

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE DEDICATION OF THE REAGAN BUILDING
THE RONALD REAGAN BUILDING AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTER
WASHINGTON, DC
May 5, 1998**

Acknowledgments: Mrs. Reagan; Admin. David Barram, GSA; Sec. Daley; Sens. Moynihan and Dole; Gen. Powell; Sec. Schultz; Mayor Barry; Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton; Members of Congress and my Cabinet

I am glad, Mrs. Reagan, that you are able to join us on this special occasion. You have always shown remarkable grace under extraordinary pressure--both in your service as America's First Lady and now, as ever, in your devotion to President Reagan. You still radiate the elegance and charm that were the hallmark of the Reagan White House. From your pioneering efforts to keep our kids safe from drugs, to your public support for every family facing Alzheimer's, your nation thanks you--and Hillary and I thank you.

The only thing that could make this day more special is if President Reagan were able to join us here as well. But in a way he is here: his unflagging optimism, proud patriotism, and unabashed faith in America still resonate in freedom's capital city.

As Senator Moynihan just described, the Reagan Building is the completion of that challenge issued 37 years ago by President Kennedy. This building will house everything from the Agency for International Development to the Wilson Center for Scholars. It is fitting that the plaza on which we gather bears the name of Woodrow Wilson. From Wilson to Reagan, this building spans this American Century.

The world has changed considerably in the years since President Reagan left office. For half a century, American leaders of both parties waged a Cold War against aggression and repression across the globe. Today, freed from the yoke of totalitarianism, new democracies are emerging around the world--enjoying newfound prosperity and a long-awaited peace.

The nations of the world should savor the fruits of this victory: free markets, free elections, free peoples. But we must not grow complacent; we cannot presume that the fight for freedom is fully won. No peace can be permanent unless it is backed by the leadership of great nations. We have seen the end of the Cold War, but not, as some have contended, the end of history. America's resolve did not crumble with the Berlin Wall, a piece of which stands in this building. And America's ideals shall never collapse like Communism and recede from the world scene.

If the history of this American Century has taught us anything, it is that we will either

work to shape events or we will be shaped by them. We cannot be partly in the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts or anytime we believe it suits our interest. We must lead boldly and consistently and without reservation. Because freedom is always in America's interest.

America's security and prosperity depend above all else upon our willingness to lead in the world. President Wilson said that Americans were participants in the life of the world, like it or not. But his countrymen did not listen; and the result was a Great Depression, the rise of Fascism in Europe and Asia, and a Second World War. Our nation learned then that America could not withdraw from the world.

That is why a new generation of Americans reached outward in the years after World War II. They built new alliances of peace and new engines of prosperity around the globe: NATO, the United Nations, the IMF. It was no accident that, during this period of great American leadership abroad, Americans experienced unparalleled economic growth at home. And it was no accident that freedom's great triumph came on America's watch.

Today, on the edge of a new century, the challenges we face are more diverse. But the values that guide America must remain the same. Information technology does not resolve all conflicts between nations, it creates new challenges. The expansion of global commerce does not diminish our responsibility to lead, it heightens it.

At this critical moment, at this time of transition, America faces a choice: Will we retreat within our borders? Or continue to lead in the world? If we have faith in this great experiment, "the American experiment" [George Washington], then our responsibility is clear, and the outcome is evident.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. We must remain true to the commitment that every American leader of both parties has made during the last 50 years.

We fought, those 50 years, for a Europe undivided and free. Last week, Congress took an important step toward that goal by welcoming Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO. The alliance that helped keep the peace for a half-century now brings us closer than ever to a united Europe, democratic and secure. Now Congress has another opportunity to protect the national interest and fulfill America's responsibilities around the world. It can pay our share of support to the IMF and settle our obligations to the United Nations.

Just as we fought for democracy, we worked 50 years for economic freedom. The International Monetary Fund has played a crucial role in steering the global economy in the right direction: toward financial stability and self-sustaining growth. In this age of economic interdependence, a commitment to the IMF is an investment in our own prosperity. That is why, fifteen years ago, President Reagan made what he called an "unbreakable commitment" to the IMF. If we today break that commitment, we jeopardize the strongest American economy in decades. We must not risk it.

Finally, we fought 50 years for peace and security as part of the United Nations. America was a founder of the U.N. We are proud to be its host and believe in its ideals. As President Reagan said in 1985, the U.N. stands as “the symbol of the hopes of all mankind for a more peaceful and productive world. We must not,” he said, “disappoint those hopes.” If we are to fulfill those hopes in the 21st century, we must pay our debt to the United Nations. America is a country that pays its bills.

History has taught America never to stand passively in the face of great change. American leaders like Ronald Reagan have understood: We will shape change or be shaped by it. To retreat from our responsibilities is to invite danger and instability; to embrace the obligations of leadership is to build a better future for all. The commerce that will be conducted in this great building will be testament to the opportunities of a truly global economy. As I stand within the Reagan Building, and look across the expanse of Wilson Plaza, I am confident that we will again make the right choice for America and for the world, take up where President Reagan left off, and lead freedom’s march boldly into the 21st century, the next American Century.

we're trying to

At a time when more parents are working, ~~let's~~ ensure that all parents have the tools to ~~be~~ ^{succeed} ~~will~~ ^{is} at work and at the most important work of all – raising their children, ~~and that none of those children are raised in poverty~~

trying to

our children's future we will be to

At a time when knowledge is the key to the new economy, ~~let's~~ guarantee that ~~every~~ ^{all of them} ~~child~~ will begin school ready to learn and ~~will~~ graduate ready to succeed.

trying to

we will

At a time when globalization brings both new promise and new perils, ~~let's~~ continue to be the world's indispensable nation, ~~a strong leader~~ ^{a better partner}.

we will

about

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, ~~let's finally~~ become ~~what~~ ^{our founders} ~~we've always~~ ^{in policy} pledged to be – one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

This is the long look ahead, ~~unrealistic in one year~~, but clearly within reach

~~We know we will not be able to do this in one year alone. Or even in the decade ahead.~~

~~of a great people of a shining dream, determined to~~
~~But we will reach these goals, the way we always have: working together, moving ahead, step by~~
step, as One America.

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reflected

When the framers were ~~crafting~~ ^{arguing} our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin ~~was often seen in~~ ^{reflected} ~~Independence Hall~~ ^{on} looking at a painting of the sun low on the horizon, ~~When, at long last, the~~ ^{being independent} ~~Constitution finally was signed, Mr. Franklin~~ ^{he} said: "I have often wondered whether that sun was

rising or setting. Today I have the happiness to know it is a rising sun." Today, ~~the sun continues~~ ^{because each} ~~generation has kept the fire of freedom burning and lighting new frontiers of possibility,~~ ^{generation has kept the fire of freedom burning and lighting new frontiers of possibility,} ~~to shine brightly on America as each successive generation relights the fire of freedom. Even~~ ~~has been~~ ^{we have} ~~in the warmth of Mr. Franklin's rising sun, our dreams are~~ ^{within reach}

After 224 years, the American revolution continues - ~~and~~ We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. ~~And~~ That is our destiny. ~~And this is our magic moment.~~

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

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Attention ending -

~~We are that great day dawn,~~
~~of which we go on. We are that day dawn,~~
~~of which we go on. Our passion~~
~~is to be a part of the great day dawn,~~
~~of which we go on. Our passion~~
~~is to be a part of the great day dawn,~~
and dream we pass on to our children will endure. And on that day we will be held to a high standard indeed, because our chance to do good is so great.

To let us look to the Rising Sun.
After 224 yrs, the Am Rev. continues.
We remain a new nation. As long
as our dreams outweigh our memories
we will be forever young.

That is our destiny. And this is our
magic moment. With open hands
and open hearts, let us embrace it.

Answer

We went beyond the debate over whether gov't was the problem or the solution to a gov't dedicated to ~~being~~ giving the business people the tools to solve their own problems, to being a catalyst for new ideas and a partner of Americans in all other walks of life.

#? We refused to keep up the false claim that progress DC for
With the smallest federal gov't in history
37 yrs, we turned ~~our~~ record deficit into record surplus and doubled our ~~our~~ investments in education. We cut crime without increasing punishment or punishment without increasing both, with ~~the~~ 100,000 communities - and 500,000 to come - and the Brady law, we have kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals. We protected the environment not by putting 20 years of environmental progress but by cleaning both, we cleaned air, kept water & food, and made sure of persons and protected.

We emphasized both opportunity and responsibility.

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—EYES ONLY—

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC
January 27, 2000**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history. Never before has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity, social progress, and self-confidence with so little internal crisis or so few external threats. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams. There is no better moment to dream new dreams for our nation and act on them.

We begin the new century with over 20 million new jobs in the last seven years. The fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate on record; the highest home ownership ever; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years – and the largest budget surplus in history.

Next month, America will achieve the longest period of economic growth in our entire history.

Our economic revolution has been matched by a remarkable revival of the American spirit: Crime down by 25 percent, to its lowest level in more than 30 years. Teen births have dropped seven years in a row and adoptions are up by 30 percent. Welfare rolls have been cut in

half to their lowest levels in 32 years, and seven million Americans have moved off welfare and are moving into work.

My fellow Americans, the state of our union is the strongest it has ever been.

As always, most of the credit for what we have achieved belongs to the American people. Your hard work – to raise your families and live your dreams, you have prepared our nation for the 21st century.

My gratitude also goes to all of you in this chamber who have worked with us to make the tough decisions, to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people.

Eight years ago, it was not clear to most Americans that there would be much to celebrate in the year 2000. Our nation was gripped by economic distress, social decline, political gridlock, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, the title of a best-selling book asked: “What went wrong?”

But in the best traditions of our nation, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with bold, new ideas anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all and a community of all Americans.

We went beyond the debate over whether government was the problem or the solution to a government dedicated to giving the American people the tools to solve their own problems, to being a catalyst for new ideas, and a partner with Americans in all other walks of life.

We refused to keep making the false choices that paralyzed Washington for too long; with the smallest federal government in 37 years. We turned record deficits into record surpluses, and doubled our investment in education. We cut crime, not by choosing prevention or punishment, but by choosing both, with 100,000 community police and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of a half-million criminals. We protected the environment, not by pitting economic growth against environmental progress, but by choosing both – with cleaner air, safer water and food, and record amounts of precious land protected.

We emphasized both opportunity and responsibility: That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – requiring work, but protecting health care and nutrition for children and investing more in child care, transportation and housing for their parents who are making the move from welfare to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – with ideas like Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million Americans have used for childbirth or to care for sick loved ones, and immunizing 90 percent of our children for the very first time. And that's how we are opening the doors of college to all – with more Pell grants, more affordable college loans, and already almost 5 million recipients of the HOPE Scholarship.

Opportunity and responsibility: That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service, in building One America, one community at a time, through

AmeriCorps as they earn money to further their own college education. That's how we seized the opportunities of a global era – with 270 new agreements to expand trade and open markets for American products, while pushing for an end to child labor and advances in the global economy and environment. That's how we've advanced our interests around the world – by standing up for peace from Bosnia to Ireland to the Middle East; by expanding NATO; by building new partnerships in Asia, Latin America and Africa; by fighting terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. Today we have results. More important, we have the chance of a lifetime to build the future of our dreams if we stay on the path that got us here. Building on our progress ... always moving forward ... always gaining ground.

But you can't gain ground if you're standing still. For too long this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's begin with them.

I ask you to pass a real patients bill of rights. To pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. And, again, I ask you to raise the minimum wage.

Two years ago, I stood before you as we reached our first balanced budget and said let's show our responsibility to the next generation, by maintaining our fiscal discipline and saving the surplus for Social Security. Because we resisted the temptation to stray from the path of fiscal discipline, we have had back to back surpluses and are doing something that would have

seemed unimaginable seven years ago. We are paying down our national debt. If every one in this chamber will join me in staying on this path, we now know that we can pay down the debt in 13 years and make America debt free for the first time since Andrew Jackson was president in 1835.

In 1993, when we took our first major step to put our fiscal house in order with the passage of the deficit reduction act, I asked your former colleague, my first Secretary of the Treasury, and a true American statesman, Lloyd Bentson, to lead that effort. America is better off for his service.

But beyond paying off the debt, we need to make sure that the benefits of that debt reduction go to preserving two of the most important programs for every family in America – Social Security and Medicare. I ask you tonight to work with me to make a bi-partisan down payment on Social Security reform by ensuring that it is strong and safe for the next 50 years. We should also use the benefits of debt reduction to secure Medicare so that this generation of older Americans -- and the next -- never have to worry about medical care. And to provide a prescription drug benefit so that no senior has to choose between medicine and food..

