new goal of rewarding work, we can create a new progressive guarantee: No American family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

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Goals for 2010:

- Finish the job of welfare reform by moving all recipients who can work into jobs
- Cut the poverty rate in half
- Double child support collections, and require every father who owes child support to go to work to pay it off

CREATING A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR THE NEW ECONOMY

2) STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S FAMILIES

While the steady reduction in the number of two-parent families of the last forty years has slowed, more than one-third of our children still live in one- or no-parent families. There is a high correlation between a childhood spent with inadequate parental support and an adulthood spent in poverty or in prison.

To strengthen families, we must redouble efforts to reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies, make work pay, eliminate tax policies that inadvertently penalize marriage, and require absent fathers to pay child support while offering them new opportunities to find work. Because every child needs the attention of at least one caring and competent adult, we should create an "extended family" of adult volunteer mentors.

Family breakdown is not the only challenge we face. As two-worker families have become the norm, harried parents have less time to spend on their most important job: raising their children. Moreover, parents and schools often find themselves contending with sex- and violence-saturated messages coming from an all-pervasive mass entertainment media.

We should continue public efforts to give parents tools to balance work and family and shield their children from harmful outside influences. For example, we should encourage employers to adopt family-friendly policies and practices such as parental leave, flex-time, and telecommuting. Public officials should speak out about violence in our culture, and should press the entertainment media to adopt self-policing codes aimed at protecting children.

Goals for 2010:

- Cut the rate of out-of-wedlock births in half
- Recruit a million mentors for disadvantaged children without two parents
- Provide affordable after-school programs at every public school
- Make every workplace "family-friendly"
- Promote policies that help parents shield their children from violence and sex in entertainment products

3) PROMOTE UNIVERSAL ACCESS AND QUALITY IN HEALTH CARE

That more than 40 million Americans lack health insurance is one of our society's most glaring inequities. Lack of insurance jeopardizes the health of disadvantaged Americans, and also imposes high costs on everyone else when the uninsured lack preventive care and get treatment from emergency rooms. Washington provides a tax subsidy for insurance for Americans who get coverage from their employers, but offers nothing to workers who don't have job-based coverage.

Markets alone cannot assure universal access to health coverage. Government should enable all low-income families to buy health insurance. Individuals must take responsibility for insuring themselves and their families whether or not they qualify for public assistance.

Finally, to help promote higher quality in health care for all Americans, we need reliable information on the quality of health care delivered by health plans and providers; a "patient's bill of rights" that ensures access to medically necessary care; and a system in which private health plans compete on the basis of quality as well as cost.

Goals for 2010:

- Reduce the number of uninsured Americans by two-thirds through tax credits, purchasing pools, and other means
- Create a system of reliable "report cards" on the quality of care delivered by health plans and providers



CREATING A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR THE NEW ECONOMY

4) STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S COMMON CIVIC CULTURE

The more ethnically and culturally diverse America becomes, the harder we must all work to affirm our common civic culture — the values and democratic institutions we share and which define our national identity as Americans. This means we should resist an “identity politics” that confers rights and entitlements on groups, and instead affirm our common rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Multiethnic democracy requires fighting discrimination against marginalized groups; empowering the disadvantaged to join the economic, political, and cultural mainstream; and respecting diversity while insisting that what we have in common as Americans is more important than how we differ.

One way to encourage an ethic of citizenship and mutual obligation is to promote voluntary national service. If expanded to become available to everyone who wants to participate, national service can help turn the strong impulse toward volunteerism among our young people into a major resource in addressing our social problems. It will also help revive a sense of patriotism and national unity at a time when military service is no longer the common experience of young Americans.

Goals for 2010:

- Reduce discrimination based on race, gender, national background, religion, age, disability, or sexual orientation
- Shift the emphasis of affirmative action strategies from group preferences to economic empowerment of all disadvantaged citizens
- Expand the AmeriCorps national service program so that everyone willing to serve can serve — with one million participants enrolled by the end of the decade
- Promote character education in all public schools

5) BALANCE AMERICA'S COMMITMENTS TO THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

An ever-growing share of the federal budget today consists of automatic transfers from working Americans to retirees. Moreover, the costs of the big entitlements for the elderly — Social Security and Medicare — are growing at rates that will eventually bankrupt them, and could leave little to pay for everything else government does. We can't just spend our way out of the problem; we must find a way to contain future costs. The federal government already spends seven times as much on the elderly as it does on children. To allow that ratio to grow even more imbalanced would be grossly unfair to today's workers and future generations.

In addition, Social Security and Medicare need to be modernized to reflect conditions not envisioned when they were created in the 1930s and the 1960s. Social Security, for example, needs a stronger basic benefit to bolster its critical role in reducing poverty in old age. Medicare needs to offer retirees more choices and a modern benefit package that includes prescription drugs. Such changes, however, will only add to the cost of the programs unless they are accompanied by structural reforms that restrain their growth and limit their claim on the working families whose taxes support the programs.

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Goals for 2010:

- Honor our commitment to seniors by ensuring the future solvency of Social Security and Medicare
- Make structural reforms in Social Security and Medicare that slow their future cost growth, modernize benefits (including a prescription drug benefit for Medicare), and give beneficiaries more choice and control over their retirement and health security
- Create Retirement Savings Accounts to enable low-income Americans to save for their own retirement

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1) PERFORMANCE-BASED GOVERNMENT

The strong anti-government sentiments of the early 1990s have subsided, but most Americans still think government is too bureaucratic, too centralized, and too inefficient.

In Washington and around the country, a second round of "reinventing government" initiatives should be launched to transform public agencies into performance-based organizations focused on bottom-line results. Many public services can be delivered on a competitive basis among public and private entities with accountability for results. Public-private partnerships should become the rule, not the exception, in delivering services. Civic and voluntary groups, including faith-based organizations, should play a larger role in addressing America's social problems.

When the federal government provides grants to states and localities to perform public services, it should give the broadest possible administrative flexibility while demanding and rewarding specific results. Government information and services at every level should be thoroughly "digitized," enabling citizens to conduct business with public agencies online.

