

we're still waiting for Congress to show that it supports holding our schools accountable by providing the resources to turn around failing schools or shut them down and reopen them under new management.

Congress also needs to finish the rest of its work, passing a real Patients' Bill of Rights, strong hate crimes legislation, and a raise in the minimum wage. Now, in all these cases, there is a bipartisan majority in both Houses for these bills. But the majority party's leadership again is blocking progress.

Congress should also act to ensure equal treatment for immigrants and equal pay for women. And it should pass the right kind of tax cuts for middle-class Americans, targeted tax cuts that preserve our fiscal discipline, allow us to get this country out of debt, and still give Americans tax relief to save for retirement and meet the costs of long-term care, child care, and college tuition, and tax credits that support investments in our inner cities, rural areas, Native American reservations, and other places our prosperity has not yet reached.

These priorities deserve attention now, not later. If I were a Member of Congress, I wouldn't want to go home and ask people to send me back to Washington so I could finish last year's work next year.

Yesterday I signed a fourth continuing resolution to keep the Government open until next Wednesday. But I told the leadership that if they fail to meet yet another deadline, we're going to have to take the continuing resolutions one day at a time until we get the job done. So I urge them: Come back next week, and let's finish work on the budget, so the benefits can start flowing to students and families who need them most.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 9:25 p.m. on October 20 at a private residence in Lowell, MA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 21. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 20 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

## Remarks at a Rally for Representative Julia Carson in Indianapolis October 21, 2000

*The President.* Wow! I'll tell you why I came here: Because Julia Carson asked me, and I always do whatever she asks me to do—[*laughter*—because I learned very early I could do it right away or I could just wait and let her grind on me until I finally broke down and said yes. So I just say yes right away to Julia now—[*laughter*—and it solves a lot of my problems.

Mr. Mayor, I'm glad to be back here in your city, and I'm very proud that you are now the mayor of this great city. And I want to thank my longtime friend Jeff Smulyan for helping Julia Carson. We were friends before I ran for President. Before I knew I was going to run for President, I met him. He was just—I was just what President Bush used to refer to as the Governor of a small southern State—[*laughter*—when we became friends. And I thank you for helping Julia.

Joe Andrew, I am so proud of you. He's got that riff down, doesn't he, old Joe does. I kind

of wanted to run down here along the side and pass the plate when he was up there preaching. [*Laughter*] We knew he was preaching to the saved, and so I thought we ought to take up an offering here. [*Laughter*]

Let me say, I'm really proud of what the Democrats have done in Indiana. I'm proud of your great Governor, and I want you to make sure he gets reelected. He deserves to be reelected. And I am very, very proud of your former Governor, Senator Evan Bayh, and what a great job he has done. We have also been friends for many, many years.

So this is a great day for me, to come here to thank the people from Indiana who have sent such fine people into public office—

*Audience member.* We love you, Mr. President!

*The President.* —and who have given us Julia Carson, who is truly one of a kind. Have you ever met anybody like Julia before in your whole life?

*Audience members.* No-o-o!

*The President.* I tell this joke—she’s talking about what a unifying force the Democratic Party is—Julia has got it all inside her. I told somebody, she may be an African-American woman, but she reminds me of a redneck county judge when she works the room. [Laughter] She kind of sidles into these rooms in Washington, and all these self-important people are there in their expensive suits, using these big words. And then Julia sort of sidles out, and she’s got whatever it is she came in for, and they still don’t know what happened. [Laughter] I mean, it’s amazing, you know. She’s like a stealth bomber for Indiana in Washington. She’s got more moves than Larry Bird and Isaiah Thomas put together. She’s got moves. Man, people don’t see that stuff.

So, yes, I wanted to come here. I’m sorry I couldn’t come before. You know what I was doing. I was working on the peace process. [Applause] But now—wait a minute—I want to say a couple of things seriously. We’re all having a good time, but we all agree with each other, or you wouldn’t be here. And here’s what I want to say to you.

