

Sat 2 pm

President William Jefferson Clinton

Israel Policy Forum

Sunday, January 7, 2001

Thank you for your warm and touching welcome, and the chance to be back among so many old friends.

Michael, as you end your term as Israel Policy Forum chair, you leave with our gratitude for your endless efforts for peace. On behalf of all who will benefit from the peace you seek, I thank you, sir. Jack, my close personal friend who has never asked me for anything in eight years except to work harder for peace, thank you for your inspiration.

I was moved by the words of Prime Minister Barak. I have so valued my opportunity to work with him.

He is a man of immense courage and conviction, whose intimate knowledge of war feeds his passionate quest for peace. I want to join him and the Israel Policy Forum in acknowledging the extraordinary contributions of Lou Perlmutter, Susan Stern, Alan Solomont, and Dwayne Andreas. These honorees are highly successful, accomplished people who make a pragmatic and persuasive case for peace. We are in their debt.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to everyone who plays a role in the work of this organization which has done so much to inspire and assist the work for peace in the Middle East. Your efforts have never been more in need than now.

For I am speaking at a time that is difficult for the Middle East and for all who believe in peace. For over three months, a tragic cycle of violence has cost hundreds of lives, shattered confidence in the peace process, and raised basic questions about the prospect of Israelis and Palestinians ever coexisting side-by-side.

During this painful period, the United States has been seeking to help the parties restore calm, end the bloodshed and move toward an agreement that will address the underlying causes of their conflict. But whether it is given to this Administration or to the next to carry these goals through, I believe this is the appropriate time for me to reflect on some enduring lessons we have learned and how I believe we can move forward toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

But before looking forward, we need to take a step back.

From the first day I assumed office in January 1993, we have worked to promote interests in the Middle East that have been defined and pursued by the United States for generations, under Republican and Democratic leaderships alike. The path to a comprehensive peace has had its ups, and it certainly has had its downs, but none should underestimate the remarkable progress that has been made. Since 1993, we have seen agreements between Israelis and Palestinians in which both sides took historic steps toward mutual recognition and acceptance. We have seen a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan that has changed the landscape of the region.

And, last summer, Israel withdrew from Lebanon, fulfilling its part in implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 425.

Along the way, we also have learned important lessons about what works and what does not. Several of these lessons stand out, accumulated and tested over eight years. These are, I believe, enduring truths that will have to guide any effort, whether now or in the future, to reach a comprehensive peace in the region:

First, that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not simply a morality play, a conflict between good and evil.

It is a historical conflict whose resolution requires fairness and balance, an understanding of both sides' needs, and genuine respect for their national identity and religious beliefs.

Second, that there is no place for violence and no military solution to this conflict. Negotiations offer the only path to a just and durable resolution of their differences.

Third, that there can be no peace or regional stability without a strong, secure Israel. Keeping Israel unmistakably strong demonstrates to its adversaries the futility of war.

And keeping the Israeli people secure gives them the self-confidence to make peace. That is why the United States' commitment to preserving Israel's qualitative edge must remain iron-clad.

Fourth, that discussions between the parties must be accompanied by signs of trust and partnership, for goodwill at the negotiating table cannot long survive ill intent on the ground. The promotion of intolerance and incitement of hatred in the classrooms or the media; humiliating treatment on the streets or at checkpoints -- these are far more than mere day-to-day irritants; they are real obstacles to building a genuine peace.

And fifth, that whenever Arabs and Israelis seek to resolve their remaining differences -- today or several years hence; before or after more heartbreak and bloodshed -- the fundamental issues will be the same.

The parties will face the same history, the same geography, the same demography, the same passions and hatreds and, I am convinced, the same painful but necessary compromises that are required for a comprehensive peace. Whoever believes that the other side's resolve or courage or strength will diminish is mistaken, and tragically so.

The cycle of violence that has broken out between Israelis and Palestinians has led many to question these core principles and indeed to doubt not only the value of the peace process but the possibility of peace itself. What Palestinians see as a struggle for their land, Israelis experience as gun-fire and terror. What Israelis see as a firm response to violent provocations, Palestinians view as disproportionate force. And so, many ask whether negotiations can in fact achieve peace . . . whether unilateral steps are not a more realistic route than mutually agreed ones . . . whether Israelis and Palestinians can ever again be partners.

To people on both sides, let me say this: What we have seen over the past three months is not the future for which Yitzakh Rabin gave his life. And it is not the future I had in mind when I spoke to the Palestinian people in Gaza two years ago. But do not draw the wrong lessons from this tragic chapter. The violence does not demonstrate that the quest for peace has gone too far or too fast -- but that it has not gone far or fast enough. It points not to the failure of negotiations -- but to the futility of violence and force. It shows that unilateral steps do not abate mutual hostility -- but exacerbate it.

And, finally, it confirms the need to prepare the public for the requirements of peace -- not to condition them for the so-called glory of war.

For both Israelis and Palestinians, the first priority must be to end the dangerous cycle of violence, for in its wake lies only more destruction and anguish. But they need to go further if they are to resolve their underlying problems. On the Palestinian side, what is required is an end to the culture of violence and incitement that, since Oslo, has continued unchecked. Young children are educated to believe in confrontation with Israel; and multiple militia-like groups carry and use weapons with impunity.

Voices of reason and courageous leadership are being drowned out by voices of revenge and desperation that produce only bloodshed and death. Let me be clear: this is inconsistent with the notion that the Palestinian people want to achieve peace and have made it their strategic choice. In what they do and say, day in and day out, they are sending a message to the Israeli people. The question is: will it be a message of hatred or of hope?

For their part, the Israeli people must understand that expanding the settlement enterprise, building bypass roads, or demolishing homes is inconsistent with the notion that both sides must negotiate their differences, not resolve them by creating facts on the ground. And they also must understand that restoring confidence requires the Palestinians being able to lead a normal existence, rather than being subjected to daily reminders that they lack control over their lives.

At the end of the day, the fundamental question remains this: can two people who have gone through this kind of violence still conclude a genuine and lasting peace?

My answer – and I believe this with all my heart – not only is that they can, but that they must. The alternative to a peaceful settlement never has been clearer; it is being played out before our very eyes. The only difference is that, the longer Israelis and Palestinians wait, the greater the cost in blood and tears.

But we have learned something else over the past several months. What happened at Camp David was a transformative event in which the two sides faced the core issues of their dispute and the key tradeoffs required to end it.

So far, they have not been able to reach a final settlement, and that of course is regrettable. But I am convinced that just as Oslo forced Israelis and Palestinians to come to terms with each other's existence, the discussions of the past six months will force them to come to terms with each other's needs and with the contours of the peace that, ultimately, they will have to reach. It may take some time, and it will require genuine leadership. In his bold strides for peace, Prime Minister Barak has led the way, with vision, courage and true statesmanship.

Which brings me to where we stand today, and to where we go from here.

Given the exhaustion of the interim phase that began with Oslo, the impasse reached by Israelis and Palestinians, and the tragic deterioration on the ground, both sides asked me to present my ideas. Two weeks ago, I took that step, putting forward parameters that, in my view, should guide further work toward a comprehensive agreement. I did this not out of a belief that we possess a magical solution to this conflict, but with the benefit of eight years of listening carefully to both sides and hearing them describe, with increasing clarity, their respective grievances and needs.

Both Prime Minister Barak and Chairman Arafat have now accepted these parameters as a basis for further efforts, though both have expressed some reservations. At their request, I will use my remaining time in office to narrow the differences between the parties to the greatest degree possible.

I believe that what I put forward constitutes the basis for a just and lasting settlement — a settlement that responds to each side's essential needs, if not to their utmost desires. I am convinced that both Israelis and Palestinians deserve sovereign homelands and that both deserve to live in peace and with dignity and security.

The parameters I suggested follow logically from that conviction. Let me describe them to you in general terms now that they have been widely described – and sometimes misdescribed – by others. They do not seek to answer every question; rather, they seek to narrow the questions that must be answered.

First, I believe there can be no genuine resolution to this conflict without a sovereign and viable Palestinian state. At the same time, any solution will have to accommodate demographic realities and Israel's security requirements.

And so, my parameters suggest Palestinian sovereignty over all of Gaza and the vast majority of the West Bank with the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocs. The goal should be to maximize the number of settlers in Israel while minimizing the land annexed, for Palestine should be a viable, geographically contiguous state. This annexed land should include as few Palestinians as possible, for how can Israel explain the incorporation of large numbers of Palestinians when the very logic of peace is two separate homelands? And there should be territorial swaps and other arrangements for Palestine, for that is the only way to make an agreement durable.

Second, a solution will have to be found for the Palestinian refugees, who have suffered a great deal and feel victims of a grave injustice. A genuine solution must allow them to return to their homeland and give them the tools to lead normal, productive and healthy lives. At the same time, it makes no sense to create a State of Palestine only to have the Palestinian refugees go to Israel and become Israeli citizens, thereby threatening the foundations of that state and undermining the very logic of the peace. And so, my parameters focus on the establishment of a Palestinian state that will provide all Palestinians with a place they can safely and proudly call home.

This has been the core of the Palestinian struggle since its beginning, and it would be a signal achievement.

All those Palestinian refugees who wish to live in this homeland should have that right. All others deserve help in finding new homes -- whether in their current locations or in third countries, including Israel, and consistent with those countries' sovereign decisions.

And all refugees deserve compensation from the international community for their losses and assistance in building their new lives.

Third, there will be no peace so long as the Israeli people do not enjoy lasting security and any agreement will have to include arrangements that address these legitimate concerns. At the same time, these need not and should not come at the expense of Palestinian sovereignty or interfere with Palestine's territorial integrity. And so, my parameters rely on an international presence in Palestine to provide border security along the Jordan Valley as well as to monitor implementation of the final agreement by both sides. They rely, too, on a non-militarized Palestine, a phased Israeli withdrawal, and other essential security arrangements that will ensure Israel's ability to defend itself.

Fourth, I come to the issue of Jerusalem, perhaps the most emotional and sensitive of all. It is a historic, cultural and political center for both Israelis and Palestinians, a unique city sacred to all three monotheistic religions. And so, my parameters flow from four fair and logical propositions. First, Jerusalem must be an open and undivided city, with assured freedom of access and worship for all. It would encompass the internationally recognized capitals of two states – Israel and Palestine. Second, what is Arab should be Palestinian, for why should Israel want to govern in perpetuity the lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians?

Third, what is Jewish should be Israeli, giving rise to a Jewish Jerusalem that is larger and more vibrant than any seen in history. And fourth, that what is holy to both requires special care to meet the needs of all, for no peace agreement will last if not premised on mutual respect for the religious beliefs and holy shrines of Jews, Moslems and Christians. I have offered formulations on the Haram el-Sharif and this holy area – for two thousand years the focus of Jewish yearning -- that, in my view, address the concerns of both sides.

Fifth and finally, any agreement will have to mark the decision to end the conflict for neither side can afford to make painful compromises only to be subjected to further demands. This really will have to be the end of the struggle that has pitted Palestinians and Israelis against each other for far too long. And this end of conflict must manifest itself with concrete acts that demonstrate a new attitude, a new approach.

At the same time, the parties' experience with the interim accords has not always been a happy one. Too many deadlines have been missed, too many commitments unfulfilled — on both sides.

So for this to signify a real end of the conflict, there will need to be effective mechanisms that provide guarantees on implementation.

This, I believe, is the outline of a fair agreement. It will entail real pain and sacrifices for the two sides; but it will bring to both so much more: For the people of Israel, an end to the conflict, secure and defensible borders, the incorporation of most of the settlers into Israel, and the Jewish capital of Yerushalayim [yeh-ROO-sha-LIE-yam], recognized by all as its capital.

For the Palestinian people, the ability to determine their future on their own land, a sovereign state recognized by the international community, with al-Quds as its capital, recognized by all, and new lives for the refugees.

Of course, each side will try to do better; but a peace that will be viewed as imposed by one party upon the other, a peace that puts one side up and the other one down rather than both ahead, contains the seeds of its own destruction. And let me say this: those who believe that my ideas can be altered to one party's exclusive benefit are mistaken.

To press for more surely would produce less. To seek a peace without compromise is not to seek peace at all. Sooner or later, I am sure, this fundamental truth will be recognized.

Israelis and Palestinians are unlikely to agree with everything I have said. But I say it out of a profound attachment to Israel, to the Palestinian people, and to the peace process in which they have been engaged. My ties to Israel, like America's, run deep. They are rooted in history, founded on common interests, sustained by shared values.

During my tenure, I sought to expand our already unique military relationship with Israel and my determination to protect and strengthen Israel's safety is unyielding. As for the Palestinian people, I am proud to have been the first President to visit Gaza and I will never forget what it taught me about their suffering, but also their resilience and courage. I said at the time that the Palestinian people should be able to determine their own future on their own land and I believe that as strongly now as I did then.

