Chapter 10:

Civil Liberties and Constitutional Rights

Race and Affirmative Action

Bush   Gore

Gender and Abortion

Bush   Gore

Disabled and Gay Rights

Bush   Gore

Immigration

Bush   Gore
Race and Affirmative Action - Bush

George W. Bush
June 9, 2000

TV Ad: "How About You?"

[George P. Bush]:
Why vote for George W. Bush? Because he believes in family. Because he
supports education. Because he knows we all are the new face of
America. Because he wants no child to be left behind. Because it's
time for a change. Because he understands our culture. Porque sabe
que somos el futuro. Because he's a great guy. Porque el sueño
Americano es para todos. Porque él será un gran presidente.
This is the reason -- esta es el razón -- why I'll vote for him. How about
you? How about you? ¿Y tú? How about you?
(On screen: Es Un Nuevo Día; George W. Bush for President; Paid for by
Bush for President, Inc.)
George W. Bush
June 9, 2000
TV Ad: "Same As Mine"

[George P. Bush):
I'm a young Latino in the U.S. and very proud of my bloodline. In many ways, I am like any other American. I believe in opportunity, a level playing field for everyone and the achievement of the American dream.

I have an uncle that is running for president because he believes in the same thing: opportunity for every American, for every Latino. His name -- the same as mine, George Bush.

(On screen: Es Un Nuevo Día; George W. Bush for President; Paid for by Bush for President, Inc.)
George W. Bush
NAACP Annual Convention
Baltimore, Maryland
July 10, 2000

Ending Racial Inequality

... The history of the Republican Party and the NAACP has not been one of regular partnership. But our nation is harmed when we let our differences separate us and divide us. So, while some in my party have avoided the NAACP, and while some in the NAACP have avoided my party, I am proud to be here today.

I am here today because I believe there is much we can do together to advance racial harmony and economic opportunity.

But before we get to the future, we must acknowledge our past. In the darkest days of the Civil War, President Lincoln pleaded to our divided nation to remember that "We cannot escape history...[that] we will be remembered in spite of ourselves." One hundred and forty years later, that is still true.

For our nation, there is no denying the truth that slavery is a blight on our history. And that racism, despite all our progress, still exists.

For my party, there’s no escaping the reality that the Party of Lincoln has not always carried the mantle of Lincoln.

Recognizing and confronting our history is important. Transcending our history is essential. We are not limited by what we have done, or what we have left undone. We are limited only by what we are willing to do.

Our nation must make a new commitment to equality and upward mobility for all our citizens.
This is a great moment of national prosperity. But many still live in prosperity’s shadow. The same economy that is a miracle for millions is a mystery to millions as well.

From the beginning of this campaign, I have said that prosperity must have a purpose. The purpose of prosperity is to ensure that the American Dream touches every willing heart. We cannot afford to have an America segregated by class, by race or by aspiration. America must close the gap of hope between communities of prosperity and communities of poverty.

We have seen what happens when African-American citizens have the opportunity they have earned and the respect they deserve. Men and women once victimized by Jim Crow have risen to leadership in the halls of Congress. Professionals and entrepreneurs have built a successful, growing African-American middle class.

It must be our goal to expand this opportunity – to make it as broad and diverse as American itself. And this begins with enforcing our civil rights laws.

Discrimination is still a reality, even when it takes different forms. Instead of Jim Crow, there is racial redlining and profiling. Instead of “separate but equal,” there is separate and forgotten. Strong civil rights enforcement will be a cornerstone of my administration.

I will confront another form of bias – the soft bigotry of low expectations in education.

Several months ago I visited Central High School in Little Rock, where African-Americans confronted injustice and white Americans confronted their conscience. In 43 years, we’ve come so far in opening the doors of our schools.

Yet today we have a challenge of our own: while all can enter our schools, many are not learning there. There is a tremendous gap of
achievement between rich and poor, white and minority. This, too, leaves a divided society. And whatever the cause, the effect is discrimination.

My friend Phyllis Hunter, a teacher in Texas, calls reading “the new civil right.” Equality in our country will remain a distant dream until every child, of every background, has a chance to learn and strive and rise in the world. No child in America should be segregated by low expectations... imprisoned by illiteracy... abandoned to frustration and the darkness of self-doubt.

And there is reason for optimism. A great movement of education reform has begun in this country, built on clear principles: Raise the bar of standards. Give schools the flexibility to meet them. Measure progress. Insist on results. Blow the whistle on failure. Provide parents with options to increase their influence. And don’t leave any child behind.

I believe in these principles. I have seen them turn around troubled schools in my state. I’ve seen them bring hope into the lives of children – inspiring confidence and ambition. I’m especially proud that the performance of minority students in my state is improving at one of the fastest rates in the country. African-American fourth-graders in Texas have better math skills than any other state.

We can make the same kind of progress at the national level. A central part of my agenda is changing Title One to close the achievement gap. All students will be tested. Low-performing schools will have three years to produce results. If they do not, then these resources will go directly to the parents.

Every child can learn. Every child in this country deserves to grow in knowledge and character and ideals. Nothing is more important to our prosperity and goodness than cultivated minds and courageous hearts. As W. E. B. Du Bois said a century ago, “Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.”
Education is the essential beginning – but we must go further. To create communities of promise, we must help people build the confidence and faith to achieve their own dreams. We must put government squarely on the side of opportunity.

This is a higher and older tradition of my party. Lincoln argued that “every poor man should have a chance.” He defended a “clear path for all.” He financed colleges, welcomed immigrants, promoted railroads and economic development. Through the Homestead Act, he gave countless Americans a piece of land a start in life.

I have proposed a New Prosperity Initiative that reflects the spirit of Lincoln’s reforms. A plan to remove obstacles on the road to the Middle Class. Instead of helping people cope with their need, we will help them move beyond it.

We must provide a Family Health Credit that covers 90 percent of the cost of a basic health policy for low-income families.

We must make it possible for more people to become homeowners, to own a part of the American Dream. So we’ll allow low-income families to use up to a year’s worth of Section 8 rental payments to make a down payment on their own home – then use five years of those payments to help with the mortgage.