Goals for 2010:

- Require public agencies to measure results and publish information on performance
- Consolidate narrow federal-state grants into broad performance-based grants that offer greater flexibility in return for greater accountability for results
- Make it possible for citizens to conduct all business with government online
- Create a chief information officer to drive the digitization of the federal government

2) RETURN POLITICS TO THE PEOPLE

At a time when much of the world is emulating American values and institutions, too many Americans have lost confidence in their political system. They are turned off by a partisan debate that often seems to revolve not around opposing philosophies but contending sets of interest groups. They believe that our current system for financing campaigns gives disproportionate power to wealthy individuals and groups, and exerts too much influence over legislative and regulatory outcomes.

The time for piecemeal reform is past. As campaign costs soar at every level, we need to move toward voluntary public financing of all general elections and press broadcasters to donate television time to candidates.

The Internet holds tremendous potential for making campaigns less expensive and more edifying and for engaging Americans directly in electoral politics. We should promote the Internet as a new vehicle for political communication and champion online voting.

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Goals for 2010:

- Introduce voluntary public financing for all general elections
- Allow properly regulated voter registration and voting online
- Implement civic education courses in every public school

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

3) MODERNIZE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES

National environmental policies, mostly developed in the 1970s, have been remarkably successful in improving the quality of our air and water. But we face a new set of environmental challenges for which the old strategy of centralized, command-and-control regulation is no longer effective.

The old regime of prohibitions and fines levied on polluters is not well equipped to tackle problems such as climate change, contamination of water from such sources as farm and suburban "run off," loss of open lands, and "sprawl." Without relaxing our determination to maintain and enforce mandatory national standards for environmental quality, it is time to create more effective, efficient, and flexible ways of achieving those standards.

For example, a system of tradeable emissions permits would give factories, power plants, and other sources of air pollution and greenhouse gases a powerful incentive not only to meet but to exceed environmental standards. Decisions about solving local environmental problems should be shifted from Washington to communities, without weakening national standards. Finally, to empower citizens and communities to make sound decisions, government should invest in improving the quality and availability of information about environmental conditions.

Goals for 2010:

- Create a domestic emissions trading system to reduce "greenhouse gases" by 10 percent
- Promote innovative agreements for community and regional partnerships to achieve national environmental goals and standards through local strategies
- End government subsidies for "sprawl"

1) MAKE AMERICA THE SAFEST BIG COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

After climbing relentlessly for three decades, crime rates started to fall in the 1990s. Nonetheless, the public remains deeply concerned about the prevalence of gun violence, especially among juveniles, and Americans still avoid "public spaces" like downtown retail areas, parks, and even sports facilities.

To continue reducing crime, we need to: keep policing "smart" and community-friendly, prohibiting unjust and counterproductive tactics like racial profiling; focus on preventing as well as punishing crime; pay attention to what happens to inmates and their families after sentencing; use mandatory testing and treatment to break the cycle of drugs and crime; and enforce and strengthen laws against unsafe or illegal guns. Moreover, we need a renewed commitment to equal justice for all, and must reject a false choice between justice and safety.

Technology can help in many areas: giving police more information on criminal suspects so they do not rely on slipshod, random stop-and-search methods; allowing lower-cost supervision of people on probation or parole; and making it possible to disable and/or trace guns used by unauthorized persons.

Above all, we need to remember that public safety is the ultimate goal of crime policy. Until Americans feel safe enough to walk their neighborhood streets, enjoy public spaces, and send their children to school without fear of violence, we have not achieved public safety.

Goals for 2010:

- Reduce violent crime rates another 25 percent
- Cut the rate of repeat offenses in half
- Develop and require "smart gun" technology to prevent use of firearms by unauthorized persons, and implement sensible gun control measures
- Ban racial profiling by police but encourage criminal targeting through better information on actual suspects
- Require in-prison and post-prison drug testing and treatment of all drug offenders



PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY AT HOME AND ABROAD

2) BUILD A PUBLIC CONSENSUS SUPPORTING U.S. GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

The internationalist outlook that served America and the world so well during the second half of the 20th century is under attack from both ends of the political spectrum. As the left has gravitated toward protectionism, many on the right have reverted to "America First" isolation. This collapse of the old Cold War consensus threatens America's ability to provide international leadership on both the economic and security fronts.

What's needed is a new foreign and security strategy for a new era. Our leaders should articulate a progressive internationalism based on the new realities of the Information Age: globalization, democracy, American pre-eminence, and the rise of a new array of threats ranging from regional and ethnic conflicts to the spread of missiles and biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. This approach recognizes the need to revamp, while continuing to rely on, multilateral alliances that advance U.S. values and interests.

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A strong, technologically superior defense is the foundation for U.S. global leadership. Yet the United States continues to employ defense strategies, military missions, and force structures left over from the Cold War, creating a defense establishment that is ill-prepared to meet new threats to our security. The United States must speed up the "revolution in military affairs" that uses our technological advantage to project force in many different contingencies involving uncertain and rapidly changing security threats — including terrorism and information warfare. This also means undertaking a systematic overhaul of the military to create a force that is more flexible, integrated, and efficient.

Goals for 2010:

- A clear national policy with bipartisan support that continues U.S. global leadership, adjusts our alliances to new regional threats to peace and security, promotes the spread of political and economic freedom, and outlines where and how we are willing to use force
- A modernized military equipped to deal with emerging threats to security, such as terrorism, information warfare, weapons of mass destruction, and destabilizing regional conflicts

CONCLUSION

The ideas in this Hyde Park Declaration are not an exclusive or exhaustive agenda for America in the 21st century. We welcome other ideas based on the enduring values of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

But we do urge our fellow Democrats, and fellow citizens, to take heed of the rapid pace of economic, social, and political change here and abroad; the great potential of new technologies to transform how we live, work, and interact; the inequality of opportunity that will emerge if we do not address it; the dangerous disengagement in public life of our citizenry; and the fresh needs and perspectives of the young people who will succeed us.

This is the wrong time in history for politics as usual: for empty partisanship; for treating citizens simply as members of contending groups; for divisive appeals based on race, religion, ethnicity, or culture; for efforts to encourage voters to focus on narrow self-interest; and for perpetuating the issues and ideologies of an ever-more-distant past.

We are firmly convinced that our party, which is more than ever and must always strive to be a New Democratic Party, has the right values, policy goals, and ideas to represent the new politics our country needs. But we cannot rest. We must continue to embrace change if we are to engage the electorate and offer a governing agenda that can produce positive results. As the Squire of Hyde Park, Franklin D. Roosevelt, said, "New conditions impose new requirements on government and those who conduct government."

