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FROM: Adam Rosman PH: 62702 ROOM: GrFl/WW
SUBJECT: CONVENTION SPEECH DRAFT PAGES: 15

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 8, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TERRY EDMONDS 
PAUL GLASTRIS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
STEVE RICCHETTI

SUBJECT: REVISED CONVENTION REMARKS

Attached is a revised draft of your Democratic convention speech. It reflects input from Mark Penn, Paul Begala, Mandy Grunwald, Al From, and our in-house working group.

You will notice that we've sharpened the beginning, tightened the language throughout, added a section on Senator Lieberman, and recast the ending to give it more lift. We also included a full version of your story about the 1960s. Additionally, we have left space for your personal reflections on the Vice President, and for an anecdote about a person you've met whose recent life story exemplifies the positive change over the last eight years.

This draft is about 500 words too long. We look forward to meeting with you tomorrow to discuss any changes or other ideas you might have. Thank you.

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Edmonds/Glastris

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION SPEECH**

LOS ANGELES, CA

August 14, 2000

It's a great night to be in California. It's a great night to be a Democrat. And it's a great time to be an American. From the Silver Screen to Silicon Valley, California has always pointed America to the future. And this week, from this place, we are going to choose a leader who will take us to the future. We are going to pick Al Gore to be the next President of the United States.

You know, California is the first state in history to have two women U.S. Senators, and both of them are Democrats. I say it's time New York had a woman Senator too. From the day I met her 30 years ago in law school, Hillary has had a passionate commitment to the issues that matter most to children and families. And for 30 years, I have been awed by the way she puts that commitment into action -- from reforming the schools to increasing adoptions to expanding health care. She's been a great inspiration to me, a great First Lady for America and she'll be a great Senator for the people of New York.

My fellow Democrats...my fellow Americans, there is no greater privilege than the opportunity to serve as President of the United States. I am grateful beyond words that you have given me that chance. I ran for President because I wanted the American Dream to be alive for every citizen willing to work for it. I wanted to build a community where we celebrate our diversity and go forward together. And I wanted to keep America the leading force for peace and freedom around the world. My fellow Americans, we have come a mighty long way.

Today, we are in the midst of the longest and strongest economic expansion in our history. Over 22 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 30 years. The lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years. The lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment rate on record. The highest rate of homeownership in our nation's history.

We are a more prosperous society, and a more just one. Our economy is growing and we are growing together as a people. For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest poverty rate in 25 years. We have cleaner air, cleaner water, safer food. And our social fabric, once so frayed, is now on the mend. Crime has dropped for eight straight years. There are 7.5 million fewer Americans on welfare. Teen pregnancy is down. Adoptions are up. Student test scores are up. And by the end of this year, we will have paid down more than \$300 billion in debt, the largest debt reduction in the history of America.

No one would have believed that we could have accomplished all this eight years ago, when Al Gore and I appeared before you at our convention in New York. Back then, America was a very different place. The unemployment rate was nearly double what it is today. Ten million of our

fellow citizens were out of work. The federal debt had quadrupled in the previous twelve years. The deficit was \$290 billion, and projected to hit \$450 billion this year. And politicians in Washington seemed only to make things worse. They treated issues like crime, welfare, and immigration as wedges to drive people apart, instead of problems to be solved together. Leaders in Europe and Japan lectured us that our economic weakness was proof that American workers couldn't cut it, and that our diversity would be our undoing. They saw us as a nation in decline.

They don't anymore.

Together we built a bridge to the 21st century, wide enough and strong enough to carry all of us across. We've crossed that bridge. We are not going back.

Two weeks ago, at a convention in Philadelphia, someone said that if Al Gore becomes President, we'll have four more years of what we have had over the last eight. Let me see...four more years of prosperity...four more years of falling crime...four more years of progress. Sounds like an endorsement to me.

Our progress was no accident. It was not some force of nature. It was a force of national will. It was a tough, uphill climb over obstacles and opposition. With hard work, a determined spirit and a commitment to innovation, the American people have built a new economy.

And in 1992, you, the American people, made a choice that made all the difference. You saw that the world was changing rapidly, but your government was standing still. You made a

choice for continuous change rooted in constant values: Opportunity for all...Responsibility from All...and a Community of all Americans.

With the support of the American people, Al Gore and I rolled up our sleeves and put those values into action. To get the economy moving again, we put forth a new economic strategy: cut the deficit, balance the budget, get interest rates down and business investment up. But also invest more in people -- in education, in health care, in the environment, in research and new technology.

The path to our prosperity began seven years ago with our economic plan. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the deciding vote. Not one Republican supported it. They said at the time that it would never work and they shouldn't be held responsible for the consequences. Fair enough.

To end welfare the right way we said those who can work, must work. But we will support your efforts with training, child care, and transportation. And when the other side tried to punish children and deny the rights of legal immigrants, we said no. Today, welfare rolls have been cut in half. Millions have moved from welfare to work. And children who once held their heads in shame when asked, "What does your mommy do," can now say with pride, "she works."

To give all of our children the 21st century education they need, we raised standards, demanded accountability, doubled investment in education and training. And when the other party tried to shut down the Department of Education, we said no. We've got 90 percent of our schools and 60 percent of our classrooms connected to the Internet with the help of Al Gore's E-Rate

program. Across the country, reading scores are up. Math scores are up. And some of the greatest gains are in some of our most disadvantaged schools. We have proven, every child can learn.

With the biggest expansion of college access since the GI bill -- larger Pell Grants, more affordable student loans, education IRA's and our Hope Scholarships -- more high school graduates than ever are going to college, up 10 percent since 1993. We can now say that the dream of a college education is within the reach of every child in America.

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providing the tools for people to solve their own problems. The Republican Congress tried to shut down the government. We reinvented the government.

We have proven that America can improve the environment and the economy at the same time. We've set aside more land in the lower 48 states than at any time since the Administrations of the two Roosevelts. And when the other side tried to weaken environmental laws, we said no.