First, thank you. Thank you for helping me have a chance to serve the country for the last 8 years. I’m grateful to you. Second, I have been reading as much as I could while I’ve been running around the world and trying to get the Congress out of town, too—I’ve been reading what I could about what the experts are saying about this election. And they say it’s tight as a tick, and they say that there are a lot of undecided voters, and they say that there are a lot of voters who aren’t sure what the differences are and what the consequences are to them, so maybe it doesn’t matter for whom they vote or whether they vote.

Now, let me tell you something. I’ve done everything I could do for 8 years to turn this country around, pull this country together, and move the country forward—everything I could do. But in America, our public life is always about tomorrow. Always about—that’s why we’re still around here after 224 years, because we’re always thinking about tomorrow. Now, look at where we were 8 years ago and where we are now, and ask yourselves where we’re going to go. I’m telling you, this is a huge election. You cannot afford for anybody to think that there aren’t any differences, and it doesn’t matter whether they vote or for whom they vote.

And the interesting thing about this election to me is, from the elections for President and Vice President to the United States Senate—and you know I’ve got a passing interest in that Senate race up in New York; I know something about that—[laughter]—to the races for Governor and for Congress, all over the country you see the same things. There are big differences. The differences will have real consequences, and only the Democrats want you to know what the differences are. What does that tell you about who you ought to vote for? I see it everywhere.

So you’ve got the other side trying to cloud the differences and blur them, and we have to clarify them. And I just want to say, look, 8 years ago the country was in the ditch economically. Eight years later we’ve got the longest economic expansion in history, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, 22 million new jobs, the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment ever measured, the lowest poverty rate in 20 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 34 years.

Now, I got tickled—you know, when our Republican friends were in, they took credit for everything that happened in America. They took credit when the Sun came up. [Laughter] One of their campaigns was, “It’s morning in America. The Sun came up in the morning. Give it to us. We did it.” [Laughter] Now, everything that happens, happens by accident. Did you listen to these debates? I thought Al Gore’s best moment in the first debate was when his opponent said, “I think Clinton/Gore got more out of the economy than the economy got out of Clinton/Gore. The American people did this,” you know. We just sort of were there. And Al Gore said, “Well, you know, the American people did do this, but they were working hard 8 years ago, too, and they weren’t doing nearly as well.”

So the first big question is, do you want to continue the prosperity, build on it, expand it to people and places that have been left behind, and lift up this whole country? Now, you’ve got to talk to people, because how could anybody not see this? Look, they’re offering a tax cut that’s 3 times the size of the one that we’re offering. But most people making under \$100,000 are better off under our proposal than theirs—tax cuts to pay for college education, long-term care, child care, retirement savings,

to get people to invest in the communities that have been left behind.

Now, but theirs is 3 times bigger. And then they want to partially privatize Social Security, which means—forget about whether you think it's a good idea or not; let's just talk about the arithmetic. There are a lot of problems with the idea, but forget about that, talk about the arithmetic. Everybody here under 40—let's say, under 45—can take 2 percent of your Social Security payroll tax, keep it, and put it in an investment account. Everybody like me, starting next year, who will be 55 or over, gets a guarantee we're going to get it, just like they always promised it. Now, where's the money going to come from if you take away the money that they're going to pay my guarantee with? They've got to take that out of the surplus, too.

So they've got a tax cut 3 times bigger than ours, a trillion dollar promise in Social Security to pay for the privatization, hundreds of billions of dollars in other promises. Look, folks, you need to tell people—they want to know why we did well in America. Because we brought arithmetic back to Washington. We made the numbers add up. These numbers don't add up.

And look, this is a big deal. If you vote for a tax cut that big and you privatize Social Security at a trillion dollars, you spend several hundred billion dollars of it, you're back in deficit. And do you know what that means? High interest rates. If you vote for Al Gore and Joe Lieberman, Julia Carson and our whole crowd, do you know what it means? You'll have interest rates about one percent lower a year for a decade.

Let me tell you what that amounts to in a tax cut. Listen to this, one percent lower interest rates: \$390 billion in lower home mortgages; \$30 billion in lower car payments; \$15 billion in lower college loan payments; lower credit card payments; lower business loans—means higher profits, more folks getting hired, more pay raises, and a higher stock market. Our tax cut for all is low interest rates that keep this economy going and pay the debt off.