That is why we best honor the true legacy of FDR not by acting as guardians of the dead letter of past progressive achievements, but by living up to the bold, innovative spirit that made them possible. With this Declaration, we affirm our intention to do just that.



President Clinton's Speech





Honorable Evan Bayh
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Hon. John B. Breaux
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Lee Brown
Mayor
Houston, TX

Honorable Bob Buckhorn
Council Member
Tampa, FL

Honorable Tom Burroughs
State Representative
Kansas City, KS

Honorable Kevin Cahill
State Assemblyman
Kingston, NY

Honorable Ken Cheuvront
State Representative
Phoenix, AZ

Honorable Michael Coleman
Mayor
Columbus, OH

Honorable Pat Colwell
State Representative
Gardiner, ME

Honorable Kathleen Connell
Controller
Culver City, CA

Honorable Marti Crow
State Representative
Leavenworth, KS

Honorable Donald T.
Cunningham Jr.
Mayor
Bethlehem, PA

Honorable Wayne Curry
County Executive
Upper Marlboro, MD

Honorable Jim Davis
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Dan DeMarco
Commissioner
Pittsburgh, PA

Honorable Dana Lee Dembrow
State Delegate
Silver Spring, MD

Honorable Calvin Dooley
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Doug Duncan
County Executive
Rockville, MD

Honorable Anna Eshoo
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Lisa Ferrell
State Representative
Little Rock, AR

Honorable John A. Fritchey
State Representative
Chicago, IL

Honorable Jeff Gombosky
State Representative
Spokane, WA

Honorable James S. Gregory
Council Member
Bethlehem, PA

Honorable Daniel Grossman
State Representative
Denver, CO

Honorable Lars A. Hafner
Democratic Caucus Chair
Saint Petersburg, FL

Honorable Bob Hagedorn
State Representative
Aurora, CO

Honorable Karen Hale
State Senator
Salt Lake City, UT

Honorable Robert Henriquez
State Representative
Tampa, FL

Honorable Scott N. Howell
Senate Democratic Leader
Salt Lake City, UT

Honorable Sam Hoyt
State Assembly Member
Buffalo, NY

Mr. Calvin Johnson
State Representative
Pine Bluff, AR

Honorable Paula F. Julander
Minority Whip
Salt Lake City, UT

Honorable Ember Reichgott
Junge
Assistant Majority Leader
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Honorable Delores G.
Kelley Ph.D.
State Senator
Annapolis, MD

Honorable John F. Kerry
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Kwame Kilpatrick
State Representative
Detroit, MI

Honorable Mary L. Landrieu
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Thomas Lazieh
Council Member
Central Falls, RI

Honorable Joseph Lieberman
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Blanche Lambert
Lincoln
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Duane E. Little
Assessor
Wallace, ID

Honorable Dannel P. Malloy
Mayor
Stamford, CT

Honorable Jennifer Mann
State Representative
Allentown, PA

Honorable Jack Markell
State Treasurer
Dover, DE

Honorable Stan Matsunaka
State Senator
Loveland, CO

Honorable Jonathan Miller
State Treasurer
Frankfort, KY

Honorable Tom Miller
Attorney General
Des Moines, IA

Honorable Bobby Moak
State Representative
Bogue Chitto, MS

Honorable James P. Moran Jr.
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Eva Moskowitz
Council Member
New York, NY

Honorable Ed Murray
State Representative
Seattle, WA

Honorable Janet Napolitano
Attorney General
Phoenix, AZ

Honorable Martin O'Malley
Mayor
Baltimore, MD

Honorable Marc R. Pacheco
State Senator
Boston, MA



Honorable John D. Porcari
Secretary
Baltimore, MD

Honorable David Quall
State Representative
Mount Vernon, WA

Honorable Joe Rice
Mayor
Glendale, CO

Honorable John Riggs IV
State Senator
Little Rock, AR

Honorable Antonio R. Riley
State Representative
Madison, WI

Honorable Stacy Ritter
State Representative
Fort Lauderdale, FL

Honorable Charles S. Robb
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Carroll G. Robinson
Council Member
Houston, TX

Honorable Tim Roemer
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Linda J. Scheid
State Senator
Minneapolis, MN

Honorable Allyson Schwartz
State Senator
Harrisburg, PA

Honorable Kathleen Sebelius
Commissioner
Topeka, KS

Honorable Eleanor Sobel
State Representative
Hollywood, FL

Honorable Ellen O. Tauscher
United States Representative
Washington, DC

Honorable Michael L.
Thurmond
Commissioner
Atlanta, GA

Honorable Tom Vilsack
Governor
Des Moines, IA

Honorable Kirk Watson
Mayor
Austin, TX

Honorable Anthony Williams
Mayor
Washington, DC

Honorable J.D. Williams
State Controller
Boise, ID

Honorable Philip Wise
State Representative
Keokuk, IA

Honorable Jane Wood
State Representative
Laconia, NH

17-19-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

The DLC is planning to prepare and distribute a commemorative booklet from their May 2000 event in Hyde Park, NY. The booklet would include the Hyde Park Declaration that was a product of that meeting; the DLC is seeking approval to include your remarks from that event as well. They plan to distribute the booklet, which they describe as a "policy agenda for the 21st Century," to 10,000-15,000 supporters around the country.

Political Affairs supports DLC's proposal; speechwriting has no objection. As you know, you have seen and edited this speech for publication in your speech book. If you approve, we will forward that text to the DLC for reproduction. A copy of their draft booklet and your remarks are attached for your information.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Lisel Loy 



THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND
A POLICY AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY



PUBLISHER'S NOTE:

Last May, at the invitation of the Democratic Leadership Council, elected officials from across the country met at Franklin D. Roosevelt's estate in Hyde Park, N.Y. Their goal was to begin drafting a statement of New Democrat principles and a broad national policy agenda for the next decade. This manifesto, The Hyde Park Declaration, is the result of their work.

The Hyde Park Declaration has a historic antecedent. At their 1990 annual meeting, held in New Orleans, DLC members — chaired by then-Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas — issued The New Orleans Declaration. That statement of principles became the guiding philosophy of Clinton's 1992 run for the presidency and later that of his presidential administration. The New Orleans Declaration's call for a citizen-government relationship based on the values of opportunity, responsibility, and community subsequently became the main organizing principle of Third Way political movements in Britain and around the world.

