



**PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
CAMPAIGNING FOR HILLARY
EUREKA, CALIFORNIA
JANUARY 16, 2008**

**FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTION OF HIS ENTIRE SPEECH
...after thanking/recognizing public officials.**

NOTE: Inaudible portions of the speech are indicated by brackets {inaudible}.

BILL CLINTON: I want to thank all of the people who are outside...trying to get in. There's more of them than there are of you. Thank you very much.

APPLAUSE

You know...California has a special place in the hearts of the Clinton family. And last night, when I got to UC DAVIS, there were 8,000 people in the basketball arena and 3500 people outside who couldn't get in. And then I was down in Napa and we had about this many people and more who couldn't get in. I think California would like to determine America's course for the next four years.

APPLAUSE

I don't know how many of you have been watching these debates on television.

When we were in New Hampshire and there were only five days between the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary because of this crazy calendar this year. Everybody knows that whoever gets the Iowa caucus gets an 18 point bump in the polls for two days of constant media watch.

Everybody was writing Hillary's epitaph cause we didn't have...the campaign didn't start really until Saturday night at the debate. Then there were two more days. And no one had ever come that far.

And they were all dancing on her grave. Saying..."Well, was she going to lose by 10 points or 15...and there came a moment in that debate...the moment that defines what this election is about...

I often find that in elections...who wins or who loses depends on what people think the election is about.

And the questioner from New Hampshire...there was one from the national media...

And the one from New Hampshire said, "Tell me one thing you've done for other people in your public life."

And one candidate cited the Patient's Bill of Rights.. which is a laudable thing....that she supported and I desperately tried to get through to the congress. And when I couldn't...I just gave it to the 85,000,000 people by executive order covered by various government insurance plans.

APPLAUSE

But the rest of America didn't have it.

So, anyway, this one candidate said that he supported it...which he did. And it passed the house...but it didn't become law.

Then the next candidate said he had been a cosponsor of the ethics bill which Hillary voted for and supported. And he said it was important because now members of Congress couldn't take...a lot of these couldn't take members of Congress to lunch anymore.

And Hillary said, "Well, when I was First Lady, I led the fight for the Children's Health Insurance Bill which provided health care to 6,000,000 American kids who didn't {inaudible...drowned out by applause}

CHEERS/APPLAUSE

And, there are more than 7,000 of those children in New Hampshire." And then she said, "And as a senator, I cosponsored legislation with a Republican senator to guarantee that when members of the National Guard and Reserve serve our country overseas, when they come home, they're entitled to exactly the same health benefits that members of the armed services are when they come home."

APPLAUSE

And there are 2700 families in New Hampshire affected by that. And the debate was over because people knew that if they wanted a President, they had a clear choice.

The very next day when I was making my rounds at these town meetings, a very proud father stood there with a little son and he said, "This boy is one of those 7,000 kids. And he's desperately ill and because he's covered by the Children's Health Insurance Program, my son is going to have a normal life. I'm for Hillary for President."

APPLAUSE.

And last night in Nevada, I thought there was another defining moment when one candidate that was asked about the nature of the presidency...and one candidate said, "Well, the President is not supposed to run a bureaucracy. You know if you want a bureaucrat, you can vote for somebody else. The President is suppose to set a vision."

And Hillary said, "Yes, but the President is called the Chief Executive Officer of the country. The President is suppose to see to it that the vision makes positive changes in other people's lives...in a clean energy future...and health care for all...and bringing American back from the last seven years.

APPLAUSE

And today, our principal opponent said he wanted to be a transforming leader like Ronald Reagan, not an ordinary leader like me...that we didn't make any fundamental changes in American life.

Well, I didn't tell any welfare Cadillac stories. I didn't claim that trees cause pollution.

But, we had 50% more jobs created in our term than in the Reagan years. We had 100 times as many people move from poverty into the middle class than in the Reagan years.

When we finished, 43,000,000 more Americans were breathing clean air.

85,000,000 had the protection of the Patient's Bill of Rights.

35,000,000 families were protected by Family and Medical Leave and used it.

You know there are a lot of people that don't think that stuff counts for much. That's not just words.

Someone in crowd calls out

"You helped {inaudible}

Clinton responds.

"I helped you?"

Audience member responds.

"You helped {inaudible}."

There were 7,000,000 fewer people on welfare...either in school or the work force. We doubled child support collections. We doubled the rate at which children were moving from foster home into full-time adoptive homes.

And you may think those were just little things...because that's what Presidents do... they affect real lives or they don't.

CHEERS/APPLAUSE

So, that will be the decision.

It's been seriously argued in this campaign that anybody that fought for you before this election date should be eliminated from consideration for the presidency...because they are somehow tainted by the past.

Seriously argued...and it's already worked. We've got Senator Biden and Senator Dodd and Governor Richardson all eliminated.

Biden and Dodd...two of the finest members of the United States Senate....

Chris Dodd was the principal sponsor of the Family Medical Leave law...one of the most important bills I signed into law.

Joe Biden, our senior foreign policy expert in the Senate...and the principal sponsor of the Crime Bill that put 100,000 police on the street and gave you eight years of declining crime for the first time in American history.

Maybe that's not transformative....