But all of this is just a start. Now we must lift our sights and take what Theodore Roosevelt, at the dawn of the last century, called “the long look ahead.”

We live in revolutionary times. The way we communicate. The way we work. The way we learn. The way we live. The way we are increasingly connected to each other and to people

around the world. My fellow Americans, we have crossed the bridge we built to the 21st century. Now we must shape a 21st century American revolution of opportunity, responsibility, and community. We must be, as we were in the beginning, a new nation.

The first American revolution was not won with a single shot. The continent was not settled in a single day. The challenge of expanding freedom was not accomplished with one march. The dreams for which we strive are always bold. But the lesson of our history and the lesson of the last seven years is that we make great strides toward them step by step.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

First and foremost, we need a 21st century revolution in education, guided by our faith that every child can learn. We have the largest, most diverse group of students ever. They will enter an economy that rewards education more than ever.

That is why, for seven years, we have worked harder than ever to improve our schools, by following a fundamental strategy: Invest more, but demand more in return. Since 1993 we have nearly doubled investment in education and training. At the same time we have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools.

Scores on college entrance exams are now going up, even as more students from more-diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And some of the most impressive academic gains are happening in schools in some of America's poorest neighborhoods.

Still, too many schools are a long way from where they need to be. We are doing too little for these schools, and expecting too little of them. We must not let another generation of children languish, when we know how to help. Every child who needs it should have access to preschool. Every child who needs it should have afterschool and summer school to meet high standards. Every child should learn from great teachers. Every student should graduate high school with a diploma that means something. And every young person in America should know that if they want to go to college, they can afford to.

We know this can be done. I have visited schools in some of America's poorest neighborhoods that have turned themselves around through the same proven formula: more accountability, higher standards, and extra help to make sure children reach those standards. I have sent Congress a reform plan based on that formula, a plan that holds all states and school districts accountable for progress, and rewards them for results. Each year, the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our public schools. It's time to change the way we invest that money, to support what works and stop supporting what doesn't.

But just as we must demand more than ever from our schools, tonight I propose that we invest more than ever in our schools.

Let's double our investment to help states and districts turn around their worst-performing schools—or shut them down. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up.

Let's double our investment in quality afterschool and summer school programs. They boost academic achievement and keep children off the street and out of trouble. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards.

We know that children who learn early learn best. Since 1993, we've put over 160,000 more children in Head Start and improved its quality. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. This will lay the foundation for our long-term goal: universal pre-school for every child who needs it.

We know that children learn best in smaller classes with good teachers. For two years in a row, Congress has supported my plan to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This year, I ask you to make it three in a row. But with two million teachers retiring in the next decade, we must do more. Tonight, I propose a \$1 billion initiative to bring the best and the brightest into teaching, to get bad teachers out of the classroom, and to reward good teachers – because none of us would be here without them.

We know public school choice works when parents have real choice. That's what charter schools provide. When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in America. Today there are 1,700. My budget assures that we will meet our goal of funding 3,000.

We know that for children today, having access to the Internet is as vital as access to a library. In 1994, only 35 percent of schools and only three percent of classrooms were connected

to the Internet. Today, with the help of the Vice President's E-rate program, 89 percent of schools and 51 percent of classrooms are hooked up. And the money is there to connect them all. The problem is that a third of all schools are in serious disrepair – not just with leaky roofs but with walls too old to wire to the Internet. Tonight, I propose \$1.3 billion to help 5,000 schools make immediate, urgent repairs. And I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – to put our students in modern classrooms and get them out of trailers.

We know that smaller high schools are safer and help students learn more. But since World War II, American high schools have grown five times bigger. We must help districts convert large, factory-style high schools into smaller schools where the often-cruel forces of peer pressure can be softened by the influence of caring adults.

We must do more to prepare young students for college and convince them they can go. Two years ago, Congress crossed party lines to create our Gear Up program, enabling college students to mentor at-risk middle school students. I propose to double the number of children reached, to 1.4 million, and to offer disadvantaged students the same college test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores.

We know that to make the American Dream achievable, we must make college affordable. For seven years, on a bipartisan basis, we have taken actions toward that goal: more Pell grants, more-affordable student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE scholarship tax cut.

Today, 67 percent of high school graduates go on to college, up almost 10 percent since 1993.

Yet still, millions of families feel the strain of paying college tuition. They need help.

I propose a landmark \$30-billion college opportunity tax cut. It will give middle class families a tax deduction for up to \$10,000 in tuition costs--providing as much as \$2,800 in much needed tax relief. With this new college opportunity tax cut, plus Hope Scholarships, a Pell grant increase, and other aid, we can say that we have made four years of college available to all.

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

We need a 21st Century revolution to reward work and strengthen families, in a world where more and more parents work, but the most important work of all – still – is raising children.

One of the most powerful incentives to work has been the Earned Income Tax Credit, a targeted tax cut for working families. The “E” in “EITC” is about earning; about working; about taking responsibility and being rewarded for it. In my first address to you, I asked Congress to greatly expand the EITC, and we did. As a result, in 1998 alone, the EITC helped more than 4.3 million Americans work their way into the middle class – double the number in 1993.

Tonight, I propose another major expansion of the EITC. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure that it rewards marriage, and family, just as it rewards work;

and we should expand the tax credit for families with more than two children. Our plan would provide those families up to \$1,200 more in tax relief. They're working hard to reach the middle class. We should help them.

Rewarding work and family requires us to make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Working women have made significant strides: the female unemployment rate is the lowest in 40 years, and the female-headed household poverty rate is the lowest ever recorded. But women still earn only about 75 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. We must provide the resources to enforce present equal pay laws, and train more women for high-paying, high-tech jobs. And we should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act.

Working parents need quality, affordable child care. Many spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for about 1.75 million children. But that's only one tenth of those eligible under federal law. My child care initiative, along with the funds secured in welfare reform, would make child care better, safer, and more affordable for another 650,000 children.

To help millions of parents with moderate incomes, we should expand the child care tax credit. And let's take the next big step. Let's make the tax credit refundable for low-income families. For those making under \$25,000 a year – too little to earn a refund today – that means up to \$2,400 more for child-care costs. Let's get this done. Parents should be able to balance work and family – not have to choose between them.

Tens of millions of Americans live paycheck to paycheck. As hard as they work, they still don't have the opportunity to save. Too many work for a small business that lacks the resources to provide pensions. Too few can make use of the IRAs and 401-Ks that so many Americans are using to accumulate wealth, or save for a first home or a dignified retirement. Every family that works hard should have that chance. Tonight, I propose a major new initiative to ensure that all Americans can save. These new [TK] Savings Accounts will give low- and moderate-income families the help they need – matching their contributions, however small, dollar for dollar, every year they save. And we should go further. We should pass a major new 50 percent tax credit for any small business that provides a meaningful pension to all of its workers.

From my first days as President, we have worked to give families better access to better health care. In 1993, many workers lost their coverage when they changed or lost their jobs; many lost their jobs when they took time off to care for a sick loved one. And when employers failed to provide it, many working families had nowhere to turn to provide health care for their children.

Working together, we have changed that: by providing family and medical leave; by protecting coverage between jobs; and by passing a Children's Health Insurance Program. In less than a year, enrollment in CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. We're on our way to our goal of 5 million. To ensure that we meet it, I propose that we enroll children where they are: schools, HeadStart classrooms, and child-care centers. Because every child in America deserves a healthy start in life.

But there is more we must do – to insure not only children, but entire families that lack coverage. Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore’s suggestion and make hard-pressed parents eligible for the insurance that covers their kids. If we do this, not just for children but for these 6.5 million parents, we can make sure that families have the health care they need. With these steps alone, we can cover nearly one quarter of the uninsured in America.

And let’s give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. Last year, I called on Congress to let them buy into Medicare. This year, I propose we also give them a tax credit when they do so, to make this option more affordable.

We must also do more for citizen caregivers – the record numbers of Americans providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. More and more this is a common choice, but rarely an easy – or an inexpensive – one. Last year, I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. This year, let’s pass it – and triple it to \$3,000.

Taken together, these proposals mark the largest investment in health care in the 35 years since Medicare. We owe it to our people to pass it this year.

Let’s make another pledge: let’s improve mental health care. My budget makes the largest increase ever to expand community mental health services. And I want to thank someone

who has waged this battle on all fronts, fighting for the mentally ill homeless, working to break down the barriers that keep people from the help they need: Tipper Gore.

Nearly one in three American children grows up in a home without a father – and these children are five times more likely to live in poverty than children with both parents at home. Demanding and promoting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform. We have already begun to crack down on fathers who fail to pay child support by denying them drivers' licenses and creating a national database to track them across state lines. As a result, child support payments have doubled since 1993. The number of unwed fathers who legally acknowledge their paternity has tripled. And the percentage of children born into unwed homes, after skyrocketing for decades, has begun to level off.

We must work toward the day when every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin with tougher measures against fathers who fail to pay child support, like booting their cars and denying them passports. And we should require fathers to work – while helping them find work – so they can pay the child support they owe.

We know this can make a difference. Carlos Rosas of St. Paul, Minnesota enrolled in a father's program in 1996 when he was not making enough to keep up with his child support payments to his 13-year-old son, Ricardo. Since continuing his education and graduating from technical school, Carlos has landed a good job and is able to better support his son, both financially and emotionally. Contrary to conventional wisdom, many fathers, like Carlos, want

to do right by their children, and we should help them. Carlos is with us tonight. And we should let him know that we support his commitment to support his child.

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Crime in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline on record. For seven years, we've helped wage the fight--from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Our nation is safer, but no one believes America is safe as it can be. Let's set a higher goal. Let's make America the safest big country in the world.

Last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. I ask you to continue that support this year.

Last year, after the Columbine tragedy, Congress considered common-sense gun safety legislation to require Brady background checks at gun shows, child safety locks for all new handguns, and a ban on the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips. With courage—and a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President—the Senate faced down the gun lobby, stood up for the American people and passed this legislation. But the House failed to follow suit.

We've all seen what can happen when guns fall into the wrong hands. Daniel Mauser was only 15 years old when he was gunned down at Columbine High School. He was an amazing kid, a straight-A student, a good skier. Like all parents who lose their children, his

father Tom has borne unimaginable grief. Somehow Tom has found the strength to honor his son by transforming that grief into action. Earlier this month, he took a leave of absence to fight for tougher gun safety laws. I pray that his courage and wisdom will move this Congress to make common-sense gun safety legislation the very next order of business.

We must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. It is long past time for states to require licenses for handgun purchasers as well.

We've shown that we can strengthen gun laws and better enforce laws already on the books. Federal gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we must do more. I propose to hire more federal and local gun prosecutors, and more ATF agents to crack down on illegal gun traffickers and bad-apple dealers who supply guns to criminals and juveniles. We must give law enforcement the tools to trace every gun used in a crime in America. And we must create a national ballistics network capable of tracing almost any bullet left at a crime scene to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

[Let me say something else. I think it is important that the gun industry take more responsibility in changing the way it designs, markets and distributes firearms. There are responsible citizens in the gun industry who want to work with us to make sure the guns they sell don't wind up in the wrong hands and that kids aren't killed accidentally with them. Part of the answer may be in new technologies that could reduce accidents.]

Listen to this: the accidental gun death rate of children under 15 is nine times higher in the U.S. than in 25 other industrialized nations--combined. Technologies now exist that could lead to guns that can only be fired by the adults who own them. I thank the gun manufacturers who are developing these smart guns, and ask all other manufacturers to join them. And I ask Congress to help by increasing funds for research in these technologies to keep our kids safer.

Every parent I know worries about violence in the media. We need to give parents more tools to raise their kids right in today's culture. I thank the entertainment industry for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings on TV programs and video and Internet games. This year, I challenge the industry to go farther. Let's do as the First Lady has suggested, and give parents a single, voluntary rating system for all their children's entertainment -- a system that is easy to understand and enforce.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of offenders leave our prisons, only to wind up back in trouble with the law. To keep our communities safe, we must do more to monitor ex-offenders and give them the support they need to become responsible citizens. Two-thirds of ex-offenders who are sent back to prison are drug abusers. But if they get drug treatment, they are far less likely to commit another crime. We must provide them with that treatment, along with regular drug testing and a simple bargain: stay clean and you stay free; do drugs and you do more time.