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“Because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the ‘90s our ideas were the right ones,” President Clinton told the Hyde Park gathering. “They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life.”

“Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century,” he continued. “[You have] both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years. ... I’ve done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you’ve got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.”

Al From



President
Democratic Leadership Council

THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION

A NEW POLITICS FOR A NEW AMERICA

At the beginning of a new century and new millennium we see a nation in the midst of a great transformation.

As modernizers of the American progressive political tradition, we call for a new politics for the next decade to reflect new realities.

These new realities include:

An information, technology-driven, and ever more global New Economy which is changing the way Americans work, live, and communicate with each other.

A population that is rapidly becoming more diverse, more affluent, more educated, more suburban, more "wired," less political, and more centrist.

The emergence of a new social structure, in which the "learning class" of well-educated and skilled citizens prospers while those without education and skills are at risk of being left behind.

The aging of the population, creating new intergenerational tensions over resources for schools, retirement, and health care.

A generational change in attitudes as the New Deal/World War II generation gives way to the baby-boom and GenX generations that are far more skeptical about politics and government, even as they crave a "higher politics" of moral purpose.

A rapidly changing global environment in which American values and interests are predominant, but in which we face a new series of international challenges based not on a monolithic threat from another superpower, but on regional instability, economic rivalries, ethnic conflicts, rogue states, and terrorism.



We believe in a new social compact that requires and rewards work in exchange for public assistance, and that ensures that no family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

We believe that public policies should reinforce marriage, promote family, demand parental responsibility, and discourage out-of-wedlock births.

We believe in shifting the focus of America's anti-poverty and social insurance programs from transferring wealth to creating wealth. We believe in replacing top-down bureaucracy with more flexible public institutions that enable citizens and communities to solve their own problems.

We believe government should harness the forces of choice and competition to achieve public goals.

We believe in enhancing the role that civic entrepreneurs, voluntary groups, and religious institutions play in tackling America's social ills.

We believe in strengthening environmental protection by giving communities the flexibility to tackle new challenges that cannot be solved with top-down mandates.

We believe government must combat discrimination on the basis of race, creed, gender, or sexual orientation; defend civil liberties; and stay out of our private lives.

We believe that the common civic ideals Americans share transcend group differences and forge unity from diversity.

We believe that abortion should be safe, legal, and rare.

We believe in progressive internationalism — the bold exercise of U.S. leadership to foster peace, prosperity, and democracy.

We believe that the United States must maintain a strong, technologically superior defense to protect our interests and values.

Finally, *we believe* that American citizenship entails responsibilities as well as rights, and we mean to ask our citizens to give something back to their communities and their country.

2) WRITE NEW RULES FOR THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

The rise of global markets has undermined the ability of national governments to control their own economies. The answer is neither global laissez faire nor protectionism but a Third Way: New international rules and institutions to ensure that globalization goes hand in hand with higher living standards, basic worker rights, and environmental protection.

U.S. leadership is crucial in building a rules-based global trading system as well as international structures that enhance worker rights and the environment without killing trade. For example, instead of restricting trade, we should negotiate specific multilateral accords to deal with specific environmental threats.

Goals for 2010:

- Conclude a new round of trade liberalization under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (WTO)
- Open the WTO, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund to wider participation and scrutiny
- Strengthen the International Labor Organization's power to enforce core labor rights, including the right of free association
- Launch a new series of multinational treaties to protect the world environment



1) HELP WORKING FAMILIES LIFT THEMSELVES FROM POVERTY

In the 1990s, Americans resolved to end welfare dependency and forge a new social compact on the basis of work and reciprocal responsibility. The results so far are encouraging: the welfare rolls have been cut by more than half since 1992 without the social calamities predicted by defenders of the old welfare entitlement. People are more likely than ever to leave welfare for work, and even those still on welfare are four times more likely to be working. But the job of welfare reform will not be done until we help all who can work to find and keep jobs — including absent fathers who must be held responsible for supporting their children.

In the next decade, progressives should embrace an even more ambitious social goal — helping every working family lift itself from poverty. Our new social compact must reinforce work, responsibility, and family. By expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, increasing the supply of affordable child care, reforming tax policies that hurt working families, making sure absent parents live up to their financial obligations, promoting access to home ownership and other wealth-building assets, and refocusing other social policies on the new goal of rewarding work, we can create a new progressive guarantee: No American family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.



Goals for 2010:

- Finish the job of welfare reform by moving all recipients who can work into jobs
- Cut the poverty rate in half
- Double child support collections, and require every father who owes child support to go to work to pay it off

3) PROMOTE UNIVERSAL ACCESS AND QUALITY IN HEALTH CARE

That more than 40 million Americans lack health insurance is one of our society's most glaring inequities. Lack of insurance jeopardizes the health of disadvantaged Americans, and also imposes high costs on everyone else when the uninsured lack preventive care and get treatment from emergency rooms. Washington provides a tax subsidy for insurance for Americans who get coverage from their employers, but offers nothing to workers who don't have job-based coverage.

Markets alone cannot assure universal access to health coverage. Government should enable all low-income families to buy health insurance. Individuals must take responsibility for insuring themselves and their families whether or not they qualify for public assistance.

Finally, to help promote higher quality in health care for all Americans, we need reliable information on the quality of health care delivered by health plans and providers; a "patient's bill of rights" that ensures access to medically necessary care; and a system in which private health plans compete on the basis of quality as well as cost.

Goals for 2010:

- Reduce the number of uninsured Americans by two-thirds through tax credits, purchasing pools, and other means
- Create a system of reliable "report cards" on the quality of care delivered by health plans and providers



5) BALANCE AMERICA'S COMMITMENTS TO THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

An ever-growing share of the federal budget today consists of automatic transfers from working Americans to retirees. Moreover, the costs of the big entitlements for the elderly — Social Security and Medicare — are growing at rates that will eventually bankrupt them, and could leave little to pay for everything else government does. We can't just spend our way out of the problem; we must find a way to contain future costs. The federal government already spends seven times as much on the elderly as it does on children. To allow that ratio to grow even more imbalanced would be grossly unfair to today's workers and future generations.

In addition, Social Security and Medicare need to be modernized to reflect conditions not envisioned when they were created in the 1930s and the 1960s. Social Security, for example, needs a stronger basic benefit to bolster its critical role in reducing poverty in old age. Medicare needs to offer retirees more choices and a modern benefit package that includes prescription drugs. Such changes, however, will only add to the cost of the programs unless they are accompanied by structural reforms that restrain their growth and limit their claim on the working families whose taxes support the programs.