Bill Richardson was under my administration...the Ambassador to the United Nations and the Secretary of Energy...and a very outstanding Governor of New Mexico. Actually improving schools and bringing jobs and changing our energy future.

Do we really believe that if you've done something for other people in your public life...you should be eliminated from being considered for the presidency of the United States. I don't think so. I don't think so!

Now, that's what you have to decide. What is this election about?

Hillary wants to bring America back to have a new beginning by rebuilding the Middle Class...by reclaiming the future for our young people...getting the politics out of science and technology on stem cell research and human genome research and global warming research.

And rebuilding the middle class by giving affordable health care to every single American.

CHEERS...APPLAUSE

You have a clear choice. She says, "I'm tired of America making excuses in this one area. I'm tired of being told that we have to spend 700 billion dollars more than any other country on health care. But, we still can't figure out how to cover everybody. I will not accept that America is a Can't-Do Country on this. We are a Can-Do Country and we can provide affordable health care for all of our people.

But, you have a choice. You can say these differences don't matter. But our main opponent says, "Well, we're going to have virtual universal coverage." Meaning that... "I'll make it more affordable and I'm sure everybody will buy it."

But, the truth is that every expert who has looked into this...all the health policy people say...that 15 million Americans will be left out under that.

In other words about a third of those who don't have health coverage still won't have health coverage...if the alternative plan passes.

Hillary says...You're going to have to buy it. But you can keep what you've got if you want. If you don't like what you have, or you can't get insurance, you can buy into a plan just like that which insures members of Congress and their families.

APPLAUSE

You will have over 200 choices. And if you don't have children, either because you're younger or you're not old enough for Medicare but your kids are gone...and you want a perfectly good plan that is less expensive...you can buy into one just like Medicare.

If you can't afford it because it would take up too much of your income...you're eligible for tax credits which are refundable. You get them anyway even if you don't owe income tax. Now...and it will be paid for by allowing the tax cuts on the wealthiest one percent of us...including our family...to expire. They never should have been enacted in the first place.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

And by {inaudible} savings in the medical system...and now lots of them.

Hillary and I took back-to-back trips a couple of months ago to the Mayo Clinic to talk to people there about work they were doing. And the doctors in the area...including doctors who did not work at the Mayo Clinic ...said that if we manage the care of our people the way the Mayo Clinic does...giving everybody a medical home and then sending at earliest possible date to whoever they needed to be sent to...to stay well...it would cut medical costs 20% in this country...and improve the quality.

If we just gave everybody electronic medical records with privacy protections it would save the most conservative estimate is...80 billion dollars a year...that's 80% of what it costs to insure everybody. And those of you who are of a certain age will know that.

How many times have you been to the doctor where before you could get an aspirin you had to answer the same set of questions for an hour you've been answering since you were 12 years old. And I must say for the younger people in this audience...I can tell you there will come a time when you do not remember the answers anymore.

LAUGHTER. APPLAUSE

But, you still got to give them or they can't give you the aspirin. So, you spend all that money and all that time and then still...if you need care right away...we do billions of dollars of unnecessary tests every year because we don't have the records.

And even after all that we spend billions of dollars in medical errors every year because we don't have the records.

This is the kind of thing that has to be done. But, we have to insure everybody. And everybody will not buy the insurance unless you both make it affordable and tell them they have to have it...and then what will happen is young single people, for example, who think they are going to live forever...I was one once...first time they have car wreck and show up at the emergency room...their costs will be passed onto everybody else...and we'll be right back in the cost {inaudible} suit. We have got to provide affordable health care to every single American...nobody left out.

APPLAUSE

Nobody is going to be left out! Nobody!

Now, also...we also have to have a serious effort to overhaul education and make it internationally excellent... beginning with...and to do it...

For our economy sake and our future sake...we have to do three things...

Hillary's plan is this. First. Universal pre-kindergarten for all of our children.

APPLAUSE

For those that come from poor families that need the preparation...

Second...dramatically change LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND.

APPLAUSE.

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND was a good faith effort that went awry. They really didn't want to say, "Okay, we're going to invest in raising standards." What they said was, "You have to give your children a test every year for five years. And we're going to give you federal money based on how your kids do on that test. Then, the government winked at the state of California. Winked at them. Said, "But don't worry about it too much. You get to pick the test and the passing score. So, you wound up with the worst of all worlds. You're trying to raise standards to global levels...right.

The real exams show that our kids are pretty competitive at the fourth grade level. That there's a gap at the eighth grade level...that it gets pretty big at the eleventh grade level. So...if you wanted to catch up..you'd set a hard test with a high score...right...and say I

don't care if it takes us ten years...we're going to gain on them...every year...we're going to get better.

And if you did that...you would be rewarded by losing your federal money. But if you take an easy test with a low score, you get a check and you might lower the quality of education. This is crazy. It's a classic example of what the great Mark Twain said, "That there are two things no human being should ever have to watch being made. Sausage and laws."

LAUGHTER. APPLAUSE.

And so, here's what Hillary thinks we should do. First of all, the federal government should spend the money to recruit, properly train, and deploy teachers in the shortage areas...and science and math and technology.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

And should do it in a way that our young people do not have to be deprived in their schools, of arts and music education...and the other things that help them learn.