OPENING NEW MARKETS

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

It is not enough to master the possibilities of the new economy at home. We must also lead and shape another revolution that is sweeping our world: globalization. It is the central reality of our time – a process tearing down barriers and building new networks between nations, peoples, economies and cultures.

Globalization is irreversible, driven even further by the explosion in information technology. Change this profound is both liberating and threatening. But our open, creative society stands to benefit more than any other – if we understand and act on the new realities of interdependence. We must maintain our military and economic might. But we cannot assure our well being without also being an essential part of every vital global network, as a good neighbor and good partner. We cannot keep going forward by holding other countries, especially poor ones, back. We cannot build our future without helping others to build theirs.

Clearly, one thing we can and must do is to keep international trade growing, and growing fairly. Trade now accounts for one-quarter of our economy. It creates good jobs and brings us new products and technologies. We need to keep that trade growing, and growing fairly. That means enforcing our own rules to protect our workers, our industries, and our environment. It means a global economy based on the rule of law. It means making international trade – and the WTO – more open and responsive to public concerns. We will not build our prosperity on the sweat of children, or the ruin of our environment.

We must also reach out to developing economies; and I ask Congress to finalize our groundbreaking African and Caribbean Basin trade initiatives. This will help Americans economically and forge new partnerships for a more secure, democratic world.

But mastering the demands of globalization is about much more than economics. It is about seizing an unprecedented opportunity to build a future of security, prosperity and freedom, while dealing with the dangers that still imperil our national interests. What are the critical challenges we face in the coming century?

One will be to encourage our former adversaries Russia and China to emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States. Both countries are being held back from reaching their potential: Russia by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya; China by the illusion that it can buy stability at the expense of freedom.

But think how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian soldiers serving with ours to keep peace in the Balkans; Russian people democratically electing their leaders for the first time. And in China, a society more open to the world than at any time in its history. No one can know for sure what direction these great countries will choose. We can make sure that we do everything in our power to see that both are on the inside of the global community, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

Congress should support the agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO, by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations. If we do, America's companies and workers gain

new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market, but China gains no new access to ours.

This agreement is good for America and will promote the cause of change in China.

Another critical challenge will be to protect our security from conflicts that pose the risk of wider war, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions. Our modern world is still bedeviled by our most ancient failing – fear of those different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by cynical leaders clinging to power or waging war on their neighbors.

America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But where our interests are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. For when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction, it is our common humanity that suffers. And left unresolved, such tragedies can throw whole regions into turmoil, overwhelm the world's capacity to help the innocent, and threaten us more directly.

We should be proud of America's role in bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace. We should be proud of our work to bring peace in Northern Ireland; proud of our efforts in East Timor and Africa, in promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey, in working to defuse crises between India and Pakistan, and in defending human rights and religious freedom.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who stopped the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, enabling a million innocent people to return to their homes. Today,

instead of struggling to defeat something evil, we can focus on building something good: a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace for the first time in history.

When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his terror in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide. And when another American plane went down over Serbia, he flew into the teeth of enemy air defenses to bring his fellow pilot home. Captain Cherrey, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our promise to finish the work you helped begin.

Another critical challenge is to keep the inexorable march of technology from giving terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force us to live in fear again. The same advances that have shrunk cell phones to fit in the palms of our hands can also make weapons of terror easier to conceal and easier to use.

We must meet this threat: by helping Russia keep its arsenal secure and reducing both our nuclear arsenals; restraining nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran; preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors. We are increasing our preparedness against biological attack and developing a system to defend against the missiles of outlaw nations – while working to preserve our Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. My budget devotes \$2 billion to protect our vital computer systems from hackers and criminals in any corner of any country.

We must also strengthen global standards against proliferation. I hope we can have a bipartisan dialogue this year to build a consensus on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which will eventually lead to its ratification. America must remain a leader in the struggle for a safer world.

Another critical challenge is to keep global stability from being threatened by a gap between rich and poor. We cannot accept a world in which a part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the bare edge of survival. Part of the answer is expanded trade. A bigger part is the expansion of freedom.

From Nigeria to Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet new democracies need help in delivering for their people. We must stand by neighboring countries like Colombia, fighting for its people's lives – and for our children's lives – against the poison of drugs. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia; and I ask for your support. And if we want to put the drug barons out of business, let's go after what they value most: their money. This year, I will propose legislation to crack down harder on money laundering, here and around the world.

In a world where 1.3 billion people live on less than a dollar a day, we must also reduce the debts of impoverished countries. I ask Congress to continue to support that effort.

And America must help more nations break the bonds of disease that hold down their people. It is unacceptable that last year in Africa, AIDS killed ten times as many people as war

did. My budget invests \$150 million in the fight against this and other infectious killers. And I will ask the world to join us in an initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that will say to private industry: if you develop vaccines for diseases like malaria, TB and AIDS, we will help pay for them, and together save millions of lives.

And I will ask Congress to increase our support for international family planning by \$170 million. That money will help families live healthier lives, and it will save the lives of thousands of women and children.

All this comes down to a central challenge, the most important of all: will America continue to lead? In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by the forces of history. Now America must choose: to direct the new forces of history or be driven by them. Clearly, America must lead boldly and consistently and with a clear understanding of what globalization and increasing interdependence require of us.

To lead, we must remain strong. We have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to keep our military the best trained, best equipped in the world. My budget invests in readiness and in 21st century weapons. It raises salaries for our men and women in uniform and ensures America's veterans the thanks and honor they have so richly earned.

We must also continue to fund the one percent of our budget that supports the diplomacy that keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, Congress worked with me to maintain that commitment and resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember: building a stronger global community will only strengthen our community here at home.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

We have no higher obligation to our children, and their children, than to be wise stewards of our air, water, and land. I am grateful for the many opportunities the Vice President and I have had to honor this commitment – and finally to put to rest the notion that you can't expand your economy and protect the environment at the same time. As our economy has grown, we have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste, ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families, and taken unprecedented steps to improve the air we breathe.

In the past three months alone, we have acted to preserve pristine backcountry lands in our National Forests and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres we are protecting for all Americans, for all time. Not since the days of Theodore Roosevelt has the nation come together to save so much precious land in the continental United States.

But our communities are growing, and our commitment to conservation must keep growing as well. So tonight, as part of my Lands Legacy Initiative, I propose creating, for the

first time, a permanent conservation endowment to save our wildlands, protect our coastlines, and restore our wildlife. This endowment would provide nearly \$1.5 billion each year – by far the largest, most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

Last year, the Vice President launched a major new effort to help make communities more livable – so children will grow up next to parks rather than parking lots, and parents don't sit in endless traffic when they could be home with their kids. Tonight, we propose new funding for advanced transit systems ... for saving farms and other precious open spaces ... and for helping the major cities around the Great Lakes protect their waterways and enhance their quality of life.

As we work to protect our natural resources, we must help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – the source of more than a quarter of the oxygen on earth. Yet these lush sanctuaries of life are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, irreplaceable forests.

The greatest environmental challenge of the new century is global warming. Scientists tell us that the 1990s were the hottest decade of the entire millennium – and that if we fail to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases now, deadly heat waves, droughts, and floods will become more frequent with each passing year.

But thanks to remarkable new technologies, we can meet this challenge – and we can do it in ways that produce more widespread, more sustainable economic growth.

Last week, at the Detroit Auto Show, automakers unveiled cars that use advanced materials and dual fuel sources to get 70 to 80 miles a gallon – the fruits of a unique partnership the Vice President has led. We've helped develop windows that drastically cut energy bills by keeping out four or five times as much heat and cold as normal windows do. We're helping to bring the benefits of advanced space research into our homes with solar roofing tiles and fuel cells that produce all the electricity a family needs – and no pollution at all. Before you know it, we'll be producing clean fuels from crops and getting the equivalent of hundreds of miles from a gallon of gas.

To help spur these new technologies, I propose giving major tax incentives to businesses for producing clean power from crops, wind, or sun ... and to families for buying energy-efficient homes and appliances. And when new super-efficient cars hit the showroom floor, we should provide people who buy them with up to \$3,000 in tax credits, effectively cutting their sticker price and ensuring even greater appeal.

But let's be frank: we have the technology to make all new cars more fuel efficient right now. So tonight, I call on auto industry leaders to join us in designing a new strategy for reversing the recent decline in average fuel economy. You've committed to higher efficiency in Europe. Let's do the same right here at home.

We must also meet the worldwide challenge of global warming by giving developing countries the tools to grow in ways that strengthen their economies and protect the environment. So tonight, I propose a new [\$100 million] initiative to help these countries adopt the newest clean-energy technologies. Nations can now achieve prosperity without following the old patterns of growth that brought us global warming. Let's help them follow a better, more modern path.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In the new century, innovations in science and technology will be key not only to the health of our environment. Sustained investments in scientific research will also yield dramatic, almost miraculous, improvements in the quality of our lives.

In the last century, the life expectancy for the average American increased from 47 to 77 – thanks to discoveries such as penicillin and the development of vaccines for many childhood diseases. Today, we are on the cusp of advances that will not only help us live far longer but far better.

Later this year, researchers will finish the first complete sequence of the human genome – the very blueprint of life. This will lead to a revolution in our ability to detect, treat, and prevent diseases from Alzheimer's to cancer to AIDS. If we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, we could empty half the nursing home beds in America.

Research at the intersection between biomedical research and engineering will also lead to amazing breakthroughs. Scientists are already working on an artificial retina to treat certain kinds of blindness, and methods of directly stimulating the spinal cord to allow people who are paralyzed to walk.

Scientists have recently identified three of the genes that cause Parkinson's Disease – and they will soon begin to test elegant therapies that will turn off these faulty genes for good. Tonight, I want to thank these scientists for their brilliant work. I also want to salute Michael J. Fox – the talented actor, director, and producer who was diagnosed with Parkinson's nine years ago. Michael, on behalf of the million young and older Americans struggling with Parkinson's, I thank you for giving so much of yourself to accelerating the hunt for a cure.

Advances in science and engineering are also the engine of our economic growth. Consider the impact of information technology. Because of our early investments in developing microprocessors, satellite communications, and the Internet, America now leads the world in information technology – an industry that accounts for one third of our economic growth and that generates jobs that pay almost 80 percent more than the private sector average wage.

In the future, we will have devices that can translate foreign languages as fast as you can speak, enabling anyone to tap into the world's knowledge instantly – from anywhere ... materials ten times stronger than steel at only a small fraction of the weight ... unimaginably powerful computers made with DNA strands rather than silicon chips. These and other

breakthroughs may enhance our economy and our society even more profoundly than the Internet does today.

For all these reasons, my budget will include an unprecedented \$3 billion increase in the 21st Century Research Fund. We will boost support for biomedical research at the National Institutes of Health, double the largest dollar increase for the National Science Foundation in its 50-year history, and greatly expand funding for information technology, clean energy, university-based research, and NASA's never-ending quest in space.

It is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment, reflecting our most cherished values.

First and foremost, we must ensure that citizens' privacy – financial and medical – is protected. Last year, our administration proposed rules to protect every citizen's most sensitive information, his or her medical records. This year, we will finalize those rules. We have also taken steps to protect our people's financial records. But these are only the first steps, as I said when I signed the financial modernization bill into law. I will soon send legislation to the Congress to complete this important unfinished business.

We will also take action to prevent genetic discrimination – so no employer ever reviews your genetic records along with your resume. We will make sure that the actions of the government itself contain strong privacy protections. And tonight, I want to issue a strong challenge to on-line companies to do more to protect their customers' privacy.

Second, we know that our medical professionals work wonders every day; but we also know that their first obligation is to do no harm. My budget makes the largest investment in history to eliminate medical errors and enhance patient safety. Because no American should ever fear that their health care will jeopardize their health.

If we do all these things, we can ensure that the march of human discovery will only quicken in the century before us – enhancing our lives, and the lives of our children, in ways that we can only begin to imagine today.

COMMUNITY

In the era of globalization, we must work even harder to strengthen the bonds of our local communities and our national community.

We should begin with ways to widen the circle of citizen service until it embraces every American. There is a new spirit of service in America—a movement we have supported with revolutionary new partnerships between government and private citizens.

Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join us in helping people move from welfare to work. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 of our fellow citizens.

Over the past seven years, we have created many other successful partnerships. To battle drug abuse and AIDS. To teach young people to read. To Save America's Treasures. To fight teen pregnancy. To prevent youth violence. To promote racial healing. To help our young people serve.