We’ll start an American Dream Down Payment Fund, matching individual savings for the down payment on a home.

Behind all these proposals is a simple belief: I believe in private property. I believe in private property so strongly, I want everyone to have some.

Education helps the young. Empowerment lifts the able. But there are those who need much more. Children without role models. Young people captured by gangs or addiction or despair.

Government can spend money, but it cannot put hope in someone’s
heart or a sense of purpose in their lives. This is done by caring communities – by churches, synagogues, mosques and charities that serve their neighbors because they love their God. Every day they prove that our worst problems are not hopeless or endless. Every day they perform miracles of renewal.

What we need is a new attitude that welcomes the transforming power of faith. In the words of a writer who visited the Mott Haven section of the Bronx: “the beautiful old stone church ... is a gentle sanctuary from the terror of the streets outside.”

In city after city, for the suffering and the hurting, the most hopeful passageway is the door to the house of God. We are going to extend the role and reach of charities and churches, synagogues and mosques, mentors and community healers, in our society. As President, I intend to rally these armies of compassion in the neighborhoods of America.

I will lift the regulations that hamper private and faith-based programs. I will involve them in after-school programs, maternity group homes, drug treatment, prison ministries. I have laid out specific incentives to encourage an outpouring of giving in America.

Here’s an example. More than a million children have one or both parents in prison. These are forgotten children – almost six times more likely to go to prison themselves. And they should not be punished for the sins of their fathers. We should give grants to ministries and mentoring programs that offer support to these children. Let us bring help and hope to these other innocent victims of crime.

I’m not calling for government to step back from its responsibilities, but to share them. We’ll always need government to raise and distribute funds, monitor success and set standards. But we also need what no government can provide: the power of compassion and prayer and love.

These are some of my goals for America – to help make opportunity
not only a hope and a promise, but a living reality.

The NAACP and the GOP have not always been allies. But recognizing our past and confronting the future with a common vision, I believe we can find common ground.

This will not be easy work. But a philosopher once advised: “When given a choice, prefer the hard.” We will prefer the hard because only the hard will achieve the good. That is my commitment. That is our opportunity.

...
George W. Bush
An Hispanic Event at the Philadelphia Museum of Art
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
August 2, 2000

Touching upon Hispanic Issues – Education & Entrepreneurship

...

Are you guys excited about electing a president who represents the diversity of our society? who can we count on, to change the Republican Party so that it starts to represent our views and our faces, and our diversity? I'm excited. I have to show you a little story before I let him on.

I was in 7th grade and there is a leader within the Latino community, his name is Caesar Chavez, and he passed away one day. And my mother came to me and she was crying in tears.

(SPEAKING IN SPANISH)

In English, that means, you have to find somebody who finds and represents what you believe, who represents our people, who represent our culture, that person is my uncle, and I want to welcome, and I want you guys to put your hands together for the next president and first lady of the United States, George W. Bush and Laura Bush.

(SPEAKING IN SPANISH)

...

Last night I was in Gettysburg, and we were watching Senator McCain's address. It was a touching tribute to America. It was a strong statement it was a strong statement about what our nation stands for. He's a living example of duty, honor, and country.

And Senator, I can't wait to campaign with you all across our country. There's a better day for America. There's a better day for all.

Juntos podemos. Juntos podemos. Together -- together we can.
Together we can make sure every child pueden leer -- every child can read in America. Together we can make sure entrepreneurship spreads its wings. Together we can make sure el sueno Americano es para todos que viven en este pais. Y juntos podemos ganar en Noviembre. Muchas gracias por todos.
George W. Bush
September 18, 2000

TV Ad: "Education" (Spanish)

[Announcer]:
One out of five children born in this country is Latino. Their education will not only define their future, but the future of our nation. George W. Bush knows that an education will bring opportunity.

(On screen: Paid for by Bush-Cheney 2000, Inc. and Republican National Committee)

He wants each child to read well, that parents can choose the best school for their children, and that schools are held responsible for their performance.

[Bush]:
To me, education is a first priority. Our children deserve only the best.
George W. Bush
Republican National Convention 2000
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Party Platform: Native Americans

The federal government has a special responsibility, ethical and legal, to make the American dream accessible to Native Americans. Unfortunately, the resources that the United States holds in trust for them, financial and otherwise, have been misused and abused. While many tribes have become energetic participants in the mainstream of American life, the serious social ills afflicting some reservations have been worsened by decades of mismanagement from Washington. In its place, we offer these guiding principles:

Tribal governments are best situated to gauge the needs of their communities and members.

Political self-determination and economic self-sufficiency are twin pillars of an effective Indian policy.

Private sector initiatives, rather than public assistance, can best improve material conditions in Indian communities.

High taxes and unreasonable regulations stifle new and expanded businesses and thwart the creation of job opportunities and prosperity.

We will strengthen Native American self-determination by respecting tribal sovereignty, encouraging economic development on reservations, and working with them to reorganize the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. We uphold the unique government-to-government relationship between the tribes and the United States and honor our nation’s trust obligations to them.

We support efforts to ensure equitable participation in federal programs by Native Americans, Native Alaskans, and Native Hawaiians.
and to preserve their cultures and languages.
George W. Bush
Republican National Convention 2000
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Party Platform: Upholding the Rights of All — Ethnic Equality

Equality of individuals before the law has always been a cornerstone of our party. We therefore oppose discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability, or national origin and will vigorously enforce anti-discrimination statutes. As we strive to forge a national consensus on the crucial issues of our time, we call on all Americans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry. Accordingly, we denounce all who practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic prejudice, and religious intolerance. Our country was founded in faith and upon the truth that self-government is rooted in religious conviction. While the Constitution guards against the establishment of state-sponsored religion, it also honors the free exercise of religion. We believe the federal courts must respect this freedom and the original intent of the Framers. We assert the right of religious leaders to speak out on public issues and will not allow the EEOC or any other arm of government to regulate or ban religious symbols from the workplace. We condemn the desecration of places of worship and objects of religious devotion, and call upon the media to reconsider their role in fostering bias through negative stereotyping of religious citizens. We support the First Amendment right of freedom of association and stand united with private organizations, such as the Boy Scouts of America, and support their positions.