Around the world we are a leader in the quest for peace – from Northern Ireland to the Middle East. We have embraced and aided emerging democracies, helping the world redeem its faith in freedom. Never have I felt the power of that faith more than when I visited South Africa and stood with Nelson Mandela in the prison cell that held his body, but strengthened his spirit, for 27 years.

We have proven that the American military is the best trained, best equipped and most effective fighting force in the history of the world. Our men and women in uniform have shown it every time I have sent them into battle -- in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in Haiti, in Iraq. Their courage is unmatched. Their commitment to freedom is real. Their strength is keeping the peace. Any adversaries who might take comfort in the words of those who say otherwise would be making a grave mistake.

In these, and a thousand other ways, we put into action the choice the American people made in 1992.

Now America has another choice, as momentous as the one eight years ago. Will the progress continue? Will we use this moment to meet our long-term challenges and seize our long-term opportunities? Or will we become complacent and let this moment slip through our fingers? How a nation responds to good fortune is as stern a test of its character, values and judgement as how it deals with adversity.

So as we think about this election, let's remember three things. First, the stakes for America's future are enormous. Second, the differences between the candidates and the parties are vast. Third, our party is the only party that wants you to know what those differences are. For four days in Philadelphia, the Republicans shared their feelings. They didn't share their plans. They shared platitudes, not their platform.

The two candidates from the other party are good men who love their families and love their country. So are our candidates. This should not be an election in which we question each other's integrity -- it must be an election in which we question each other's ideas. The American people need to know the important differences between us. We should give you the facts and let you make up your own minds. Let me tell you about some of those differences.

First and foremost, the surplus. We say, use the surpluses to make America debt free by 2012, for the first time since Andrew Jackson was president. Lengthen the life of Medicare and Social Security. Add voluntary prescription drug coverage to Medicare. Invest in education, health care, and the environment. And provide tax cuts we can afford for long term care, paying for college, and targeted marriage penalty relief.

Their side says we should spend every dime of the surplus and then some on tax cuts—over \$2 trillion over the next ten years. That would leave nothing for Social Security and Medicare. Nothing for prescription drugs. Nothing for education or the environment. It would make it impossible to pay down the debt. In fact, it would put America back into the deficit hole that we worked so hard to get out of. My fellow Americans, we already crossed that bridge. We are not going back. People ask me, what is the secret of your economic policy. What new idea have you introduced? Actually, it's an old idea -- arithmetic. We based our budget on real numbers that add up – not rosy projections that don't.

Remember, the projected surpluses they want to spend are just that – projected. It is money we may never have. If you got one of those sweepstakes envelopes from Ed McMahon in the mail saying you may have won \$10 million, would you go out and spend \$10 million? If you would, you should support the Republicans this year. If not, you'd better stick with us.

The other side tries to defend their tax cuts by saying the surplus belongs to the people. Let me ask: who do they think the debt belongs to? Our children? It is not compassionate to saddle the next generation with debt. It is not conservative to spend money you don't have.

Let's be clear: we support tax cuts, but tax cuts we can afford and tax cuts targeted to the middle class. In fact, our targeted tax cuts return more money to the average American family than theirs do, at less than half the cost. With our tax cuts, we can pay off the debt by 2012. That will keep interest rates one percent lower over the next decade. It will mean \$250 billion in lower

mortgage rates for the American people. That's \$850 per family in lower mortgage payments, every year, and lower car and student loan payments, too. Lower interest rates are like a tax cut for the American people.

On health care, they say they are for prescription drug coverage for seniors. But their plan applies only to some seniors – millions of others would be left out. And their plan relies on private insurance companies, which have already said they won't offer such a benefit. We have a real plan: voluntary, affordable prescription drug coverage through Medicare for all.

They believe some Americans in some health plans should have the right to go to the nearest emergency room...that some Americans, and not others, should have the right to see a specialist of their choice...that some Americans, and not others, should have the right to have their medical decisions made by doctors, not accountants. We believe that every American in every health plan should be protected by a Patient's Bill of Rights.

They don't believe in health care insurance for all Americans. We do. And we're committed to getting there, step by step.

They don't believe in closing the loophole in the Brady Law that allows criminals to buy firearms at gun shows. We do. They're against requiring handgun purchasers to get a photo ID license, just like a driver's license. We're not.

What are they for? Cop-killer bullets. Concealed weapons – even in church. Weakening the Brady law. Whatever the NRA tells them to be for.

They don't believe in a woman's right to choose. We do. They know that with one or two Supreme Court appointments, they will be able to take that right away. We won't let them. We've crossed that bridge – we're not going back.

There are other bridges we must cross. We believe in ensuring that every four-year-old has access to pre-school. They don't. We believe in raising the minimum wage. They won't. We believe that when someone is brutally beaten or murdered because of their skin color, or their religion or their sexual orientation, that's a hate crime. They don't. They say they want to be the party of Lincoln again. I hope they mean it. But, how you say you're for inclusion, and not take a stand against the most violent form of exclusion.

These are profound differences and they will have profound consequences. That's why this election is so important. In a demanding new world, we need a leader who has the right values, who can envision the future, who understands that we can only get there together and who will act to bring us together, not just talk about it. I believe Al Gore is that leader – in fact I know it.

[personal stories and observations, e.g., Al Gore's father and history of racial reconciliation]

Al Gore and Joe Lieberman come from different parts of the country, and from different religious faiths – but they share the same belief in One America. In fact, 30 years ago, I was

inspired to volunteer for Joe's first campaign for public office, when I heard he'd been a Freedom Rider, risking his life to register black voters in the segregated south.

When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman to be his running mate, people said, what a strong, bold, principled choice. I agree but I am not surprised.

I have seen Al Gore take strong, bold, principled stands for eight years.