Before closing, I would like to address one more thought to the Palestinian people. Courage is not only, or even mainly, measured in struggle.

It is measured in the ability to recognize and to seize historic opportunities. Today, it is that other form of courage that is being tested. Never have you been as close to achieving your goals -- regaining your land, establishing a state, building a prosperous future for your children. There will always be those sitting comfortably on the outside urging you to hold out for the impossible more. But they are not the ones whose refugees will continue to languish in crowded camps. You are. They are not the ones whose children will grow up in poverty. You are. They are not the ones who will pay the price of missing a historic opportunity. You are.

Now is the time to seize this opportunity. At Oslo, your leaders -- and principally Chairman Arafat -- demonstrated the courage needed to take the first historic step. They need to summon that same courage to take the final one. For you. For your children. For the wellbeing and pride of Palestine.

What I presented is not an expression of a new U.S. policy, nor will it oblige the next Administration.

These parameters originated with me, and will go with me when I leave office. But, urged by the parties, I have done and will continue to do my best to offer a way toward a brighter future. I do not know whether an agreement is possible within the next two weeks.

But I do know that we have the responsibility to move the parties away from violence and closer to peace. I believe that the parameters I outlined will serve as the basis for the solution that will come, whenever it comes. And that Israelis and Palestinians finally will achieve the peace they so richly deserve.

74

① Keep PMS Going: hgt: 30; continue: to
 the cur; I; pay off best
 only AG, JC, H

② Prison program in prison
 Cr 26, and 32, Cur 29, Pro 29
 1000 24 y MC, 12 y, EA - but, good,
 1000 - 1500 - 1000
 only AG, JC, H

③ Tam on future
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④ On the way
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- 1000 - 1000, 1000, 1000
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Tax cut - 5000
 & 5000

PHOTOCOPY
 WJC HANDWRITING

10/23 HRC - Westchester

Ack. Sec. Cuomo; Reps. Engel, Lowey;
 Atty Gen. Eliot Spitzer; Comptroller Carl
McCall; Westchester Cty Dem Chr David
Alpert; Co-chairs: Dennis Mehiel, John
Catsimatidis, Anthony Pagano; Award
 Winners: State Assemb. Audrey Hochberg,
Denis Hughes (Pres, NY AFL-CIO),
 County Exec. Andrew Spano.

See
 truck
 two
 notes

I'm glad to support my wife, Hillary for
 Senate. For 30 years she has fought for
 children, education, working families and
 healthcare. She has done things for the past
 eight years that have helped all Americans
 and New Yorkers.

Economy - Crime - Welfare - Families

1) Budget

- \$290B deficit in '93
- \$230B surplus / predicted \$455B
 deficit - On track pay down debt 2012
 \$360B over 3 years

10/23/00
 10/23/00

2) Poverty - 20 year low

- New Markets
- Typical household income broke
 \$40,000.
- Purchasing power up \$6,300.

10/23/00

Ohio Rally 10/07

Ack. Sen. Glenn. Reps. Kucinich, Sawyer,
Tubbs-Jones. OH Dem Chair David Leland.
Joe Andrew.

Build Future of Dreams

a) *Keep Prosperity Going -- Xtend*

- Fisc. Responsibility – Debt
- New Markets
- Min Wage – EITC
- Tax Cuts – college, child care, LTC

b) *Extend to all Families*

1) Econ

- New Mkts
- Min Wage
- **Welfare Reform** – since '93,
welfare rolls have been cut by more
than half
- **Tax Relief** – EITC, College, LTC,
Child Care. My tax plan gives
\$371 to middle class family – 70%
more than Repub bill at less than ½
the cost.
- Repub bills gives the wealthiest one
percent more than \$16,000 – and
middle class families only \$220.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 11/21/00 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: ASAP
 Subject: Remarks at Capital Area Food Bank

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	SIEWERT	☐	☒
PODESTA	☒	☐	MARSHALL	☒	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
LEW	☐	☐	NOLAN	☐	☐
BAILY	☐	☐	REED	☒	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☒	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
EDMONDS	☒	☐		☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐		☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☐	☐		☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐		☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Comments to H. Hurlburt

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT CAPITAL AREA FOOD BANK
WASHINGTON, DC
November 22, 2000

Acknowledgements: Secretary Dan Glickman. [Real senior TBD] Lynn Brantley, the Executive Director of the Capital Area Food Bank. I want to thank our D.C. Delegate, Eleanor Holmes Norton, for being here today. [TBD -- DC City Council Members, Harris Wofford.] And I want to recognize all the members of Dan Glickman's team, but especially Joel Berg, who worked with me at the DLC before even my mama thought I could be elected President. He's been working on food issues at the Department of Agriculture since January 21, 1993. That must be some kind of record.

I also want to thank all the volunteers and Americorps members who are working here today, and who kindly let me help them sort food. As we all prepare to celebrate with our loved ones tomorrow, let's remember to give thanks for the volunteers across America who keep the spirit of Thanksgiving alive every day of the year. And let's ask Congress to move quickly to reauthorize Americorps and keep it strong and growing for another year.

As our nation counts its blessings in this time of remarkable economic growth, we must not forget that a very significant number of Americans -- as many as 31 million -- still have trouble getting enough to eat every day. They are the people we see on the street; but they are also senior citizens with tiny fixed incomes like [Real Person TBD]; they are working families getting by on the minimum wage. And a shockingly high number of them are children -- one in four children in this city lives every single day at risk of going to bed hungry.

The Capital Area Food Bank helps meet those needs by distributing 20 million pounds of food a year to community kitchens, children's programs, and other emergency feeding centers. Around the country, a network of private organizations, religious groups, and civic-minded individuals is doing the same. Their commitment to fighting hunger is a precious national resource.

The challenge for us in government is finding ways to work with community groups, businesses and farmers to end hunger in America not just on holidays, but every day.

Secretary Glickman talked about our community food security initiative, and the great progress we've made. I want to take a moment to thank him for his personal leadership and commitment to this issue. Soon after I named him Secretary of Agriculture, Dan told me about a program he had started in his home state of Kansas, to collect food that would otherwise be wasted and pass it on to those who need it. He told me that our country loses about 96 billion pounds of food a year that could be consumed, but instead is thrown out or allowed to spoil. But Dan didn't just talk about the problem, he did something about it -- establishing a program that

allows Federal agencies to send excess food to places like this. Ten agencies, the U.S. House of Representatives, and several local military bases are now taking part.

But Dan didn't stop there. We are also building public-private partnerships to make it easier and more affordable for seniors and low-income Americans to get fresh, healthy food in their neighborhoods. This is a real problem for people who live in inner cities and rural areas where there simply are no stores – or where produce prices are 15-18 percent higher, on average, and quality and selection are much worse. Today I'm announcing three new initiatives to help meet that challenge – and help America's small farmers build markets for their produce.

First, the Department of Agriculture will make available ten million dollars in grants to help seniors take advantage of farmers' markets. We've asked states and tribal reservations to apply by December 1, and use the funding to create coupon programs, like WIC or food stamps, that will allow seniors on limited incomes to shop at farmers' markets or buy directly from local farms. When seniors and low-income families are able to purchase fresh local produce, their health improves – and so does the health of the local farm economy. Capital City Food Bank has demonstrated that here in Washington, by starting the Anacostia farmers' market and bringing local growers to Southeast DC – as well as accepting WIC coupons and food stamps from customers.

Second, I'm pleased to announce that the Department of Agriculture has awarded \$2.4 million in Community Food Project grants to 16 nonprofit groups in 13 states. These grants will help build community gardens at public schools and in vacant lots. They will fund training in gardening, nutrition and food preparation for young people. And they will help create farmers' markets in underserved areas.

Third, the Department of Agriculture is going to increase by \$200 million the amount of fresh foods it buys and donates to food banks, community kitchens, and other emergency feeding centers. That represents millions more healthy snacks in senior centers, fresh vegetables in school lunches, and generous helpings at food pantries across our nation.

These are win-win initiatives for America's farmers, seniors and working families. They help build a direct connection between the people who grow our food, and the people who need it. And they take another step toward ensuring that, in this land of plenty, no American goes to bed hungry.

Thank you very much, and have a happy Thanksgiving.

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BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
BRAIN	☒	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
BURSON	☐	☐	UCELLI	☒	☐
CAHILL	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
EDMONDS	☒	☐		☐	☐
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JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐		☐	☐
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REMARKS:

Comments to H. Hurlburt

RESPONSE:

Office of the Staff Secretary

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT CAPITAL AREA FOOD BANK
WASHINGTON, DC
November 22, 2000

Acknowledgements: Secretary Dan Glickman. [Real senior TBD] Lynn Brantley, the Executive Director of the Capital Area Food Bank. I want to thank our D.C. Delegate, Eleanor Holmes Norton, for being here today. [TBD -- DC City Council Members, Harris Wofford.] And I want to recognize all the members of Dan Glickman's team, but especially Joel Berg, who worked with me at the DLC before even my mama thought I could be elected President. He's been working on food issues at the Department of Agriculture since January 21, 1993. That must be some kind of record.

I also want to thank all the volunteers and Americorps members who are working here today, and who kindly let me help them sort food. As we all prepare to celebrate with our loved ones tomorrow, let's remember to give thanks for the volunteers across America who keep the spirit of Thanksgiving alive every day of the year. And let's ask Congress to move quickly to reauthorize Americorps and keep it strong and growing for another year.

As our nation counts its blessings in this time of remarkable economic growth, we must not forget that a very significant number of Americans -- as many as 31 million -- still have trouble getting enough to eat every day. They are the people we see on the street; but they are also senior citizens with tiny fixed incomes like [Real Person TBD]; they are working families getting by on the minimum wage. And a shockingly high number of them are children -- one in four children in this city lives every single day at risk of going to bed hungry.

The Capital Area Food Bank helps meet those needs by distributing 20 million pounds of food a year to community kitchens, children's programs, and other emergency feeding centers. Around the country, a network of private organizations, religious groups, and civic-minded individuals is doing the same. Their commitment to fighting hunger is a precious national resource.

The challenge for us in government is finding ways to work with community groups, businesses and farmers to end hunger in America not just on holidays, but every day.

Secretary Glickman talked about our community food security initiative, and the great progress we've made. I want to take a moment to thank him for his personal leadership and commitment to this issue. Soon after I named him Secretary of Agriculture, Dan told me about a program he had started in his home state of Kansas, to collect food that would otherwise be wasted and pass it on to those who need it. He told me that our country loses about 96 billion pounds of food a year that could be consumed, but instead is thrown out or allowed to spoil. But Dan didn't just talk about the problem, he did something about it -- establishing a program that

allows Federal agencies to send excess food to places like this. Ten agencies, the U.S. House of Representatives, and several local military bases are now taking part.

But Dan didn't stop there. We are also building public-private partnerships to make it easier and more affordable for seniors and low-income Americans to get fresh, healthy food in their neighborhoods. This is a real problem for people who live in inner cities and rural areas where there simply are no stores – or where produce prices are 15-18 percent higher, on average, and quality and selection are much worse. Today I'm announcing three new initiatives to help meet that challenge – and help America's small farmers build markets for their produce.

First, the Department of Agriculture will make available ten million dollars in grants to help seniors take advantage of farmers' markets. We've asked states and tribal reservations to apply by December 1, and use the funding to create coupon programs, like WIC or food stamps, that will allow seniors on limited incomes to shop at farmers' markets or buy directly from local farms. When seniors and low-income families are able to purchase fresh local produce, their health improves – and so does the health of the local farm economy. Capital City Food Bank has demonstrated that here in Washington, by starting the Anacostia farmers' market and bringing local growers to Southeast DC – as well as accepting WIC coupons and food stamps from customers.

Second, I'm pleased to announce that the Department of Agriculture has awarded \$2.4 million in Community Food Project grants to 16 nonprofit groups in 13 states. These grants will help build community gardens at public schools and in vacant lots. They will fund training in gardening, nutrition and food preparation for young people. And they will help create farmers' markets in underserved areas.

Third, the Department of Agriculture is going to increase by \$200 million the amount of fresh foods it buys and donates to food banks, community kitchens, and other emergency feeding centers. That represents millions more healthy snacks in senior centers, fresh vegetables in school lunches, and generous helpings at food pantries across our nation.

These are win-win initiatives for America's farmers, seniors and working families. They help build a direct connection between the people who grow our food, and the people who need it. And they take another step toward ensuring that, in this land of plenty, no American goes to bed hungry.

Thank you very much, and have a happy Thanksgiving.

Final 11/08/00 1:00pm

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Edmonds/ Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON THE ELECTION

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 8, 2000

Good afternoon. Yesterday, the American people exercised their most fundamental right – the right to vote. That is the foundation of our democracy and a government “of, for and by the people.” This presidential campaign went down to the wire, and then some. The remarkable thing about this moment is that the American people have spoken, but it is going to take a little longer to determine exactly what they said. What’s important for us all to remember is that a final outcome will soon be determined and the process for reaching it is now in motion.