Now, this is very important. Did you watch the debate where their guy says, our guy is for big Government? We're for big Government? There's a real problem with that argument, besides the fact that it's not true—it's manifestly not true. What do I mean by that? The size of the Federal Government today is the smallest it's been since 1960, when Dwight

Eisenhower was President and John Kennedy was running for President. The Federal Government spending as a percentage of our economy is the smallest it's been since 1966. Why is that? We're paying down the debt.

The third biggest item in the budget for your tax money is the debt. After Social Security and defense, the debt is the third highest sum in the budget. So we get rid of that, we can spend more on education, more on health care, pay for a tax cut, and still shrink the size of Government. Vote for Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and Julia Carson, get the country out of debt, keep interest rates down, keep the economy going, keep moving forward—that's the issue.

Now, that's clear. But don't all of you know a lot of people who never will come to a rally like this? You do, don't you? You know, every one of you, you know a lot of people who love their country, and they're going to vote on election day, but they'll never come to a rally like this. You need to tell them just what I told you.

The first thing is, if you like the prosperity and you want to keep it going and you don't want us to go back into deficit, you've got to vote with us. We tried it their way for 12 years. We tried it our way for 8 years. Our way works better than their way. We've got to keep going.

And now, the second thing I want to say is this. If you look at every other area of our national life, you'll find the same thing. Welfare: The rolls have been cut in half. Yes, if you're able-bodied and you can work, you've got to go to work. But we don't want you to hurt your kids, so we want more for child care, for education and training, for transportation. And it works. Our deal works. Helping people be good parents and good workers makes good sense. That's why we were for the family and medical leave law. We think it ought to be expanded. Work and family—our way works.

Crime: What was our position on crime? Not what they say. They say we're weak on enforcement, and all we want to do is take hunters' guns away. What a load of hooey. [Laughter] You know, that's just a bunch of bull. [Laughter] It might stir people up and get them some votes, but it has a real burden of being untrue.

What are the facts? What was our approach? Our approach was, put more cops on the street to prevent crime in the first place. Do more to take guns out of the hands of children and criminals. You can do that without interfering

with the hunters and the sport shooters. Give kids something to say yes to; give them an after-school program; summer school program; and then punish the people that ought to be punished. Now, that's been our—do you know what—now, look at the record. We have the lowest crime rate in 26 years, the lowest murder rate in 33 years. That is the record.

So what do they want to do? They want to stop our efforts to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. They want to—this is an explicit commitment—they want to repeal our efforts to put over 100,000 police on our streets. And they just want to go back to talking tough again.

Well, look, we tried it their way. We tried it our way. Our way works. And not a single Indiana hunter has missed a day in the deer woods, not a sports person has missed a single sporting event, but a half a million felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get a handgun because of the Brady bill. It's a safer country. We're a better country. Our way works. We tried it their way. We tried it our way. Our way works.

You look at education. Compared to 8 years ago, test scores are up; the dropout rate is down; the high school graduation rate is up; the college-going rate is at an all-time high. We went from 14 States to 49 States with strong academic standards that would be applied to all students in all schools. All States now have to identify schools that are failing and try to find some way to turn them around. So standards, accountability, and resources to help people meet the standards—it's working. The teachers and the principals know how to turn around failing schools now.

Now, we know how to do this. We're finally moving this thing. We've had a two-thirds increase in the number of kids taking advanced placement tests, a 300 percent increase for Latino kids, a 500 percent increase for African-American kids taking advanced placement tests to go to college. Now, we know what we're doing here.

So what is Al Gore's program? What's the Democratic program? High standards and accountability, identify schools that are failing, and within 2 years turn them around or shut them down and reopen them under new management. But help them: 100,000 more teachers; funds to build or modernize or repair schools; funds to train the teachers in the subjects that they're

supposed to be teaching; and making sure that kids get a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition; and after-school and preschool programs for all the kids who need it.

Why? Not because we're against accountability and standards, but because if you're going to lay standards on somebody, they've got to have a chance to meet the standards.