When the tough decisions had to be made, no one was more fearless in pointing out the difficult truths. No one was more determined to make sure we got it right.

In my administration there has been no greater champion for balancing the budget the right way than Al Gore. No stronger voice for ending welfare the right way than Al Gore. No greater advocate for improving the environment and the economy at the same time than Al Gore. And no one more committed to reaching across party lines to put progress above partisanship than Al Gore.

There have been many Vice Presidents in American history who have gone on to be great Presidents -- Thomas Jefferson, Teddy Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson. But no Vice President, as Vice President, has come close to having as positive an impact on our economy and society as Al Gore. He has stretched the office of Vice President beyond what it has ever been. And he will use the office of the Presidency to take America to heights it has never seen.

In 1992, Al Gore and I had a roadmap. Today, we have results. The new Democratic Party vision of opportunity, responsibility, and community has been tested in the crucible of experience. It works. Now, we have a chance of a lifetime to build the future of our dreams for our children. That's why we must elect Al Gore the next President of The United States.

[Note – we are looking to insert an uplifting story of someone who's life has been transformed for the better over the last 8 years and what their dreams for the future are, e.g. Ron Machos, Pirogue lady in Cleveland, young woman in Wisc. with bone disease or others you might think of]

We cannot afford to be complacent about our progress or this election. When I graduated from high school in 1964, I assumed, like so many others, that the economy was on automatic pilot and you couldn't mess it up if you tried. Unemployment and inflation were low. Growth was high. We thought the civil rights problems would be solved in the courts or Congress. We never dreamed Vietnam would get out of hand. We never dreamed there would be riots in the streets or that leaders we adored – from Bobby Kennedy to Martin Luther King – would be killed. But it all happened in four short years. And then the longest economic expansion in history was history.

But history does not have to repeat itself. Today, we know what our long term challenges are...and we know how to meet them. We turned deficits into surpluses and begun to pay down the debt. Now we must finish the job and make America debt free. We know that in a global society we have to make diversity our strength. We know that if we want a safer world for our children, we must continue to lead for peace and freedom in the world. We know that we must prepare for the aging of the baby boom generation so that our retirement doesn't bankrupt our children and hurt

their ability to raise our grandchildren. And tonight, 65 years to the day after Franklin Roosevelt created Social Security, let us pledge to do so.

I have waited 35 years for my country to be once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. I am grateful for all that we have accomplished these past eight years. Now, once again, as we have for more than 200 years, our country will rise or fall on the good judgement of the American people. That is why this election is so important.

My fellow Americans, in 1992, I said I still believed in a place called Hope. Tonight, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to serve. And I am proud that, together, we have made America a place called Hope.

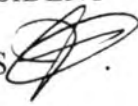
Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 8, 2000

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PAUL GLASTRIS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
STEVE RICCHETTI

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In 1992, Al Gore and I had a roadmap. Today, we have results. The new Democratic Party vision of opportunity, responsibility, and community has been tested in the crucible of experience. It works. Now, we have a chance of a lifetime to build the future of our dreams for our children. That's why we must elect Al Gore the next President of The United States.

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I have waited 35 years for my country to be once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. I am grateful for all that we have accomplished these past eight years. Now, once again, as we have for more than 200 years, our country will rise or fall on the good judgement of the American people. That is why this election is so important.

My fellow Americans, in 1992, I said I still believed in a place called Hope. Tonight, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to serve. And I am proud that, together, we have made America a place called Hope.

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION SPEECH**

LOS ANGELES, CA

August 14, 2000

It's a great night to be in California. It's a great night to be a Democrat. And it's a great time to be an American. From the Silver Screen to Silicon Valley, California has always pointed America to the future. And this week, from this place, we are going to choose a leader who will take us to the future. We are going to pick Al Gore to be the next President of the United States.

You know, California is the first state in history to have two women U.S. Senators, and both of them are Democrats. I say it's time New York had a woman Senator too. From the day I met her 30 years ago in law school, Hillary has had a passionate commitment to the issues that matter most to children and families. And for 30 years, I have been awed by the way she puts that commitment into action -- from reforming the schools to increasing adoptions to expanding health care. She's been a great inspiration to me, a great First Lady for America and she'll be a great Senator for the people of New York.

My fellow Democrats...my fellow Americans, there is no greater privilege than the opportunity to serve as President of the United States. I am grateful beyond words that you have given me that chance. I ran for President because I wanted the American Dream to be alive for every citizen willing to work for it. I wanted to build a community where we celebrate our diversity and go forward together. And I wanted to keep America the leading force for peace and freedom around the world. My fellow Americans, we have come a mighty long way.

Today, we are in the midst of the longest and strongest economic expansion in our history. Over 22 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 30 years. The lowest female unemployment rate in 40 years. The lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment rate on record. The highest rate of homeownership in our nation's history.

We are a more prosperous society, and a more just one. Our economy is growing and we are growing together as a people. For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest poverty rate in 25 years. We have cleaner air, cleaner water, safer food. And our social fabric, once so frayed, is now on the mend. Crime has dropped for eight straight years. There are 7.5 million fewer Americans on welfare. Teen pregnancy is down. Adoptions are up. Student test scores are up. And by the end of this year, we will have paid down more than \$300 billion in debt, the largest debt reduction in the history of America.

No one would have believed that we could have accomplished all this eight years ago, when Al Gore and I appeared before you at our convention in New York. Back then, America was a very different place. The unemployment rate was nearly double what it is today. Ten million of our

fellow citizens were out of work. The federal debt had quadrupled in the previous twelve years. The deficit was \$290 billion, and projected to hit \$450 billion this year. And politicians in Washington seemed only to make things worse. They treated issues like crime, welfare, and immigration as wedges to drive people apart, instead of problems to be solved together. Leaders in Europe and Japan lectured us that our economic weakness was proof that American workers couldn't cut it, and that our diversity would be our undoing. They saw us as a nation in decline.

They don't anymore.