But there is much more to be done, we need more citizen servants.

Veterans of AmeriCorps, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are a pool of know-how and can-do. Tonight, I propose the creation of the Americorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

Our senior population represents a huge army of workers and volunteers who want and deserve a chance to serve. So, tonight, I say to seniors across America – we need your work, your wisdom and your service. Get involved if you are not and stay involved if you are.

If we believe that charity begins at home, we must reward lower and middle income Americans who tithe and contribute to charities. Right now, only those who earn enough to itemize can claim a tax deduction for charitable contributions. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to allow low and middle income citizens to claim that same deduction.

Faith-based organizations are on the frontlines in our communities helping Americans fight substance abuse, providing opportunities for young people to get back on the right track.

We can respect the line between church and state and still do more to support the good works of these groups. [TK Specific examples to come]

There is even more we can do to breathe fuller life into the idea of citizenship. That's why we're proposing to invest more in teaching civics and English to new immigrants. That's why in this year of the census, every one of us must not only stand up and be counted. We must also stand up and be heard.

So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

We are going to use 21st century technology to open new doors to the democratic process. Two generations ago, Franklin Roosevelt used the new medium of radio for his fireside chats. Starting next month, I will use the new medium of the Internet to launch Webside Chats--- interactive discussions to connect more Americans to our democracy.

Our national community is undergoing one of the greatest demographic transformations in history. Within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in America.

In a more interconnected world, will we make diversity our greatest strength? As we have seen in recent years, from Northern Ireland to Africa...from the Balkans to the Middle

East...racial and ethnic conflict too often spark terror and war. And no country is exempt from hatred—even our own.

We have seen a man dragged to death in Texas simply because he was black. A young man murdered in Wyoming simply because he was gay. In the last year, we've seen the shootings of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Jewish children simply because of who they were. We must draw the line. This is not the American way. In America, we must do more than tolerate diversity--we must celebrate it. Without further delay, we must pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

The work of building One America must be the work of all Americans. We must rededicate ourselves to the ideals of justice and opportunity for all that are at the heart of our democracy. No American should be subjected to discrimination in finding a home, getting a job, going to school, or securing a loan. Tonight, I propose the largest ever investment to enforce America's civil rights laws. Let's make sure protections in law are protections in fact.

Last February, I created the White House Office on One America to coordinate our efforts and help build community partnerships for racial reconciliation. We are reaching out across our nation – to religious leaders, to corporate leaders, to the legal community to enlist the help of American in building the One America of our dreams.

This fall, at the White House, one of America's leading scientists, said something we all need to remember: all human beings are genetically 99.9 percent the same. Modern science affirms what ancient faith has taught us: the most important fact of life is our common humanity.

My fellow Americans, each time I prepare for the state of the union, I approach it with great hope and great expectations for our nation. But there is no escaping the fact that tonight is different. For tonight, we stand on the mountaintop, with a new millennium spread out before us. Behind us we see the expanse of American achievement, and ahead even wider frontiers of possibility.

So, as we take our long look ahead, we must ask ourselves: How will we make the most of this moment of promise?

Tonight, let us pledge to ourselves and to our children:

At a time of undreamed of economic growth, we will, step by step, bring opportunity to every American in every community.

At a time of record surpluses, we will, step by step, make America debt free for the first time since 1835.

At a time when our people are living longer than ever, we will, step by step, ensure that they live healthier, with quality, affordable healthcare for all Americans.

At a time when science and technology are transforming our world, we will, step by step, realize their full promise and, at every step, harness our progress to our values.

At a time when we have proved we can grow the economy and protect the environment, we will, step by step, reverse climate change and secure our planet for our grandchildren.

At a time of steadily falling crime, we will, step by step, make America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more parents are working, we will, step by step, ensure that all parents have the tools to succeed at work and in raising their children...and that none of those children are raised in poverty.

At a time when knowledge is the key to our children's future, we will, step by step, see to it that all of them begin school ready to learn and graduate ready to succeed.

At a time when globalization brings both new promise and new perils, we will continue to be the world's indispensable nation – a strong leader and a better neighbor.

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, we will become at last what our founders pledged us to be so long ago -- one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

This is the long look ahead, unreachable in one year, but clearly within reach of a great people with big dreams, determined to work together and move ahead, step by step.

When the framers were crafting our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin reflected on a painting of the sun, low on the horizon, hanging in Independence Hall. He said, "I have often wondered whether that sun was rising or setting. Today I have the happiness to know it is a rising sun." Well, today because each generation of Americans has kept the fire of freedom burning and lighting new frontiers of possibility, we bask in the warmth of Mr. Franklin's rising sun. Now it is our time. We will be judged by the deeds and dreams we pass to our children. And on that score, we will be held to a high standard, indeed. Because our chance to do good is so great. So, let us look to the rising sun. After 224 years, the American revolution continues. We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. That is our destiny. And this is our magic moment.

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

SOTU 2000
NOTES FOR CONSIDERATION FROM DISCUSSIONS

January 14/15, 2000

From Penn, Podesta and others

- Intro/conclusion: we're prepared for 21st Century – economy good, society good. We're not just better off, we're better.
-
- Long look ahead/ big challenges. Broader vision future – programs and steps along the way.
- Internet privacy – technology, genetic privacy
- FLOTUS – ratings, privacy
- IDA – see Andrea Kane
- Fiscal discipline – in intro and later near soc security section (debt, etc.); tax credits;
- Less references to VPOTUS
- Add booting cars
- Reference: first back to back surplus
- References to FLOTUS box.

Ellen E. Olcott
01/24/2000 08:30:17

Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: sou prep, first 3/4 of side b, tape one.

1/24/00
DRAFT/not proofed
tape one, side B

STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH PREPARATION

(this portion is 3/4 of tape one, side b)

THE PRESIDENT: (in progress) -- somewhere else, or try to get somebody else to pick on up. If this is one of the wonderful things I want to say that we are going to mention, let's make sure they know what the hell I'm talking about. That's the only point I'm making. Okay?

Then on the charter schools, I'd like to just goose it just a little bit, that's the next paragraph, by saying -- if we're going to say with this we know -- this is another thing you all need to think about whether you want the reprise in this section to be "we know, we know, we know." Is it likely to be a "we know it all"? You know what I mean? I just want you to think about that. I don't have an opinion. I actually liked it last night when I read it, but this morning it struck me as maybe a little too --

Q (inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: But you get up to 10 if you don't. But, anyway, here's the way I rewrote this. "We know public school choice works if parents have a real choice. That's what charter schools are all about." "That's what charter schools are all about" or "that's what charter schools provide." "When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. Today, there are 1,700" -- there are actually more than 1,700. "My budget assures that we will meet our goal of funding 3,000. Let's give our parents real choice." Or "parents and students real choice."

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Not only that, it's nothing new about it. But this is the problem, because if you do this, then you're beginning to set your long-term goals. But I did that a couple of other places. You ought to say, one way you might start this is say, "look, America has been working hard for several years to improve our schools, as our pool of students has grown larger and ever more diverse, and as education has grown increasingly important." You know, "for seven years we have, blah, blah, blah."

And then you say, "these things are going up and some of the most impressive" -- you know. But you want to get into the big ideas. Now, for example, and then you can say, if you get into the big ideas then you can talk about what you're doing and you could put this at the education section. You can say, "for those who doubt that all children can learn, let me tell you the story of..."

Q Or, "for those who doubt that these things can work, let me tell you about..."

THE PRESIDENT: "that all children can learn and that we know how to do it. Let me tell you a story." See, I think that way if you want to flip -- see, this is all out of order here, we've got a little public school, we've got a little Head Start, we've got a little after-school, we've got a little turn around failing schools. You know what I mean? If you didn't have to put this in there right now and you started with, "what kind of system do we want? Do we want a system where everybody has got access to pre-school, everybody who needs it has got access to after-school programs; during the school day they're in school with good teachers, high standards, strong systems of accountability that every district has a program to turn around failing schools or shut them down; and when kids do get out of high school they're encouraged to go to college and every single one of them can afford to go." That's what you want, that's your dream, you know? You can use higher form rhetoric, but you get the idea.

And I think then you talk about, "what steps are we going to take toward that goal?" And I think this is a structure you could use a lot of these. "What steps are we going to take toward that goal?" Then you litanize the things. You find you can do it quicker, I think. And you don't have to say -- I mean, I did it here, but "let's double the investment to fund" -- like here. I'll just give you an example. If you go to page seven in the middle of the thing, the rest of it I just sort of -- I rewrote some things. But let's take, "we know the states and districts who managed to turn around work performance -- (inaudible) -- shut them down. Last fall, Congress passed my plan" -- see that paragraph?

Joshua S. Gottheimer
01/24/2000 09:09:10 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: ALL of sou tape one, side b

----- Forwarded by Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP on 01/24/2000 09:09 PM -----

Ellen E. Olcott
01/24/2000 08:58:57 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: ALL of sou tape one, side b

1/24/00
DRAFT/not proofed
tape one, side B (ALL)

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Q (inaudible.)

because if we do this" -- you have put us on a path to getting there. In other words, you may not want to sound like, you know, "here's my 10 year plan" because, you know, you've got one year left. But you put increases and you can basically say -- what you're basically saying is if everybody in the future put an increase as big as I just did, then we can get to universal pre-school, we can get to universal after school." And that's factual (inaudible.) If people continue adding to the increases that you're doing now, you can reach --

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. That's okay to be -- that's like not being self-serving, either. You can say, "okay, other people have to finish this, but if they do this, they can."

But do you see what I'm saying? This stuff is all strewed out and if you're going to use some of them, miss some -- which is okay with me -- it should be done at the end, in terser form, to illustrate all children can learn. I also think since you're talking about a revolution in education, I think that short shrift is given to the closing the digital divide, what we did with the e-rate, what we're doing. You've got fabulous statistics about 1994, when Vice President Gore and I started this program, only 14 percent of our schools and 11 percent of our classrooms connected. Today, over half our classrooms and over 80 percent of our schools are connected.

Q (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: See what I mean? Those are gripping statistics, and that's what people think of the school modernization. Then you could go into this, "but you know, still a third of our schools are in serious disrepair, with leaking roofs and electrical wiring too antiquated to close the digital divide" or something. You see what I'm saying? We've got to paint more picture there.

Now, the other thing is, I know Bruce believes in this, and I certainly do, because the research has been clear for a decade now, since well before we got here, about making our high schools safe and better for smaller -- there's now a decade of research which shows that the optimal size of a class, that it has to be about 100 to have the density necessary to offer the variety of courses and quality of instruction and lab and stuff like that. But if it gets over 300, you start getting in trouble. For a graduating class, not classroom class -- junior class, senior class, sophomore.

And so now there's this new rush on this. And this was I think referencing that New York Times article (inaudible.) I like this and I know how passionately you believe in it. The only problem is, when I say this sentence no one will know what the hell I'm talking about.

MARY
PLEASE
VOT

get her
speech

320 class
5/1/84

94
connected

98
51%

100
- 500
- 1000
- 1500
- 2000
- 2500
- 3000
- 3500
- 4000
- 4500
- 5000
- 5500
- 6000
- 6500
- 7000
- 7500
- 8000
- 8500
- 9000
- 9500
- 10000

to
89%

there. In other words, you may not want to sound like, you know, "here's my 10 year plan" because, you know, you've got one year left. But you put increases and you can basically say -- what you're basically saying is if everybody in the future put an increase as big as I just did, then we can get to universal pre-school, we can get to universal after school." And that's factual (inaudible.) If people continue adding to the increases that you're doing now, you can reach --

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. That's okay to be -- that's like not being self-serving, either. You can say, "okay, other people have to finish this, but if they do this, they can."

But do you see what I'm saying? This stuff is all strewed out and if you're going to use some of them, miss some -- which is okay with me -- it should be done at the end, in terser form, to illustrate all children can learn. I also think since you're talking about a revolution in education, I think that short shrift is given to the closing the digital divide, what we did with the e-rate, what we're doing. You've got fabulous statistics about 1994, when Vice President Gore and I started this program, only 14 percent of our schools and 11 percent of our classrooms connected. Today, over half our classrooms and over 80 percent of our schools are connected.

Q (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: See what I mean? Those are gripping statistics, and that's what people think of the school modernization. Then you could go into this, "but you know, still a third of our schools are in serious disrepair, with leaking roofs and electrical wiring too antiquated to close the digital divide" or something. You see what I'm saying? We've got to paint more picture there.