Now, what is their program? Their program is, accountability and block grants to States, and if they spend the money, fine; if they don't, fine; if they don't spend it well, we'll take it away from them. So if the schools get in trouble, our answer is, spend even less on them. That's their side.

I think accountability-plus is better than accountability-minus. And we've had 8 years of experience. We're moving in the right direction. Our way works better than theirs. The American people have to choose that.

The same thing is true with every other issue. On the environment, we've got cleaner air, cleaner water, safer food; 90 percent of our kids immunized for the first time in history. We have proved you can grow the economy and clean up the environment. And we set aside more land than any administration since Theodore Roosevelt in permanent trust for the American people.

Al Gore says, "Vote for me, and I'll build on that." His opponent says, "Vote for me, and we'll relax some of their regulations. We'll get rid of the President's order protecting 40 million acres in national forests. We'll reduce some of these other things he's done, because you simply can't do this much and grow the economy."

Now, look, we tried it their way, didn't we? And then they came in and tried to weaken the economy again. I vetoed it every time they tried it the last 5 years. *[Applause]* And wait a minute. And you know, if I were trying to hurt the economy, I've done a poor job of it. *[Laughter]*

So this is a serious deal. You can grow the economy and improve the environment. And believe me, in the future, the challenges will be bigger than the ones I've faced. You can't turn around on this. This is a big deal. This is a big deal. So you've got to go tell people this. You've got to say, "Look, look at where we were 8 years ago. Look at where we are today. The economy, crime, welfare, education, the environment, health care—we've got people without insurance, that number, going down for the

first time in a dozen years because of the Children's Health Insurance Program that we have proposed and gotten out there and implemented." Now, the country is going in the right direction.

Now, here's the last point I want to make. You all were clapping when Joe Andrew did his shtick. You know, we don't care whether you're old or young, whether you walked in or wheeled in, and all that. That's really who we are. And it's the only thing about us that's more important than the economic policy is that we think everybody counts; everybody ought to have a chance; we all do better when we help each other. That's what we believe.

Now, it's what I call one America But there are lots of these one America issues out there where there are real differences. You can go to your friends and neighbors and ask them with whom they agree. Our side, we're for raising the minimum wage. Their side isn't. Our side, we're for stronger enforcement of equal pay laws for women, and their side isn't. Our side, we're for a Medicare prescription drug program so that every senior who needs access to affordable medicine can get it, and their side isn't. Our side, we're for hate crimes legislation that protects people on the basis of race, gender, disability, or sexual orientation from hate crimes. Nobody ought to be beat up, mauled, dragged, or killed in this country because of who they are, if they're obeying the law. And their side isn't.

Now, that's it. So here's the deal. You can't let anybody not vote or sort of stray away because they think there's no consequence here, they think there are no differences here. We've actually had quite a nice election, free of personal recrimination, where we're positive that both these candidates for President and for Vice President are good, honorable, patriotic Americans who love their families and love their country, and they're going to do what they say they're going to do.

And I can tell you this—you know, the press likes to say that these politicians are always breaking their word, but the truth is, every study shows that most Presidents pretty well do what they say they're going to do. Once in a while they break their word, and usually we're thankful they did. [Laughter] Why? Roosevelt said he'd balance the budget, and that was a bad idea with 25 percent unemployment. And we're thankful that he gave us the New Deal instead.

Lincoln, to get elected, said he wouldn't free the slaves, and we're awful glad he broke that promise.

So once in a great while a guy gets elected President and has to break a promise, and it makes—but more often than not, Presidents do what they say they're going to do. You're going to have a very different Supreme Court, depending on which one of them gets elected. And it's not just about the right to choose, although it is about that. That will change, depending on what happens. It is also about the ability of the Congress of the United States to protect working people. There are all these—and ordinary citizens, for all kinds of things. There's a revolution here, a debate, going on on the Supreme Court, and some of them want to go back to where they were in the 1930's.

*Audience members.* No-o-o!