Together we built a bridge to the 21st century, wide enough and strong enough to carry all of us across. We've crossed that bridge. We are not going back.

Two weeks ago, at a convention in Philadelphia, someone said that if Al Gore becomes President, we'll have four more years of what we have had over the last eight. Let me see...four more years of prosperity...four more years of falling crime...four more years of progress. Sounds like an endorsement to me.

Our progress was no accident. It was not some force of nature. It was a force of national will. It was a tough, uphill climb over obstacles and opposition. With hard work, a determined spirit and a commitment to innovation, the American people have built a new economy.

And in 1992, you, the American people, made a choice that made all the difference. You saw that the world was changing rapidly, but your government was standing still. You made a

choice for continuous change rooted in constant values: Opportunity for all...Responsibility from All...and a Community of all Americans.

With the support of the American people, Al Gore and I rolled up our sleeves and put those values into action. To get the economy moving again, we put forth a new economic strategy: cut the deficit, balance the budget, get interest rates down and business investment up. But also invest more in people -- in education, in health care, in the environment, in research and new technology.

The path to our prosperity began seven years ago with our economic plan. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the deciding vote. Not one Republican supported it. They said at the time that it would never work and they shouldn't be held responsible for the consequences. Fair enough.

To end welfare the right way we said those who can work, must work. But we will support your efforts with training, child care, and transportation. And when the other side tried to punish children and deny the rights of legal immigrants, we said no. Today, welfare rolls have been cut in half. Millions have moved from welfare to work. And children who once held their heads in shame when asked, "What does your mommy do," can now say with pride, "she works."

To give all of our children the 21st century education they need, we raised standards, demanded accountability, doubled investment in education and training. And when the other party tried to shut down the Department of Education, we said no. We've got 90 percent of our schools and 60 percent of our classrooms connected to the Internet with the help of Al Gore's E-Rate

program. Across the country, reading scores are up. Math scores are up. And some of the greatest gains are in some of our most disadvantaged schools. We have proven, every child can learn.

With the biggest expansion of college access since the GI bill -- larger Pell Grants, more affordable student loans, education IRA's and our Hope Scholarships -- more high school graduates than ever are going to college, up 10 percent since 1993. We can now say that the dream of a college education is within the reach of every child in America.

We've kept guns out of the hands of half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers with the Brady Law. And funded 100,000 new community police officers. The other party said it would never work. But with crime at a 25-year low, we know it has.

To help parents in this new economy succeed at work and at home, we did what previous Administrations refused to do...we made Family and Medical Leave the law of the land. And now over 20 million Americans have been able to take time off work to care for a newborn or a sick loved one. And, contrary to those who opposed it, it hasn't done a lick of harm to the economy.

To strengthen the value of service, we created AmeriCorps, engaging more than 150,000 young people in helping their communities as they earn money for college.

Thanks to Al Gore's leadership, we have the smallest government since the Kennedy Administration. But one that serves the American people better, creating the conditions and

providing the tools for people to solve their own problems. The Republican Congress tried to shut down the government. We reinvented the government.

We have proven that America can improve the environment and the economy at the same time. We've set aside more land in the lower 48 states than at any time since the Administrations of the two Roosevelts. And when the other side tried to weaken environmental laws, we said no.

Around the world we are a leader in the quest for peace – from Northern Ireland to the Middle East. We have embraced and aided emerging democracies, helping the world redeem its faith in freedom. Never have I felt the power of that faith more than when I visited South Africa and stood with Nelson Mandela in the prison cell that held his body, but strengthened his spirit, for 27 years.

We have proven that the American military is the best trained, best equipped and most effective fighting force in the history of the world. Our men and women in uniform have shown it every time I have sent them into battle -- in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in Haiti, in Iraq. Their courage is unmatched. Their commitment to freedom is real. Their strength is keeping the peace. Any adversaries who might take comfort in the words of those who say otherwise would be making a grave mistake.

In these, and a thousand other ways, we put into action the choice the American people made in 1992.

Now America has another choice, as momentous as the one eight years ago. Will the progress continue? Will we use this moment to meet our long-term challenges and seize our long-term opportunities? Or will we become complacent and let this moment slip through our fingers? How a nation responds to good fortune is as stern a test of its character, values and judgement as how it deals with adversity.

So as we think about this election, let's remember three things. First, the stakes for America's future are enormous. Second, the differences between the candidates and the parties are vast. Third, our party is the only party that wants you to know what those differences are. For four days in Philadelphia, the Republicans shared their feelings. They didn't share their plans. They shared platitudes, not their platform.

The two candidates from the other party are good men who love their families and love their country. So are our candidates. This should not be an election in which we question each other's integrity -- it must be an election in which we question each other's ideas. The American people need to know the important differences between us. We should give you the facts and let you make up your own minds. Let me tell you about some of those differences.

First and foremost, the surplus. We say, use the surpluses to make America debt free by 2012, for the first time since Andrew Jackson was president. Lengthen the life of Medicare and Social Security. Add voluntary prescription drug coverage to Medicare. Invest in education, health care, and the environment. And provide tax cuts we can afford for long term care, paying for college, and targeted marriage penalty relief.

Their side says we should spend every dime of the surplus and then some on tax cuts—over \$2 trillion over the next ten years. That would leave nothing for Social Security and Medicare. Nothing for prescription drugs. Nothing for education or the environment. It would make it impossible to pay down the debt. In fact, it would put America back into the deficit hole that we worked so hard to get out of. My fellow Americans, we already crossed that bridge. We are not going back. People ask me, what is the secret of your economic policy. What new idea have you introduced? Actually, it's an old idea -- arithmetic. We based our budget on real numbers that add up – not rosy projections that don't.

Remember, the projected surpluses they want to spend are just that – projected. It is money we may never have. If you got one of those sweepstakes envelopes from Ed McMahon in the mail saying you may have won \$10 million, would you go out and spend \$10 million? If you would, you should support the Republicans this year. If not, you'd better stick with us.