We now have a wealth of research on how our brains work. And they all work differently. For example, some of you will only remember some things I say tonight. Others will remember completely different set of things I say. Some of us learn best by looking at a computer screen. Some of us learn best by reading a book. Some of us learn best by listening to a lecture. And all of us learn best...better if we're exposed at an early age to music. Nobody knows quite why. But, we do.

APPLAUSE. CHEERS.

Some of us learn more by doing things. One of the reasons that the Indians have improved their education is they began to teach young people in elementary school outdoors with the environment so that they had physical manifestations of the lessons that were being taught at an early age.

A point I'm trying to make is...none of this is addressed by LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND...and we got a terrible teacher shortage.

The second thing she thinks we should do is to find the schools that already are performing at international levels of excellence...and there are some...without regard to race or income...all across this country. So, pick 20 elementary schools...20 middle schools...20 high schools. Find out what they're doing right. And pay to put that in every other school in America. That will work much better than LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND.

APPLAUSE.

Finally, she believes every young person in this country that wants to go onto college should be able to do so...and we should make it financially possible for them to do so.

APPLAUSE.

Now. In the years I served...we added 13 million young people to the ranks of those getting college aid....the biggest expansion since the G.I. bill in World War II. And we made it easier for them to pay back their loans...by being able to borrow direct from the government at lower interest rates...and then by being able to fix their loan repayment as a small percentage of their annual income...so that no young person was ever deterred from borrowing more money to finish college...for fear they'd never be able to pay it back...because now they can fix it...as a percentage of their income.

And guess what happened when we did that? The students saved nine billion dollars (\$9,000,000,000)...thirteen hundred dollars (\$1300) on every ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) of loan they had to repay...but the tax payers saved four billion (\$4,000,000,000) because the students didn't default on their loans anymore. They could afford to do it.

APPLAUSE.

So...she has proposed an expansion of the grants and the loans and the Americorps service projects that help people go to college...and she has proposed to reinstitute letting people pay it back as a small percentage of their income...and she's gone one better. She says if you get a college degree and you go into a public service...if you're a teacher...a nurse...a police officer...a fireman...a mental health worker...if you're doing something that requires education and you know you'll be rich....the service...(corrects himself) you'll never be rich

LAUGHTER

The service itself should constitute loan repayment...so every year you work...{inaudible because APPLAUSE drowns him out but sounds like something about paying off loan.}

LOUD APPLAUSE

Now, you can say I'm crazy...but I think that's transformative. I think when you change other people's lives...you do what Presidents are suppose to do.

LOUD APPLAUSE

And finally, she says we neither rebuild the middle class nor reclaim the future for our kids unless we make a serious all-out effort to make America a clean, efficient independent energy country....{inaudible...drowned out by...}

LOUD APPLAUSE

Now, for those of you who care about global warming...you know this. But, even if the United States and Europe and Canada and Japan...the wealthiest countries in the world agreed to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by lowering their economic growth...you know as well as I do...that China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Mexico, all the countries rising in incomes...they will never agree to do that. And so we'll burn up the planet anyway. The only way we can get other countries to follow us is to

A. Show that we are willing to rejoin the world's effort to reduce greenhouse gases...and then...and

B. Prove that it's good economics...not bad. We'll create more jobs in more places that are more sustainable by liberating ourselves from the carbon economy than by staying where we are.

LOUD APPLAUSE

Think about it. Think about it. If we made a commitment to biofuels, to eliminating all land fills and turning the organic matter there into biomass for electricity or biofuels. Get rid of them all. They are highly intensive greenhouse gas producers.

If we made a commitment to maximizing the transformation into solar and wind and geothermal and other forms of clean energy...and if we made a commitment to retrofit every single physical structure in the United States to make it maximally efficient...it would put millions of people to work...in every state in every rural area...every small town...every suburb...and every major city of the country. That's what her energy plan does....beginning with establishing a 50 billion dollar clean energy fund...that we start funding by repealing the tax cuts given to the oil companies in 2005....

APPLAUSE

And Hillary wants to say to the oil companies...for decades you've had lots of other tax breaks...the oil depletion allowance and other things...

When oil was \$10 a barrel...and we had plenty of oil...you needed it to find the oil...

When we don't have plenty of oil...and oil is \$100 a barrel...you don't need that. You don't need any incentives. So, if you want to keep those old tax breaks, you have one choice. You can go from being an oil company to an energy company. You can put 100% of that into the pursuit of clean energy. You've got the engineers. You've the delivery capacity. Keep the money and become a clean energy company. Otherwise, give that money to us too...and we'll do the job for America.

That's what's got to be done.

Now...so...she's got a good vision to rebuild the middle class and reclaim the future. And the third thing we have to do is to restore America's leadership in the world for peace and prosperity and security.

APPLAUSE

And you know. More than half the world is mad at us...now...you probably noticed that. And some of it's because we went into Iraq without letting UN inspectors finish their job....after our government promised they would. That's part of it...but that's not all of it. They are also mad at us because we walked away from the fight against climate change. We've walked away from the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. We walked away from the effort to control nuclear weapons...and actually spent much of the last seven years trying to develop two NEW nuclear weapons while we were telling other people they couldn't have them. We demanded to be the only country in the world exempted from the International Criminal Court on war crimes.