Goals for 2010:

- Honor our commitment to seniors by ensuring the future solvency of Social Security and Medicare
- Make structural reforms in Social Security and Medicare that slow their future cost growth, modernize benefits (including a prescription drug benefit for Medicare), and give beneficiaries more choice and control over their retirement and health security
- Create Retirement Savings Accounts to enable low-income Americans to save for their own retirement

2) RETURN POLITICS TO THE PEOPLE

At a time when much of the world is emulating American values and institutions, too many Americans have lost confidence in their political system. They are turned off by a partisan debate that often seems to revolve not around opposing philosophies but contending sets of interest groups. They believe that our current system for financing campaigns gives disproportionate power to wealthy individuals and groups, and exerts too much influence over legislative and regulatory outcomes.

The time for piecemeal reform is past. As campaign costs soar at every level, we need to move toward voluntary public financing of all general elections and press broadcasters to donate television time to candidates.

The Internet holds tremendous potential for making campaigns less expensive and more edifying and for engaging Americans directly in electoral politics. We should promote the Internet as a new vehicle for political communication and champion online voting.

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Goals for 2010:

- Introduce voluntary public financing for all general elections
- Allow properly regulated voter registration and voting online
- Implement civic education courses in every public school

1) MAKE AMERICA THE SAFEST BIG COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

After climbing relentlessly for three decades, crime rates started to fall in the 1990s. Nonetheless, the public remains deeply concerned about the prevalence of gun violence, especially among juveniles, and Americans still avoid "public spaces" like downtown retail areas, parks, and even sports facilities.

To continue reducing crime, we need to: keep policing "smart" and community-friendly, prohibiting unjust and counterproductive tactics like racial profiling; focus on preventing as well as punishing crime; pay attention to what happens to inmates and their families after sentencing; use mandatory testing and treatment to break the cycle of drugs and crime; and enforce and strengthen laws against unsafe or illegal guns. Moreover, we need a renewed commitment to equal justice for all, and must reject a false choice between justice and safety.

Technology can help in many areas: giving police more information on criminal suspects so they do not rely on slipshod, random stop-and-search methods; allowing lower-cost supervision of people on probation or parole; and making it possible to disable and/or trace guns used by unauthorized persons.

Above all, we need to remember that public safety is the ultimate goal of crime policy. Until Americans feel safe enough to walk their neighborhood streets, enjoy public spaces, and send their children to school without fear of violence, we have not achieved public safety.

Goals for 2010:

- Reduce violent crime rates another 25 percent
- Cut the rate of repeat offenses in half
- Develop and require "smart gun" technology to prevent use of firearms by unauthorized persons, and implement sensible gun control measures
- Ban racial profiling by police but encourage criminal targeting through better information on actual suspects
- Require in-prison and post-prison drug testing and treatment of all drug offenders



CONCLUSION

The ideas in this Hyde Park Declaration are not an exclusive or exhaustive agenda for America in the 21st century. We welcome other ideas based on the enduring values of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

But we do urge our fellow Democrats, and fellow citizens, to take heed of the rapid pace of economic, social, and political change here and abroad; the great potential of new technologies to transform how we live, work, and interact; the inequality of opportunity that will emerge if we do not address it; the dangerous disengagement in public life of our citizenry; and the fresh needs and perspectives of the young people who will succeed us.

This is the wrong time in history for politics as usual: for empty partisanship; for treating citizens simply as members of contending groups; for divisive appeals based on race, religion, ethnicity, or culture; for efforts to encourage voters to focus on narrow self-interest; and for perpetuating the issues and ideologies of an ever-more-distant past.

We are firmly convinced that our party, which is more than ever and must always strive to be a New Democratic Party, has the right values, policy goals, and ideas to represent the new politics our country needs. But we cannot rest. We must continue to embrace change if we are to engage the electorate and offer a governing agenda that can produce positive results. As the Squire of Hyde Park, Franklin D. Roosevelt, said, "New conditions impose new requirements on government and those who conduct government."

That is why we best honor the true legacy of FDR not by acting as guardians of the dead letter of past progressive achievements, but by living up to the bold, innovative spirit that made them possible. With this Declaration, we affirm our intention to do just that.



Honorable Robert Henriquez
State Representative
Tampa, FL

Honorable Scott N. Howell
Senate Democratic Leader
Salt Lake City, UT

Honorable Sam Hoyt
State Assembly Member
Buffalo, NY

Mr. Calvin Johnson
State Representative
Pine Bluff, AR

Honorable Paula F. Julander
Minority Whip
Salt Lake City, UT

Honorable Ember Reichgott
Junge
Assistant Majority Leader
Minneapolis, MN

Honorable Delores G.
Kelley Ph.D.
State Senator
Annapolis, MD

Honorable John F. Kerry
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Kwame Kilpatrick
State Representative
Detroit, MI

Honorable Mary L. Landrieu
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Thomas Lazieh
Council Member
Central Falls, RI

Honorable Joseph Lieberman
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Blanche Lambert
Lincoln
United States Senator
Washington, DC

Honorable Duane E. Little
Assessor
Wallace, ID

Honorable Dannel P. Malloy
Mayor
Stamford, CT

Honorable Jennifer Mann
State Representative
Allentown, PA

Honorable Jack Markell
State Treasurer
Dover, DE

Honorable Stan Matsunaka
State Senator
Loveland, CO

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Attorney General
Phoenix, AZ

Honorable Martin O'Malley
Mayor
Baltimore, MD

Honorable Marc R. Pacheco
State Senator
Boston, MA



REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RETREAT
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
MAY 21, 2000

Thank you. Bill, thank you for welcoming me back to Hyde Park and the Roosevelt Library. I love coming here. I'm sorry I've only come three times. And, Al, thank you for your wonderful introduction. And to you and Ginger, thank you for your years of friendship. He's very good at giving the credit to everybody else, but the truth is it would be hard to think of a single American citizen who, as a private citizen, has had a more positive impact on the progress of American life in the last 25 years than Al From.

I am delighted to see so many members of Congress here, members of the Senate and the House; the Governor; present and former members of the administration. Mack McLarty was Chief of Staff when we did four big DLC things. We did the economic plan, the Brady Bill, Family Leave law, and NAFTA. Mack, the other day a commentator said you know, if it hadn't been for his first two years, Bill Clinton's average approval ratings would be the highest ever recorded. And Hillary looked at me and she said, if it hadn't been for the first two years, when you made all the unpopular decisions, the next six years would not have happened.