The other side tries to defend their tax cuts by saying the surplus belongs to the people. Let me ask: who do they think the debt belongs to? Our children? It is not compassionate to saddle the next generation with debt. It is not conservative to spend money you don't have.

Let's be clear: we support tax cuts, but tax cuts we can afford and tax cuts targeted to the middle class. In fact, our targeted tax cuts return more money to the average American family than theirs do, at less than half the cost. With our tax cuts, we can pay off the debt by 2012. That will keep interest rates one percent lower over the next decade. It will mean \$250 billion in lower

mortgage rates for the American people. That's \$850 per family in lower mortgage payments, every year, and lower car and student loan payments, too. Lower interest rates are like a tax cut for the American people.

On health care, they say they are for prescription drug coverage for seniors. But their plan applies only to some seniors – millions of others would be left out. And their plan relies on private insurance companies, which have already said they won't offer such a benefit. We have a real plan: voluntary, affordable prescription drug coverage through Medicare for all.

They believe some Americans in some health plans should have the right to go to the nearest emergency room...that some Americans, and not others, should have the right to see a specialist of their choice...that some Americans, and not others, should have the right to have their medical decisions made by doctors, not accountants. We believe that every American in every health plan should be protected by a Patient's Bill of Rights.

They don't believe in health care insurance for all Americans. We do. And we're committed to getting there, step by step.

They don't believe in closing the loophole in the Brady Law that allows criminals to buy firearms at gun shows. We do. They're against requiring handgun purchasers to get a photo ID license, just like a driver's license. We're not.

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Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-9-00

August 8, 2000

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8-8-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL BEGALA

RE: THE CONVENTION SPEECH

Terry Edmonds was kind enough to solicit my input on your convention speech. Needless to say, I'm thrilled to help. This memo contains strategic observations and suggested rhetoric. If you've got a minute to discuss this, I'd like to talk it through with you.

Strategic Context

Your speech comes after a remarkably effective GOP convention. Gov. Bush and the party did a good job of blurring the distinctions between us and them. Whereas Dick Armey used to say "Medicare is a program I would have nothing to do with in a free society" and Newt talked about allowing HCFA to die on the vine, W is much more savvy – and cynical. He knows folks ain't buying their anti-government b.s., so he's got a new brand of bull. He is right when he says this is something new, and the old attacks about right-wing extremism – on their own – will not work. I think your convention speech is crucial to leading the party to confront these guys. Here's what I think you need to do:

1. Engage the Battle Over Defining the Last Eight Years

For all your many accomplishments, you've done a poor job of reminding people of the basic story of the last two decades. We tried one way in the 80's; it failed. We tried a new way in the 90's; it worked. I suspect one of the reasons you don't walk folks through all this very often is that it takes time. You feel like you need to explain each success, put it in context, etc. I think in LA you should blast through as many accomplishments as possible, in as few words as possible, at a rapid, almost-comically quick pace. The accomplishments can only be riffed as three or four-word phrases, each with an action verb. The effect on the listener will be like trying to take a drink from a gushing fire hydrant. They may not take much away, but nobody's going to be able to tell them the hydrant is dry. Michael Sheehan should work with you on the delivery, but I think you should plow through this very quickly, not stopping for applause, to convey a sense of a tidal wave (to mix my aquatic metaphors!) of accomplishments and overwhelming pride. Here's the rhetoric I'd use:

I've heard some people lately say that for the last eight years the American people have lacked purpose; that our Nation and its people have been "coasting" for eight years. Well, he may have been coasting. But we've been: balancing the budget,

eliminating the deficit, creating a surplus, boosting family income, reducing poverty, creating 22 million new jobs, cutting taxes for working families, setting records for home ownership, cutting crime, hiring a hundred thousands cops, and standing up to the Washington gun lobby to pass the Brady Bill and ban assault weapons.

And that's not all. What they call "coasting", we call: reforming welfare, expanding health care, immunizing babies, mentoring children, cutting drug use, reducing teen pregnancy, creating charter schools, raising test scores, cutting dropout rates, starting the America Reads program, reducing class size, creating HOPE scholarships for college, expanding Head Start, creating AmeriCorps, providing health insurance to poor kids, increasing the minimum wage, strengthening Medicare and protecting Social Security from those who would plunder it in order to cut taxes for the top one percent.

We're not through yet. The record that has been called "coasting" includes: supporting basic research, preserving wilderness, saving affirmative action, passing Family and Medical Leave, protecting a women's right to choose, cleaning up toxic waste, improving air quality, creating empowerment zones, supporting adoption, raising military pay, stopping ethnic cleansing in Europe, supporting democracy in Africa, fighting narco-traffickers in Latin America, encouraging economic reforms in Asia, and working for peace in Northern Ireland the Middle East.

And that's just the highlight reel.

2. Paint a Picture of the Failed Past

It may well be that, because things have been so good for so long, some folks may have forgotten what it was like when we came to town. I haven't.

I remember the young father, a construction worker who'd lost his job. We were deep in a recession then; no one was building so he was out of work. What's worse, he had a young son who'd had heart surgery. The recession had robbed him of his job, and his health care coverage.

Or the senior citizen who wept as she told me how she had to choose each month between paying for her prescription drugs or heating her home; there wasn't enough money to afford both.

Or the couple who had been paying off their mortgage each month for years. That home was the American dream to them. But outdated and failed economic policies in Washington turned that dream into a nightmare. They were facing foreclosure not because of anything they'd done wrong, but because of what the policymakers and politicians in Washington had done wrong.

Oh, we remember, my fellow Americans. We remember too well. The pain and the shame and the frustration of millions of Americans who worked hard and played by

the rules and yet were falling behind, losing their jobs, abandoning their dreams, worrying about their children. We remember an economic philosophy that said "Greed is Good", "forget thy neighbor", "we're all in this alone."