I want to commend both Vice President Gore and Governor Bush on a vigorous and hard fought campaign. Thank you.

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Final 11/08/00 1:00pm
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DATE/TIME: **NOVEMBER 8, 2000**

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SUBJECT: **REMARKS ON THE ELECTION**

PAGES: **4**

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Edmonds/Glastris

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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.

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.

We are here at this moment of unprecedented prosperity and progress for our country to elect the first President of the new century. Don't let anyone tell you this is not an important election. Just remember how things were when Al Gore and I appeared before you eight years ago at our convention in New York. I ran for President because I was very worried about America and its future. Our economy was dragging, our society was divided and our politics were paralyzed. Ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work. Crime, welfare, teen pregnancy...all were skyrocketing. The federal debt was exploding – it had quadrupled in the previous twelve years. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising.

I saw the damage in the lives of people I met as I traveled the country in 1992. I remember a child telling me about his father breaking down over dinner because he'd lost his job. I remember a husband and wife who had been paying off their mortgage each month for years, but were suddenly in danger of losing their home because they lost their jobs. I remember an older couple who wept as they told me how they had to choose between putting food in their refrigerator and paying for their prescription drugs – there wasn't enough money for both. Everywhere I went, there was this sense that something was going wrong and no one was doing anything to make it right.

But Al Gore and I believed that there was nothing wrong with America that couldn't be fixed by what was right with America. We knew the world was changing, but that our government was not. We saw a new global economy emerging, enriching our competitors, but leaving America behind. We believed that the American people had the creativity, innovation and competitive spirit to make our country first in the new economy. All they needed was a government that Put People First.

And so we went across this country with a detailed set of new ideas, rooted in our oldest values: Opportunity for all...Responsibility from all...in a community of all Americans.

With the support of the American people, Al Gore and I rolled up our sleeves and went to work. To get the economy moving again, we put forth a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to get interest rates down, invest more in the American people, and sell more products abroad.

We sent our plan to Congress and in a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the deciding vote. Not a single Republican supported it. Newt Gingrich said it would “increase the deficit.” Dick Arme y said it would be “devastating” to American jobs. Phil Gramm called it “A one-way ticket to a recession.” Time has not been kind to their predictions.

By a single vote, our party set America on a new course. Today, we are in the midst of the longest economic expansion in our history. More than 22 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 30 years. The lowest female unemployment 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 also a more just society. 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 20 years. The lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever. Adjusted for inflation, the income of the average American family has gone up by over \$5000, and for African American families by even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent, while the Dow Jones Industrial

Average has tripled. The old adage has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you ought to vote like a Democrat.

In 1992, we promised to end welfare as we knew it – but do it the right way. Those who can work must go to work – on that we agreed with the Republicans. But, we insisted that poor children not lose their nutrition or medical care and that we support those who wanted to work with training, child care, and transportation. When the other side tried to punish children and deny the rights of legal immigrants, we said no. Today, there are 7.5 million fewer Americans on welfare and the welfare rolls have been cut in half. Millions have moved from dependency to the dignity of work. And children who once held their heads in shame when asked, “What does your mommy do,” can now say with pride, “she works.”

In 1992, we said we needed to give every child in America a 21st century education, by investing more in our public schools and demanding more in return. So we doubled investment in education and training, we raised standards and demanded accountability. And when the other party tried to shut down the Department of Education, we said no. America’s teachers, students, parents, and local school officials did the rest, and the results have been astonishing. 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. For the first time, the percentage of African-Americans graduating high school is the same as the percentage for whites. Scores on the SAT are going up even as more students from more diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And we’ve made it possible for each and every one of them to go to college with the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI bill --

larger Pell Grants, more affordable student loans, education IRA's and our Hope Scholarships. American education is coming back.

In 1992, crime was spiraling out of control. Neighborhoods across America were under siege, but Washington was squabbling about whether to prosecute crime or prevent it. We said, do more of both. So we banned assault weapons, funded 100,000 new community police officers, and passed the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers. The other party said our efforts would never work. But, as Ronald Reagan liked to say, facts are stubborn things. Today, crime is at a 25 year low. Violent crime is down tk percent since 199tk. Handgun crimes are down 50 percent. Our streets are safer. Our parks are safer. Our cities are coming back.

In 1992, Republicans said stronger environmental laws would weaken the economy. We said with new technologies and smarter enforcement we could improve the environment and the economy at the same time. And we have. Today, our air is cleaner. Our water is cleaner. Our food is safer. 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.

In 1992, working parents were struggling to succeed on the job and at home. To help them, I signed a bill the previous Republican President had vetoed: the Family and Medical Leave Act. Today, more than 20 million Americans have been able to take time off work to care for a newborn or a sick loved one.

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.

Under Al Gore's leadership, we've eliminated 16,000 pages of government regulations, and cut government to its smallest size since John F. Kennedy took the oath of office. It is a government 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 it.

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. And in a thousand other ways, America has moved forward, not just economically, but as a society. Jobs are up, but so are adoptions. The deficit is down and so is teen pregnancy and drug abuse. We are growing more diverse and more tolerant. We have growing surpluses and growing self confidence.

My fellow Americans, let's remember the standard that Republicans used to have for whether a party should continue in office. Are you better off that you were four years ago or eight years ago? You bet we are. But we're not just better off, we're a better country -- more decent, more humane, more united. We're going forward together. Now, that's the purpose of prosperity.

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.

The progress we have made was no accident. It was not some force of nature. It was a force of national will. It was not a matter of chance. It was a matter of choice.

Now America has another choice, as momentous as the one eight years ago. Will the progress continue? Will we make the most of this moment of prosperity? 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.

That's why this election is so important. The American people must pick a leader with the vision and the values to meet the big challenges and seize the big opportunities of this new century. To keep the prosperity going, and extend its benefits to those left behind. To pay off our national debt for the first time since 1835. To provide a first-class education to the largest, most diverse group of students in history. To make America the safest big country on earth. To meet the challenge of the aging of America. To lengthen the life of Social Security and Medicare and providing a prescription drug benefit. To reverse the course of climate change, and leave a safer, cleaner planet. To keep America leading the world towards peace and prosperity and the far frontiers of science and technology. To fulfill the full potential of the Internet and the human genome project while protecting our fundamental rights to privacy. To make the most of our diversity and build the One America of our dreams.

Meeting these enormous challenges is what this election is all about. The candidates have vastly different ideas about how to meet them or whether to even try. That's why it is important for the American people to understand the differences. But, our party is the only party that wants you to know what those differences are. For four days in Philadelphia, the Republicans shared their platitudes, not their plans.

If we do it right, this can be a great election – the kind we used to read about in our civics books. We have four candidates in both parties who are good men. They love their families and love their country. This does not have to be an election in which we question each other's integrity -- it must be an election in which we question each other's ideas. Robert Kennedy said it best:

“Wisdom can only emerge from the clash of contending views.” The American people need to know what those different views are so they can make up their own minds.

Without a doubt, the most important difference is what to do with our hard-earned surplus. We say, use the surplus 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—more than \$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 scenarios 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.

There are many other differences – on who is committed to providing health coverage for all Americans? Who will provide a Patients Bill of Rights for every American in every health plan? Who will provide a prescription drug benefit in Medicare for all seniors? Who is going to stand up to the NRA and take commonsense steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands? Who will protect a woman's right to choose, and who do we want to pick the next two Supreme Court Justices? Who's really committed to building One America – to standing against hate crimes, for employment non-discrimination, and for equal pay for women? Who's going to fight for working families and raise the minimum wage?

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 agreed but I wasn't 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.

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...

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. 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.

We can't ask people like Rhonda Costa to go back. Six years ago, Rhonda was ashamed to look her two young daughters in the eye. She was on welfare, struggling to raise her kids in one of the meanest neighborhoods in the country. When gun shots ripped through the night, she'd run to their beds, and cover them with her own body until the morning came. Christmas was the hardest because she could never get her kids what they wanted—and what she wanted to give them most was a better life.

Four years ago, Rhonda set out to make a change—and signed up for a training program that gave her a chance to make the most of her God-given potential. Rhonda learned computers. Through the Welfare-to-Work partnership, she got a job at Solomon Smith Barney. Three weeks after she started, she was promoted. Soon after, she was promoted again. Now Rhonda's managing an office. She moved into a better neighborhood. She's going to school at night. Just last week, her daughter looked her in the eye and said: "I talk to everyone about you, Mom. You're my role model."

Rhonda has big plans for her daughter and for herself. She wants to open her own business. For the first time in her life, Rhonda Costa can see the future.

I have waited 35 years for my country once again to be in the position to build the future of our dreams for people like Rhonda Costa and all 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.

My fellow Americans, there is no person living in this country today who has been given more gifts, who feels more humble on this night than I do. Fifty-four years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a little town in Arkansas, it was unthinkable that I might have ever become President. I did not get here on my own. Every step of the way, there was somebody – a school teacher, a doctor, a minister who gave me the encouragement to keep striving. I have always believed that our country ought to run the same way.

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.

Draft 8/10/00 10:45pm

Edmonds/Glastris

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION SPEECH
LOS ANGELES, CA
August 14, 2000**

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Average has tripled. The old adage has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you ought to vote like a Democrat.

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In these, and a thousand other ways, we put into action the choice the American people made in 1992. And in a thousand other ways, America has moved forward, not just economically, but as a society. Jobs are up, but so are adoptions. The deficit is down and so is teen pregnancy and drug abuse. We are growing more diverse and more tolerant. We have growing surpluses and growing self confidence.

My fellow Americans, let's remember the standard that Republicans used to have for whether a party should continue in office. Are you better off that you were four years ago or eight years ago? You bet we are. But we're not just better off, we're a better country -- more decent, more humane, more united. We're going forward together. Now, that's the purpose of prosperity.

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.

The progress we have made was no accident. It was not some force of nature. It was a force of national will. It was not a matter of chance. It was a matter of choice.

Now America has another choice, as momentous as the one eight years ago. Will the progress continue? Will we make the most of this moment of prosperity? 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.

That's why this election is so important. The American people must pick a leader with the vision and the values to meet the big challenges and seize the big opportunities of this new century. To keep the prosperity going, and extend its benefits to those left behind. To pay off our national debt for the first time since 1835. To provide a first-class education to the largest, most diverse group of students in history. To make America the safest big country on earth. To meet the challenge of the aging of America. To lengthen the life of Social Security and Medicare and providing a prescription drug benefit. To reverse the course of climate change, and leave a safer, cleaner planet. To keep America leading the world towards peace and prosperity and the far frontiers of science and technology. To fulfill the full potential of the Internet and the human genome project while protecting our fundamental rights to privacy. To make the most of our diversity and build the One America of our dreams.

Meeting these enormous challenges is what this election is all about. The candidates have vastly different ideas about how to meet them or whether to even try. That's why it is important for the American people to understand the differences. But, our party is the only party that wants you to know what those differences are. For four days in Philadelphia, the Republicans shared their platitudes, not their plans.

If we do it right, this can be a great election – the kind we used to read about in our civics books. We have four candidates in both parties who are good men. They love their families and love their country. This does not have to be an election in which we question each other's integrity -- it must be an election in which we question each other's ideas. Robert Kennedy said it best:

“Wisdom can only emerge from the clash of contending views.” The American people need to know what those different views are so they can make up their own minds.

Without a doubt, the most important difference is what to do with our hard-earned surplus. We say, use the surplus 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.

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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.

There are many other differences – on who is committed to providing health coverage for all Americans? Who will provide a Patients Bill of Rights for every American in every health plan? Who will provide a prescription drug benefit in Medicare for all seniors? Who is going to stand up to the NRA and take commonsense steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands? Who will protect a woman's right to choose, and who do we want to pick the next two Supreme Court Justices? Who's really committed to building One America – to standing against hate crimes, for employment non-discrimination, and for equal pay for women? Who's going to fight for working families and raise the minimum wage?

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]

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But history does not have to repeat itself...

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. 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.

We can't ask people like Rhonda Costa to go back. Six years ago, Rhonda was ashamed to look her two young daughters in the eye. She was on welfare, struggling to raise her kids in one of the meanest neighborhoods in the country. When gun shots ripped through the night, she'd run to their beds, and cover them with her own body until the morning came. Christmas was the hardest because she could never get her kids what they wanted—and what she wanted to give them most was a better life.

Four years ago, Rhonda set out to make a change—and signed up for a training program that gave her a chance to make the most of her God-given potential. Rhonda learned computers. Through the Welfare-to-Work partnership, she got a job at Solomon Smith Barney. Three weeks after she started, she was promoted. Soon after, she was promoted again. Now Rhonda's managing an office. She moved into a better neighborhood. She's going to school at night. Just last week, her daughter looked her in the eye and said: "I talk to everyone about you, Mom. You're my role model."