Because we treasure freedom of conscience, we oppose attempts to compel individuals or institutions to violate their moral standards in providing health-related services. We believe religious institutions and schools should not be taxed. When government funds privately-operated
social, welfare, or educational programs, it must not discriminate against faith-based organizations, whose record in providing services to those in need far exceeds that of the public sector. Their participation should be actively encouraged, and never conditioned upon the covering or removing of religious objects or symbols.

We believe rights inhere in individuals, not in groups. We will attain our nation’s goal of equal opportunity without quotas or other forms of preferential treatment. It is as simple as this: No one should be denied a job, promotion, contract, or chance at higher education because of their race or gender. Equal access, energetically offered, should guarantee every person a fair shot based on their potential and merit.

...
...  

Ghandi often uses the word that translates roughly as truth force. And that's the weapon they -- weapon? -- that's the tool they have wielded in this debate. They have confronted our nation with the force of truth coming straight from their conscience and calling to this nation to be what we know we are capable of becoming.

This is the United States Senate at its best. And because hate crimes are an affront to all Americans, this vote is a sign of hope for all Americans; to those who are leaders of the groups that have worked so hard in this extraordinary American coalition talk about a coalition that looks like America, this one does, and God bless you all, and all the millions of grassroots Americans who have spoken up made something happen here today that a lot of people thought was impossible.

Now one final thing, before I turn it back over to our master of ceremonies here. This still has to pass the House of Representatives before it becomes law.

To those who say that it cannot pass in the House of Representatives, think back to the predictions that it could not pass here in the United States Senate. This vote was expected, a couple of hours ago, to be razor thin, but a lot of senators dug deep down and they looked in their own hearts and they weighed it all in the balance and they said, This is the right thing to do. This is what our country is all
about.

The same force the same truth force that produced this result here today is capable of producing the same result in the House of Representatives, and then we'll be back with an even bigger celebration because then it will be the law of our land that hate crimes will be punished. And this statute will embody what we have in our hearts the vast majority of Americans that we're not going to tolerate this kind of intolerance any longer.

...
[Announcer]:
Al Gore and the Democrats: We can count on them.

[Gore]:
I'll fight to protect Social Security and Medicare. Extend health care coverage to our children -- let's do it. World class public schools for our children. They deserve it. Dreams: Together, we can realize our dreams for our families.

(On screen: Al Gore and the Democrats; www.1-877-leadnow.com; Paid for by the Democratic National Committee)
Al Gore
NAACP 91st Annual Convention
Baltimore, Maryland
July 12, 2000

Ending Racial Inequality

... I am a member of the NAACP. It's good to be home. I have come here, not just in an election year, but year after year.

I have worked with you. I have stood with you. I am proud to have won some battles alongside you. You are American heroes, because for 91 years now, you've been the foot soldiers for justice and freedom.

For 91 years now, you have been dedicated to lifting every child, leveling every barrier, and leaving no one behind. For 91 years now, you have fought for a prosperity that runs much deeper than our material possessions. It runs to the way we treat one another, the way we respect one another, the way we cherish equality, seek freedom and love truth that sets us free.

W.E.B. DuBois described the NAACP's mission this way: The discovering and redress of cases of injustice. The NAACP has always championed the people, not the powerful; the weak and the weary, not the well-off and the well-connected.

So to you, and to those who can hear my voice, I want to say it as plainly as I can: I'm running for president because I want to fight for you. I want to help those who have not had their fair share of justice, opportunity, equality and the American dream.

We've got to move forward together. I want to serve the people, not the powerful. I want to take on the special interests on behalf of working families. I don't want to work for those who make excuses for the way
things are instead of striving for the way things are supposed to be.

Bill Lucy, my fellow Tennessean, described the achievements of the last eight years, and I appreciate that. I don’t want you to forget what it was like eight years ago when there was very high unemployment, there were deficits in the range of $300 billion a year and constant arguments for cutting this and that, and always the wrong things. The national debt had quadrupled in only a dozen years and we had problems getting worse across the board.

I know very well that you gave Bill Clinton and me a chance to bring change to this country. So thank you, once again, for 1992 and for 1996.

And after the election, together we set our hands to a time of recession and doubt. We assembled a diverse team that did indeed look like America and reflected the excellence as well as diversity of America. And with that team, we began making changes and crafted a new plan to lift up those who needed help and to strengthen our country by getting the hope and opportunity to those who missed it the most.

What we did was to challenge the old ways. And I don’t want you to forget either that it didn’t come without a struggle. It didn’t come without a fight. It didn’t come without a cliff-hanging vote in the House of Representatives that we barely won by one vote. It didn’t come without a tie vote in the Senate which I had the honor and privilege of breaking as vice president, making possible a one-vote margin in both houses of Congress.

The other side predicted that our new way would fail, would cause a disaster for the country. Their predictions make for humorous reading now, when you set them beside the outstanding record that Bill Lucy reminded you of, because they were—the other side was headed in the wrong direction. And they still are.

They need to turn around and get with the program, because we now
have evidence of exactly why the approach that President Clinton and I have recommended and fought for is good for our country and good for all of our people.

Instead of a triple-dip recession, and the deepest recession since the 1930s, we've seen a tripling of the stock market.

Instead of the biggest deficits in history, we've got the biggest surpluses in history.

Instead of high unemployment, we've got the lowest African-American unemployment in the history of the statistics and the strongest economy in the history of the United States of America. We're making progress. We're headed in the right direction.

We need to keep going in the right direction, and I am here to say: You ain't seen nothing yet. We're going to keep going. We're going to keep building. We're going to keep growing. We're going to keep working together and climb to a higher place, a better place, with even more jobs, where nobody's left behind.

...

Now speaking—speaking of counting—speaking of counting, it's wrong what the leader of the Republican Party and this Congress are doing in blocking an accurate census because they don't want to count everyone that they don't think they can count on. I want to count everyone. I want to count all the people of this country.