Mayor Brown, we're glad to see you here. And my Mayor, Mayor Williams, thank you. Thank all of you for being here, and for what you're about to do.

Franklin Roosevelt said he often came back to Hyde Park because it gave him "a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole, and to see it in a long-range perspective." That's what you're being asked to do.

I've often, in quiet moments at the White House, thought about my predecessors -- the ones who succeeded, the ones who didn't, why they did or didn't. Roosevelt had what Justice Holmes called a first-class temperament, a lot of personal courage, a good mind, and a great attitude. He had a good time being President, even in difficult times. And he learned to have a good time in the midst of almost constant personal pain.

It's worth remembering that life's successes are a curious blend of what you make happen and what happens to you; the gifts God gives you and what you do with them. But today I want to focus on the fact that he was always interested in ideas.

The other day I read Frances Perkins' wonderful book about her lifetime friendship with Roosevelt. You know she was the first woman in the Cabinet; she served as Secretary of Labor the entire time President Roosevelt was in office. She kept trying to quit and he wouldn't let her. And if you read this book, at the end you get a feeling that he had some sense of his own mortality. She kept trying to leave and he kept trying to get her to hold on to the end. And then, of course, he died shortly after being reelected to his fourth term.

But through this whole thing, you get this sense that from the time she was a young social worker and he was a young state senator, when he still had full use of his physical facilities -- and played a pretty good game of golf, I might add -- that they had this magical chemistry born of the fact that even though they were different people from different worlds, in the beginning with very different positions on certain issues, they both understood that public service was something that you weren't supposed to covet for the power, but something you wanted to do so you could help other people, and that ideas mattered.

So you come here today to think about where we are and where we ought to go and what the long-range challenges are. And Al's already said a lot of what I want to say, but I want to say some of the things he said and tie it back to what we did in New Orleans in 1990, because I believe that thinking is a big and often underutilized part of success in public life. And I think ideas matter.

Let me say that sometime into my first term, maybe 1995 or something, a distinguished scholar whom I at that time had never met, and who at that time was at Syracuse -- I believe he's at Harvard now -- Thomas Patterson -- said, contrary to the popular belief that most politicians are congenitally dishonest, most people do what they say they're going to do when they get elected. And if you look at the history of Presidents, most of them do what they say they're going to do. And when they don't, it's usually because something has really changed, and we're glad they didn't.

We're glad Franklin Roosevelt didn't balance the budget, because if he had, under those circumstances, it would have been worse. Abraham Lincoln promised not to free the slaves. We're glad he broke that commitment. But, by and large, if you look at the whole history of American public life, when a President runs for office and says, vote for me, this is what I want to do, they pretty well do that. Or they at least get caught trying to do it.

And one of the things that really has meant the most to me, of all the things I've read -- and I've read a lot a stuff I'd just as soon not have in the last eight years -- was Patterson said that by 1995, our administration had already kept a higher percentage of its commitments to the American people than the previous five Presidents. And we had made more commitments.

The point I want to make today, to emphasize the importance of what it is you're about to do, is that the reason that was possible is, I had thought a lot about what I would do. And I had thought with many of you -- with Bruce and Will and Rob and the whole DLC crowd, and a lot of you who were going to these meetings back in the '80s and the '90s -- so that when I announced for President, I did it not because I wanted to get out of what I was doing -- I was actually happier than I had ever been with my work as governor and with my situation at home in Arkansas -- but because I thought something needed to be done, and I had thought a lot about it. And this New Orleans Declaration was a milestone in that process.

Therefore, you cannot possibly overestimate the importance of what you're here to do if you do it in all seriousness.

Let's just look the New Orleans Declaration. We met there in 1990. As Al said, the times were different -- the economy was bad, the deficit was high, the debt had exploded, all the social conditions were worsening. And Washington seemed to be stuck in a kind of ideological trench warfare, where the Republicans said that government was the problem, and we said that it was the solution. And we always had to have a false choice -- you had to choose the economy or the environment; you had to choose impoverishment or entitlement; you had to choose business or labor.

By contrast, the DLC -- this is one of the reasons the DLC succeeded, by the way -- had people who were in politics in Washington and out in the country, and a lot of our people in Washington spent a lot of time in the country, and we realized that no one else in the world thought about things or experienced things in the way the Washington media and political establishment talked about issues; and that we didn't agree with all these false choices.

And so, in New Orleans 10 years ago, we set out to outline what we believed ought to be done. Our approach came to be known as the Third Way. Basically, it was rooted in common sense, a common devotion to our party's oldest values, and a common vision of the new era in which we were living.

In 1992, the American people gave us a chance to put our ideas into action. And we have done our best to do that, working across party lines where possible, and where bitter partisanship forced it, going alone.

This is what the New Orleans Declaration said. We believe the Democratic Party's fundamental mission is to expand opportunity, not government; economic growth is a prerequisite for expanding opportunity for everyone; and the way to build America's economic security is to invest in the skills and ingenuity of our people, and to expand trade, not restrict it.

Now, these ideas were all turned into action in the '93 economic plan, in the '97 Balanced Budget Act, in the Telecommunications Act, in our commitment to science and technological research, and in our education budget. We doubled investment for education and training even as we were reducing the deficit, and we emphasized results and proven strategies. We very nearly opened the doors of college to all Americans. We had 300 trade agreements. Those ideas put into action have given us those 21,615,000 jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the highest home ownership ever, and the longest economic expansion in history. And the government is now continuing to shrink. It is now the smallest it has been since 1958.

We said we believe the purpose of social welfare is to bring the poor into this nation's economic mainstream, not to maintain their dependency. That idea, turned into action through the expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Vice President's empowerment zone program, and welfare reform, has given us the smallest welfare rolls in absolute numbers in 32 years; a 20-year low in the poverty rate; the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years -- while we fought and succeeded in maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care and transportation for lower-income workers.

We said we believe in preventing crime and punishing criminals, not explaining away their behavior. That idea was turned into action through the crime bill, which gave us 100,000 police and an assault weapons ban, and through the Brady law which has kept a half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers from getting handguns. That's given us the lowest crime rate in 25 years, the lowest homicide rate in 30 years, and a 35-percent reduction in gun crime since 1993.