We remember trickle-down economics. Tax cuts for the rich, tax increases for the middle class and spending cuts for the poor. They called special-interest loopholes a necessity, Head Start an extravagance, and ketchup a vegetable. When last the Republicans ran things, scholars were seriously writing about the end of the era of American greatness.

Tonight, at the mountaintop of this new millenium and the apex of our economic strength, our social unity and our international leadership, we proved the doomsayers wrong. And so tonight let us make this vow together: America will not turn back.

3. Tie Gore to Your Economic Success

None of the many achievements we celebrate tonight was accomplished alone. All of them required the hard work and commitment of the American people and their government, working together to do great things and create good times. This was no accident. It was not an act of Nature, but rather an act of National will. At every critical juncture, we were opposed by powerful forces who wanted America to remain stuck in the past.

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Perhaps the one battle that set the tone for the entire period was our fight to pass our new economic plan back in 1993. We had inherited a deficit in the federal budget that was crippling business' ability to innovate, and cramping government's ability to bring change. Not a single member of the opposite party supported us. Not one. It is the first major piece of legislation in American history to pass without even one vote from the party opposite.

It was not easy. We had to stand up to the selfish interests and insist that the wealthiest two percent pay their fair share of taxes. We had to take on vested interests who did not want to see outdated or outmoded government programs reduced or reinvented. And most of all we had to reverse a twelve-year government policy that said the best way to create jobs for most of us is by giving special favors to a few of us. In every aspect of that plan, from paying down the deficits created by the failed policies of the past, to investing in our children's education and our workers' skills, one man was by my side; central to everything we did to revive America's greatness.

That man is Al Gore.

With some of our Republican friends, when it's all said and done, there's a lot more said than done. But with Al it's been just the opposite. You may not know about the things he's done to create the conditions of prosperity because his leadership style is to bring people together, get things done. He is not, I'll grant you, one who relishes either the back-slapping or the back-stabbing of Washington politics. He is living proof

of the credo that there's no telling how much you can get done if you don't care who gets the credit. And at the moment of truth, when the Senate was deadlocked, and the entire American economy hung in the balance, it was Al Gore who made the difference. It was Al Gore who voted for change. It was Al Gore who brought us the economic policies that have benefited more Americans than at any other time in our history.

When Al cast that vote, one of Andrew Jackson's favorite observations became true: "One man with courage, is a majority."

4. Unmask the Bush Republicans as Phonies

The Republicans got more than they deserved from their convention because the media didn't call them on their brazen phoniness. Not only because they like the fresh meat Bush offers, but also because they feel like the Democrats can carry the argument for themselves. It is critical that we not just walk out there and say Bush is a right-winger. But we can – and you must – paint him and his gang as phonies. Then (at the suggestion of Mario Cuomo, whom I've been talking to this week) you can unmask their true agenda: taking control of all three branches of government. Here's how:

Now...**now**...their nominee speaks of strengthening Social Security, saving Medicare, expanding Head Start, including minorities and helping the poor. Sounds good – now. But we could have used such compassionate leadership when the Republicans were trying to shut-down the government, cut-down Head Start and close-down the Department of Education. We didn't hear a peep back then. I'm a Baptist, so I believe in redemption. But forgive me if I'm a little skeptical of convention-night conversions.

My stepfather ran the parts department of the Buick dealership back in Hot Springs when I was a kid. And I can remember him telling me about a certain used car dealer who had blown into town. Nobody really knew much about him, but he looked fresh and he sounded new, and could charm a hungry dog out of a pork chop. But here was his scam: he'd buy your old, worn-out, broken-down car from you; paint it, buff it, shine it, and tinker with the engine just enough so you wouldn't recognize it – then sell it back to you at twice the price. By the time you realized it was the same old jalopy, he and his buddies were laughing all the way to the bank. You were out of your money, and stuck with a car that would only go in "Reverse."

While we're having fun with this tonight, there is a serious point to be made. A lesson from antiquity that things are not always as they seem; that pretty packaging can hide dangerous contents. Think of it as sort of a "Trojan Elephant."

5. Frame the Choice: Forward or Back

The choice you make in this election will be decisive – but it is not difficult. We don't need to "read their lips." We can read their record. We have tried their theory and it failed us. Returning to it now would be like someone on a lifeboat from the *Titanic* calling for more icebergs.

As my daughter would say: "Been there. Done that. Didn't even get the T-Shirt." But we did get the recession. We did get the deficit. We did get the bill. Like that old country song, "They got the gold mine, we got the shaft."

But let me say that they make a good point when they say we ought not call their plans “risky.” Think about it. Risk means there’s some doubt, some uncertainty as to how thing will work out. But here there is no doubt; there is no risk. We know their ideas are doomed to fail because we’ve tried them before and they failed. So there is no “risk” that they will drag us all back down into another Republican recession. There is a certainty they will.

I have read their platform. I have studied their proposals. I have listened to their speeches. They are both good and original. Trouble is, what’s good isn’t original – and what’s original isn’t good.

If imitation is indeed the sincerest form of flattery, then, my fellow Democrats, we should be deeply flattered. But I have seen my share of Elvis impersonators in my life. They all sing, “Love Me Tender” at first. But once they’ve got your vote, they treat you like you ain’t nothin’ but a hound dog. And you’ve checked-in for four long years at Heartbreak Hotel.

You see, they’ve only imitated the style, not the substance. But new slogans cannot long hide old, failed ideas. In fact, I can’t think of a single policy they’re for in the 21st Century that Herbert Hoover wasn’t for in the 1930’s. Okay...that’s not fair... to President Hoover. He would never have supported guns in church, plastic handguns that can pass through metal detectors, or cop-killer bullets that can pierce

through bullet-proof vests. No, Herbert Hoover was a much more...compassionate conservative.