We even sadly for much of the last seven years said that we shouldn't be covered by the Geneva Accords on human rights...that people captured in combat

...when our own military leadership was begging us to honor the Geneva Accord so we wouldn't put our own men and women in uniform at risk...should they be captured.

APPLAUSE

Now. So...Hillary wants to restore our standing...first by terminating our involvement in the military conflict in Iraq as quickly as possible and beginning to bring our troops home.

APPLAUSE

But...also...by sending two very different messages to the world than they have heard from us for seven years.

We want to say first of all...'Hey, world out there....we know there are nearly no problems of any significance we can solve alone. We can't solve global warming alone. We can't solve terrorism alone. We can't solve the potential spread of nuclear materials alone. You just can't think of anything much that's important that we can solve alone.

So, from now on...our policy is going to be to cooperate with you whenever we can...and act alone only when we have no other choice...not the other way around.

The second message we want to send is this...we are profoundly proud of the men and women who serve us in the armed services. Indeed, we're going to have to do a lot of work to rebuild them because they've been just about broken by the obsession with Iraq and our obligations elsewhere. We have people serving longer tours than they did in World War II. We've used up the Marine Corps, the Army, the Guard, the Reserves. We've gotten to the point now that members of the Navy Reserve have been trained in Army infantry tactics that are now being deployed to the Iraq theatre because we have no ground forces.

So, we know we are proud of them and we have to have a military. We're going to rebuild ours. But, we also know that in the modern world, the single most expensive thing you can do is go to war. It claims lives. And the people who survive all but have terribly debilitating injuries including a lot of brain injuries now on a scale never before seen by American veterans. And we know there are always unintended consequences in other places...that cost a lot to deal with...and we know it cost a lot...120 billion dollars a year...in Iraq alone. That's more than enough to provide health insurance to every uncovered man, woman, and child in America.

APPLAUSE.

So...here's our new message. From now on...we're going to practice vigorous diplomacy with friend and foe alike...whenever we can...and use military force only as an absolute last resort. Not the other way around...anymore.

APPLAUSE. CHEERS.

Now. So. We're going to rebuild the middle class. Reclaim the future. And restore our standing in the world. And to do it...we have to reform the government.

President Bush made one promise to the American people...if you really listened closely in 2000. He said, "You know Bill Clinton...just...he put the burden of the government on the backs of the special interests. It's too much. It's just terrible what he did to them."

I mean...think of it...all these people breathing clean air and eating safe food again.

And you saw how terrible it was for the economy. I mean we only produced 23 million jobs...right.

APPLAUSE

So, he said..."Vote for me and I will take the government off the backs of the special interests and I will put the special interests on the backs of the government. And he's done a fine job of that. And we paid for it.

So Hillary says...Let's reform the government. Let's begin by eliminating cronyism and only appointing competent people to important government jobs.

APPLAUSE.

Let's get rid of as many of these no-bid contracts as we possibly can. They cause us a lot of trouble and they waste a lot of money.

APPLAUSE

Let's stop subsidizing special interests with middle class tax dollars. That's what happens when...

...you know what happened when we cut the oil...when the government cut the oil company's taxes....in 2005...

with oil already at 60 bucks a barrel...you know what they did with the money...they used the cash to buy their old stock back...to drive the stock price even higher. With your money.

We got to stop stuff like that. We got to stop the tax incentives from moving our jobs overseas. We got to stop all these loop holes that don't make any sense. And we've got to stop some other things as well.

For the older people...here...will know about the Medicare drug program. Republicans wanted to have a token liberal issue. So, they said, "We wouldn't give Bill Clinton Medicare drug {not clearly inaudible..maybe "assistance"} for seniors. We'll pass it.

But, they passed it and sold it...there's doughnut hole in it.

Now, a lot of you who are older know what it is. So, for the younger ones, just listen to this. The doughnut hole is what we used to call a euphemism in college. It sounds so innocent. Like if you're like me and you battled your weight all your life...you can't wait

to get to the doughnut hole...right.

LAUGHTER

But, it doesn't work like that. What happens is you ride the doughnut for a while. The government helps the senior buy medicine. Then, after awhile...after you buy a certain amount of medicine...the government stops. But the senior still needs the medicine. So, the senior falls into the doughnut hole. While in the hole, you buy your own medicine. Then when you're just about broke...the government reaches you...takes you out of the doughnut hole again...and starts helping you with the medicine.

Why is the doughnut hole there? Because when this bill passed...the White House and its allies in Congress insisted that the United States of America be the only large purchaser of drugs in the entire country that could not bargain for lower prices for drugs bought in high volume.

The only one...

VA Hospital does. General Motors does. State governments do. Only your government can't do it because they wanted to take part of your middle class money and give it to the pharmaceutical companies. That was wrong and she will put a stop to it.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

She will also enforce our labor laws and our trade laws...and put us in a position to enforce our trade laws. You know it's interesting to me and it may be to you that trade has become sort of this year's dirty word in the Democratic primary and immigration has become this year's dirty word in the Republican primary. And that's not good for America. It's not good because we're 4% of the world's people..and 22% of its wealth. We had to sell something to somebody. The real problem with trade is we cannot enforce our trade laws anymore.