Now, the other thing is, I know Bruce believes in this, and I certainly do, because the research has been clear for a decade now, since well before we got here, about making our high schools safe and better for smaller -- there's now a decade of research which shows that the optimal size of a class, that it has to be about 100 to have the density necessary to offer the variety of courses and quality of instruction and lab and stuff like that. But if it gets over 300, you start getting in trouble. For a graduating class, not classroom class -- junior class, senior class, sophomore.

And so now there's this new rush on this. And this was I think referencing that New York Times article (inaudible.) I like this and I know how passionately you believe in it. The only problem is, when I say this sentence no one will know what the hell I'm talking about.

Q (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: What has this got to do, this making them smaller, what has this got to do with a tax credit and a spending program that is at best designed to make a real dent in a pre-existing problem with schools at the size they are. And if we are doing something over and above that to promote small high schools, what is it that we're doing. So what's the answer to that?

Q Well, this issue (inaudible). -- communities can use to trying new ways to doing this by basically either building schools within schools or -- (inaudible) -- construction, but they can use it to rearrange things so that their schools are smaller.

THE PRESIDENT: Have you asked Riley? Have we talked to him at the Education Department about how they would write this section?

Q No.

THE PRESIDENT: Does he have a good speechwriter.

Q Yes. What I was going to suggest on the education is that Bruce and I

(end tape one, side A)

THE PRESIDENT: -- [in progress] See that? You see the sign that says "Nano-USA"? This is nanotechnology? Okay, each one of these little blocks in the letters is a single carbon monoxide molecule deposited on a copper surface. Now listen to this: over 100 million letters of this size would fit on a human hair.

Q Oh, my goodness.

THE PRESIDENT: That's how small that is.

Q (Inaudible) DNA

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and I saw this DNA computer. It's something I thought we might mention. I still don't think we've got enough sort of modern in this speech.

But anyway -- here's what I want to do. I'm going to give you this, but I will go over with you now the changes I make, because I think they'll be hard for you to read. Basically what I did was -- I know we've got to cut 1,500 words out. Basically I cut -- depending on what ending we used -- between 320 and 400 words out of it. But I put -- because I put a bunch of stuff in. I cut a lot more than that, but I jammed a lot of stuff back in here.

Here's the way, you know, you want this action and snappy. I said, "I challenge Congress not only to pass this measure, but to make dramatic, new investment in ideas we are working." And I say, "first, let's double the investment Congress made last year to fund proven efforts by state and local districts to turn around their worst performing schools or shut them down and allow parents to choose other public schools for their children. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making schools go up." You've got "across the board here," I guess I understand what you're doing, but you don't have to say that, it can be in the regs or whatever.

"Second, let's double our investment in quality after-school and summer school programs that boost academic achievement. They also keep children off the street and out of trouble. If we do this, we can give every child and every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards." See, that's good. See what I mean?

Then you go into, you know, our goal of universal pre-school. But if you've already said all the goals up there, you'll get confused. And I would say, "universal preschool," I wouldn't say for every four year old in America. I know that's like we're being honest because we can't afford every three year old, but there's a lot of early, head start, you've got a lot of states out there trying to get the three year olds in. I think by trying to be sort of ever so meticulous you could cause yourself more trouble than you have. As long as you -- that's my view, anyway.

Q Mr. President, can I just suggest a possible formulation as you're doing this, which is, you know, you've just gone through and talked about revolutionary change. Even when you're saying "let's double" this, it still to me has a little bit of sound like, again, I've got a really great Labor/HHS appropriations bill.

THE PRESIDENT: No, but if you tell them that everybody can be in one of these schools --

Q Right. But can I just -- if, for example, on after-school, I think if you more -- (inaudible) -- I mean, look, when you called me the other day you said, this New York Times article is right, you can't expect a school -- (inaudible) -- we've got to, we as a country, have to commit ourselves to a time when the accident of birth will not determine whether everyone has a pre-school --

THE PRESIDENT: I agree with that.

Q And that's kind of our goal. Then what your budget is, you -- you know, "that is why I put the largest Head Start, because if we do this" -- you have put us on a path to getting

THE PRESIDENT: But you get up to 10 if you don't. But, anyway, here's the way I rewrote this. "We know public school choice works if parents have a real choice. That's what charter schools are all about." "That's what charter schools are all about" or "that's what charter schools provide." "When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all America. Today, there are 1,700" -- there are actually more than 1,700. "My budget assures that we will meet our goal of funding 3,000. Let's give our parents real choice." Or "parents and students real choice."

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: We just did say "public school choice." What?

Q I think that's playing on their field. (inaudible) on ours.

THE PRESIDENT: Gee, I don't think so. It's an anti-voucher message. I mean, it's our whole deal.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Take the last "let's give" out. "My budget assumes we'll meet our goal of funding 3,000." Okay. On this, again I don't -- "we know that to make the American dream more achievable we must make college more affordable." I'd take "more" out. I mean, we're going to assert that if they pass this everybody can go. I'd say "we know that to make the American dream achievable, we must make college affordable." "For seven years, on a bipartisan basis, we have moved toward that goal." Right? Okay.

This, "our efforts are paying off," you could lose that sentence. You could say, "today, 67 percent of high school graduates go on to college, up almost 10 percent since 1993. Yet still millions of families feel the strain of paying college tuition." I don't know if you need to say "middle class," you can say, "they need help." And we're being trashed for not doing more for poor people, although I think when they realize that the 15 percent (inaudible) gets a 28 percent tax credit -- I don't think that the Times understood that when they trashed it.

Q They understood. It's just automatic with them. It's just HOPE Scholarship. There's nothing you can do.

THE PRESIDENT: They didn't like the HOPE Scholarship, either?

Q You know what, it's like when I argue with them, it's not terrible, they just feel like they're -- it's not terrible. Really. They feel like their role in life is to push for Pell

grants -- and they understand.

THE PRESIDENT: It would suit me, Gene, if we took everything we don't put in the IDAs and put into Pell grants. I don't give a damn. All right.

Now, in the next sentence, I think you can lose that first sentence. I just don't think it's necessary. I mean, it's self-evident: I would say, "I propose a landmark" "they need help." "They feel the strain of paying for college tuition, they need help. Therefore, I propose a landmark, \$30 million college -- \$30 billion -- college opportunity tax cut. It will give middle class families a tax deduction for up to \$10,000 in tuition costs, providing as much as \$2,800 in much needed tax reliefs."

Now, do you want to say to people in all eligible income brackets, so they understand that people in a 15 percent bracket can get \$2,800? You might think of whether you want to say that. Then I would say, "with this new college opportunity tax cut, plus HOPE Scholarships" -- we do increase Pell grants, don't we?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: -- "a Pell grant increase" -- I'd put that in there -- "a Pell grant increase and other aids, we can say that every American who wants to go to college can go." I wish we could think of some more gripping way to say that, but that's it.

Now, I rewrote this next paragraph because I think we really mushed it up. Is there some reason you didn't want to use the word "gear up" here? I'd say, "we must do more to prepare young students from disadvantaged backgrounds for college and to convince them they can go." See, I think they can go better -- that's the way we can say to every American, "we have opened the doors of college to all." I like that better up there. That was our previous phrase. "We can say to every American, finally, we have opened the doors of college to all." That's a more gripping thing, at the end of the above paragraph.

And then you say, "we must do more to prepare young students from disadvantaged backgrounds for college and to convince them they can go." "And they can go" -- it makes a lot more resonance there. Then I'd say, "last year Congress crossed party lines to create the GEAR-UP program, enabling college students to mentor at-risk middle school students. I propose to double the number of children reached to 1.4 million, to offer disabled, disadvantaged students the same prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores on college entrance exams."

Q That's actually a different -- that's actually a new initiative.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. "I also propose to offer disadvantaged students the same test prep courses wealthier students to boost their scores on college entrance exams." That will get a good hand. "And to provide grants to help disadvantaged students succeed once they're in college." See, if you say, grants to colleges to help them see once they're in college, you know what I mean?

Q As much as I like this initiative, I'm not sure, the last sentence, I'm not sure.

THE PRESIDENT: Lose it. I think the college entrance exam, you know -- lose it. I mean, it's important, but --

Q I think it's a college grant program. I think the test prep course is kind of a neat idea, I think that notion would stay --

THE PRESIDENT: That's great.

Q I'm saying the last sentences is this college completion thing we've worked on, it's \$30 million, it's important. But unless you explain to people that minority kids are dropping --

THE PRESIDENT: Drop it.

Q Shouldn't we move this before? I mean, shouldn't it be first we have to help more kids get to college and then we've got to have --

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. Look, if you go back and do what I wanted, and you plug this Ruth Summerlin (phonetic) down at the end, then you can do it seriatim by age. Okay?

Now, if you do that, and you put Ruth Summerlin here, then you have to put this thing on Hillary, where I think it belongs. It doesn't belong here, it belongs in the family section where, Bruce, I also want to find a phrase for second chance home. If we're going to do that sucker, let's get some credit, because there's a whole constituency out there on a second chance homes, and we've been advocating it for years.

Q And then we have the same thing with the family section --

THE PRESIDENT: We've got the same problems with the family section. We'll get there. We're in the rewarding work and strengthen the -- but what I'd like to do is to talk about -- because I could say some other nice things about Hillary in connection with this. See, but then if you have any doubt that children can learn, then I think -- then at the end of the family section, if you have any doubt that we really can cross party lines and put people first, and the families -- then what I would

do, personally, is to mention first -- because Gore taught me a lot about this, like I say, when we set it up with the federal employee -- there will be some reluctance about, you know, is Clinton doing this just for politics and all that.

I would start with what we did on disabilities last time, to let people keep their medical insurance. It's a pro-family, pro-work thing. And then I would talk about how wonderful was that this unanimous Congress wanted to help do something about foster care. That first we liberalized adoptions and then we'd done more for kids that are aging out of foster care. And then I thank Hillary for that, she's been working on for a lifetime. And I have to say -- I need to say that in the State of the Union, because one of the things we found in New York is that she is in New York the way Al Gore was in the country, she's famous. But people don't know anything about here. They have no idea what she's done, just like people had no idea what he'd done.

And some of these focus groups -- like an 80 percent conversion rate among undecided voters when you fill them with information.

Q Famous, but unknown.

THE PRESIDENT: But, yeah, it's a high-class problem. Okay. Let's go down to the second -- but do you see what I mean? The only problem I see is whether, you know, you get some of these commentators and they're doing psycho-babble and they say, well, why did he mention Tipper Gore before he mentioned his own wife and all that. I don't think we'll have to deal with that. You know, we're dealing with some whacked-out folks here.
(Laughter.)

Okay. "We need a 21st century revolution to reward work and strengthen families." Now, listen, this is how I -- I would putts up here because I think this is the first time people say this. You've got this at the end of the speech, I would put it up here. I would say, "we need a 21st century revolution to reward work and strengthen families. In a world where more and more parents work, but the most important work is still raising children. The most important work of all still" -- I don't want to divide the verb. "But the most important work of all, still, even in this modern world, still is raising children." Now, it means you've got to drop it at the end. I think it's better than all this, "work hard, play by the rules, be rewarded, self-respect." You say the same thing in fewer words.

Okay. Then I would say -- the only thing I'd say on the EITC thing is, "as one of my first actions as President" -- I think it's better to say, "in my first address to you I asked Congress to greatly expand." See? That involves them. Okay?

Q Mr. President, do you want to use some of this -- maybe in the (inaudible) transition there. Your '92 campaign line was

more specific -- (inaudible) -- if you work --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, I like it. I'd like that put back in. That's a touchstone line, I like it.

Q But you see at that point we could, like the education section, define a couple of goals like that. It shouldn't be without health care. It shouldn't be without a parent.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, now, let me just say here, when you get from the EITC, right, you're dealing with primarily people not moving from welfare to work, but people already in the work force. Primarily. I think the sequencing of this whole section is all screwed up. I love the individual paragraphs, but I think the sequencing a mess. You go from the EITC to housing vouchers, without calling them housing vouchers, without explaining what we're doing. And what I think should be done is, at the very least, I think we should go -- and then you go into the homeless people. Right?

What I think you ought to do, what my instinct is that you go from the tax system to child care to the child care tax credit. What is the child care tax credit now, \$500?

Q It's the dependent care, which is about --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, okay.