Rhonda has big plans for her daughter and for herself. She wants to open her own business. For the first time in her life, Rhonda Costa can see the future.

I have waited 35 years for my country once again to be in the position to build the future of our dreams for people like Rhonda Costa and all 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.

My fellow Americans, there is no person living in this country today who has been given more gifts, who feels more humble on this night than I do. Fifty-four years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a little town in Arkansas, it was unthinkable that I might have ever become President. I did not get here on my own. Every step of the way, there was somebody – a school teacher, a doctor, a minister who gave me the encouragement to keep striving. I have always believed that our country ought to run the same way.

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.

Draft 8/10/00 10:45pm

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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.

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.

We are here at this moment of unprecedented prosperity and progress for our country to elect the first President of the new century. Don't let anyone tell you this is not an important election. Just remember how things were when Al Gore and I appeared before you eight years ago at our convention in New York. I ran for President because I was very worried about America and its future. Our economy was dragging, our society was divided and our politics were paralyzed. Ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work. Crime, welfare, teen pregnancy...all were skyrocketing. The federal debt was exploding – it had quadrupled in the previous twelve years. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising.

I saw the damage in the lives of people I met as I traveled the country in 1992. I remember a child telling me about his father breaking down over dinner because he'd lost his job. I remember a husband and wife who had been paying off their mortgage each month for years, but were suddenly in danger of losing their home because they lost their jobs. I remember an older couple who wept as they told me how they had to choose between putting food in their refrigerator and paying for their prescription drugs – there wasn't enough money for both. Everywhere I went, there was this sense that something was going wrong and no one was doing anything to make it right.

But Al Gore and I believed that there was nothing wrong with America that couldn't be fixed by what was right with America. We knew the world was changing, but that our government was not. We saw a new global economy emerging, enriching our competitors, but leaving America behind. We believed that the American people had the creativity, innovation and competitive spirit to make our country first in the new economy. All they needed was a government that Put People First.

And so we went across this country with a detailed set of new ideas, rooted in our oldest values: Opportunity for all...Responsibility from all...in a community of all Americans.

With the support of the American people, Al Gore and I rolled up our sleeves and went to work. To get the economy moving again, we put forth a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to get interest rates down, invest more in the American people, and sell more products abroad.

We sent our plan to Congress and in a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the deciding vote. Not a single Republican supported it. Newt Gingrich said it would “increase the deficit.” Dick Arme y said it would be “devastating” to American jobs. Phil Gramm called it “A one-way ticket to a recession.” Time has not been kind to their predictions.

By a single vote, our party set America on a new course. Today, we are in the midst of the longest economic expansion in our history. More than 22 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment in 30 years. The lowest female unemployment 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 also a more just society. 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 20 years. The lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever. Adjusted for inflation, the income of the average American family has gone up by over \$5000, and for African American families by even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent, while the Dow Jones Industrial

Average has tripled. The old adage has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you ought to vote like a Democrat.

In 1992, we promised to end welfare as we knew it – but do it the right way. Those who can work must go to work – on that we agreed with the Republicans. But, we insisted that poor children not lose their nutrition or medical care and that we support those who wanted to work with training, child care, and transportation. When the other side tried to punish children and deny the rights of legal immigrants, we said no. Today, there are 7.5 million fewer Americans on welfare and the welfare rolls have been cut in half. Millions have moved from dependency to the dignity of work. And children who once held their heads in shame when asked, “What does your mommy do,” can now say with pride, “she works.”

In 1992, we said we needed to give every child in America a 21st century education, by investing more in our public schools and demanding more in return. So we doubled investment in education and training, we raised standards and demanded accountability. And when the other party tried to shut down the Department of Education, we said no. America’s teachers, students, parents, and local school officials did the rest, and the results have been astonishing. 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. For the first time, the percentage of African-Americans graduating high school is the same as the percentage for whites. Scores on the SAT are going up even as more students from more diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And we’ve made it possible for each and every one of them to go to college with the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI bill --

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

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Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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FROM: LISEL LOY PH: 62702 ROOM: WW
SUBJECT: DRAFT CONVENTION SPEECH PAGES: 15

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
	DOUG BAND (FOR THE PRESIDENT)		(INFORMATION)
	cc: MARIA ECHAVESTE		

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
FOUNDATION DINNER
WASHINGTON, DC
September 16, 2000

Acknowledge: Chair of CBC James Clyburn; Chair of the Dinner Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson; Chair of CBC Foundation Eva Clayton; all of the members and former members of the CBC; Rev. Jesse Jackson, Marion Wright Edelman—proud to award them the Medal of Freedom, nation's highest civilian honor; Emcees Louis Stokes and Phylicia Rashad; award winners Arthur Eve, Kenneth Hill, Rodney Carroll, Tom Joyner (congratulations on wedding to Donna and 8-page spread in Ebony), Tavis Smiley, the late LeBaron Taylor, Bill Kennard, Ambassador Sisulu representing Nelson Mandela. All of the members of my Cabinet, my White House team, and my entire Administration—the most diverse in our history.

I thank the Vice President for his remarks. There was nothing ‘subliminal’ about them. I thank Joe Lieberman who I have known for more than 30 years. I also want to share warm wishes from Hillary who wanted so much to be here.

This is my last CBC Dinner as President. I’ve been to every one in my years at the White House. More than anything else, I’m here to say thank you. Thank you for your leadership and friendship. I want to thank many of you for joining me in Selma this year as we marked the 35th anniversary of Bloody Sunday—and for being a part of my visit to Nigeria and Tanzania last month.

Now I can say something no American President has ever been able to say—it was good to go to Africa for the second time.

Thank you, most of all, for taking our nation to higher ground. In his final sermon, Dr. King reminded us the work of justice and freedom is as old as America itself. He said it's about going “back to those great wells of democracy dug deep by our Founding Fathers and the Constitution.” To draw from that well, the Congressional Black Caucus has always challenged us to dig deep within our own hearts—to face our flaws, renew our bonds, and live up to our nation's creed.

After all, most of what you've worked for has not benefited African-Americans exclusively—or even primarily. Your mission is rooted in our most enduring values. Everyone counts. Everyone deserves a chance. Everyone has a role to play. We all do better when we help each other.

Eight years ago this month, I spoke here as a candidate for President. Things were different then. We had a bad economy, worsening social problems, and an increasingly divisive political climate. I came to the CBC Dinner and said that my campaign was “dedicated to two simple ideas.” First, if we wanted to make progress on our challenges, I said, “we must change course”.

And second, “we must do it together with a sense of community.”

Thanks to your support through these last eight years, we have changed course—we changed economic policy, education policy, health care policy, environment policy, foreign policy. The results are in. 22 million new jobs. The lowest unemployment and welfare rates in 30 years. Lowest crime rate in 25 years. Lowest poverty rate in 20 years. Lowest African-American unemployment rate on record. Lowest female unemployment in 40 years. Highest homeownership in history. Longest economic expansion in history.

Our social fabric is on the mend. The teen birth rate has dropped to the lowest level ever recorded. Childhood poverty continues its decline. Last year, for the first time, the African American high school graduation rate was the same as the rate for whites. This week, I released a new study showing that the number of African American students taking advanced placement courses has nearly tripled since 1988. Just yesterday, the Church Arson Task Force that I created reported that church arsons have been cut in half in four years.

Scripture says: “Let us not love in word and speech but in deed and in truth.” [1 John 3:18]

In deed and in truth, we have turned our country around and we're bringing our nation together. But there's still a lot of work to do. The question is: What are we going to do with this moment? It's often easier to make a mistake when times are good than when times are bad. I believe we should make the most of it by taking on our big challenges.

We can get the country out of debt for the first time since 1835. We can extend the life of Social Security and Medicare beyond the Baby Boom generation so we won't bankrupt our children and their ability to raise our grandchildren. We can end child poverty. We can open the doors of a college education to all.

We can give everyone a chance to be a part of this strong economy. And we must start right now.

That's why we're fighting for all the things we heard about this evening--strong schools and modern classrooms for our children—raising the minimum wage—tax incentives to invest in new markets and bring new jobs and businesses to places that have been left behind--a real Medicare prescription drug benefit--a strong Patients Bill of Rights—and more to fight deadly diseases including AIDS.

We also need to enforce our civil rights laws and my budget includes the largest investment in enforcement ever. This week, with your help, we made progress on a strong hate crimes bill. We ought to pass legislation that restores more fairness to our immigration system and provides much needed help to long-term migrants and their families from places like Liberia and Haiti. And we must end the morally indefensible, deeply corrosive practice of racial profiling.

And there's one more issue I want to touch on. I'm proud to have appointed more women and minorities to the federal bench than any President in history.

So far, I have appointed 62 African American judges – more than three times the number of African American judges appointed by Presidents Bush and Reagan *combined*. My appointees have garnered the highest percentages of top ABA ratings of any President in nearly 40 years – proving once again that diversity and quality go hand in hand.

But the quality of justice suffers when, for partisan political reasons, highly qualified women and minority candidates are denied an opportunity to serve. I'll never forget the disgraceful party line defeat of Judge Ronnie White, the first African American to serve on the Missouri Supreme Court.

We're seeing another travesty of justice in the Fourth Circuit, which has the largest African-American population of any in the nation but has never had an African-American judge. Last year at this dinner, I told you about my nomination of an outstanding judge from North Carolina, James Wynn, to serve on the Fourth Circuit. More 400 days have passed, but with Jesse Helms standing in the courthouse door, the Senate has not found one day to give James Wynn a hearing.

This year, I nominated Roger Gregory, of Virginia. He was the first in his family to finish high school.

He went on to excel in college and law school, returning to teach at Virginia State University, where his mother once worked as a maid. Today, he is a highly-respected Richmond litigator who has tried hundreds of cases in the Virginia courts. Roger Gregory has the support of both his home state Senators. Senator Robb recommended him to me and is fighting hard for him. Senator Warner has urged a hearing. But so far, no action. Justice delayed is justice denied. **Tonight, once again, I urge the Senate to do America justice and give Roger Gregory, James Wynn and my other nominees the hearing they deserve.**

There are clear choices this fall. Those decisions belong to the American people. But I want you to know that Al Gore is good man who believes deeply in civil rights and equal opportunity. From his leadership for empowerment zones to his commitment to bridging the digital divide – he understands the future and will bring everyone along.

We have built a new economy and these are good times for America. But there's an African proverb: "Smooth seas do not make skillful sailors." We cannot let these smooth seas lull us into making bad choices. America needs a leader at the helm who understands how we got here—and knows what it takes to keep our prosperity going and lift all boats.

I just received an economic analysis that said that if the Vice President's economic program passes and we keep on track to get this country out of debt in 12 years, it will keep interest rates at least one percent lower a year over the next decade. That's worth \$390 billion to American families in lower home mortgages; \$30 billion in lower car payments; \$15 billion in lower college loan payments. In other words, a \$425 billion tax cut to ordinary working families.

My friends, we have achieved so much together, but the best is still out there if we make the right choices. Galatians summons us: "While we have time, let us do good." [Galatians 6:10]

I thank you for the privilege of working with you to do good for America, to affirm our common humanity and move us closer to the one America of our dreams. Nothing is more important to me because I believe the American people will figure out how to solve everything else if we can have the right kind of relations toward one another.

I know you believe that, too. It's a long road and we're not there yet. But we've come a mighty long way. We're going to get to there and I pledge to keep walking with you until we do.

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ROAD RUNNER	Carolyn Wu (for the President)		

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FINAL EDITS

(W) 8-17-00

President William Jefferson Clinton

~~REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT~~

Remarks TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

~~STAPLES CENTER~~

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 14, 2000

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Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Isn't it great to be here in California together? Forty years ago, the great city of Los Angeles launched John Kennedy and the New Frontier. Now, Los Angeles is launching the first President of the new century, Al Gore.

I come here tonight, above all, to say a heartfelt thank you. Thank you. Thank you for giving me the chance to serve. Thank you for being so good to Hillary and Chelsea. I am so proud of them. And didn't she give a good talk? I thought it was great. Thank you for supporting the New Democratic agenda that has taken our country to new heights of prosperity, peace and progress.

As always, of course, the lion's share of credit goes to the American people—who do the work, raise the kids and dream the dreams.

Now, at this moment of unprecedented good fortune, our people face a fundamental choice—are we going to keep this progress and prosperity going? Yes, we are.

But, my friends, we can't take our future for granted. We cannot take it for granted. So let's just remember how we got here.

Eight years ago, when our party met in New York, it was a far different time for America. Our economy was in trouble, our society was divided, our political system was paralyzed. Ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work. Interest rates were high. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising. After 12 years of Republican rule, the federal debt had quadrupled, imposing a crushing burden on our economy and on our children.

Welfare rolls, crime, teen pregnancy, income inequality—all had been skyrocketing. And our government was part of the problem, not part of the solution.