And it's certainly not good to have everybody whipping up on this immigration thing when we are a nation of immigrants. And that's part of our strength and our meal ticket to the 21st century...that we're the most diverse country in the world.

APPLAUSE. CHEERS.

So...what we have to do is to find a practical solution to the immigration issue that will enable us to be both a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants.

Do we need good border enforcement? Yes, we do. Because we need to know who's

coming into this country. Don't forget...the 9/11 terrorists were here for quite sometime before that happened. So, we need to know. And it's not just the Rio Grande River...folks. It's the Canadian border. And it's the unbelievable number of ports and airports on both our oceans and on the Caribbean.

We need that. We need to enforce the labor laws in the work place...because otherwise...both the legal immigrants and the citizens who are displaced from jobs and the illegal immigrants who are worked at lower wages with no benefits are all going to be abused. That's wrong. We have to enforce that.

But, we also should give the 12 million people over here a path to earned citizenship because... and this is one thing where I don't understand some of the conservatives' opposition because they say, "Oh, there go the Democrats...they're all for amnesty." That's not true.

Every single person in our party has said we're for a path to earned citizenship. But people have to pay a fee to do it or a fine and get to the back of the line behind everybody who has filed legally.

But, we want to give people who are working and paying taxes the chance to do this to even up our system. Nobody suggests that we can find everybody that's not here with documentation and send them all home. And from a national security point of view, we need to know who's in America.

Someone should ask the people who say this is a terrible idea whether they think we need to know who's in America. If you gave people a path to citizenship, and believe me...Hillary is a senator from New York. She knows something about the terrorist danger. She knows something about what has to be done...and deal with it once something horrible happens.

And she is strongly in favor of this both on humanitarian grounds and on security grounds. Consider this...suppose we open up a path to citizenship and say you got to sign up here and identify yourself and get documentation sometime in the next six months. Okay.

And everybody does it. Except 50,000 people. We know not everybody will do it. Right.

So... if 11,950,000 people sign up...think about this if you're a conservative Republican whose number one priority is fighting terror. Isn't it easier to find the terrorist needle in a haystack of 50,000 than 12 million. Give me a break here. This is the right thing to do across the board.

A comprehensive settlement that gives us a chance to be a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants. So...

And she wants to enforce the trade laws but we can't do it now because we're borrowing too much money from the people we're trading surpluses.

Consider it. Did you ever think America would be in this fix? I mean...who do we have big trade deficits with? China. Japan. Korea. And the oil sellers. Those are the big four.

And who are our biggest creditors? Every day we borrow money to cover Bill Clinton's {he said "Bill Clinton's" but assume he meant George Bush's} tax cut, and our soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan and everything else.

We borrow that money from China, Japan, Korea, and the oil exporters. So, imagine this. You go home from this rally tonight. You get up in the morning and have breakfast and have an extra cup of coffee to get your courage up. You take a leisurely drive down to your bank. Walk in the front door. Barge in the bank president's office and slap the living daylights out of the bank president.

Now, here's my question. You think you could get a loan tomorrow afternoon?

LAUGHTER

Now, we're laughing. But you get the point...don't you? I believe every progressive Democrat...no matter how liberal...should be for more fiscal responsibility. We are CRAZY to borrow money from people that we then cannot enforce our trade laws on.

APPLAUSE

This is not good for America. It is not the right thing to do.

APPLAUSE.

AND...I might add...it's one reason there's been a precipitous drop in the value of the American dollar which has caused a lot of the other instability and aggravated the home mortgage crisis...and all the other things that are going on.

So...she's got a good plan to reform the government. And I might add...to deal with this subprime mortgage crisis. Freeze the foreclosures for 90 days. Do a rework so that everybody that can make the current mortgage payment can keep making just that

payment for 5 years...even if we had to redo the mortgages.

APPLAUSE.

Now. In order to do that, we may have to spend some money in communities to provide bridges to help these people do it. But, I promise you it will be much cheaper than allowing all these people to go under.

If you allow millions of people to be foreclosed on who are good, hard-working middle-class people, they may lose forever their ability to be home owners. If any of them have equity in their home, it may be the only wealth they have. They may lose that forever. And it cost the taxpayers an average in terms of lost wealth for the country of almost a quarter of a million dollars for every home that has to be foreclosed on. It will drive down the values of the homes...not only that are foreclosed on...but all those in the neighborhood. This is crazy.

She tried to get the President to take action on this six months before he did. And even now, they haven't proposed enough. So, if you have a reform government full of competent people, they will be Johnny-on-the-spot when stuff like this happens. And act early...not late.

We need to move on this thing...move now and keep it from getting worse so it doesn't lead to a recession.

APPLAUSE

Now. Okay. So, my first case for her is she's got a good vision and good plans.

The second thing is...she's the best change-maker for other people I've ever known. And I believe that ought to be the test. (repeats) I believe that ought to be the test.