Their real goal, never stated publicly, is to dominate every branch of our national government with their old, failed ideas. They not only want the White House, they want the House of Representatives. They want the Senate. They want the Supreme Court and all the lower courts. And if they are allowed to take such power, virtually unchecked, what they will do with it won't be so kind. It won't be so gentle. It will not be compassionate, but it will be ultra, ultra conservative.

And so, when you strip away all the sloganeering, the choice we face is as old as America itself. Do we press forward or will we turn back? From the first Europeans who dared to seek a new world on the high seas, to the courageous men and women who dared to seek sweet freedom on the Underground Railroad; from Lewis and Clark exploring the West to Armstrong and Aldrin exploring the Moon; from the snows of Valley Forge to the sands of Iwo Jima, down through the centuries, the question has been the same: Do we press forward or will we turn back? At every crucial moment there have been timid, tinny voices calling for retreat, echoing the false promise that somehow the failed ways of the past are preferable to the daring ways of the future. But thanks to the remarkable, indomitable spirit of America, we did not heed those voices. We revere our past, but we must forge our own future.

6. Your Personal Endorsement of Gore

I do not know what that future will look like. But I do know this: the United States of America must take the lead in creating that future, and if we are to do so we must have a President who is experienced and intelligent, with solid principles and sound judgment, with the qualities of heart and mind and soul that will enable him to do what has been called the most difficult and demanding job in the world. Because of the trust you have placed in me I have a unique perspective on the American Presidency, and what it takes to succeed and lead in this new era. And because I stood side by side with him, worked side by side with him, fought side by side with him, I know this: in all of this vast Nation, there is no one more qualified or better prepared to be your President than Al Gore.

The desk in the Oval Office was the desk President Kennedy used. It was a gift from Queen Victoria in gratitude for the United States Navy rescuing the HMS Resolute as it broke apart and sank in the Atlantic. And so the desk is called "the Resolute."

It has been often noted that so many difficult and dangerous decisions have been made at that desk. And, yes, the next President will have good people around him: smart people. Capable people. Dedicated, intelligent, principled people. But if Al Gore is the next President not only will we have the best people sitting around that desk. We will have the best person sitting behind that desk. And Al Gore is that man.

7. Thank the Country; Focus on the Future

This convention must not be a celebration of the past. It must be a call to arms for the future. If you'll forgive me this personal moment, I'd like to simply thank you.

This country has been so good to me, and I am so grateful to you. My family and friends and countless, courageous supporters have given me opportunities beyond my fondest dreams, you've blessed me with your loyalty and humbled me with your forgiveness. In return I pledge to continue to keep fighting for you until the last hour of the last day. But our opponents are right when they say that hour is approaching. And when it does, the work we began together must go on, even as I head over to join the Senate Spouses Club. The causes and crusades that have shaped our time must continue. The forces of power and privilege who orchestrated that coronation in Philadelphia want to orchestrate an inauguration in Washington.

But by the grace of God and the wisdom of the American people, those interests, powerful though they are, will fail once again in their attempt to execute a hostile takeover of our government. To paraphrase Franklin Roosevelt, I hope it will be said that in my presidency the forces of narrow, selfish interests and old, failed orthodoxies met their match. And I hope it will be said that in Al Gore's presidency, they met their master.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-11-00DO NOT
SEND TO
ORNL

August 8, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL BEGALA

RE: THE CONVENTION SPEECH

Terry Edmonds was kind enough to solicit my input on your convention speech. Needless to say, I'm thrilled to help. This memo contains strategic observations and suggested rhetoric. If you've got a minute to discuss this, I'd like to talk it through with you.

Strategic Context

Your speech comes after a remarkably effective GOP convention. Gov. Bush and the party did a good job of blurring the distinctions between us and them. Whereas Dick Armey used to say "Medicare is a program I would have nothing to do with in a free society" and Newt talked about allowing HCFA to die on the vine, W is much more savvy – and cynical. He knows folks ain't buying their anti-government b.s., so he's got a new brand of bull. He is right when he says this is something new, and the old attacks about right-wing extremism – on their own – will not work. I think your convention speech is crucial to leading the party to confront these guys. Here's what I think you need to do:

1. Engage the Battle Over Defining the Last Eight Years

For all your many accomplishments, you've done a poor job of reminding people of the basic story of the last two decades. We tried one way in the 80's; it failed. We tried a new way in the 90's; it worked. I suspect one of the reasons you don't walk folks through all this very often is that it takes time. You feel like you need to explain each success, put it in context, etc. I think in LA you should blast through as many accomplishments as possible, in as few words as possible, at a rapid, almost-comically quick pace. The accomplishments can only be riffed as three or four-word phrases, each with an action verb. The effect on the listener will be like trying to take a drink from a gushing fire hydrant. They may not take much away, but nobody's going to be able to tell them the hydrant is dry. Michael Sheehan should work with you on the delivery, but I think you should plow through this very quickly, not stopping for applause, to convey a sense of a tidal wave (to mix my aquatic metaphors!) of accomplishments and overwhelming pride. Here's the rhetoric I'd use:

I've heard some people lately say that for the last eight years the American people have lacked purpose; that our Nation and its people have been "coasting" for eight years. Well, he may have been coasting. But we've been: balancing the budget,

eliminating the deficit, creating a surplus, boosting family income, reducing poverty, creating 22 million new jobs, cutting taxes for working families, setting records for home ownership, cutting crime, hiring a hundred thousands cops, and standing up to the Washington gun lobby to pass the Brady Bill and ban assault weapons.

And that's not all. What they call "coasting", we call: reforming welfare, expanding health care, immunizing babies, mentoring children, cutting drug use, reducing teen pregnancy, creating charter schools, raising test scores, cutting dropout rates, starting the America Reads program, reducing class size, creating HOPE scholarships for college, expanding Head Start, creating AmeriCorps, providing health insurance to poor kids, increasing the minimum wage, strengthening Medicare and protecting Social Security from those who would plunder it in order to cut taxes for the top one percent.