I saw all this in a very personal way in 1992, out there in the real America with many of you. I remember a child telling me her father broke down at the dinner table because he lost his job. I remember an older couple crying in front of me because they had to choose between filling their shopping carts and filling their prescriptions. I remember a hard-working immigrant in a hotel kitchen who said his son was not really free, because it wasn't safe for him to play in the neighborhood park.

I ran for President to change the future for those people. And I asked you to embrace new ideas rooted in enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

You gave me the chance to turn those ideas and values into action, after I made one of the very best decisions of my entire life: asking Al Gore to be my partner.

First, we proposed a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to reduce interest rates; invest more in our people; sell more American products abroad. We sent our plan to Congress. It passed by a single vote in both Houses. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the tie-breaking vote. Not a single Republican supported it.

Here's what their leaders said. Their leaders said our plan would increase the deficit, kill jobs, and give us a one-way ticket to recession. Time has not been kind to their predictions.

Remember, our Republican friends said then they would absolutely not be held responsible for our economic policies. I hope the American people take them at their word.

Today, after seven and a half years of hard effort, we're in the midst of the longest economic expansion in history. More than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the lowest female unemployment in 40 years, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment ever recorded and the highest home ownership in history.

Along the way, in 1995, we turned back the largest cuts in history in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. And just two years later we proved that we could find a way to balance the budget and protect our values. Today, we have gone from the largest deficits in history to the largest surpluses in history. And if—but only if—we stay

on course, we can make America debt-free for the first time since Andy Jackson was President in 1835.

For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest child poverty in 20 years, the lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever recorded. The average family's income has gone up more than \$5,000 and, for African American families, even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent.

You know, Harry Truman's old saying has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you better vote for the Democrats.

But our progress is about far more than economics. America is also more hopeful, more secure and more free. We're more hopeful because we're turning our schools around, with higher standards, more accountability, more investment. We have doubled funding for Head Start and provided after-school and mentoring programs to more than a million more young people. We're putting 100,000 well-trained teachers in the early grades to lower class size. Ninety-five percent of our schools are connected to the Internet. Reading, math and SAT scores are up. And more students than ever are going on to college, thanks to the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI Bill 50 years ago.

Now, don't let anybody tell you that all children can't learn or that our public schools can't make the grade. Yes, they can.

We're also more hopeful because we ended welfare as we knew it. Now, those who can work, must work. On that, we and the Republicans agreed. But we Democrats also insisted on support for good parenting—so that poor children don't go hungry or lose their health care, unmarried teens stay in school, and people get the job training, child care and transportation they need. It has worked. Today, there are 7.5 million people who have moved from welfare to work, and the welfare rolls in our administration have been cut in half.

We're more hopeful because of the way we cut taxes—to help Americans meet the challenges of work and child rearing. This year alone, our HOPE Scholarship and Lifelong Learning tax credits will help 10 million families pay for college. Our earned-income tax credit will help 15 million families work their way into the middle class. Twenty-five million families will get a \$500 child tax credit.

Our empowerment zone tax credits are bringing new business and new jobs to our hardest pressed communities—from the inner cities to Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to our Native American reservations. And the typical American family today is paying a lower share of its income in federal income taxes than at any time during the past 35 years.

We are more hopeful because of the Family and Medical Leave Act, a bill that the previous administration vetoed. They said it would cost jobs. It's the first bill I signed. And we now have a test. Twenty-two million new jobs later, over 20 million

Americans have been able to take a little time off to care for a newborn child or sick relative. That's what it means—that's what it really means to be pro-family.

We are a more secure country because we cut crime—with tougher enforcement, more than 100,000 new community police officers, a ban on assault weapons, and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers. Today, crime is at a 25-year low.

And we're more secure because of advances in health care. We've extended the life of the Medicare trust fund by 26 years, adding coverage for cancer screening and cutting-edge clinical trials. We're coming closer to cures for dreaded diseases. We made sure that people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health care—and that people who switch jobs can do so without losing their coverage. We dramatically improved diabetes care. We provided health coverage under the Children's Health Insurance Program to 2 million previously uninsured children. And for the first time in our history, more than 90 percent of our kids have been immunized against serious childhood diseases. You can be proud of that Democratic record.

We are more secure because our environment is cleaner. We've set aside more land in the lower 48 states than any administration since Teddy Roosevelt—saving national treasures like Yellowstone, the great California Redwoods, the Florida Everglades. Moreover, our air is cleaner; our water is cleaner; our food is safer; and our economy is stronger. You can grow the economy and protect the environment at the same time.

We're more free today because we are closer to the One America of our dreams—celebrating our diversity, affirming our common humanity, opposing all forms of bigotry, from church burnings to racial profiling to murderous hate crimes. We're fighting for employment nondiscrimination legislation and for equal pay for women.

We found ways to mend, not end, affirmative action. We have given America the most diverse administration in history—it really looks like America. You know, if I could just get my administration up here, it would be just as good a picture as anything you saw a couple of weeks ago in Philadelphia. And we created AmeriCorps, which already has given more than 150,000 of our young people a chance to earn some money for college by serving our communities.

We are more secure and we're more free because of our leadership in the world for peace, freedom and prosperity: helping to end a generation of conflict in Northern Ireland; stopping the brutal ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace.

We built stronger ties to Africa, Asia, and our Latin American and Caribbean neighbors. We brought Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO. We are working with Russia to destroy nuclear weapons and materials. We are fighting head-on the new threats and injustices of the global age: terrorism, narco-trafficking, biological and chemical warfare, trafficking in women and young girls, and the deadly spread of AIDS. And in the great tradition of Jimmy Carter, who is here tonight, we are still the world's leading force for human rights around the world. Thank you, President Carter.

The American military is the best trained, best equipped, most effective fighting force in the world. Our men and women have shown that time and again in Bosnia, Kosovo, Haiti and Iraq. I can tell you that their strength, their spirit, their courage and their commitment to freedom have never been greater. Any adversary who believes those who say otherwise is making a grave mistake.

Now, my fellow Americans, that's the record. Or, as that very famous Los Angeles detective, Sergeant Joe Friday, used to say, "just the facts, ma'am." I ask you, let's remember the standard our Republican friends used to have for whether a party should continue in office: my fellow Americans, are we better off today than we were eight years ago?

You bet we are. Yes, we are.

But we're not just better off, we're also a better country. We are today more tolerant, more decent, more humane and more united. Now, that's the purpose of prosperity.

Since 1992, America has grown not just economically, but as a community. Yes, jobs are up, but so are adoptions. Yes, the debt is down, but so is teen pregnancy. We are becoming both more diverse and more united.

My fellow Americans, tonight we can say with gratitude and humility: we built our bridge to the 21st century. We crossed that bridge together. And we're not going back.

To those who say—and I'm sure you heard this somewhere in the last few days—to those who say the progress of these last eight years was just some sort of accident, that we just kind of coasted along, let me be clear—America's success was not a matter of chance; it was a matter of choice.

Today, America faces another choice. It's every bit as momentous as the one we faced eight years ago. For what a nation does with its good fortune is just as stern a test of its character, values and judgment as how it deals with adversity.

My fellow Americans, this is a big election, with great consequences for every American, because the differences—the honest differences—between our candidates and their visions are so profound. We can have a good, old-fashioned election here. We should posit that our opponents are good, honorable, patriotic people, and that we have honest differences. But the differences are there.

Consider this, just this: we in America would already have, this year, a real patients' bill of rights, a minimum wage increase, stronger equal pay laws for women, and middle class tax cuts for college tuition and long-term care if the Democratic Party were in the majority in Congress with Dick Gephardt as Speaker and Tom Daschle as Majority Leader. And come November, they will be.

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That has to be clear to people. And that's why every House and every Senate seat is important.

But if you'll give me one moment of personal privilege, I'd like to say a word about Hillary. When I first met her 30 years ago, she already had an abiding passion to help children. And she's pursued it ever since. Her very first job out of law school was with the Children's Defense Fund.

Every year I was governor she took lots of time away from her law practice to work for better schools, or better children's health or jobs for parents who lived in poor areas. Then when I became President, she became a full-time advocate for her lifetime cause. And what a job she has done. She championed the Family Leave law, children's health insurance, increased support for foster children and adoptions. She wrote a best-selling book about caring for our children. And then she took care of them by giving all the profits to children's charities. For thirty years—30 years, from the first day I met her—she has always been there for all our kids.

She's been a great First Lady. She's always been there for our family. And she'll always be there for the families of New York and America.

Of course, we all know that the biggest choice the American people have to make this year is in the presidential race. Now, you all know how I feel. But it's not my decision to make. That belongs to the American people. I just want to tell all of you here in this great arena, and all of the folks watching and listening at home, a few things that I know about Al Gore.

We've worked closely together for eight years now, in the most challenging moments, when we faced the most difficult issues—of war and peace, of whether to take on some powerful interests—he was always there. And he always told me exactly what he thought was right.

Everybody knows he is thoughtful and hard-working. But I can tell you personally he is one strong leader. In 1993, there was nobody around the table more willing to make the tough choices to balance the budget the right way, or more willing to take a tough stance against balancing the budget on the backs of the poor and working people of America. I have seen this kind of strength time and again—whether it was in how we reform welfare or in protecting the environment or in closing the digital divide or bringing jobs to rural and urban America through the empowerment zone program, the greatest champion of ordinary Americans has always been Al Gore.

I'll tell you something else about him. More than anybody else I've known in public life, Al Gore understands the future and how sweeping changes and scientific breakthroughs will affect ordinary Americans' lives. And I think we need somebody in the White House at the dawn of the 21st century who really understands the future.

Finally, I want to say something more personal. Virtually every week for the last seven and a half years, until he became occupied with more important matters, Al Gore and I had lunch. And we talked about the business between us, the business of America. But we'd also often talk about our families, what our kids were doing, how school was going, what was going on in their lives. I know him. He is a profoundly good man. He loves his children more than life. And he has a perfectly wonderful wife—who has fought against homelessness and who has done something for me and all Americans in bringing the cause of mental health into the broad sunlight of our national public life. We owe Tipper Gore our thanks.

Al has picked a great partner in Joe Lieberman. Hillary and I have known Joe for 30 years, since we were in Connecticut in law school. I supported him in his first race for public office in 1970, when I learned he had been a Freedom Rider, going into danger to register black voters in the then-segregated South. It should not be a surprise to anyone that Al Gore picked the leader of the New Democrats to be his Vice President. Because Joe Lieberman has supported all our efforts to reform welfare, reduce crime, protect the environment, protect civil rights and a woman's right to choose, and keep this economy going. All of them. And he has shown time and time again that he will work with President Gore to keep putting people and progress over partisanship.

Now, it's up to the Presidential nominees and the Vice Presidential nominees to engage in this debate and to point out the differences. But there are two issues I care a lot about, and I want to make brief comments on them—I hope I've earned the right to do so.

One is the economy—I know a little something about that—and the other is our efforts to build One America.

First, on the economy, Al Gore and Joe Lieberman will keep our prosperity going by paying down the debt, investing in education and health care, moving more people from welfare to work, and providing family tax cuts we can afford. That stands in stark contrast to the position of our Republican friends.

Here is their position: they say we have a big projected 10-year surplus and they want to spend every dime of it, and then some, on tax cuts, right now. That would leave nothing for education or prescription drugs; nothing to extend the life of Medicare and Social Security for the baby boomers; nothing in case the projected surpluses don't come in.

Now, think about your own family's budget for a minute. Or your own business budget. Would you sign a binding contract today to spend all your projected income for a decade, leaving nothing for your family's basic needs, nothing for emergencies, nothing for a cushion in case you didn't get the raise you thought you were going to get? Of course you wouldn't do that, and America shouldn't do it either. We should stick with what works.

Let me say something to you that's even more important than the economy to me. When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman, the first Jewish American to join a national ticket, to be his partner, Joe joined with our presidential nominee, who has, along with his great mother and late father, a lifetime commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity for all, even when it was not popular down home in the south. When they did that, we had a ticket that embodies the Democratic commitment to One America. They believe in civil rights and equal opportunity for everybody. They believe in a woman's right to choose. And, this may be the most important of all—they believe the folks that you're buying your soft drinks and popcorn from here at the Staples Center should have the exact same chance they do to send their kids to college and give them a good life and a good future. My fellow Americans, I am very proud of our leaders.

I want you to know that the opportunity I have had to serve as President at the dawn of a new era in human history has been an honor, a privilege and a joy. I have done everything I knew how to do to empower the American people, to unleash their amazing optimism and imagination and hard work—to turn our country around from where it was in 1992 and to get us moving forward together.

Now, what I want you to understand tonight is that the best is still out there, the best is yet to come, if we make the right choices in this election year.