And incidentally, let me say one other thing on a very, very serious issue. I have worked very hard on health care issues here at home, and I've worked on foreign policy, and I formed a commission with South Africa and President Thabo Mbeki, and I have made more trips to Africa than I've made to Asia. And one things that I have learned long since is that our entire world needs to get up and get moving and confront this AIDS epidemic, especially on the continent of Africa. It is a horrific
challenge to our conscience, to our souls. We have to solve it.

But now let me tell you, again, speaking about counting: There is a remedy for all these challenges and all these problems, and that is to make sure that when the votes are counted that we have a majority of the votes, and I want to talk to you a little bit about that.

And I want you to also think about the Congress, because I want you to consider how much we can get done by taking back the Congress, how much justice will be redeemed when John Conyers is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, how much economic progress can be made when Charlie Rangel is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, how much progress we can have when we get that leadership crew that shut down the Congress twice and send them once again on a midnight train and get them out of the nation's capital.

And I want to make one further point, and this is connection with one of the things that I want to ask you to do on my behalf. I just happened to see some of your convention on Monday afternoon.

And I read about it in the newspaper, and I know that you heard some nice-sounding words on Monday afternoon. But I remembered what scripture teaches in the book of James, Chapter 2, Verse 18: “Yea, a man may say, Thou has faith, and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.”

That is my text for today. Now, look more closely at this text. Throughout the history of this great nation, many have said much about the great issues of the day but far fewer have had the courage and conviction to act on their words. Without the courage to act, Frederick Douglass would have been just a newspaper editor; Harriet Tubman might never have built the underground railroad; Dr. King might never have left the comfortable pulpit at Ebenezer; Rosa Parks would still be riding on the back on the bus.
You know from a hard history and a long struggle that talk is cheap. It's deeds that matter.

Talk doesn’t cost much. The true test is standing up to the powerful interests and fighting for the progress that our people deserve. I want you to know I won’t be silent. I will lead the fight for our people. I will lead the fight for justice. I’ll lead the fight for campaign finance reform. I'll lead the fight for the progress we need.

Talk doesn’t cost much. The true test is standing up to those who say they want to eliminate affirmative action. I will defend affirmative action because it is still needed in this country and I want to tell you why.

Think of this young entrepreneur in the majority community who is well-educated and has a brilliant idea and wants to start a new business that will create jobs and growth to a mighty industry, building prosperity. The first thing he or she does is pick up the telephone and call a member of the family and say, “I need some capital, please, can you invest in my idea?”

Now, think of the entrepreneur coming from a minority community with an idea that is just as bright, potential just as great, has the education, has the momentum, but comes from a community where the families don’t have the wealth, don’t have the capital, don’t have savings.

The average African-American family wealth in America is 11 percent of the average majority wealth in this country. Same for Hispanic families, roughly one-tenth. Because that’s a category that doesn't measure the progress or lack thereof in a single generation. It doesn’t measure the immediate effect of legislation that’s passed. Family wealth is a category that measures the accumulated effect of many generations of prejudice and diminished opportunity, things that don’t change overnight, unless we decide we’re going to change them.
If that young entrepreneur from an African-American community cannot get access to capital, cannot find ways to get over that hurdle that has been placed there by history, then who is hurt? That young entrepreneur is hurt because his dreams have been crushed. He cannot go forward with his idea.

But he's not the only one who is hurt. What about all the jobs that he would create? What about the economic strength of the community? What about our entire nation?

I tell you, affirmative action is good for the United States of America, good for our economy, good for our future and good for all of our people. And I will fight for it.

Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is whether you are for an increase in the minimum wage. I am for an increase in the minimum wage for those who most need the help. And I'm not for a states' rights provision to let states overrule an increase in the minimum wage. My opponent takes that position.

Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is standing up to those who don't recognize the need to invest more in our schools, and instead proffer the illusion that you can drain money away from them and not pay the price.

Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is joining our battle to ban racial profiling, speaking out and acting. And as president, I will end racial profiling in the United States of America. I'll make the DWB offense obsolete in America. I'll work to bring all of our people together.

Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is whether you are willing to take a stand when the Confederate flag is flying over a state capital and you see that it needs to come down but you are afraid to speak out.

Talk doesn't cost much. Taking a stand when it matters requires courage.
Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is to come here to Baltimore and vow to appoint a Supreme Court that lives up to the legacy of this city’s greatest son, Thurgood Marshall, and interprets the Constitution in the way our founders intended it to be interpreted, not to give a commitment to the far right wing to stack that court, because stacking the court would threaten civil rights and threaten the fundamental guarantees of liberty in this country.

And when there is a closed-door meeting with the far-right-wing representatives and they come out and say that, “We heard everything we needed to hear about the Supreme Court,” that may not be public, but it is not difficult to understand.

Talk doesn't cost much. The true test is telling Trent Lott and Tom DeLay the time has come for a tough new law against hate crimes because they are different.

We need to pass hate crimes legislation, because when we don’t stamp out the sparks of hatred, we risk a fire at the very foundation of our house.

And when James Byrd is dragged to his death behind a pickup truck, then the governor of his home state ought to at least heed the family’s plea for action.

In the words of James Byrd’s nephew, “I asked him personally if he would use his influence to help pass the bill, and he told me no.”

One brief sentence that said the word “yes” would have mattered a whole lot more to the cause of justice than a whole speech that didn’t even mention hate crimes, the future of the Supreme Court, taking down the Confederate flag, ending racial profiling or defending affirmative action or Bob Jones University. One sentence with the word “yes” would have mattered a whole lot more.

I’m not asking you to read my lips, I’m asking you to read my heart.
and watch my feet and watch the work of my hands when joined with yours.

Standing together, marching together, we have a lot of work to do.
Let's heed the lessons of Clarence Mitchell, Charles Hamilton Houston, Roy Wilkens and Ben Hooks, Rosa Parks. Let's fight together. Let's struggle together. Allow yourselves to believe that we can do the right thing and be the better for it.

Let's make this country what it is intended to be. Let's rise above our differences. Let's establish respect for difference. Let's pass the legislation. Let's make the march that will take us to the mountaintop of justice and prosperity and progress and freedom for all of the people of the United States of America.