We said we believe in the politics of inclusion, in the protection of civil rights and the broad movement of minorities

into the American economic and cultural mainstream. That idea, turned into action, has given us the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded; record numbers of minority-owned businesses; vigorous enforcement of civil rights; and the widest participation of minorities in the federal government at high levels and in the federal judiciary in American history.

We said we believe in the imperative of work and the importance of family. I could give you lots of examples of that, but just take the Family and Medical Leave law, the first bill I signed, vetoed by the previous administration: 21 million-plus Americans have taken some time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. And they said it would wreck the economy. Well, 21 million families are stronger, and so is the American economy. The idea in the New Orleans Declaration was right.

We said we believe American citizenship entails responsibility as well as rights, and we mean to ask citizens to give something back to their community. That idea, turned into action, has led to a whole series of remarkable partnerships. The welfare-to-work partnership, for example, has led 12,000 companies to voluntarily commit to hire now something like 400,000 people off the welfare rolls. The Vice President's partnership with the auto companies and the auto workers has led to this whole effort to develop the next generation vehicle, which already has prototypes that will be on the market within two years -- 60, 70, 80 miles a gallon.

The partnership we had with the entertainment industry led to the passage of the v-chip requirement and rating systems for television programs and video games. And most of all, of course, it led to AmeriCorps, which now has permitted over 150,000 young Americans to serve in their communities. We had more people in AmeriCorps in its first five years than the Peace Corps did in its first 20 years, because of the idea that the DLC relentlessly advanced.

We said we believed the U.S. must remain energetically engaged in the worldwide struggle for individual liberty, human rights and prosperity, not retreat from the world. That idea turned into action has given us a stronger and expanded NATO; new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction; progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East; forceful stands against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and new initiatives to expand trade and advance democracy in Africa, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and the Asian Pacific region.

In short, because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones. They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life, and inspired the rise of new progressive governments throughout Europe and the industrialized world. Indeed, I'm going to be meeting with many of these leaders next month in Berlin, people all over the world who have seen what happened here, taken ideas seriously, and want to see what they can do to lift their people and make them a part of the new information age of globalization.

Most important of all, these ideas put into action have brought our country into a moment of unparalleled prosperity and promise. Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century. And I think the DLC -- to borrow a little of your own medicine -- has both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years.

That's your task. What is the new Democratic agenda for the 21st century? Here's what I think it ought to say.

First, we will keep the economy strong by paying down the debt, maintaining our lead in science and technology, and extending our economic benefits to people and places left behind, opening new markets and closing the investment and digital divide.

Second, we will lift up all working families out of poverty, and end child poverty, by increasing the EITC, the minimum wage, and our support for child care, housing, transportation, and responsible fatherhood.

Third, we will make sure every child starts school ready to learn, graduates ready to succeed, and has the chance to go to college, by investing more in education and demanding more of all the participants in our education process, and by opening college to everyone by making tuition deductible.

Fourth, we will enable Americans to succeed at work and at home with more support for child care, expanding opportunity for health care coverage, a patients' bill of rights, and tax relief for middle class families to educate their kids, afford quality child care, and take care of aging or disabled relatives who need long-term care.

Fifth, we will make America the safest big nation on Earth, with more police, more prevention, more prosecutors, and more effective measures to keep guns away from children and criminals.

Sixth, we will meet the challenge of the aging of America by extending the life of Social Security, strengthening and modernizing Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, providing a tax cut for long-term care and for uninsured Americans over 55 to buy into Medicare, and helping working families to establish their own retirement accounts so that more Americans have a chance to create wealth.

Next, we will reverse the course of climate change while enhancing, rather than eroding, economic growth with new technologies and new sources of alternative energy.

Let me just say, when I went back and read the New Orleans Declaration, the one thing I wish we'd made more of is the environment, because we have now proved you can grow the economy and improve the environment. This is an even more important issue now than it was 10 years ago because of the impact of climate change. We must address this. Every member of Congress here will tell you that a huge portion of decision-makers in our country and throughout the world -- and most troubling, in some of the biggest developing nations -- still believe you cannot have economic growth unless you pour more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Just like these big ideas helped us back in 1990, there is nothing so dangerous as for a people to be in the grip of a big idea that is no longer true. It was once true that you had to put more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to grow the economy, to build a middle class, make a country rich. It is not true anymore.

By contrast, the other party is making an assault on my decision to set aside the 40 million roadless acres in the National Forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most important conservation measure in the last 50 years.

The point I'm trying to make is that good people will continue to make bad decisions if they're in the grip of a wrong idea. This is not simply a case of interest groups fighting each other. This is really a question of whether we have honestly come to terms with what the facts are, what the evidence shows about the way economies can, and indeed should, work.

And there's no way in the world we'll be able to convince our friends in India or China, which over the next 30 years will become bigger emitters of greenhouse gases than we are, that they can take a different path to development, and that we're not trying to keep them poor, unless we can demonstrate that we have let the big wrong idea go and that we have evidence that a different way will work.

You can't expect any of these members of Congress who come from rural districts that have a lot of poor people, or that rely on agriculture, to take different approaches unless there is a specific, clear, meaningful alternative that they can embrace.

So I'm sort of off the script here, but this is a big deal. We need more of our people who know what the facts are here. We need to know what can we really get out of automobile and truck mileage; how realistic is it to have alternative sources of fuel; what you can get if you build all new houses and office buildings with glass that lets in more light and keeps out more heat and cold.

This is something that most of you normally wouldn't think an elected official needs to know. But we do need to know. This is a huge, huge issue.

Seventh, we will keep working to build One America at home -- to make a strength of our diversity so that other nations can be inspired to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions. For me that means passing the Employment Nondiscrimination Act, the hate crimes bill, and expanding national service. I meet with these AmeriCorps kids everywhere I go, and the thing they say over and over and over again is that we gave them a chance to see how different people live, to see how much we have in common as human beings, and to understand just what it means to be an American citizen at the dawn of a new century.

And last, we will continue to lead the world away from terror, weapons of mass destruction, and destructive ethnic, racial and religious conflicts, toward greater cooperation and shared peace and prosperity.