But the choices will make all the difference. In February, the American people achieved the longest economic expansion in our history. When that happened, I asked our folks at the White House when the previous longest economic expansion was. It was from 1961 through 1969. Now, I want the young people especially to listen to this. I remember this well.

I graduated from high school in 1964. Our country was still very sad because of President Kennedy's death, but full of hope under the leadership of President Johnson. And I assumed then, like most Americans, that our economy was absolutely on automatic, that nothing could derail it. I also believed then that our civil rights problems would all be solved in Congress and the courts. And in 1964, when we were enjoying the longest economic expansion in history, we never dreamed that Vietnam would so divide and wound our America.

So we took it for granted. And then, before we knew it, there were riots in the streets, even here. The leaders that I adored as a young man—Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy—were killed. Lyndon Johnson, a President from my part of the country I admired so much for all he did for civil rights, for the elderly and the poor, said he would not run again because our nation was so divided. And then we had an election in 1968 that took America on a far different and more divisive course. And, you know, within months after that election, the last longest economic expansion in history was, itself, history.

Why am I telling you this tonight? Not to take you down, but to keep you looking up. I have waited, not as President but as your fellow citizen, for over 30 years to see my country once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. We are a great and good people. And we have an even better chance this time than we did then, with no

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great internal crisis and no great external threat. Still, I have lived long enough to know that opportunities must be seized or they will be lost.

My friends, fifty-four years ago this week, I was born in a summer storm to a young widow in a small southern town. America gave me the chance to live my dreams. And I have tried as hard as I knew how to give you a better chance to live yours. Now, my hair is a little grayer, my wrinkles are a little deeper; but with the same optimism and hope I brought to the work I love so eight years ago, I want you to know my heart is filled with gratitude.

My fellow Americans, the future of our country is now in your hands. You must think hard, feel deeply, and choose wisely. And, remember, whenever you think about me, keep putting people first. Keep building those bridges. And don't stop thinking about tomorrow.

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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Staples Center
Los Angeles, California
August 14, 2000

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Isn't it great to be here in California together? Forty years ago, the great city of Los Angeles launched John Kennedy and the New Frontier. Now, Los Angeles is launching the first President of the new century: Al Gore.

I come here tonight, above all, to say a heartfelt thank you. Thank you. Thank you for giving me the chance to serve. Thank you for being so good to Hillary and Chelsea. I am so proud of them. And didn't she give a good talk? I thought it was great. Thank you for supporting the New Democratic agenda that has taken our country to new heights of prosperity, peace and progress.

As always, of course, the lion's share of credit goes to the American people -- who do the work, raise the kids and dream the dreams.

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But, my friends, we can't take our future for granted. We cannot take it for granted. So let's just remember how we got here.

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First, we proposed a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to reduce interest rates; invest more in our people; sell more American products abroad. We sent our plan to Congress. It passed by a single vote in both Houses. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the tie-breaking vote. Not a single Republican supported it.

Here's what their leaders said. Their leaders said our plan would increase the deficit, kill jobs, and give us a one-way ticket to recession. Time has not been kind to their predictions.

Remember, our Republican friends said then they would absolutely not be held responsible for our economic policies. I hope the American people take them at their word.

Today, after seven and a half years of hard effort, we're in the midst of the longest economic expansion in history. More than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the lowest female unemployment in 40 years, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment ever recorded and the highest home ownership in history.

Along the way, in 1995, we turned back the largest cuts in history in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. And just two years later we proved that we could find a way to balance the budget and protect our values. Today, we have gone from the largest deficits in history to the largest surpluses in history. And if -- but only if -- we stay on course, we can make America debt-free for the first time since Andy Jackson was President in 1835.

For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest child poverty in 20 years, the lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever recorded. The average family's income has gone up more than \$5,000 and, for African American families, even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent.

You know, Harry Truman's old saying has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you better vote for the Democrats.

But our progress is about far more than economics. America is also more hopeful, more secure and more free. We're more hopeful because we're turning our schools around, with higher standards, more accountability, more investment. We have doubled funding for Head Start and provided after-school and mentoring programs to more than a million more young people. We're putting 100,000 well-trained teachers in the early grades to lower class size. Ninety-five percent of our schools are connected to the Internet. Reading, math and SAT scores are up. And more students than ever are going on to college, thanks to the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI Bill 50 years ago.

Now, don't let anybody tell you that all children can't learn or that our public schools can't make the grade. Yes, they can.

We're also more hopeful because we ended welfare as we knew it. Now, those who can work, must work. On that, we and the Republicans agreed. But we Democrats also insisted on support for good parenting -- so that poor children don't go hungry or lose their health care, unmarried teens stay in school, and people get the job training, child care and transportation they need. It has worked. Today, there are 7.5 million people who have moved from welfare to work, and the welfare rolls in our administration have been cut in half.

We're more hopeful because of the way we cut taxes -- to help Americans meet the challenges of work and child rearing. This year alone, our HOPE Scholarship and Lifelong Learning tax credits will help 10 million families pay for college. Our earned-income tax credit will help 15 million families work their way into the middle class. Twenty-five million families will get a \$500 child tax credit.

Our empowerment zone tax credits are bringing new business and new jobs to our hardest pressed communities -- from the inner cities to Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to our Native American reservations. And the typical American family today is paying a lower share of its income in federal income taxes than at any time during the past 35 years.

We are more hopeful because of the Family and Medical Leave Act, a bill that the previous administration vetoed. They said it would cost jobs. It's the first bill I signed. And we now have a test. Twenty-two million new jobs later, over 20 million

Americans have been able to take a little time off to care for a newborn child or sick relative. That's what it means -- that's what it really means to be pro-family.

We are a more secure country because we cut crime -- with tougher enforcement, more than 100,000 new community police officers, a ban on assault weapons, and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers. Today, crime is at a 25-year low.

And we're more secure because of advances in health care. We've extended the life of the Medicare trust fund by 26 years; adding coverage for cancer screening and cutting-edge clinical trials. We're coming closer to cures for dreaded diseases. We made sure that people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health care -- and that people who switch jobs can do so without losing their coverage. We dramatically improved diabetes care. We provided health coverage under the Children's Health Insurance Program to 2 million previously uninsured children. And for the first time in our history, more than 90 percent of our kids have been immunized against serious childhood diseases. You can be proud of that Democratic record.

We are more secure because our environment is cleaner. We've set aside more land in the lower 48 states than any administration since Teddy Roosevelt -- saving national treasures like Yellowstone, the great California Redwoods, the Florida Everglades. Moreover, our air is cleaner; our water is cleaner; our food is safer; and our economy is stronger. You can grow the economy and protect the environment at the same time.

We're more free today because we are closer to the One America of our dreams -- celebrating our diversity, affirming our common humanity, opposing all forms of bigotry, from church burnings to racial profiling to murderous hate crimes. We're fighting for employment nondiscrimination legislation and for equal pay for women.

We found ways to mend, not end, affirmative action. We have given America the most diverse administration in history -- it really looks like America. You know, if I could just get my administration up here, it would be just as good a picture as anything you saw a couple of weeks ago in Philadelphia. And we created AmeriCorps, which already has given more than 150,000 of our young people a chance to earn some money for college by serving our communities.

We are more secure and we're more free because of our leadership in the world for peace, freedom and prosperity: helping to end a generation of conflict in Northern Ireland;

stopping the brutal ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; and bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace.

We built stronger ties to Africa, Asia, and our Latin American and Caribbean neighbors. We brought Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO. We are working with Russia to destroy nuclear weapons and materials. We are fighting head-on the new threats and injustices of the global age: terrorism, narco-trafficking, biological and chemical warfare, trafficking in women and young girls, and the deadly spread of AIDS. And in the great tradition of Jimmy Carter, who is here tonight, we are still the world's leading force for human rights around the world. Thank you, President Carter.

The American military is the best trained, best equipped, most effective fighting force in the world. Our men and women have shown that time and again in Bosnia, Kosovo, Haiti and Iraq. I can tell you that their strength, their spirit, their courage and their commitment to freedom have never been greater. Any adversary who believes those who say otherwise is making a grave mistake.

Now, my fellow Americans, that's the record. Or, as that very famous Los Angeles detective, Sergeant Joe Friday, used to say, "just the facts, ma'am." I ask you, let's remember the standard our Republican friends used to have for whether a party should continue in office: my fellow Americans, are we better off today than we were eight years ago?

You bet we are. Yes, we are.

But we're not just better off, we're also a better country. We are today more tolerant, more decent, more humane and more united. Now, that's the purpose of prosperity.

Since 1992, America has grown not just economically, but as a community. Yes, jobs are up, but so are adoptions. Yes, the debt is down, but so is teen pregnancy. We are becoming both more diverse and more united.

My fellow Americans, tonight we can say with gratitude and humility: we built our bridge to the 21st century. We crossed that bridge together. And we're not going back.

To those who say -- and I'm sure you heard this somewhere in the last few days -- to those who say the progress of these last eight years was just some sort of accident, that we just kind of coasted along, let me be clear -- America's success was not a matter of chance; it was a matter of choice.

Today, America faces another choice. It's every bit as momentous as the one we faced eight years ago. For what a nation does with its good fortune is just as stern a test of its character, values and judgment as how it deals with adversity.

My fellow Americans, this is a big election, with great consequences for every American, because the differences -- the honest differences -- between our candidates and their visions are so profound. We can have a good, old-fashioned election here. We should posit that our opponents are good, honorable, patriotic people, and that we have honest differences. But the differences are there.

Consider this, just this: we in America would already have, this year, a real patients' bill of rights, a minimum wage increase, stronger equal pay laws for women, and middle class tax cuts for college tuition and long-term care if the Democratic Party were in the majority in Congress with Dick Gephardt as Speaker and Tom Daschle as Majority Leader. And come November, they will be.

That has to be clear to people. And that's why every House and every Senate seat is important.

But if you'll give me one moment of personal privilege, I'd like to say a word about Hillary. When I first met her 30 years ago, she already had an abiding passion to help children. And she's pursued it ever since. Her very first job out of law school was with the Children's Defense Fund.

Every year I was governor she took lots of time away from her law practice to work for better schools, or better children's health or jobs for parents who lived in poor areas. Then when I became President, she became a full-time advocate for her lifetime cause. And what a job she has done. She championed the Family Leave law, children's health insurance, increased support for foster children and adoptions. She wrote a best-selling book about caring for our children. And then she took care of them by giving all the profits to children's charities. For thirty years -- 30 years, from the first day I met her -- she has always been there for all our kids.

She's been a great First Lady. She's always been there for our family. And she'll always be there for the families of New York and America.

Of course, we all know that the biggest choice the American people have to make this year is in the presidential race. Now, you all know how I feel. But it's not my decision to make. That belongs to the American people. I just want to tell all of you here in this great arena, and all of the folks watching and listening at home, a few things that I know about Al Gore.

We've worked closely together for eight years now, in the most challenging moments, when we faced the most difficult issues -- of war and peace, of whether to take on some powerful interests -- he was always there. And he always told me exactly what he thought was right.

Everybody knows he is thoughtful and hard-working. But I can tell you personally he is one strong leader. In 1993, there was nobody around the table more willing to make the tough choices to balance the budget the right way, or more willing to take a tough stance against balancing the budget on the backs of the poor and working people of America. I have seen this kind of strength time and again -- whether it was in how we reform welfare or in protecting the environment or in closing the digital divide or bringing jobs to rural and urban America through the empowerment zone program, the greatest champion of ordinary Americans has always been Al Gore.

I'll tell you something else about him. More than anybody else I've known in public life, Al Gore understands the future and how sweeping changes and scientific breakthroughs will affect ordinary Americans' lives. And I think we need somebody in the White House at the dawn of the 21st century who really understands the future.

Finally, I want to say something more personal. Virtually every week for the last seven and a half years, until he became occupied with more important matters, Al Gore and I had lunch. And we talked about the business between us, the business of America. But we'd also often talk about our families, what our kids were doing, how school was going, what was going on in their lives. I know him. He is a profoundly good man. He loves his children more than life. And he has a perfectly wonderful wife -- who has fought against homelessness and who has done something for me and all Americans in bringing the cause of mental health into the broad sunlight of our national public life. We owe Tipper Gore our thanks.

Al has picked a great partner in Joe Lieberman. Hillary and I have known Joe for 30 years, since we were in Connecticut in law school. I supported him in his first race for public office in 1970, when I learned he had been a Freedom Rider, going into danger to register black voters in the then-segregated South. It should not be a surprise to anyone that Al Gore picked the leader of the New Democrats to be his Vice President. Because Joe Lieberman has supported all our efforts to reform welfare, reduce crime, protect the environment, protect civil rights and a woman's right to choose, and keep this economy going. All of them. And he has shown time and time again that he will work with President Gore to keep putting people and progress over partisanship.

Now, it's up to the Presidential nominees and the Vice Presidential nominees to engage in this debate and to point out the differences. But there are two issues I care a lot about, and I want to make brief comments on them -- I hope I've earned the right to do so.