You know there comes a time when...and the younger people here will know this...when you realize at some point in your life, you realize that even if you live to be a hundred...and I hope you all do. But even if you live to be a hundred, you've got more yesterdays than tomorrows. And when that realization hits you, for those who aren't afraid, it has a wonderfully calming affect. And it simplifies what you really care about. And I can tell you that for her as it was for me, there are only two tests that matter about public service. The rest of it's all smoke and mirrors. All this whatever...

The two things that matter are....

ARE PEOPLE BETTER OFF WHEN YOU QUIT THAN WHEN YOU STARTED?

**AND DO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN HAVE A BRIGHTER FUTURE
BECAUSE OF YOUR ENDEAVORS?**

NOTHING ELSE MATTERS!

APPLAUSE. CHEERS.

Now. If you look... Now, there's a real difference. If you heard that debate last night, you know there is a difference of opinion about this. A big difference of opinion about this.

When Hillary was a senator from New York...when she was elected...the Republicans were still in the majority. It was obvious that unless she worked with them, she couldn't get anything done. And the conventional wisdom was...."Oh, they'll never work with her. They've demonized the Clintons for eight years. She'll never even get those people to talk to her. All she'll do is give speeches."

Well, she got big improvements in children's health. She took care of the first responders, the firemen and policemen after 9/11.

APPLAUSE

She passed...all with Republican cosponsors...she passed legislation that you clapped for already that guaranteed members of the Guards and the Reserves...equal health benefits when they got home.

She passed the legislation...two bills since she's been running for President...as a member of the Armed Services Committee. One extends the Family and Medical Leave law to the families of people who suffer physical or mental trauma overseas so that their families can take some time off when they come home to take care of them without losing their jobs.

And she passed a bill...most recently a bill with the Republican senator from Alabama which deals with the military signing bonus. You know a lot of our young people got a generous bonus to sign up to do a four-year term. And because we're involved in conflicts, some of them were trained, deployed, and wounded. That's what happens in conflicts. Some of them were wounded so badly they can't go back on duty and finish their four years.

The Pentagon tried to get their signing bonus back. And Hillary cosponsored a bill that

says, "No way. Now that we've done this, you can't have that bonus back. It belongs to the soldiers."

APPLAUSE.

She and John McCain who's also running for President...

...and I guess in Republican circles qualifies as a raving liberal because he doesn't believe global warming is a myth, he thinks torture is bad, and he supported campaign finance reform. But, they like and admire each other very much...even though they are different on a lot of things.

They took sceptical Republican senators to the northern most village on earth...600 miles north of Norway...so they could see what was happening to the climate. Then, they went to the northern most village in the United States...Point Barrow, Alaska...so your fellow citizens, the native Eskimos could tell them how their way of life was coming to an end.

Now, we have a bipartisan majority in the U.S. Senate for taking serious action on global warming.

APPLAUSE

I think that is the kind of change we want from an American President.

APPLAUSE

And, in the White House years, she represented us in over 80 other countries. I still have people all the time tell me about things she did when I was President that changed their lives. I was in an orphanage in Cambodia in November of 2006. And one of the volunteers...where we have 325 kids on AIDS medicine that my foundation supplies.

And this volunteer said to me, "I know it was a long time ago. But you have no idea what an impact your wife had at the Beijing Women's Conference in 1995 when she said, "WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS. AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE WOMEN'S RIGHTS." We knew our girls had to go to school.

APPLAUSE

We knew we had to go to work. It changed the way we lived.

APPLAUSE (long)

I was in Senegal. And I went into the hotel and there were all these women in their beautiful native dresses and a few of their brave male supporters...to thank me because Hillary was the only international figure ever to stick up for them when they tried to end generation after generation after generation of destructive female mutilation practices that kept women down and girls out of school.

APPLAUSE

And they thanked me because of her!

APPLAUSE (long)

The leaders of Northern Ireland came to Washington to see the President about three weeks ago because we made the peace in Northern Ireland in 1998. You may remember...ending the longest civil conflict in European history. The IRA bombings...all the retaliatory violence...all of that. But, it took them 9 years to actually finish all the particulars of the peace process.

So, they came to America to see the President to thank the United States for supporting it. They asked to see one other person besides the President. They asked to see Hillary and she left the campaign trail and went back so they could thank her for the independent role she played in the Irish peace process.

APPLAUSE.

If you want to restore America's standing in the world, elect her President and you'll do it overnight.

APPLAUSE

Now, when I was President, she also headed up our health care reform plan. And as all of our opponents have found the opportunity to say in a snickering way at one time or another...we failed. Yes, we did. And this is a very important thing for you to know in judging who should be your President because unless you take the next President and lock him or her in a closet for four years, there will be days when they fail. They are just like you. They don't win everything. You need to know how your President deals with failure.

I might say for those who derisively refer to this...you might remember that Harry Truman tried and failed too...and he was a pretty great President.

Jimmy Carter tried and failed. Lyndon Johnson had the biggest Democratic majority of

any President in modern history. He didn't even try to get universal health care. He stopped with Medicare and Medicaid because this is hard.

We are going to get it next time because we've got a lot more support than ever before and because people realize we're going to bankrupt the country if we don't get it.