I want your help. I want to fight for you. I want to fight for your families and the future of America.
Al Gore
Democratic National Convention 2000
Los Angeles, California

Party Platform: Ending Racial Profiling

Good policing demands mutual trust and respect between the community and the police. We shouldn't let the acts of a few rogue officers undermine that trust or the reputation of the outstanding work of the vast majority of our dedicated men and women in blue. That is why we need to end the unjust practice of racial profiling in America - because it's not only unfair, it is inconsistent with America’s community policing success, it is a violation of the basic American principle of innocent until proven guilty, it views Americans as members of groups instead of as individuals, and it is just plain shoddy policing. We believe that all law enforcement agencies in America should adopt a zero-tolerance policy toward racial profiling.
Al Gore
Democratic National Convention 2000
Los Angeles, California

Party Platform: Hate Crimes

The very purpose of hate crimes is to dehumanize and stigmatize - not only to wound the victim, but also to distort the American conscience. Every crime is a danger to Americans' lives and liberty. Hate crimes are more than assaults on people, they are assaults on the very idea of America. They should be punished with extra force. Protections should include hate violence based on gender, disability or sexual orientation. And the Republican Congress should stop standing in the way of this pro-civil rights, anti-crime legislation.
Building One America

Democrats believe that God has given the people of our nation not only a chance, but a mission to prove to men and women throughout this world that people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, of all faiths and creeds, can not only work and live together, but can enrich and ennoble both themselves and our purpose. America’s diversity is expanding, yet amidst important signs of progress, there is widespread evidence of persistent discrimination, growing racial segregation of our schools and neighborhoods, and dream-crushing barriers to opportunity. We cannot - we dare not - remain a nation divided. Our vision is of an America healed of hatreds and misunderstanding, with equality and opportunity so rich that legacies of discrimination and exclusion will be found only in history books, and not in our communities. To that end, Democrats support creation of a commission of distinguished scholars and civic leaders to examine the history of slavery, discrimination, and exclusion suffered by all minorities; to report on the continuing effects of those tragic chapters in our history; and to make appropriate recommendations on behalf of the American people.

Fighting for Civil Rights and Inclusion

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was one of the proudest moments of our nation’s history and a sterling testament to our aspirations as a people. Yet, despite undeniable progress over the last several decades, inequality and polarization nevertheless persist in far too many American workplaces, schools, and communities. Over the last
eight years, we have fought hard to end discrimination. We have increased funding for civil rights enforcement - so that the laws on our books are not just pleasant words, but pledges of justice. Al Gore has strongly opposed efforts to roll back affirmative action programs. He knows that the way to lift this nation up is not by pulling the weakest down, but by continuing to expand opportunities for everyone who wants to achieve. The Clinton-Gore Administration has appointed the most diverse administration in American history, demonstrating that pursuing excellence means including the all of the best that our nation has to offer.

Al Gore and the Democratic Party know that much remains to be done. We must remember we do not have an American to waste. We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. The Democratic Party has always supported the Equal Rights Amendment and will continue to do so, and we are committed to ensuring full equality for women and to vigorously enforcing the Americans with Disabilities Act. We support continuation of the White House initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Because every American counts, we will continue to work toward a census that counts every American. We support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end workplace discrimination against gay men and lesbians. We support the full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of the nation. This would include an equitable alignment of benefits. We recognize the importance of new battles against forms of discrimination and disadvantage that stand as barriers to communities and families, such as environmental injustices and predatory lending practices. And we will fight for full funding and full staffing of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other civil rights enforcement agencies so
they can do their job of ensuring that America lives up to its creed of equal rights and equal opportunity for all.

The Democratic Party proudly upholds its tradition of support for the first Americans. The sovereignty of the American Indians and Native Alaskans and a strong affirmation of the government-to-government relationship are basic to our approach to the tribal governments. As we move into the 21st century, we have to renew our trust obligations and work to improve the lives of the many Indians who live in terrible poverty. The Democratic Party pledges to continue our work to make a difference in the lives of those who occupied this land before us. We affirm the legal and political relationship between the United States and Native Hawaiians as an important step in the continuing process of reconciliation. We will work to pass legislation establishing a process for Native Hawaiians to reorganize a governing body, freely chosen, expressing their rights to self-determination. The justice we provide the first Americans is a measure of our nation's character, and Democrats believe we should build on the progress of the last eight years.
Gender and Abortion - Bush

George W. Bush
Republican National Convention 2000
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Party Platform: Upholding the Rights of All – Women’s Rights and Abortion

... The Supreme Court’s recent decision, prohibiting states from banning partial-birth abortions — a procedure denounced by a committee of the American Medical Association and rightly branded as four-fifths infanticide — shocks the conscience of the nation. As a country, we must keep our pledge to the first guarantee of the Declaration of Independence. That is why we say the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment’s protections apply to unborn children. Our purpose is to have legislative and judicial protection of that right against those who perform abortions. We oppose using public revenues for abortion and will not fund organizations which advocate it. We support the appointment of judges who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

Our goal is to ensure that women with problem pregnancies have the kind of support, material and otherwise, they need for themselves and for their babies, not to be punitive towards those for whose difficult situation we have only compassion. We oppose abortion, but our pro-life agenda does not include punitive action against women who have an abortion. We salute those who provide alternatives to abortion and offer adoption...
services, and we commend congressional Republicans for expanding assistance to adopting families and for removing racial barriers to adoption. The impact of those measures and of our Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 has been spectacular. Adoptions out of foster care have jumped forty percent and the incidence of child abuse and neglect has actually declined. We second Governor Bush’s call to make permanent the adoption tax credit and expand it to $7,500.

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Gender and Abortion - Gore

Al Gore
Democratic National Convention 2000
Los Angeles, California

*Party Platform: Protecting Women from Crime and Domestic Violence*

Our most vulnerable deserve special protections. We need tougher penalties against all sex offenders. We should raise the penalties for those who commit crimes against the elderly. We should give federal prosecutors new tools to fight fraud and abuse. We should move aggressively to shut down fraudulent telemarketers who target the elderly. We believe that we must overcome constitutional objections and reenact a strong new law to combat violence against women. And if you commit any violent crime in front of a child, you should pay an even higher price for it: more time in jail.