One is the economy -- I know a little something about that -- and the other is our efforts to build One America.

First, on the economy, Al Gore and Joe Lieberman will keep our prosperity going by paying down the debt, investing in education and health care, moving more people from welfare to work, and providing family tax cuts we can afford. That stands in stark contrast to the position of our Republican friends.

Here is their position: they say we have a big projected 10-year surplus and they want to spend every dime of it, and then some, on tax cuts, right now. That would leave nothing for education or prescription drugs; nothing to extend the life of Medicare and Social Security for the baby boomers; nothing in case the projected surpluses don't come in.

Now, think about your own family's budget for a minute. Or your own business budget. Would you sign a binding contract today to spend all your projected income for a decade, leaving nothing for your families' basic needs, nothing for emergencies, nothing for a cushion in case you didn't get the raise you thought you were going to get? Of course you wouldn't do that; and America shouldn't do it either. We should stick with what works.

Let me say something to you that's even more important than the economy to me. When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman, the first Jewish American to join a national ticket, to be his partner, Joe joined with our presidential nominee, who has, along with his great mother and late father, a lifetime commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity for all, even when it was not popular down home in the south. When they did that, we had a ticket that embodies the Democratic commitment to One America. They believe in civil rights and equal opportunity for everybody. They believe in a woman's right to choose. And, this may be the most important of all -- they believe the folks that you're buying your soft drinks and popcorn from here at the Staples Center should have the exact same chance they do to send their kids to college and give them a good life and a good future. My fellow Americans, I am very proud of our leaders.

I want you to know that the opportunity I have had to serve as President at the dawn of a new era in human history has been

an honor, a privilege and a joy. I have done everything I knew how to do to empower the American people, to unleash their amazing optimism and imagination and hard work -- to turn our country around from where it was in 1992 and to get us moving forward together.

Now, what I want you to understand tonight is that the best is still out there, the best is yet to come, if we make the right choices in this election year.

But the choices will make all the difference. In February, the American people achieved the longest economic expansion in our history. When that happened, I asked our folks at the White House when the previous longest economic expansion was. It was from 1961 through 1969. Now, I want the young people especially to listen to this. I remember this well.

I graduated from high school in 1964. Our country was still very sad because of President Kennedy's death, but full of hope under the leadership of President Johnson. And I assumed then, like most Americans, that our economy was absolutely on automatic, that nothing could derail it. I also believed then that our civil rights problems would all be solved in Congress and the courts. And in 1964, when we were enjoying the longest economic expansion in history, we never dreamed that Vietnam would so divide and wound our America.

So we took it for granted. And then, before we knew it, there were riots in the streets, even here. The leaders that I adored as a young man -- Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy -- were killed. Lyndon Johnson, a President from my part of the country I admired so much for all he did for civil rights, for the elderly and the poor, said he would not run again because our nation was so divided. And then we had an election in 1968 that took America on a far different and more divisive course. And, you know, within months after that election, the last longest economic expansion in history was, itself, history.

Why am I telling you this tonight? Not to take you down, but to keep you looking up. I have waited, not as President but as your fellow citizen, for over 30 years to see my country once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. We are a great and good people. And we have an even better chance this time than we did then, with no great internal crisis and no great external threat. Still, I have lived long enough to know that opportunities must be seized or they will be lost.

My friends, fifty-four years ago this week, I was born in a summer storm to a young widow in a small southern town. America gave me the chance to live my dreams. And I have tried

as hard as I knew how to give you a better chance to live yours. Now, my hair is a little grayer, my wrinkles are a little deeper; but with the same optimism and hope I brought to the work I love so eight years ago, I want you to know my heart is filled with gratitude.

My fellow Americans, the future of our country is now in your hands. You must think hard, feel deeply, and choose wisely. And, remember, whenever you think about me, keep putting people first. Keep building those bridges. And don't stop thinking about tomorrow.

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DRAFTS
TOGETHER

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Staples Center
Los Angeles, California
August 14, 2000

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Isn't it great to be here in California together? Forty years ago, the great city of Los Angeles launched John Kennedy and the New Frontier. Now, Los Angeles is launching the first President of the new century: Al Gore.

I come here tonight, above all, to say a heartfelt thank you. Thank you. Thank you for giving me the chance to serve. Thank you for being so good to Hillary and Chelsea. I am so proud of them. And didn't she give a good talk? I thought it was great. Thank you for supporting the New Democratic agenda that has taken our country to new heights of prosperity, peace and progress.

As always, of course, the lion's share of credit goes to the American people -- who do the work, raise the kids and dream the dreams.

Now, at this moment of unprecedented good fortune, our people face a fundamental choice -- are we going to keep this progress and prosperity going? Yes, we are.

But, my friends, we can't take our future for granted. We cannot take it for granted. So let's just remember how we got here.

Eight years ago, when our party met in New York, it was a far different time for America. Our economy was in trouble, our society was divided, our political system was paralyzed. Ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work. Interest rates were high. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising. After 12 years of Republican rule, the federal debt had quadrupled, imposing a crushing burden on our economy and on our children.

Welfare rolls, crime, teen pregnancy, income inequality -- all had been skyrocketing. And our government was part of the problem, not part of the solution.

I saw all this in a very personal way in 1992, out there in the real America with many of you. I remember a child telling me her father broke down at the dinner table because he lost his job. I remember an older couple crying in front of me because they had to choose between filling their shopping carts and filling their prescriptions. I remember a hardworking immigrant in a hotel kitchen who said his son was not really free, because it wasn't safe for him to play in the neighborhood park.

I ran for President to change the future for those people. And I asked you to embrace new ideas rooted in enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

You gave me the chance to turn those ideas and values into action, after I made one of the very best decisions of my entire life: asking Al Gore to be my partner.

First, we proposed a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to reduce interest rates; invest more in our people; sell more American products abroad. We sent our plan to Congress. It passed by a single vote in both Houses. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the tie-breaking vote. Not a single Republican supported it.

Here's what their leaders said. Their leaders said our plan would increase the deficit, kill jobs, and give us a one-way ticket to recession. Time has not been kind to their predictions.

Remember, our Republican friends said then they would absolutely not be held responsible for our economic policies. I hope the American people take them at their word.

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Along the way, in 1995, we turned back the largest cuts in history in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. And just two years later we proved that we could find a way to balance the budget and protect our values. Today, we have gone from the largest deficits in history to the largest surpluses in history. And if -- but only if -- we stay on course, we can make America debt-free for the first time since Andy Jackson was President in 1835.

For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest child poverty, in 20 years, the lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever recorded. The average family's income has gone up more than \$5,000 and, for African American families, even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent.

You know, Harry Truman's old saying has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you better vote for the Democrats.

But our progress is about far more than economics. America is also more hopeful, more secure and more free. We're more hopeful because we're turning our schools around, with higher standards, more accountability, more investment. We have doubled funding for Head Start and provided after-school and mentoring programs to more than a million more young people. We're putting 100,000 well-trained teachers in the early grades to lower class size. Ninety-five percent of our schools are connected to the Internet. Reading, math and SAT scores are up. And more students than ever are going on to college, thanks to the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI Bill 50 years ago.

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We're also more hopeful because we ended welfare as we knew it. Now, those who can work, must work. On that, we and the Republicans agreed. But we Democrats also insisted on support for good parenting -- so that poor children don't go hungry or lose their health care, unmarried teens stay in school, and people get the job training, child care and transportation they need. It has worked. Today, there are 7.5 million people who have moved from welfare to work, and the welfare rolls in our administration have been cut in half.

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But if you'll give me one moment of personal privilege, I'd like to say a word about Hillary. When I first met her 30 years ago, she already had an abiding passion to help children. And she's pursued it ever since. Her very first job out of law school was with the Children's Defense Fund.

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She's been a great First Lady. She's always been there for our family. And she'll always be there for the families of New York and America.

Of course, we all know that the biggest choice the American people have to make this year is in the presidential race. Now, you all know how I feel. But it's not my decision to make. That belongs to the American people. I just want to tell all of you here in this great arena, and all of the folks watching and listening at home, a few things that I know about Al Gore.

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Al has picked a great partner in Joe Lieberman. Hillary and I have known Joe for 30 years, since we were in Connecticut in law school. I supported him in his first race for public office in 1970, when I learned he had been a Freedom Rider, going into danger to register black voters in the then-segregated South. It should not be a surprise to anyone that Al Gore picked the leader of the New Democrats to be his Vice President. Because Joe Lieberman has supported all our efforts to reform welfare, reduce crime, protect the environment, protect civil rights and a woman's right to choose, and keep this economy going. All of them. And he has shown time and time again that he will work with President Gore to keep putting people and progress over partisanship.

Now, it's up to the Presidential nominees and the Vice Presidential nominees to engage in this debate and to point out the differences. But there are two issues I care a lot about, and I want to make brief comments on them -- I hope I've earned the right to do so.

One is the economy -- I know a little something about that. And the other is our efforts to build One America.

First, on the economy, Al Gore and Joe Lieberman will keep our prosperity going by paying down the debt, investing in education and health care, moving more people from welfare to work, and providing family tax cuts we can afford. That stands in stark contrast to the position of our Republican friends.

Here is their position: they say we have a big projected 10-year surplus and they want to spend every dime of it, and then some, on tax cuts, right now. That would leave nothing for education or prescription drugs; nothing to extend the life of Medicare and Social Security for the baby boomers; nothing in case the projected surpluses don't come in.

Now, think about your own family's budget for a minute. Or your own business budget. Would you sign a binding contract today to spend all your projected income for a decade, leaving nothing for your families' basic needs, nothing for emergencies, nothing for a cushion in case you didn't get the raise you thought you were going to get? Of course you wouldn't do that; and America shouldn't do it either. We should stick with what works.

Let me say something to you that's even more important than the economy to me. When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman, the first Jewish American to join a national ticket, to be his partner, Joe joined with our presidential nominee, who has, along with his great mother and late father, a lifetime commitment to civil rights and equal opportunity for all, even when it was not popular down home in the south. When they did that, we had a ticket that embodies the Democratic commitment to One America. They believe in civil rights and equal opportunity for everybody. They believe in a woman's right to choose. And, this may be the most important of all -- they believe the folks that you're buying your soft drinks and popcorn from here at the Staples Center should have the exact same chance they do to send their kids to college and give them a good life and a good future. My fellow Americans, I am very proud of our leaders.

I want you to know that the opportunity I have had to serve as President at the dawn of a new era in human history has been

an honor, a privilege and a joy. I have done everything I knew how to do to empower the American people, to unleash their amazing optimism and imagination and hard work -- to turn our country around from where it was in 1992 and to get us moving forward together.

Now, what I want you to understand tonight is that the best is still out there, the best is yet to come, If we make the right choices in this election year. ✓

But the choices will make all the difference. In February, the American people achieved the longest economic expansion in our history. When that happened, I asked our folks at the White House when the previous longest economic expansion was. It was from 1961 through 1969. Now, I want the young people especially to listen to this. I remember this well.

I graduated from high school in 1964. Our country was still very sad because of President Kennedy's death, but full of hope under the leadership of President Johnson. And I assumed then, like most Americans, that our economy was ~~on~~ absolutely on automatic, that nothing could derail it. I also believed then that our civil rights problems would all be solved in Congress and the courts. And in 1964, when we were enjoying the longest economic expansion in history, we never dreamed that Vietnam would so divide and wound our America. ✓

So we took it for granted. And then, before we knew it, there were riots in the streets, even here. The leaders that I adored as a young man -- Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy -- were killed. Lyndon Johnson, a President from my part of the country I admired so much for all he did for civil rights, for the elderly and the poor, said he would not run again because our nation was so divided. And then we had an election in 1968 that took America on a far different and more divisive course. And, you know, within months after that election, the last longest economic expansion in history was, itself, history.

Why am I telling you this tonight? Not to take you down, but to keep you looking up. I have waited, not as President but as your fellow citizen, for over 30 years to see my country once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. We are a great and good people. And we have an even better chance this time than we did then, with no great internal crisis and no great external threat. Still, I have lived long enough to know that opportunities must be seized or they will be lost.

My friends, fifty-four years ago this week, I was born in a summer storm to a young widow in a small southern town. America gave me the chance to live my dreams. And I have tried

as hard as I knew how to give you a better chance to live yours. Now, my hair is a little grayer, my wrinkles are a little deeper; but with the same optimism and hope I brought to the work I love so eight years ago, I want you to know my heart is filled with gratitude.

My fellow Americans, the future of our country is now in your hands. You must think hard, feel deeply, and choose wisely. And, remember, whenever you think about me, keep putting people first. Keep building those bridges. And don't stop thinking about tomorrow.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Staples Center
Los Angeles, California
August 14, 2000

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Isn't it great to be here in California together? Forty years ago, the great city of Los Angeles launched John Kennedy and the New Frontier. Now, Los Angeles is launching the first President of the new century: Al Gore.