Q Mr. President, one thing could be appended if you wanted to kind of cap that one of your theories, one of your visions or Clinton (inaudible) has been reward -- reducing the disincentives to work rewarding work. Things that fit in that category are EITC, minimum wage, welfare reform, child care and health care. Those are all the things that are like taxes on work, that used to keep people --

THE PRESIDENT: They are, but the problem with putting them all in there, Gene, is that most of the people who get the EITC are working, wouldn't go on welfare if you paid them as long as they could work, and the same is true of child care. So what I would like to see is -- if we can just talk about this a little. We ought to think about whether we're going to put the minimum wage in here again. But hear me out.

If you move from the EITC to child care to explaining how -- then you say how in welfare reform we were really, we're grateful that so many people have moved from welfare to work, but we've got one continuing people, which is a lot of people want to move from welfare to work, but they don't live where the jobs are and they can't get to them. So in the last few years we've been trying to give these housing vouchers and now we're up to 100,000 or whatever and we want to more than double that, because, blah, blah, blah.

I don't know. This is a big deal if you can explain it. But if you just speak in shorthand, I don't think people will understand. And on the homeless thing, this is good because it gives you a way to mention Tipper. But it doesn't say anything that we are doing or have done to alleviate the problem.

Q We've got a few things we can put there.

THE PRESIDENT: You see what I'm saying, though? (Inaudible) have done, are doing or proposed to do to alleviate the problem. One of the things that Guiliani had going for him is that most people in New York thought that he was wrong just to throw, indiscriminately kick people out of the shelters. They think he's getting them off the streets and the liberals had it (inaudible) all these years and nobody ever took anybody off the street. And you know, what the hell, I'm being compassionate by letting these poor mentally ill people nod out on the street every night, even if it's 20 degrees? So there's a lot of --

I think -- is this what Tipper wants mentioned about her this year?

Q Either this or mental illness.

THE PRESIDENT: I mean, I think it's weird.

Q It's weird to mention her here.

Q The mental illness thing -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: You could do that in the health care section by pointing out, you know, what are the experiences of parity, what we found out with the federal government or whatever. You need to think of the hook, because -- but you can say, "last year we had this conference and we learned this and we're going to do that." But you've got to have -- it's got to be tied not only to the conference last year, but what came out of the conference last year that we're going to do this year, that she either gets credit for. So I think you ought to think about that.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you guys figure it out. But I personally think it's better in the health care thing. and then --

Q You don't really have to mention the housing vouchers unless you're going to explain it.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, but if you scratch this paragraph, then you can go down to one sentence on homelessness. I think we ought to mention homelessness, but then you can reference something in the budget for it. But still you go -- see, it's kind of weird. You go from EITC to child care to -- then you go

to the -- which is big, what we did in child care is big. Then if you go to the housing vouchers here then all of a sudden you're in the health care. The sequencing here needs some thought.

Now let's talk about the health care thing. Now, my premise here is that the education and the health care thing are the biggest substantive things we're proposing. And I think our proposal gets short shrift here, both in rhetoric and -- here's the way I did it. I left the first paragraph. Let me just read this.

"Working together we have changed that by providing family and medical leave, by protecting coverage between jobs and by passing a children's health insurance program. In less than a year, enrollment in CHIP has doubled to 2 million children." And I would be more positive here, I'd say, "we're on our way to our goal of 5 million. We can meet it by enrolling children where they are, in schools, churches and child care centers." See what I mean? You compress that.

Then I'd have a new paragraph and I'd say, "despite our progress on children, there are more Americans without health insurance today than there were in 1993, when we were unsuccessful in providing coverage for all Americans." You may not want to leave that in there, you may want to take that out. "Many of the uninsured adults, about 9 million of them" -- I think it's 9 million, that's the last number you guys gave me -- "are parents of children who are eligible for CHIP. Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion and make these parents eligible for the insurance that covers their children."

See, that's a little more clear and makes it sound like a bigger deal. Now, if you want it to be a bigger deal still, you would say, "this has the potential to provide medical coverage for" -- well, if got them all, it would be 9 million, for let's say "for a total of 12 to 14. This initiative has a total of 12 to 14 million, which is about a third of all the uninsured in the country." It's a big deal. This needs to be big.

Now, the other thing I was going to ask is, we've been doing all this fiscal responsibility up front, you are going to go back to do that, I agree with Gene entirely on that. I understand it. Keep in mind, people know from nothing about this, right? You don't want people to think this is a totally left-wing program that we're going to go out there and just tell all these people if you're poor enough, here, come get your health insurance -- because that's not what this does. This is a buy in, right, people pay according to their ability to pay? Isn't that right?

Q -- no, CHIP expansion is --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I know. But parents -- not all these

parents are going to get this thing for free, are they?
Completely for free?

Q They would -- yeah, they would get --

THE PRESIDENT: They would up to 100 percent of the poverty line, right?

Q States could go up to 200 percent.

THE PRESIDENT: But states could go up to 200 percent. But don't states, if they go above 100 percent, have the option to require people to make some sort of matching payments for the insurance?

Q I didn't think so.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you know, Bruce?

Q Let me check. I think the answer is, Mr. President, is that you can choose a Medicaid -- it's just like CHIP, if you choose the Medicaid option -- (inaudible). Or you can set up your own.

THE PRESIDENT: But the Tennessee waiver lets them pay to get into Medicaid.

Q Mr. President, one way to describe this -- (inaudible) -- parents and children is -- (inaudible) -- writing family coverage.

THE PRESIDENT: My point is, you might not like the way I've rewritten it, but it damn sure needed to be rewritten because it didn't have any bigness to it, it didn't have any bite to it, it didn't have any oh-my-God they're going to solve a third of this problem. You see what I'm saying?

And then you can say, "let's give real, affordable options to the fastest growing group of uninsured people, those between 55 and 65 would lose their coverage. Last year I proposed that we let them buy into Medicaid. This year I propose we also give them a tax credit when they do so." See? "tax credit when they do so to make this option more affordable. And, again, how many people are we talking about here? Wasn't it 600,000, isn't that what you said?

Q (Inaudible.)

Q Harry and Louise -- Harry and Louise endorse this program, so shouldn't you? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah. I wish we could get Harry and Louise to come to the State of the Union, but I think that's a little too much. We want them in the Oval. We want them to come here.

It's okay with me.

Q I don't know if people know what it is.

THE PRESIDENT: You don't know if they know who Harry and Louise are?

Q Right. I think that's more of a message to the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Now, the next paragraph, again, we need oomph here. These are big damn things. This is the biggest stuff we're doing. And so we need -- along with the education stuff -- and we need to make it sound big. "We must also do more for" -- I would say -- "for citizen care-givers. The record numbers of Americans providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. More and more this is a common choice, but rarely an easier inexpensive one. Last year I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. This year, let's triple that, to \$3,000. And this year, let's pass it." See what I mean?

And you don't have to get into all that families -- because when you say 60 percent of a family's long-term care costs, you know what I'm thinking? I'm sitting there thinking, does that mean the average long-term care cost is \$5,000 or is this -- if it was like a tax deduction instead of a credit. You know, you get into this, you know what I mean? Because a lot of people pay a hell of lot more than \$5,000.

So I think you just can't blow by that. It's huge. They got a lot of support last year at only \$1,000; there will be huge support at \$3,000. But we've got to make it big.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: "This year, thanks to our economic prosperity" or "thanks to our improved economy, we can do better. Let's triple it, to \$3,000; and this year, let's pass it." See, you can explain why you're tripling it, we're in better shape. "This year, thanks to our improved economy, we can do even better. Let's triple it, to \$3,000; and this year, let's pass it."

Q Mr. President, can I -- I think that's a bad path for us to go, because actually what you're doing is you're keeping the exact same (inaudible) tax cut, even though things have gotten better.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, you're right. You're right. "This year, thanks to the fact that you dumb bastards didn't like our USA accounts, let's triple this." How's that? (Laughter.)

Q That's honest. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I wish I could give just one speech like that. (Laughter.)

Q Can I raise a point off of this, which is that we don't put together the tax cuts in the speech into a middle class tax cut anywhere.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, okay. You guys mark that off. That's why I'm going through this. I want you to make all these notes and try to do this. There may be a way to compress the record, do different sectional stuff, you know?

Now, let me tell you, I just redid the paycheck fairness thing. I rewrote it. But again I question whether this belongs here, at the end of health care. Doesn't this belong up with EITC and child care and all that? I mean, this is sort of -- we've got to really get this reordered so it's logically -- it doesn't look like follow the bouncing ball here.

But here's how I reword it, I said, "rewarding work and family requires us to make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work." In other words, I'd just as soon didn't say, "if we this, then that." I just say it. "Working women have made significant strides. The female unemployment rate" -- now, you guys say, the last numbers I was given said the female unemployment rate was the lowest in 40 years and the single-parent poverty rate the lowest in over 50 years. What I had in the statement today that you gave me was that it was the lowest since the end of World War II; the unemployment rate and the single-parent household poverty rate was the lowest ever recorded. That's what I had today.

But what I had in one of the printed weekly reports was 40 years and 56 years, or something. So just make sure that -- whatever the right thing to say is, just say the right thing, whatever the right thing is, in the most graphic possible way. Okay? I'd say -- not with single mothers working than ever, everybody knows that. And that forgets about the non-single mothers that are working, and single women who aren't mothers who are working. You know, I'd say, "the female unemployment rate is, the single parent poverty rate is" or whatever, "household poverty rate."

But then I'd say, "but women still earn less than 77 cents for every dollar for men. That is just not good enough. We should pass the paycheck fairness act and provide the needed resources." You know, I was wrong about this and you were right, the first time. It reads better to say, "we must provide the resources to enforce present equal pay law and to train more women for the high paying, high tech jobs." Okay? "where they are traditionally under-represented," right? "And we should pass the paycheck fairness act."

I think you were right, the way you had it the first time.

I think I'm wrong about that. I think the act sounds like a bigger deal. Okay? "This year" -- so Gene won't feel too bad -- "I again propose" -- (laughter.)

Q I'm not sure I would say, "more single mothers." It highlights --

THE PRESIDENT: That's what I mean. I scratched that. I did, I scratched. I scratched "more single mothers are working than ever, the women's unemployment rate the lowest in 50 years." I said, "the female unemployment rate is; the single parent household" -- whatever -- "single parent poverty rate is." In other words, just get that other thing out of there, because you don't want to get single mothers, married mothers, blah, blah, blah.

Now, on this fathership initiative, I have two questions. One is, we've got to kind of -- you've tightened it up, all right. But if you're going to make this big of a deal out of it, don't you need Exhibit A, with mentioning Carlos Rojas (phonetic) or not? That's my first thing. And my second thing is, I wouldn't say step-by-step here if you're going to step-by-step your way through the end. You said "step-by-step" at the beginning, I wouldn't mention "step-by-step" again because this is "step-by-step," we've already said that, until the end. Okay? Just stylistically.

Now, "toughly measured against fathers who owe child support, such as booting their cars." We don't have any federal proposal on this, or we do?

Q What we're proposing is federal legislation -- (inaudible) -- require states to have an optional --

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Now, I don't understand what the last sentence means. I mean, I thought that was a law now, I thought we were enforcing it more. I don't understand what legislation we're sending up and what it's supposed to achieve that is not now in present law.

Q Two things. First, we have a program to provide money for work programs for fathers. A reformulation of the welfare to work -- so we're putting -- money, it is focused on (inaudible). And second, we're proposing as a part of this (inaudible) package that we have essentially the same kind of work requirement for fathers (inaudible.) We don't have an actual work requirement now. States have the option to (inaudible) work for -- there's no individual requirement for fathers.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. So let me say again what I think. Even though that's too many words, at least I have an idea now of what this means. I had no idea of what the hell we were talking about when I read this sentence. This is like good rhetoric, but it doesn't say that -- "and we have to do more to support absent

fathers who owe child support so they can work and pay that support. And to require those who can to do so." See, something like that. Something that explains what it is we're doing, instead of restating our value in generic terms, unconnected to what our proposal is.

Okay. Let's talk about crime here. Now the issue here is -- you know, again, we run the risk of sort of repeating ourselves. Because we're going to mention some of these things, these achievements twice.