Violence in the home is an often silent terror in the lives of millions. We have to make sure that all battered women have the legal protection and the support they need to be safe in their own communities, and to keep their attackers away. By stopping domestic violence, we can also break the generational cycle of violence. We know that when children grow up in abusive families, they are more likely to become abusers themselves.
Al Gore

The Democratic National Convention
Los Angeles, California

Party Platform: The Right to Choose

The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, and regardless of ability to pay. We believe it is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans - not government - can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction. This year’s Supreme Court rulings show to us all that eliminating a woman’s right to choose is only one justice away. That’s why the stakes in this election are as high as ever.

Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more dangerous. We support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal responsibility to meet this important goal.

The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of each American on this difficult issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every level of our party. This is why we are proud to put into our platform the very words which Republicans refused to let Bob Dole put into their 1996 platform and which they refused to even consider putting in their platform in 2000: "While the party remains steadfast in its commitment to advancing its historic principles and ideals, we also recognize that members of our party have deeply held and sometimes differing views on issues of
personal conscience like abortion and capital punishment. We view this diversity of views as a source of strength, not as a sign of weakness, and we welcome into our ranks all Americans who may hold differing positions on these and other issues. Recognizing that tolerance is a virtue, we are committed to resolving our differences in a spirit of civility, hope and mutual respect."
The last several decades have brought great changes in the lives of Americans with disabilities. And all of us have gained a clearer understanding of the whole range of disabilities. Old misconceptions are being discredited. Old attitudes are slowly passing away, old barriers falling away. Our goal now is clear: to speed up the day when our country has removed the last barrier to full, independent, productive lives for every person, with or without disability.

This goal follows very naturally from the most basic American ideals: Equal treatment under law. Opportunity for all. Respect for the dignity and rights of every person. That is more than our creed as a nation. It is, to paraphrase Lincoln, our responsibility as citizens – our duty as brothers and sisters of a common country. America today is blessed with so many opportunities to strive and serve and succeed. All that citizens with disabilities ask is a chance to use their own gifts, and to make their own contribution.

Many doors were opened ten years ago, when Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act. I support the ADA, and I am very proud that my father’s signature made it the law of the land.

Because of the ADA, discrimination against a person with a disability is not just unkind or cruel or wrong: It is an infringement of federal law, and a violation of civil rights.

Because of the ADA, millions of Americans can now compete for jobs
once denied them; enter buildings once closed to them; travel in buses and trains once unequipped for them. For those who are blind or deaf, for those who use walkers or wheelchairs, or have mental retardation or mental illness, we have become a more hospitable society. Ten years after the ADA became law, we are a better country for it.

But the banning of discrimination is just the beginning of full participation. Barriers remain. There are steps we can and should take to remove these barriers.

In that spirit, I am proposing today a New Freedom Initiative to ensure that all Americans with disabilities, whether young or old, have every chance to pursue the American dream – to use more of their own skills, and make more of their own choices. We must do everything we can to ensure that more Americans with disabilities can live independently, hold jobs, and take part in the life of their communities. My administration will act in three specific areas.

First, we will promote independent living.

As you know, the wonders of technology are nowhere more gratefully received than among those who have disabilities. In millions of lives, assistive technology is helping to defeat dependence and frustration and isolation: Text telephones for the deaf. Computer monitors with braille display for the blind. Infrared pointers for people who can’t use their hands – allowing them to use a computer by pointing at functions on the monitor or keyboard. Special software to help people with mental retardation learn how to read and write. Lighter wheelchairs and artificial limbs.

My administration will be a champion of assistive technology and universal design principles. Through Rehabilitation Engineering Research Centers, the federal government is a leader on assistive technology research. We will make this research a higher priority, and
we will triple the current funding.

In addition, there are several thousand small businesses that have innovative ideas for assistive technology, but lack the means to bring them to market. So we will form a technology transfer fund to enable these firms to bring promising technology to the people who need it.

Thousands of people who require assistive technology cannot afford it. Alpha One was among the first to address this challenge, by working with banks and the state of Maine to arrange affordable financing for those in need. Congress has also recognized this problem by creating a low-interest loan program for those in need. My administration will increase by tenfold the resources available for this program.

Education is another key to independent living. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act guarantees children with disabilities a free and appropriate public education that meets their needs. I support the I.D.E.A. and its goals. And in meeting those goals, the federal government must pay its fair share.

Independent living should also include greater opportunities for home ownership. To provide such opportunities, we’ll reform the section eight rental program. For the first time, a section eight recipient who has a disability will be able to use up to a year’s worth of rental vouchers to finance the down payment on a home of their own, and continue using vouchers to pay the mortgage.

Second, we will help citizens with disabilities to claim their rightful place in the workforce.

Under the ADA, workplaces are less forbidding than they once were. Every day, millions of Americans with disabilities travel miles from home to work at full-time jobs. For others, this is impossible – and until recently, few alternatives were available to them.

All this is changing. Today more than 40 million Americans work
out of their homes during all or most of the week, plugged into the company network by telephone, fax, and computer. For families across America, this change has brought great convenience and flexibility. But for those with disabilities, it’s nothing less than a revolution – opening a world of new opportunities and potential.

As with assistive technology, sometimes the last limitation is simple affordability. To overcome it, my administration will create an Access to Telecommuting Fund. We will spend 20 million dollars in federal matching funds to enable Americans with disabilities to buy computers and other equipment necessary to telecommute.

I will ask Congress to change the tax treatment of computers and Internet access supplied by employers for use in the home. Making these a tax-free benefit will supply an added incentive to hire employees with disabilities who telecommute.

To create even more work opportunities, I will issue an executive order to fully and swiftly implement the recently-passed “Ticket-to-Work” law. As it is, many people with disabilities are reluctant to take a job, even a telecommuting job, for fear of losing their disability benefits and health coverage. This is a choice they should not be forced to make.

Third, we will help Americans with disabilities to gain fuller access to community life.

Every law depends on good faith in observance, and consistency in enforcement. The fact is that some requirements of ADA have yet to be fulfilled. This is especially true for people who face mental illness and mental retardation.