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But, going back to this time... what did she do with failure? You need to know this. This is a relevant consideration for the President. She got up off the floor and dusted herself off, went back to work, and you got the Children's Health Insurance Program, the biggest expansion of health care since Medicare.

APPLAUSE. CHEERS.

She got 90% of our kids immunized against serious diseases for the first time. Big advances in breast cancer, cervical cancer, prostate cancer, and diabetes self-management. And a whole raft of other things. I think she made good use of her failure. That's what you want a President of the United States to do...to keep winning for you...and changing your lives for the better.

APPLAUSE.

And finally, I'll say this and then if you've got a few questions, I'll answer them. But, there's something else you need to think about.

You have to have a President who can handle the unexpected and not get carried away with being President.

And I'll explain what I mean by that. The chances are overwhelming that some time...and this is not fear mongering... It may not be a national security crisis...but something will happen. And maybe a lot of somethings will happen sometime between 12 and 18 months into the next presidency that will not be discussed here. But how the President handles that will determine whether he or she can achieve what they promised you to do when they ran.

Consider my situation. When I ran for President in California and you were good enough to vote for me in '92, nobody asked me, "What are you going to do when the Northridge earthquake occurs?" Right. Because you didn't know there was going to be one.

When Al Gore and George Bush vied for the Presidency in 2000, they didn't answer a single question about 9/11, Katrina, or what would happen if Benazir Bhutto...for God's sakes...was murdered in Pakistan...and one of the world's nuclear powers was thrown into

instability.

But, you have to deal with it. When the ground moves, the President is then called upon to really be President because you have to do two things at once. You have to deal with what's happened...and continue to do what you promised the American people you would do.

If you don't deal with what's happening, you say, "I'm sorry. I didn't run for President to deal with this." Then, people will think you're clueless and if you fail it can undermine the whole rest of your presidency. Consider the impact of Katrina on the Bush presidency. Right. So, you must do this. On the other hand, if all you do is deal with what happens, then when your service is over, you will feel that you let the American people down because you didn't push the ball forward toward our more perfect union.

So, the test is...can you do both? Can you keep your head and make those decisions and understand the complexities of the moment?

She has the best experience in doing it. All of her life she's been making changes in other people's lives. She did it when we were in law school and everybody else was dying to get out and make money. She was dying to stay in because she was worried that there were no legal protections in America at that time for severely abused and neglected children.

And it was a rare deal for a woman. Now, more than half the graduates of law school are women. I don't think a lot of young women understand how far they've come in the last generation. But, then, it was a rare deal to be a woman graduate of an Ivy League law school.

She took an extra year at the Yale Hospital and Child's Study Center to look at those kids coming into the hospital with cigarette burns on their arms that hadn't been fed in a week. And they worked and worked until they came up with some standards that could be adopted all around America. And now, there are protections virtually everywhere for severely abused and neglected children.

When she got out of law school....

APPLAUSE

When she got out of law school, she went to work not for a big law firm...she could have gone {inaudible} Chicago, taken a job in a firm, run for office...and she'd probably have been in California doing this fifteen years ago.

Instead, she went to work for the Children's Defense Fund...not handling fancy cases but knocking on the doors of poor people's houses, asking them why their children were dropping out of school.

And she and her young colleagues found that most of them were quitting because they had a mental or a physical disability. Sometimes quite a minor one...but one that did not permit them to learn in the schools as they were then organized...with the teachers as they were then trained.

And the report they filed with the Congress led to the passage of the Special Education Law mandating an equal and appropriate education for all of our children without regard to their disabilities. It changed the future for millions of people.

APPLAUSE.

Now, in the years when I was Governor and she had no elected office, I asked her to handle the education reform movement in Arkansas. At the time, a national expert said we had the worse schools in America. When I ran for President, the same guy said, "Now, in the last 10 years, the states improving their schools the most are South Carolina and Arkansas." She did that with no public office. She changed the future for thousands and thousands and thousands of kids. And, that's the kind of decision-making for other people you want in the White House when the going gets tough.

I mean it's easy to get carried away when you're President.

If you're not careful, you could think you are somebody.

LAUGHTER.

I mean. Come on. Think about what it's like being President. First of all, they play a song every time you walk in the room. All right. I swear after I left the White House, I was lost for three weeks. Nobody ever played a song anymore.

I didn't even know where I was. Washington is the second most congested city in America. But, the President never waits in traffic. You just zip along in that cool bullet-proof limo. You have no commute to work. You live in America's finest public housing. You work in the most beautiful office in the world. And your airplane's so cool they make movies about it.

LAUGHTER

Now, we're laughing. But, you get the point, don't you.

In the end, the President is your hired hand. The person you pick to make changes in your life. And if the test of this election is, "Who can do that?"...the answer is easy. You have to decide what the election's about.

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You have to decide what the election's about. And whether you really believe people that have been doing this for ever and a day always pushing forward, always in the cusp of change should somehow be eliminated from the presidency because they've made life better for other people. That is the argument that's being made to you. That is the argument... that we cannot possibly become what we ought to be unless we give everybody a gold watch or a kick in the pants and get rid of them...and just start again as if nothing ever happened. You have to decide whether you agree with that argument.

I'm going to close with this story. I can tell you a lot of stories about Hillary. But, this is the one that's happened in the last year that most clearly reflects why I believe she would be a great President.