I come here tonight, above all, to say a heartfelt thank you. Thank you. Thank you for giving me the chance to serve. Thank you for being so good to Hillary and Chelsea. I am so proud of them. And didn't she give a good talk? I thought it was great. ~~Thank~~ Thank you for supporting the New Democratic agenda that has taken our country to new heights of prosperity, peace and progress. As always, of course, the lion's share of credit goes to the American people -- who do the work, raise the kids and dream the dreams.

Now, at this moment of unprecedented good fortune, our people face a fundamental choice -- are we going to keep this progress and prosperity going? Yes, we are.

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But, my friends, we can't take our future for granted. ~~We cannot take it for granted.~~ So let's just remember how we got here.

Eight years ago, when our party met in New York, it was a far different time for America. Our economy was in trouble, our society was divided, our political system was paralyzed. Ten million of our fellow citizens were out of work. Interest rates were high. The deficit was \$290 billion and rising. After 12 years of Republican rule, the federal debt had quadrupled, imposing a crushing burden on our economy and on our children.

Welfare rolls, crime, teen pregnancy, income inequality -- all had been skyrocketing. And our government was part of the problem, not part of the solution.

I saw all this in a very personal way in 1992, out there in the real America with many of you. I remember a child telling me her father broke down at the dinner table because he lost his job. I remember an older couple crying in front of me because they had to choose between filling their shopping carts and filling their prescriptions. I remember a hardworking immigrant in a hotel kitchen who said his son was not really free, because it wasn't safe for him to play in the neighborhood park.

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I ran for President to change the future for those people. And I asked you to embrace new ideas rooted in enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

You gave me the chance to turn those ideas and values into action, after I made one of the very best decisions of my entire life: asking Al Gore to be my partner.

~~Now,~~ First, we proposed a new economic strategy: get rid of the deficit to reduce interest rates; invest more in our people; sell more American products abroad. We sent our plan to Congress. It passed by a single vote in both Houses. In a deadlocked Senate, Al Gore cast the tie-breaking vote. Not a single Republican supported it.

Here's what their leaders said. Their leaders said our plan would increase the deficit, kill jobs, and give us a one-way ticket to recession. Time has not been kind to their predictions.

Remember, our Republican friends said then they would absolutely not be held responsible for our economic policies. I hope the American people take them at their word. ~~Thank you.~~

Today, after seven and a half years of hard effort, we're in the midst of the longest economic expansion in history. More than 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the lowest female unemployment in 40 years, the lowest Hispanic and African American unemployment ever recorded and the highest home ownership in history.

~~Now,~~ Along the way, in 1995, we turned back the largest cuts in history in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. And just two years later we proved that we could find a way to balance the budget and protect our values. Today, we have gone from the largest deficits in history to the largest surpluses in history. And if -- but only if -- we stay on course, we can make America debt-free for the first time since Andy Jackson was President in 1835.

For the first time in decades, wages are rising at all income levels. We have the lowest child poverty in 20 years, the lowest poverty rate for single mothers ever recorded. The average family's income has gone up more than \$5,000 and, for African American families, even more. The number of families who own stock has grown by 40 percent.

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You know, Harry Truman's old saying has never been more true: if you want to live like a Republican, you better vote for the Democrats. ~~Thank you.~~

But our progress is about far more than economics. America is also more hopeful, more secure and more free. We're more hopeful because we're turning our schools around, with higher standards, more accountability, more investment. We have doubled funding for Head Start and provided after-school and mentoring programs to more than a million more young people. We're putting 100,000 well-trained teachers in the early grades to lower class size. Ninety-five percent of our schools are connected to the Internet. Reading, math and SAT scores are up. And more students than ever are going on to college, thanks to the biggest expansion of college aid since the GI Bill 50 years ago.

Now, don't let anybody tell you that all children can't learn or that our public schools can't make the grade. Yes, they can. ~~Yes, they can.~~

We're also more hopeful because we ended welfare as we knew it. Now, those who can work, must work. On that, we and the Republicans agreed. But we Democrats also insisted on support for good parenting -- so that poor children don't go hungry or lose their health care, unmarried teens stay in school, and people get the job training, child care and transportation they need. It has worked. Today, there are 7.5 million people who have moved from welfare to work, and the welfare rolls in our administration have been cut in half.

We're more hopeful because of the way we cut taxes -- to help Americans meet the challenges of work and child rearing. This year alone, our HOPE Scholarship and Lifelong Learning tax credits will help 10 million families pay for college. Our earned-income tax credit will help 15 million families work their way into the middle class. Twenty-five million families will get a \$500 child tax credit.

Our empowerment zone tax credits are bringing new business and new jobs to our hardest pressed communities -- from the inner cities to Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to our Native American reservations. And the typical American family today is paying a lower share of its income in federal income taxes than at any time during the past 35 years.

We are more hopeful because of the Family and Medical Leave Act, a bill that the previous administration vetoed. They said it would cost jobs. It's the first bill I signed. And we now have a test. Twenty-two million new jobs later, over 20 million

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Americans have been able to take a little time off to care for a newborn child or sick relative. That's what it means -- that's what it really means to be pro-family. ~~Thank you.~~

We are a more secure country because we cut crime -- with tougher enforcement, more than 100,000 new community police officers, a ban on assault weapons, and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million felons, fugitives and stalkers. Today, crime is at a 25-year low.

And we're more secure because of advances in health care. We've extended the life of the Medicare trust fund by 26 years; adding coverage for cancer screening and cutting-edge clinical trials. We're coming closer to cures for dreaded diseases. We made sure that people with disabilities could go to work without losing their health care -- and that people who switch jobs can do so without losing their coverage. We dramatically improved diabetes care. We provided health coverage under the Children's Health Insurance Program to 2 million previously uninsured children. And for the first time in our history, more than 90 percent of our kids have been immunized against serious childhood diseases. You can be proud of that Democratic record.

We are more secure because our environment is cleaner. We've set aside more land in the lower 48 states than any administration since Teddy Roosevelt -- saving national treasures like Yellowstone, the great California Redwoods, the Florida Everglades. Moreover, our air is cleaner; our water is cleaner; our food is safer; and our economy is stronger. You can grow the economy and protect the environment at the same time.

~~Now,~~ We're more free because we are closer today to the One America of our dreams -- celebrating our diversity, affirming our common humanity, opposing all forms of bigotry, from church burnings to racial profiling to murderous hate crimes. We're fighting for employment nondiscrimination legislation and for equal pay for women. ~~Thank you.~~

We found ways to mend, not end, affirmative action. We have given America the most diverse administration in history -- it really looks like America. You know, if I could just get my administration up here, it would be just as good a picture as anything you saw a couple of weeks ago in Philadelphia ~~the real people loving it.~~ And we created AmeriCorps, which already has given more than 150,000 of our young people a chance to earn some money for college by serving our communities.

We are more secure and we're more free because of our leadership in the world for peace, freedom and prosperity, helping to end a generation of conflict in Northern Ireland;

stopping the brutal ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo -- and bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace.

We built stronger ties to Africa, Asia, and our Latin American and Caribbean neighbors. We brought Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO. We are working with Russia to destroy nuclear weapons and materials. We are fighting head-on the new threats and injustices of the global age: terrorism, narco-trafficking, biological and chemical warfare, ~~the~~ trafficking in women and young girls, and the deadly spread of AIDS. And in the great tradition of Jimmy Carter, who is here tonight, we are still the world's leading force for human rights around the world. Thank you, President Carter.

The American military is the best trained, best equipped, most effective fighting force in the world. Our men and women have shown that time and again in Bosnia, ~~in~~ Kosovo, ~~in~~ Haiti and Iraq. I can tell you that their strength, their spirit, their courage and their commitment to freedom have never been greater. Any adversary who believes those who say otherwise is making a grave mistake.

Now, my fellow Americans, that's the record. Or, as that very famous Los Angeles detective, Sergeant Joe Friday, used to say, "just the facts, ma'am." I ask you, let's remember the standard our Republican friends used to have for whether a party should continue in office: my fellow Americans, are we better off today than we were eight years ago?

You bet we are. ~~You bet we are. Thank you. Yes, we are. Yes, we are.~~ Yes, we are.

But we're not just better off, we're also a better country. We are today more tolerant, more decent, more humane and more united. Now, that's the purpose of prosperity.

Since 1992, America has grown not just economically, but as a community. Yes, jobs are up, but so are adoptions. Yes, the debt is down, but so is teen pregnancy. We are becoming both more diverse and more united.

My fellow Americans, tonight we can say with gratitude and humility: we built our bridge to the 21st century. We crossed that bridge together. And we're not going back. ~~Thank you.~~

To those who say -- and I'm sure you heard this somewhere in the last few days -- to those who say the progress of these last eight years was just some sort of accident, that we just kind of coasted along, let me be clear -- America's success was not a matter of chance; it was a matter of choice.

And, today, America faces another choice. It's every bit as momentous as the one we faced eight years ago. For what a nation does with its good fortune is just as stern a test of its character, values and judgment as how it deals with adversity.

My fellow Americans, this is a big election, with great consequences for every American, because the differences -- the honest differences -- between our candidates and their visions are so profound. We can have a good, old-fashioned election here. We should posit that our opponents are good, honorable, patriotic people, and that we have honest differences. But the differences are there.

Consider this, just this: we in America would already have, this year, a real patients' bill of rights, a minimum wage increase, stronger equal pay laws for women, and middle class tax cuts for college tuition and long-term care if the Democratic Party were in the majority in Congress with Dick Gephardt as Speaker and Tom Daschle as Majority Leader. And come November, they will be.

That has to be clear to people. And that's why every House and every Senate seat is important. But if you'll give me one moment of personal privilege, I'd like to say a word about Hillary. When I first met her 30 years ago, she already had an abiding passion to help children. And she's pursued it ever since. Her very first job out of law school was with the Children's Defense Fund.

Every year I was governor she took lots of time away from her law practice to work for better schools, or better children's health or jobs for parents who lived in poor areas. Then when I became President, she became a full-time advocate for her lifetime cause. And what a job she has done. She championed the Family Leave law, children's health insurance, increased support for foster children and adoptions. She wrote a best-selling book about caring for our children. And then she took care of them by giving all the profits to children's charities. For thirty years -- 30 years, from the first day I met her, she has always been there for all our kids.

She's been a great First Lady. She's always been there for our family. And she'll always be there for the families of New York and America. Thank you.

Of course, we all know that the biggest choice that the American people have to make this year is in the presidential race. Now, you all know how I feel. But it's not my decision to make. That belongs to the American people. I just want to tell all of you here in this great arena, and all of the folks watching and listening at home, a few things that I know about Al Gore.

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We've worked closely together for eight years now, in the most challenging moments, when we faced the most difficult issues -- of war and peace, of whether to take on some powerful interests -- he was always there. And he always told me exactly what he thought was right.

Everybody knows he is thoughtful and hard-working. But I can tell you personally he is one strong leader. In 1993, there was nobody around the table more willing to make the tough choices to balance the budget the right way, ^{and take this tough} stance against balancing the budget on the backs of the poor and working people of America. I have seen this kind of ~~positioning~~ ^{and this kind of strength} time and again -- whether it was in how we reform welfare or in protecting the environment or in closing the digital divide or bringing jobs to rural and urban America through the empowerment zone program, the greatest champion of ordinary Americans has always been Al Gore.

*it says:
"or more
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take a
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I'll tell you something else about him. More than anybody else I've known in public life, Al Gore understands the future and how sweeping changes and scientific breakthroughs will affect ordinary Americans' lives. And I think we need somebody in the White House at the dawn of the 21st century who really understands the future.

Finally, I want to say something more personal. Virtually every week for the last seven and a half years, until he became occupied with more important matters, Al Gore and I had lunch. And we talked about the business between us, ~~and~~ the business of America. But we'd also often talk about our families, what our kids were doing, how school was going, what was going on in their lives. I know him. He is a profoundly good man. He loves his children more than life. And he has a perfectly wonderful wife -- who has fought against homelessness and who has done something for me and all Americans in bringing the cause of mental health into the broad sunlight of our national public life. We owe Tipper Gore our thanks.

Al has picked a great partner in Joe Lieberman. ~~There's the Connecticut crowd.~~ Hillary and I have known Joe for 30 years, since we were in Connecticut in law school. I supported him in his first race for public office in 1970, when I learned he had been a Freedom Rider, going into danger, to register black voters in the then-segregated South. It should not be a surprise to anyone that Al Gore picked the leader of the New Democrats to be his Vice President. Because Joe Lieberman has supported all our efforts to reform welfare, reduce crime, protect the environment, protect civil rights and a woman's right to choose, and ~~to~~ keep this economy going. All of them. And he has shown time and time again that he will work with President Gore to keep putting people and progress over partisanship.

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