We're not through yet. The record that has been called "coasting" includes: supporting basic research, preserving wilderness, saving affirmative action, passing Family and Medical Leave, protecting a women's right to choose, cleaning up toxic waste, improving air quality, creating empowerment zones, supporting adoption, raising military pay, stopping ethnic cleansing in Europe, supporting democracy in Africa, fighting narco-traffickers in Latin America, encouraging economic reforms in Asia, and working for peace in Northern Ireland the Middle East.

And that's just the highlight reel.

2. Paint a Picture of the Failed Past

It may well be that, because things have been so good for so long, some folks may have forgotten what it was like when we came to town. I haven't.

I remember the young father, a construction worker who'd lost his job. We were deep in a recession then; no one was building so he was out of work. What's worse, he had a young son who'd had heart surgery. The recession had robbed him of his job, and his health care coverage.

Or the senior citizen who wept as she told me how she had to choose each month between paying for her prescription drugs or heating her home; there wasn't enough money to afford both.

Or the couple who had been paying off their mortgage each month for years. That home was the American dream to them. But outdated and failed economic policies in Washington turned that dream into a nightmare. They were facing foreclosure not because of anything they'd done wrong, but because of what the policymakers and politicians in Washington had done wrong.

Oh, we remember, my fellow Americans. We remember too well. The pain and the shame and the frustration of millions of Americans who worked hard and played by

the rules and yet were falling behind, losing their jobs, abandoning their dreams, worrying about their children. We remember an economic philosophy that said "Greed is Good", "forget thy neighbor", "we're all in this alone."

We remember trickle-down economics. Tax cuts for the rich, tax increases for the middle class and spending cuts for the poor. They called special-interest loopholes a necessity, Head Start an extravagance, and ketchup a vegetable. When last the Republicans ran things, scholars were seriously writing about the end of the era of American greatness.

Tonight, at the mountaintop of this new millenium and the apex of our economic strength, our social unity and our international leadership, we proved the doomsayers wrong. And so tonight let us make this vow together: America will not turn back.

3. Tie Gore to Your Economic Success

None of the many achievements we celebrate tonight was accomplished alone. All of them required the hard work and commitment of the American people and their government, working together to do great things and create good times. This was no accident. It was not an act of Nature, but rather an act of National will. At every critical juncture, we were opposed by powerful forces who wanted America to remain stuck in the past.

Perhaps the one battle that set the tone for the entire period was our fight to pass our new economic plan back in 1993. We had inherited a deficit in the federal budget that was crippling business' ability to innovate, and cramping government's ability to bring change. Not a single member of the opposite party supported us. Not one. It is the first major piece of legislation in American history to pass without even one vote from the party opposite.

It was not easy. We had to stand up to the selfish interests and insist that the wealthiest two percent pay their fair share of taxes. We had to take on vested interests who did not want to see outdated or outmoded government programs reduced or reinvented. And most of all we had to reverse a twelve-year government policy that said the best way to create jobs for most of us is by giving special favors to a few of us. In every aspect of that plan, from paying down the deficits created by the failed policies of the past, to investing in our children's education and our workers' skills, one man was by my side; central to everything we did to revive America's greatness.

That man is Al Gore.

With some of our Republican friends, when it's all said and done, there's a lot more said than done. But with Al it's been just the opposite. You may not know about the things he's done to create the conditions of prosperity because his leadership style is to bring people together, get things done. He is not, I'll grant you, one who relishes either the back-slapping or the back-stabbing of Washington politics. He is living proof

of the credo that there's no telling how much you can get done if you don't care who gets the credit. And at the moment of truth, when the Senate was deadlocked, and the entire American economy hung in the balance, it was Al Gore who made the difference. It was Al Gore who voted for change. It was Al Gore who brought us the economic policies that have benefited more Americans than at any other time in our history.

When Al cast that vote, one of Andrew Jackson's favorite observations became true: "One man with courage, is a majority."

4. Unmask the Bush Republicans as Phonies

The Republicans got more than they deserved from their convention because the media didn't call them on their brazen phoniness. Not only because they like the fresh meat Bush offers, but also because they feel like the Democrats can carry the argument for themselves. It is critical that we not just walk out there and say Bush is a right-winger. But we can – and you must – paint him and his gang as phonies. Then (at the suggestion of Mario Cuomo, whom I've been talking to this week) you can unmask their true agenda: taking control of all three branches of government. Here's how:

Now...**now**...their nominee speaks of strengthening Social Security, saving Medicare, expanding Head Start, including minorities and helping the poor. Sounds good – now. But we could have used such compassionate leadership when the Republicans were trying to shut-down the government, cut-down Head Start and close-down the Department of Education. We didn't hear a peep back then. I'm a Baptist, so I believe in redemption. But forgive me if I'm a little skeptical of convention-night conversions.

My stepfather ran the parts department of the Buick dealership back in Hot Springs when I was a kid. And I can remember him telling me about a certain used car dealer who had blown into town. Nobody really knew much about him, but he looked fresh and he sounded new, and could charm a hungry dog out of a pork chop. But here was his scam: he'd buy your old, worn-out, broken-down car from you; paint it, buff it, shine it, and tinker with the engine just enough so you wouldn't recognize it – then sell it back to you at twice the price. By the time you realized it was the same old jalopy, he and his buddies were laughing all the way to the bank. You were out of your money, and stuck with a car that would only go in "Reverse."

While we're having fun with this tonight, there is a serious point to be made. A lesson from antiquity that things are not always as they seem; that pretty packaging can hide dangerous contents. Think of it as sort of a "Trojan Elephant."

5. Frame the Choice: Forward or Back

The choice you make in this election will be decisive – but it is not difficult. We don't need to "read their lips." We can read their record. We have tried their theory and it failed us. Returning to it now would be like someone on a lifeboat from the *Titanic* calling for more icebergs.

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Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.