*The President.* Now, you've got to decide. But don't you let anybody tell you that there are no differences. And I just came out here to say, you know, if Indiana can elect Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon back to back, if Indianapolis can elect Bart Peterson, the first Democratic mayor in a month of Sundays, if Indiana can send me Julia Carson to drive me crazy until I say yes to whatever she's asking, if Indiana can provide us Joe Andrew, the sparkplug of our national revival of the Democratic Party, all of you, between now and election day, can find some people to talk to.

Look at all the people in this crowd here. This is a big crowd. This crowd will talk to, collectively, 30,000–50,000–100,000 people between now and election day. Look around here. There are lots of folks here. Most of the people you will talk to will never come to an event like this. But they will vote, if they think it matters. And you need to go tell them—your friends in Illinois, your friends in Michigan, your friends in Kentucky and all the States around here, all those States are big battleground States—look, if you want to keep the prosperity going, their deal won't pass the arithmetic test. It doesn't add up. You've got to stick with us. Look at where we were 8 years ago and where we are now on welfare, crime, the environment, education, health care. We're moving in the right direction. Let's keep moving in the right direction.

Look at where we are on building one America, on hate crimes, on equal pay for women, on all these other issues. Look at this. If you

want one America, if you want to move in the right direction, if you want to keep the prosperity going, you've got one choice. You've got to be for our crowd: Al Gore, Joe Lieberman, Frank O'Bannon, Julia Carson, the people that helped to bring America back. You can do it, Indiana.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:48 a.m. in Edy's Grand Hall at the Indianapolis State Fairgrounds.

In his remarks, he referred to Jeff Smulyan, chairman and chief executive officer, Emmis Communications Corp.; Joseph J. Andrew, national chair, Democratic National Committee; Gov. Frank O'Bannon of Indiana; National Basketball Association Hall of Fame members Larry Bird and Isaiah Thomas; and Republican Presidential candidate Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. Julia Carson was a candidate for reelection in Indiana's 10th Congressional District.

## Remarks at a Brunch for Hillary Clinton in Johnson City, New York

October 22, 2000

*The President.* Thank you very much. I'm sorry to keep you waiting, but I'm sure glad you waited. I'm delighted to see you. Thank you.

Thank you, Margaret. Thank you, Barbara. I want to thank all the people who are here. Do you want to sit down? I want to thank the people of Broome County for voting for me in 1996, the first time a Democrat has carried this county in over 30 years. Thank you very much.

I also want to tell you how very much I admire your Representative in Congress, Maurice Hinchey. What a great friend he's been to me and to you and to the people of the State of New York. He's done a wonderful job for you.

More than anything else, I want to say thank you. The people of this State have been wonderful for 8 years to me and to Al Gore. Last year—I mean, in 1996 we carried 52 of New York's 62 counties, and I was so gratified by the support that you gave us, so thank you; thank you very, very much.

I came here today in my capacity as Presidential spouse—[laughter]—to ask for your help for Hillary in this race for the United States Senate and to ask you, in the closing days of this election season, to go out across this community, out across this country, out across this State and talk to all of your friends and neighbors about the race for Senate, about the race for President, about what is at stake in this election.

I try to say this now at every event I can, but I'm so gratified to see you here. But most

of you have tons of friends and relatives and co-workers who will vote on election day but have never come to an event like this. Isn't that right?

*Audience members.* Yes!

*The President.* And therefore, all they may know about the election is either what they see on television or what someone says to them or what kind of discussions they enter into. So while this is a rally and we'd all like to spend all our time just shouting, on this Sunday, I think it's fair to say that—in my tradition we often say, I realize that I am here preaching to the saved. [Laughter]

And so what I would like to ask you to do is to think about, just for a moment, the points I'd like to make, and then make a little pledge to yourself that every day between now and election you will share these thoughts with your friends, your neighbors, your family members, your co-workers who have never come to an event like this, because you can make the difference.

First of all, I want to say a few things about my wife. In the 30 years, almost, that we have known each other, I have seen her passion, her energy, and her activism devoted to the causes of children and family, health care and education, economic opportunity for people who have been left out or left behind. In the 8 years we have been in the White House, she has been a leading force for all those causes: for the family and medical leave law, the very first bill I signed—now, 22 million Americans have taken some time off without losing their