That's what this vote about China is all about. Yes, it's a good economic deal. China has agreed to open its markets. I just got out of the airplane and there were a few hundred people at the airport. So I went over and shook hands and said hello to all the children. And this guy says, you really think this China thing is a good deal? I said, yes, I do. And he said, why? I

said, well, in the first place, we've been calling it a trade agreement and it isn't. For a trade agreement, I get a few things and I have to give up a few things. But this is a membership agreement. All we give them is membership, and they do all the market opening. That's their dues for membership in the World Trade Organization.

That's why, in narrow, self-interested terms, it's a 100 to nothing deal not only for the United States, but for anybody else who votes to let the Chinese into the WTO. But, even though for me the economic choice is clear, far, far more important to me are the moral and national security arguments. I looked at all those kids in that crowd today and I was reminded again that we fought three wars in Asia in the last half of the 20th century, and that we have a chance to build a different future. Not a guarantee, but a chance.

Yes, China is still a one-party state, restricting rights of free speech and religious expression, doing things from time to time that frustrate us and even anger us. But by forcing China to slash subsidies and tariffs that protect inefficient industries, which the Communist Party has long used to exercise day-to-day control, by letting our high-tech companies bring the Internet and the information revolution to China, we will be unleashing forces that no totalitarian operation rooted in the last century's industrial society can control.

Two years ago there were 2 million Internet users in China; last year there were 9 million; this year there are something over 20 million. At some point there will be over 100 million, and at some point, some threshold that no one can identify with precision will be crossed and it will be a very different world.

I think it is also worth pointing out that the more China operates within rule-based systems, with us and with other countries, the more likely they are to see the benefit of the rule of law, and the more likely that benefit is to flow down to ordinary people -- in those 900,000 villages where they're already electing their mayors, and in the cities.

I think it is quite interesting that the people in China who hope we will beat this next week are the ultraconservatives in the military and the state-owned industries. And quite interesting that people who have been persecuted in China and other places, by and large, want us to vote yes on PNTR.

Martin Lee, the head of the democracy movement in Hong Kong, came all the way over here to ask Congress to vote for this.

This is a man who cannot, himself, go to China; a man who has never met Zhu Rongji; a man who is still considered persona non grata. But he said to me, we've got to back the reformers in China. We've got to get them into a system where there is rule of law. This is the next big step. All the human rights activists in America are, he said, blinded by their opposition to things that have happened in the past and may be happening now, instead of thinking about what is most likely to change China in the future.

The new President of Taiwan supports us letting China into the WTO and America extending PNTR. And yesterday, the Dalai Lama, a man who has undergone literally decades of frustration in his dealings with China, strongly endorsed bringing China into the international system.

So this is a big deal to me, beyond the obvious economic benefits which make it easier for some members than others to vote for because of the economic makeup of their districts. By far the bigger issue is what can we do to promote human rights, what can we do to promote the rule of law, what can we do to minimize the chances that there will be another war in Asia in our lifetime, or in our children's lifetime. To me, that is what is at issue.

So that's my pitch here. What you're about to do is really important. I've told you the kinds of things that I hope you'll do. But those of you out here listening to me will have a bigger role than me in America's next 10 years. Just remember what I did with that New Orleans Declaration. It really matters whether you think and whether you organize your thoughts into principles and specific policies.

The New Orleans Declaration is largely responsible for the success we have enjoyed in the last eight years, because it gave us a platform on which to stand, and a framework from which to work.

You've got a lot of really creative people here. I could cite a thousand examples, but I want to just mention two or three. You remember Franklin Roosevelt -- one of the great reasons for the success of his New Deal was that he essentially took social welfare progress that had been made in various states, especially in New York, and went national with it.

State Senator Marc Pacheco from Massachusetts, sponsored a program to give medical students and other health professionals academic credit for providing primary and preventive health services to underserved people. Should we do more in our public

health clinics like that? Mayor Webb negotiated a contract with the teachers' unions in his city to give an incentive to teachers to improve academic performance. Michael Thurmond, the Georgia Labor Commissioner, has taken absent fathers who weren't supporting their children and given them training, jobs and the values of responsible fatherhood. Now 84 percent of those fathers who have been in this program are working and supporting their children. That's a huge deal. Shouldn't we go national with that? These are the kinds of things that I hope you will think about.

There's just one other thing I want to say. I didn't do this by myself. If it hadn't been for the members of Congress here who have helped me, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the members of the administration, past and present, I couldn't have done it. If it hadn't been for the DLC, with its constant idea machine, and Al From constantly harping on me not to abandon the reformist path, I couldn't have done it. And if it hadn't been for Al Gore I couldn't have done it.

I believe I have a good grasp on the institution of the vice presidency, and I can tell you it is my judgment that he has had a far more positive impact on the way the American people live than any other person as Vice President in the history of the nation, by a good long ways.

He managed the empowerment zones program. He managed our administration's position on the Telecommunications Act, which had two important features -- one, it was pro-competition. We didn't give into the monopoly forces, and there are now hundreds of thousands of jobs that have been created, mostly in companies that didn't even exist in 1996, because we stood firm for competition. And we got the e-rate, which is now providing \$2.2 billion a year so that poor schools and libraries and hospitals can hook up to the Internet.

Second, he developed and pushed our positions, on the environment, including the Partnership for Next Generation Vehicles, and climate change. Third, he ran the REGO program, which many of you were involved in, and which, in addition to reducing the size of government, has dramatically improved the performance of many agencies. Fourth, he and Tipper led our efforts on expanding the mental health parity issue, the fatherhood initiative, and the V-chip and ratings for TV programs and video games.

He also cast the deciding vote on the economic plan and on the gun safety legislation in the Senate. And on every tough

decision I had to make, from Haiti to Bosnia to Kosovo to loaning money to Mexico, to taking on the gun issue and tobacco issue, to lobbying for NAFTA at the beginning and making the calls on China PNTR, he's been there -- always.

Here's the last thought I'll leave you with. Roosevelt loved ideas, had good ideas, but he had a first-class temperament. He had a good time and he enjoyed working with people. So you guys have got to keep working together. We've got to get behind all of our crowd; we've got to work to win elections. What happens in 2000, fundamentally, is just as important as what happened in '92 and '96, because what a country does with its prosperity is just as stern a test of its character and vision and wisdom as what it does when its back is against the wall.

Some day somebody will write a whole book on how this New Orleans Declaration was the foundation of the success of the last eight years. That's what your work at Hyde Park ought to be for the next decade. You can change America forever for the better.

I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction.

Thank you and God bless you.