In the Olmstead case last year, the Supreme Court ruled that, wherever possible, persons with mental illness are entitled to live in the “most integrated” community settings rather than in institutions. This ruling, however, has not been completely carried out. As president, as I
have as Governor, I will sign an executive order committing my administration to the implementation of the *Olmstead* decision.

I am committed to fully enforcing the ADA. And to extend compliance even further, we will devote an additional five million dollars per year for technical assistance to small businesses to meet all requirements of the law.

We must remember that many activities of civic life are still difficult for people with disabilities. Even voting can be a hardship for them, as also for the elderly. I will work with Congress to make polling places and the voting process easier for seniors and those with disabilities.

We can also assist organizations that, while exempt from the ADA, are trying to observe it anyway. Most notable are churches, synagogues, and mosques, which want nothing more than to open their doors to all. Often, they just don’t have the money. This has left many Americans with disabilities unable to worship alongside their families and neighbors. Also left out are those who would like to be active in clubs and community groups. How can they feel welcome if they can’t even enter the building?

My administration will seek $10 million each year to aid religious and civic groups in making their facilities more accessible. Over time, this will help make ramps and elevators even more common – a sign not only of more accessible buildings, but of a more welcoming society.

Next month, we mark Independence Day. A few weeks later, on July 26th, comes the tenth anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act. For many across America, that day in 1990 is remembered as a personal independence day – the day the law recognized their rights and full standing as citizens of the United States.

People with disabilities confront hardship every day of their lives. To me, that leaves our society with a simple choice – whether to add to that
hardship, or to try to lessen it. Whether to answer that challenge with indifference, or with generosity of spirit.

With ADA, we gave our answer. We set for ourselves a permanent standard to live by, and to govern by. I make this pledge today: in my administration we will honor that standard. We will not tolerate unfair barriers or unfair treatment for Americans with physical or mental disabilities. We will press on, until everyone has a chance to contribute – until every citizen shares in the full promise of American life.
George W. Bush
Austin, Texas
July 24, 2000

Tenth Anniversary of the Americans With Disabilities Act

This week marks the tenth anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act. I strongly support the ADA, and I am proud that my father's signature made it the law of the land.

Because of the ADA, discrimination against a person with a disability is not just unkind or cruel or wrong: It is an infringement of federal law, and a violation of civil rights.

Because of the ADA, millions of Americans can now compete for jobs once denied them; enter buildings once closed to them; travel in buses and trains once unequipped for them. For those who are blind or deaf, for those who use walkers or wheelchairs, or have mental retardation or mental illness, we have become a more hospitable society. Ten years after the ADA became law, we are a better country for it.

But the banning of discrimination is just the beginning of full participation. Barriers remain. I have called for a 'New Freedom Initiative,' a $1.025 billion over five years to expand access to assistive technology, to further integrate Americans with disabilities into the workforce, and to remove barriers to full participation in community life for all Americans.

On this anniversary, we must pledge ourselves to continuing the efforts to help all Americans with disabilities lead healthy, productive and independent lives.
George W. Bush
Republican National Convention 2000
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*Party Platform: Upholding the Rights of All – Persons with Disabilities*

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An essential part of a culture that respects life is integration and inclusion of persons with disabilities. That is the goal of Governor Bush’s New Freedom Initiative, a comprehensive agenda for the breakthrough research and practical assistance that can help individuals with disabilities live independently, hold jobs, and take part in the daily life of their communities. We applaud his proposal, and we salute congressional Republicans for the way they have protected access to health care for individuals with disabilities against the administration’s attempts to ration it. We pledge continued vigilance in that regard, especially in Medicare and Medicaid.

We oppose the non-consensual withholding of care or treatment because of disability, age, or infirmity, just as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide, which endanger especially the poor and those on the margins of society. We applaud congressional Republicans for their leadership against those abuses and their pioneering legislation to focus research and treatment resources on the alleviation of pain and the care of terminally ill patients.

Seeking the counsel of those who would be most affected by it, the Republican Congress enacted the new Ticket-to-Work law, empowering persons with disabilities to choose their own support services by voucher. Equally important, and with the inspiration of initiatives by some Republican governors, we have made it possible for millions of
individuals with disabilities to rejoin the work force without losing their health benefits. We pledge full enforcement of these and prior enactments that have helped bring individuals with disabilities into the mainstream of a society that needs their skills and their industry.

We support their full access to the polls and to the entire political process. The promise of assistive technology, so costly but offering hope to so many, makes it all the more crucial that we maintain the expanding economy that sustains the investment necessary to make miracles happen.

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Disabled and Gay Rights - Gore

Al Gore
Democratic National Convention 2000
Los Angeles, California

Party Platform: Rights of the Disabled

Democrats believe that we must fight to ensure that people with disabilities can meet their full potential and participate fully in the American dream. For people with disabilities accessing affordable health insurance is the greatest barrier to returning to work. That is why we fought to assure that people with disabilities do not lose their health care when they return to work. Democrats also support tax credits and grants to pay for rehabilitation and work-related expenses for people with disabilities. And we support all efforts to implement the Supreme Court's Olmstead decision and to make personal assistance services and supports available to people with disabilities in their homes and communities - because no one should be kept in a nursing home or institution if they prefer to live in the community with the necessary supports.
Immigration - Bush

George W. Bush
Republican National Convention 2000
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Party Platform: Immigration Policy

Our country’s ethnic diversity within a shared national culture is unique in all the world. We benefit from our differences, but we must also strengthen the ties that bind us to one another. Foremost among those is the flag. Its deliberate desecration is not "free speech" but an assault against both our proud history and our greatest hopes. We therefore support a constitutional amendment that will restore to the people, through their elected representatives, their right to safeguard Old Glory.

Another sign of our unity is the role of English as our common language. It has enabled people from every corner of the world to come together to build this nation. For newcomers, it has always been the fastest route to the mainstream of American life. English empowers. That is why fluency in English must be the goal of bilingual education programs. We support the recognition of English as the nation’s common language. At the same time, mastery of other languages is important for America’s competitiveness in the world market. We advocate foreign language training in our schools and the fostering of respect for other languages and cultures throughout our society.