Q Can I just go back? On the family section, I don't know what you think (inaudible), something like starting off with the basics (inaudible) which is having a parent or you can do foster care and adoption. And if you have a parent but he's not here, making sure to support -- to pay them the support, (inaudible), you need a proper income. Then I'd do the EITC. Then I'd do the minimum wage --

THE PRESIDENT: You can do that, and you can do Hillary like that. Or, if you wish, you can wait until the end and you can do a reprise of the end of the education section -- "if you doubt that all children can learn," "if you have any doubt that if we band together, across party lines, to put families first, we can make progress. Look at what we've done in the last two years on two important issues. First, the ability of disabled Americans to work." And it gives you a way to mention disability, because we don't mention them in this --

"Second, our determination to double the number of adoptions out of foster care and to do more for children who age out of foster care. This Congress has unanimously taken strong action in both those areas. I want to thank you and I want to especially thank" -- see? If you put it at the end of the section you can parallel the sight of the person you did at the education thing. However, if you do that, you've got to put the fatherhood thing up closer.

But at any rate, Mark's right. You need almost a chart where you mention all these, paragraphs, initiatives, and then figure out what the logical order is. But I know that the order here is wrong, and the equal pay is the most obvious one.

All right, let's talk briefly about crime here. Here's what I had said about crime. And I reordered some sentences here. "Crime in America has dropped every year for the past seven years, the longest continuous decline ever recorded. For seven years we've helped America fight crime, from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers."

And then here's what I did, I pushed this other stuff down below and I said, "But while we are grateful that America is much safer, no one believes America is safe enough. It's time to shoot for our real goal. Let's make America the safest big

country in the world." See, you can do this without screwing up your end goals, I think. Then you go, "last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. I ask you to continue that support this year."

Then you say, "last year" -- and I saved some space here in the next two -- "last year, after the Columbine tragedy, Congress considered common sense gun registration, to require Brady background checks," blah, blah. "In the face of enormous pressure from the gun lobby, the Senate, acting with courage and responsibility, and with a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President, passed this legislation. This year, I hope the House will finally follow suit. The lives of our children" -- blah, blah.

Then I said, in the second paragraph, instead of "last year in Littleton," I said, "we've all seen what can happen when guns are allowed to fall into the wrong hands. One of the students killed at Columbine High School was Daniel Mauzer, (phonetic), age 15. Daniel was an amazing kid, a straight-A student, a good skier." Now, I rewrote this because I think it is important that we -- you know, we're singling this guy out and we're singling parents out who lose their kids in this way, but I think this is a good way. I said, "like all parents who lose their children, his father, Tom, has borne unimaginable grief. Somehow, Tom has found the strength to honor his son by transforming his grief, not translating his grief, to honor his son by transforming his grief into action. Earlier this month he took a leave of absence from his job to fight for tougher gun safety laws. I pray that his courage and wisdom will move this Congress to make common sense gun safety legislation the very next order of business."

See, you don't want to say "first" because they'll already have done a thing or two. The "very next order of business," that his courage will move the Congress. This ought to be a shameless guilt pedal. Of course, we know that guys like Tom DeLay can't be guilt pedaled, and have no shame. Nearly everybody has got too much or too little.

And then I would have another paragraph and say, "the very next order of business." And then I'd say, "we must do more." And this is the way I would word this, and then I want to turn back over to my conversation with John last night. "States already require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses to reduce accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands." I would flip that. I would say, "States already require automobile drivers and hunters to have licenses, to reduce accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands." And then I would say, "it is long past time for states to require licenses for handgun purchasers, as well."

Now, I want to ask you again, what is the constitutional authority, given the Brady bill case, for us to require this

affirmative burden on the states? They said we couldn't even make county sheriffs do background checks.

Q Well, that's what they say. We still have the authority. They didn't strike down the entire -- they just struck down the ability to compel (inaudible) sheriffs to go and check records.

THE PRESIDENT: So how are we going to compel local revenue officers, or local whoever else to --

Q Here's how the proposal would work. (Inaudible.) States would have the option to either do it themselves or, if they chose not to, have a federal back up system. Which is exactly how (inaudible) works now.

THE PRESIDENT: So it's consistent with that and we wouldn't be making them do it, we'd give them the choice in doing it.

Q (Inaudible.) But it's conditioned on federal money --

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. But I think, you see, reading it, don't say "states require it." "States already require automobile drivers and hunters to have licenses, to reduce accidents and to keep guns out of the wrong hands. It is long past time for states to require licenses for handgun purchasers, as well."

Q I'm not sure states require hunters to have licenses to keep guns --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, then --

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how about this. Just say, "states already require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses; it's long past time for states to require licenses for handgun purchasers, as well." You save the words. Okay?

You think this is too cute? "To those who say instead of strengthening gun laws, we ought to enforce ones we've already got. To them I say, we already are?"

Q I think it's too cute.

THE PRESIDENT: Too cute?

Q Yeah.

THE PRESIDENT: How about, why don't we just say, "we must also improve the enforcement of gun laws already on the books" -- "of the gun laws now on the books."

Q What if you said, you know, "look at the facts"?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because it's too obvious. What you want to do -- look, we don't want to win an ad war with the Republicans on this. The American people don't know this yet, they don't know that they have an attack on us; they don't know that we have an answer. All that know, the NRA and the gun nuts know that now. And they also know, based on their research and polling that it works for them, a little bit. So we don't want to act like this is a -- any of this construct here politicizes that. We should -- "we also have to vigorously enforce the laws on the books. Here are the facts now; here's what I propose."

It's a big proposal. The facts are good, and the proposal is good.

(End tape one, side b.)

~~When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in all~~
America. Today there are 1700. My budget assures that we will meet our goal of funding 3000,
so that when parents choose a public school they have real choice.

need?

We know that to make the American Dream more achievable, we must make college
more affordable. For seven years, we have taken actions, on a bipartisan basis, to reach that
goal: more Pell grants, ~~more affordable~~ ^{cheaper} student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE
scholarship tax cut. Our efforts are clearly paying off. Today, 67 percent of students who
graduate high school go on to college, up almost 10 percent since 1993. ~~Still~~ ^{Still}, millions of
middle class families are feeling the strain of paying college tuition. They need help.

middle-class

~~In an economy that increasingly runs on brain power, we should give tax relief to people
who are investing in education. My budget provides a landmark \$30-billion college opportunity
tax cut, to help millions of middle class families pay for college. It will give families a tax
deduction for up to \$10,000 in tuition costs, providing as much as \$2,800 in much needed tax
relief. With this new college opportunity tax cut, plus Hope Scholarships and other aid, we can
say that every American who wants to go to college can go.~~

~~the door to college is open to every student who wants to learn. College opportunity~~

We must also say to middle school students from disadvantaged backgrounds, who may
~~think college is unaffordable, or not for them, that it is for them.~~ My budget doubles to 1.4
million the number of at-risk middle school students who receive mentoring by college students.
It offers disadvantaged students the same test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their
scores on college entrance exams. And it provides grants to colleges to help disadvantaged
students succeed once they're in college. Enrolled.

help guide
students
from dis-
advantaged
backgrounds
through
open door

If you have any doubt that by reaching across party lines, we can lift the lives of children,
consider this: the thirty percent increase in the number of children adopted out of foster care.
The first real increase in thirty years. And it happened because a bipartisan majority worked
with us to make it happen. And we are improving foster care for the children it serves and
supporting those who turn 18 and leave foster care without a permanent home. Tonight, I want
to honor the person who has led in this effort, someone who has worked tirelessly for children as
long as I have known her: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

out of
place?
better
faster

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC
January 27, 2000**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history. Never before has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity, social progress, and self-confidence with so little internal crisis or so few external threats. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams. There is no better moment to dream new dreams for our nation and act on them.

We begin the new century with over 20 million new jobs in the last seven years. The fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate on record; the highest home ownership ever; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years – and the largest budget surplus in history.

Next month, America will achieve the longest period of economic growth in our entire history.

Our economic revolution has been matched by a remarkable revival of the American spirit: Crime down by 25 percent, to its lowest level in more than 30 years. Teen births have dropped seven years in a row and adoptions are up by 30 percent. Welfare rolls have been cut in

half to their lowest levels in 32 years, and seven million Americans have moved off welfare and are moving into work.

My fellow Americans, the state of our union is the strongest it has ever been.

As always, most of the credit for what we have achieved belongs to the American people. With your hard work – to raise your families and live your dreams -- you have prepared our nation for the 21st century.

My gratitude also goes to all of you in this chamber who have worked with us to make the tough decisions, to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people.

Eight years ago, it was not clear to most Americans that there would be much to celebrate in the year 2000. Our nation was gripped by economic distress, social decline, political gridlock, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, the title of a best-selling book asked: “America: What went wrong?”

But in the best traditions of our nation, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with bold, new ideas anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

We went beyond the debate over whether government was the problem or the solution to a government dedicated to giving the American people the tools to solve their own problems, to being a catalyst for new ideas, and a partner with Americans in all other walks of life.

With the smallest federal government in 37 years, we turned record deficits into record surpluses, and doubled our investment in education. We refused to keep making the false choices that paralyzed Washington for too long. We cut crime, not by choosing prevention or punishment, but by choosing both, with 100,000 community police and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of a half-million criminals. We protected the environment, not by pitting economic growth against environmental progress, but by choosing both – with cleaner air, safer water and food, and record amounts of precious land protected.

We emphasized both opportunity and responsibility: That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – requiring work, but protecting health care and nutrition for children and investing more in child care, transportation and housing for their parents who are making the move from welfare to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – with ideas like Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million Americans have used for childbirth or to care for sick loved ones, and immunizing 90 percent of our children for the very first time. And that's how we are opening the doors of college to all – with more Pell grants, more affordable college loans, and already almost 5 million recipients of the HOPE Scholarship.

Opportunity and responsibility: That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service, in building One America, one community at a time, through

AmeriCorps as they earn money to further their own college education. That's how we seized the opportunities of a global era – with 270 new agreements to expand trade and open markets for American products, while pushing for an end to child labor and advances in the global economy and environment. That's how we've advanced our interests around the world – by standing up for peace from Bosnia to Ireland to the Middle East; by expanding NATO; by building new partnerships in Asia, Latin America and Africa; by fighting terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. Today we have results. More important, we have the chance of a lifetime to build the future of our dreams if we stay on the path that got us here. Building on our progress ... always moving forward ... always gaining ground.

But you can't gain ground if you're standing still. For too long this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's begin with them.

I ask you to pass a real patients bill of rights. To pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. And, again, I ask you to raise the minimum wage.

Two years ago, I stood before you as we reached our first balanced budget and said let's show our responsibility to the next generation, by maintaining our fiscal discipline and saving the surplus for Social Security. Because we resisted the temptation to stray from the path of fiscal discipline, we have had back to back surpluses and are doing something that would have

seemed unimaginable seven years ago. We are paying down our national debt. If every one in this chamber will join me in staying on this path, we now know that we can pay down the debt in 13 years and make America debt free for the first time since Andrew Jackson was president in 1835.

In 1993, when we took our first major step to put our fiscal house in order with the passage of the deficit reduction act, I asked your former colleague, my first Secretary of the Treasury, and a true American statesman, Lloyd Bentsen, to lead that effort. America is better off for his service.

But beyond paying off the debt, we need to make sure that the benefits of that debt reduction go to preserving two of the most important programs for every family in America – Social Security and Medicare. I ask you tonight to work with me to make a bi-partisan down payment on Social Security reform by ensuring that it is strong and safe for the next 50 years. We should also use the benefits of debt reduction to secure Medicare so that this generation of older Americans -- and the next -- never have to worry about medical care. And to provide a prescription drug benefit so that no senior has to choose between medicine and food.

But all of this is just a start. Now we must lift our sights and take what Theodore Roosevelt, at the dawn of the last century, called “the long look ahead.”

We live in revolutionary times. The way we communicate. The way we work. The way we learn. The way we live. The way we are increasingly connected to each other and to people

around the world. My fellow Americans, we have crossed the bridge we built to the 21st century. Now we must shape a 21st century American revolution of opportunity, responsibility, and community. We must be, as we were in the beginning, a new nation.

The first American revolution was not won with a single shot. The continent was not settled in a single day. The challenge of expanding freedom was not accomplished with one march. The dreams for which we strive are always bold. But the lesson of our history and the lesson of the last seven years is that we make great strides toward them step by step.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

First and foremost, we need a 21st century revolution in education, guided by our faith that every child can learn. With the largest, most diverse group of students ever, an economy that rewards education more than ever, we must set the highest goals for education ever: Every child who needs it should have access to preschool. Every child who needs it should have afterschool and summer school to meet high standards. Every child should learn from great teachers. Every student should graduate high school with a diploma that means something. And every young person in America should know that if they want to go to college, they can afford to.