Sometime last summer a friend of mine from Nevada called me. A guy I went to college with...and he's like my brother. And our families vacation together. His daughter worked for me. And we were very close.

But, he also likes to make fun of me. And to annihilate me on every golf course available. So, this guy calls me and said, "Bill, I'm bringing two friends to New York on business. And I want to play this fancy golf course that Donald Trump built. And I know it's only ten minutes from your house."

He said, "Now, you used to be President. Surely, you can get me on that golf course."

I said, "Yes, and the important words in that sentence are 'used to be'." I said, "I'll take you. And we'll go."

So, I take him out there. And I got him a caddy because it's quite a difficult course."

We played the first hole. The other three guys walk off the green. I am walking off the green...when for the only time in my life, I was physically restrained by a caddy.

And I had my back turned. And all of a sudden, I feel this vise-like grip on my arm, saying, "Wait, don't go. I got to tell you something. This is probably my only chance."

So, I said, "Okay." He said, "You don't know me, do you?"

I said, "I don't think so."

He said, "It's cause I'm not really a caddy."

So, I thought, "A comedian, a terrorist, somebody still mad at me for something I did as President."

And he got real serious and he said, "You know. I do this just to supplement my family's income. But, in my real life, I am a captain in the New York City Fire Department."

And he said, "You know before 9/11, most of us firemen thought we were Republicans. I mean we already had what we needed from the government. We had a good job, retirement, and health care. And we're mostly Irish and Italian ethnics who are kind of clannish. And to tell you the truth, we just love all their macho rhetoric."

He was real upfront. But he said, "On that awful day when the buildings were coming down and we were desperately looking for anybody still alive. And in the horrible days afterward when we were crawling through the rubble just trying to find some shred of human remains which would enable us to identify people and give their families some closure...your wife...our senator was the first person to know that many of us would get sick...and some of us would die because of what we breathed doing our duty."

"Remember the pictures of that air. What you saw in that air were asbestos, PCBs, and benzene--three well-known cancer-causing agents."

He said, "But the President, most of us voted for...the whole White House...even the EPA...they said we didn't need any extra help. We couldn't possibly get sick from what we breathed. There was no need for emergency diagnosis and early intervention and aggressive attention because we couldn't get sick."

And for the only time he smiled, he said, "Of course, I noticed every time the EPA guys came down here, they were wearing masks."

And then he said, "But, they said, 'Not us...we couldn't get sick. We didn't need any help.'"

He said, "But she knew better and she fought for us. She stood up for us. And because she did...and because some people in the House stayed with her, we got the help we needed. And because of her, some of us who would have died are alive."

And he said, "Those of us who died, at least our families had the dignity of knowing that the United States Congress honored their service at a time of great strength for this country."

By this time, I'm rooted to the ground. And tears are streaming down my face. And he looks at me and he said, "You know. I don't know so much about politics. But I do know this. That's the kind of person who ought to be President. Somebody who knows what it is like to be me...and all the other people like me in the whole country that can be overlooked and not heard...whose interests can be totally {inaudible}."

He said, "I would do anything I could."

And I sat there. I literally didn't know what to say. I was crying like a baby. But, I know what to say tonight.

That's the person I've known for almost 37 years now. That's the person that got 85 people to come all the way from Arkansas to New Hampshire to campaign for her.

And these people...she hadn't lived there in 15 years. They wrote their own brochure with old pictures to tell them what she had done to change their lives.

And that's the person that had all these New York farmers go all the way to Iowa to tell them, "Yes, there were farms in New York....and that she was the only person that had ever really done anything to help them with rural development...and with clean energy...and with other things that would bring them into the modern world. That's the person that carried 36 of the 40 counties in New York that George Bush defeated John Kerry in...with 60% of the vote.

That's the person who has been able to get all of this stuff done even when the Republicans were in the majority.

Now, do I think it would be a good thing if we had the first woman President? I do. I do.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

I do because when I was born, my mother was a widow and I lived with my grandparents and I watched my grandmother work for peanuts. And I watched my mother get up before dawn every day of my childhood and go to work. And I knew that on occasion she was subject to discrimination in the work place. I do because Hillary and I raised our daughter to believe she could do or be whatever she wanted to do or be.

I do...but I have to say...as a Southerner whose whole life was dictated by civil rights, I think it would be good if we had the first African-American President. I think it will be great if we have the first Hispanic President. I think it will be great when we have the first Asian President. I think it will be great when we have the first Jewish

President...when we have the first Muslim President. When we prove that America is an idea...an idea that enables us all to live together in harmony...and go forward together.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

I think it will be great. But, what we have to do...what we have to do now in 2008...with the economy in a shambles...with all these serious challenges facing us...is to elect the best President. You have to define what that means. But if you want somebody who is a world class change-maker...who believes leadership is an honor...not something you're entitled to...who believes that change can be made only in other people's lives...and who has proved over and over and over again...that you can trust and depend on her...she's your candidate.

And I ask you to elect her. California can chart America's course into tomorrow.

Thank you and God bless you.

CHEERS. APPLAUSE.

(Then, he entered crowd, shaking hands, signing autographs...)