We have reaped enormous human capital in the genius and talent and industry of those who have escaped nations captive to totalitarianism. Our country still attracts the best and brightest to invent here, create wealth here, improve the quality of life here. As a nation of
immigrants, we welcome all new Americans who have entered lawfully and are prepared to follow our laws and provide for themselves and their families. In their search for a better life, they strengthen our economy, enrich our culture, and defend the nation in war and in peace. To ensure fairness for those wishing to reside in this country, and to meet the manpower needs of our expanding economy, a total overhaul of the immigration system is sorely needed.

The administration’s lax enforcement of our borders has led to tragic exploitation of smuggled immigrants, and untold suffering, at the hands of law-breakers. We call for harsh penalties against smugglers and those who provide fake documents. We oppose the creation of any national ID card.

Because free trade is the most powerful force for the kind of development that creates a middle class and offers opportunity at home, the long-term solution for illegal immigration is economic growth in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. In the short run, however, decisive action is needed. We therefore endorse the recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform:

- Restore credibility to enforcement by devoting more resources both to border control and to internal operations.
- Reorganize family unification preferences to give priority to spouses and children, rather than extended family members.
- Emphasize needed skills in determining eligibility for admission.
- Overhaul the failed Labor Certification Program to end the huge delays in matching qualified workers with urgent work.
- Reform the Immigration and Naturalization Service by splitting its functions into two agencies, one focusing on enforcement and one exclusively devoted to service.

The education reforms we propose elsewhere in this platform will,
over time, greatly increase the number of highly qualified workers in all sectors of the American economy. To meet immediate needs, however, we support increasing the number of H-1B visas to ensure high-tech workers in specialized positions, provided such workers do not pose a national security risk; and we will expand the H-2A program for the temporary agricultural workers so important to the nation’s farms.
Ensuring Fairness and Equity for Immigrants

Today, I am announcing my support for recently introduced legislation, S. 2912, to ensure fairness and equity for certain immigrants and their families already in the United States. I call upon George W. Bush to make clear his stance on this issue and join me in challenging Congress to pass this essential legislation.

Specifically, the bill amends the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act, which allows Nicaraguans and Cubans fleeing human rights violations to become legal immigrants, but does not allow similarly situated Central Americans and Haitians to do so. I believe we should correct this longstanding injustice, and I urge Congress to pass this legislation to ensure equitable treatment for other Central Americans and Haitians who fled human rights abuses or unstable conditions. This will not only ensure equitable humanitarian protections, but also advance our commitment to the stability of emerging democracies.

The legislation also amends section 249 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), allowing qualified long-term migrants who have resided in the United States since 1986 to become legal permanent residents. This provision, also known as the registry date, has existed since 1929 and has enabled many long-time migrants in the United States to deepen their ties to this country, including the establishment of families, homes, and communities. Congress should pass this legislation to revise the 1972 registry date and allow qualified long-term migrants
who have lived in the United States since 1986 to become lawful permanent residents.

Finally, the legislation reinstates section 245(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act allowing certain immigrants who are eligible for residency to have their papers processed here in the United States rather than force them to return to their home country. Families who are in this country legally should be allowed to remain together in the United States while immigration applications are pending.

I am committed to the overall fair and even-handed treatment to immigrants with substantial ties to this country. This legislation will give them the fair and just treatment they deserve. I urge Congress to give this important legislation prompt and favorable consideration.
Welcoming Our Newest Americans

Immigrants enrich the tapestry of American life, making our economy more vibrant, our workplaces more productive, and our nation stronger. We believe that all levels of government, in partnership with the private and voluntary sectors, must devise and pursue a comprehensive immigrant integration agenda that will make the newest Americans full participants in the nation’s mainstream. That’s why Democrats support reforming the INS to provide better services, and investing the resources needed to reduce the backlog of citizenship applications from nearly two years to three months. Democrats also support increased resources for English language courses, which not only help newcomers learn our common language but also help us promote our common values. And, we believe that family reunification should continue to be the cornerstone of our legal immigration system.

Democrats believe in an effective immigration system that balances a strong enforcement of our laws with fair and evenhanded treatment of immigrants and their families. The Clinton-Gore administration provided long overdue leadership in dramatically improving border management and law enforcement, including a major expansion of the Border Patrol and curbs on abuses of the asylum process. We also recognize that the current system fails to effectively control illegal immigration, has serious adverse impacts on state and local services, and on many communities and workers, and has led to an alarming number of deaths of migrants on the border. Democrats are committed to reexamining and fixing these
failed policies.

We must punish employers who engage in a pattern and practice of recruiting undocumented workers in order to intimidate and exploit them, and provide strengthened protections for immigrant workers, including whistleblower protections. Doing so enhances conditions for everyone in the workplace. We believe that any increases in H1-B visas must be temporary, must address only genuine shortages of highly skilled workers, and must include worker protections. They must also be accompanied by other immigration fairness measures and by increased fees to train American workers for high skill jobs. The Democratic Party is committed to assuring an adequate, predictable supply of agricultural labor while protecting American farm workers who are among the poorest and more vulnerable in our society. We reject calls for guest worker programs that lead to exploitation, and instead call for adjusting the status of immigrants with deep roots in the country. We should have equitable asylum policies that treat people the same whether they have fled violence from the Right and Left. And we support restoration of basic due process protections and essential benefits for legal immigrants, so that immigrants are no longer subject to deportation for minor offenses, often committed decades ago without opportunity for any judicial review, and are eligible to receive safety net services supported by their tax dollars.

Forging Common Ground

American citizenship entails both rights and responsibilities and we need to ask every American - from every walk of life - to give something back to their communities and their country. We are committed to expanding AmeriCorps so that more Americans both serve their country and further their educations.

America will become much more diverse in the coming century. But
while much is changing, much remains. Our common civic culture - one grounded in the values most Americans share: work, family, personal responsibility, individual liberty, and faith - ties us together. Our common ground - our shared civic institutions - makes us whole. In the years to come, we must celebrate our diversity and focus on strengthening the common values and beliefs that make us one America - one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.