For seven years, we have worked hard to improve our schools, following a fundamental strategy: Invest more, but demand more in return. Since 1993, we have nearly doubled investment in education and training. At the same time, we have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools.

Scores on college entrance exams are now going up, even as more students from more-diverse backgrounds are taking the test. And some of the most impressive academic gains are happening in schools in some of America's poorest neighborhoods.

I have visited schools across this country, in some of America's poorest neighborhoods, that have turned themselves around through the same proven formula: more accountability, higher standards, and extra help to make sure children reach those standards. I have sent Congress a reform plan based on that formula, a plan that holds all states and school districts accountable for progress, and rewards them for results. Each year, the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our public schools. It's time to change the way we invest that money, to support what works and stop supporting what doesn't.

But just as we must demand more than ever from our schools, tonight I propose that we invest more than ever in our schools.

Let's double our investment to help states and districts turn around their worst-performing schools—or shut them down. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up.

Let's double our investment in quality afterschool and summer school programs. They boost academic achievement and keep children off the street and out of trouble. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards.

We know that children who learn early learn best. Since 1993, we've put over 160,000 more children in Head Start and improved its quality. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. This will lay the foundation for our long-term goal: universal pre-school for every child who needs it.

We know that children learn best in smaller classes with good teachers. For two years in a row, Congress has supported my plan to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This year, I ask you to make it three in a row. But with two million teachers retiring in the next decade, we must do more. Tonight, I propose a \$1 billion initiative to bring the best and the brightest into teaching, to get bad teachers out of the classroom, and to reward good teachers – because none of us would be here without them.

We know public school choice works when parents have real choice. That's what charter schools provide. When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in America. Today there are 1,700. My budget assures that we will meet our goal of funding 3,000.

We know that for children today, having access to the Internet is as vital as access to a library. In 1994, only 35 percent of schools and only three percent of classrooms were connected to the Internet. Today, with the help of the Vice President's E-rate program, 89 percent of schools and 51 percent of classrooms are hooked up. And the money is there to connect them all. The problem is that a third of all schools are in serious disrepair – not just with leaky roofs but with walls too old to wire to the Internet. Tonight, I propose \$1.3 billion to help 5,000

schools make immediate, urgent repairs. And I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – to put our students in modern classrooms and get them out of trailers.

We know that smaller high schools are safer and help students learn more. But since World War II, American high schools have grown five times bigger. We must help districts convert large, factory-style high schools into smaller schools where the often-cruel forces of peer pressure can be softened by the influence of caring adults.

We must do more to prepare young students for college and convince them they can go. Two years ago, Congress crossed party lines to create our Gear Up program, enabling college students to mentor at-risk middle school students. I propose to double the number of children reached, to 1.4 million, and to offer disadvantaged students the same college test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores.

We know that to make the American Dream achievable, we must make college affordable. For seven years, on a bipartisan basis, we have taken actions toward that goal: more Pell grants, more-affordable student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE scholarship tax cut. Today, 67 percent of high school graduates go on to college, up almost 10 percent since 1993. Yet still, millions of families feel the strain of paying college tuition. They need help.

I propose a landmark \$30-billion college opportunity tax cut. It will give middle class families a tax deduction for up to \$10,000 in tuition costs -- providing as much as \$2,800 in

much needed tax relief. With this new college opportunity tax cut, plus another Pell grant increase and other aid, we can say that we have made four years of college available to all.

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

We need a 21st Century revolution to reward work and strengthen families, in a world where more and more parents work, but the most important work of all – still – is raising children.

One of the most powerful incentives to work has been the Earned Income Tax Credit, a targeted tax cut for working families. The “E” in “EITC” is about earning; about working; about taking responsibility and being rewarded for it. In my first address to you, I asked Congress to greatly expand the EITC, and we did. As a result, in 1998 alone, the EITC helped more than 4.3 million Americans work their way into the middle class – double the number in 1993.

Tonight, I propose another major expansion of the EITC. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure that it rewards marriage, and family, just as it rewards work; and we should expand the tax credit for families with more than two children. Our plan would provide those families up to \$1,200 more in tax relief. They’re working hard to reach the middle class. We should help them.

Rewarding work and family requires us to make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Working women have made significant strides: the female unemployment rate

is the lowest in 40 years, and the female-headed household poverty rate is the lowest ever recorded. But women still earn only about 75 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. We must provide the resources to enforce present equal pay laws, and train more women for high-paying, high-tech jobs. And we should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act.

Working parents need quality, affordable child care. Many spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for about 1.75 million children. But that's only one tenth of those eligible under federal law. My child care initiative, along with the funds secured in welfare reform, would make child care better, safer, and more affordable for another 650,000 children.

To help millions of parents with moderate incomes, we should expand the child care tax credit. And let's take the next big step. Let's make the tax credit refundable for low-income families. For those making under \$25,000 a year – too little to earn a refund today – that means up to \$2,400 more for child-care costs. Let's get this done. Parents should be able to balance work and family – not have to choose between them.

Tens of millions of Americans live paycheck to paycheck. As hard as they work, they still don't have the opportunity to save. Too many work for a small business that lacks the resources to provide pensions. Too few can make use of the IRAs and 401-Ks that so many Americans are using to accumulate wealth, or save for a first home or a dignified retirement. Every family that works hard should have that chance. Tonight, I propose a major new initiative to ensure that all Americans can save. These new [TK] Savings Accounts will give low- and

moderate-income families the help they need – matching their contributions, however small, dollar for dollar, every year they save. I also propose a major new 50 percent tax credit for any small business that provides a meaningful pension to all of its workers.

From my first days as President, we have worked to give families better access to better health care. We have made sure workers can keep their coverage when they change jobs or take time off to care for a sick loved one. And we passed the Children's Health Insurance Program, so that workers who don't have health coverage through their employers can get it for their children. In less than a year, enrollment in CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. We're on our way to our goal of 5 million. To ensure that we meet it, I propose that we enroll children where they are: schools, HeadStart classrooms, and child-care centers. Because every child in America deserves a healthy start in life.

But there is more we must do – to insure not only children, but entire families that lack coverage. Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion and make hard-pressed parents eligible for the insurance that covers their kids. If we do this, not just for children but for these 6.5 million parents, we can make sure that families have the health care they need. With these steps alone, we can cover nearly one quarter of the uninsured in America.

And let's give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. Last year, I proposed that we let them buy into Medicare. This year, I propose we also give them a tax credit when they do so, to make this option more affordable.

Record numbers of Americans are providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. More and more this is a common choice, but rarely an easy – or an inexpensive – one. Last year, I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. This year, let's pass it – and triple it to \$3,000.

Taken together, these proposals mark the largest investment in health care in the 35 years since Medicare. We owe it to our people to make that investment this year.

Let's make another pledge: let's improve mental health care. My budget makes the largest increase ever to expand community mental health services. And I want to thank someone who has waged this battle on all fronts, fighting for the mentally ill homeless, working to break down the barriers that keep people from the help they need: Tipper Gore.

Nearly one in three American children grows up in a home without a father – and these children are five times more likely to live in poverty than children with both parents at home. Demanding and promoting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform. We have already begun to crack down on fathers who fail to pay child support by denying them drivers' licenses and creating a national database to track them across state lines. As a result, child support payments have doubled since 1993. The number of unwed fathers who legally acknowledge their paternity has tripled. And the percentage of children born into unwed homes, after skyrocketing for decades, has begun to level off.

We must work toward the day when every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin with tougher measures against fathers who fail to pay child support, like

booting their cars and denying them passports. And we should require fathers to work – while helping them find work – so they can pay the child support they owe.

We know this can make a difference. Carlos Rosas of St. Paul, Minnesota enrolled in a father's program in 1996 when he was not making enough to keep up with his child support payments to his 13-year-old son, Ricardo. Since continuing his education and graduating from technical school, Carlos has landed a good job and is able to better support his son, both financially and emotionally. Contrary to conventional wisdom, many fathers, like Carlos, want to do right by their children, and we should help them. Carlos is with us tonight. And we should let him know that we support his commitment to support his child.

CUT
IN
HALF

If you have any doubt that we can reach across party lines to reward work and strengthen families, remember this: Last year, we came together to help people with disabilities keep their health insurance when they go to work. And we have come together to improve foster care; to support those who leave it at age 18; and to greatly increase the number of foster children who find loving families in permanent homes. A bipartisan majority worked with us to make it happen; and I thank you. Of course, I am also grateful to the person who has led in this effort, someone who has worked tirelessly for children and families as long as I have known her: my wife, Hillary.

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Crime in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline on record. For seven years, we've helped wage the fight -- from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Our nation is safer, but no one believes America is safe as it can be. Let's set a higher goal. Let's make America the safest big country in the world.

Last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. I ask you to continue that support this year.

Last year, after the Columbine tragedy, Congress considered common-sense gun safety legislation to require Brady background checks at gun shows, child safety locks for all new handguns, and a ban on the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips. With courage -- and a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President -- the Senate faced down the gun lobby, stood up for the American people and passed this legislation. But the House failed to follow suit.

We've all seen what can happen when guns fall into the wrong hands. Daniel Mauser was only 15 years old when he was gunned down at Columbine High School. He was an amazing kid, a straight-A student, a good skier. Like all parents who lose their children, his father Tom has borne unimaginable grief. Somehow Tom has found the strength to honor his son by transforming that grief into action. Earlier this month, he took a leave of absence to fight for tougher gun safety laws. I pray that his courage and wisdom will move this Congress to make common-sense gun safety legislation the very next order of business.

We must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. It is long past time for states to require licenses for handgun purchasers as well.

We've shown that we can strengthen gun laws and better enforce laws already on the books. Federal gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we must do more. I propose to hire more federal and local gun prosecutors, and more ATF agents to crack down on illegal gun traffickers and bad-apple dealers who supply guns to criminals and juveniles. We must give law enforcement the tools to trace every gun used in a crime in America. And we must create a national ballistics network capable of tracing almost any bullet left at a crime scene to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

[Let me say something else. I think it is important that the gun industry take more responsibility in changing the way it designs, markets and distributes firearms. There are responsible citizens in the gun industry who want to work with us to make sure the guns they sell don't wind up in the wrong hands and that kids aren't killed accidentally with them. Part of the answer may be in new technologies that could reduce accidents.]

Listen to this: the accidental gun death rate of children under 15 is nine times higher in the U.S. than in 25 other industrialized nations--combined. Technologies now exist that could lead to guns that can only be fired by the adults who own them. I thank the gun manufacturers who are developing these smart guns, and ask all other manufacturers to join them. And I ask Congress to help by increasing funds for research in these technologies to keep our kids safer.

CRIME
OR
MIS-

Every parent I know worries about violence in the media. We need to give parents more tools to raise their kids right in today's culture. I thank the entertainment industry for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings on TV programs and video and Internet games. This year, I challenge the industry to go farther. Let's do as the First Lady has suggested, and give parents a single, voluntary rating system for all their children's entertainment -- a system that is easy to understand and enforce.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of offenders leave our prisons, only to wind up back in trouble with the law. To keep our communities safe, we must do more to monitor ex-offenders and give them the support they need to become responsible citizens. Two-thirds of ex-offenders who are sent back to prison are drug abusers. But if they get drug treatment, they are far less likely to commit another crime. We must provide them with that treatment, along with regular drug testing and a simple bargain: stay clean and you stay free; do drugs and you do more time.

OPENING NEW MARKETS

We need a 21st Century revolution to open new markets, start new businesses, and hire new workers right here in America – in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and Indian reservations – places not yet blessed by our nation's prosperity. Over the last six months, I have traveled to many of these places – joined by many of you – to shine a spotlight on the enormous potential in these communities. Everywhere I've gone, I've met talented people eager for opportunity. They're eager to work. I say: let's put them to work.

For business, it's the smart thing to do. For America, it's the right thing to do. And if we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

I ask Congress to give businesses the same incentives to invest in America's new markets as they have to invest in foreign markets. Tonight, I propose a New Markets Tax Credit that is more than twice the size of what I proposed last year. With this and other new incentives, we can spur [\$TK billion] in private-sector capital to create new businesses and to help firms expand or relocate to our inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones – which, with Vice President Gore's leadership, have been bringing prosperity to distressed areas for five years now.

I thank the business leaders who are not just seizing these opportunities – but creating them. I challenge every business to do the same.

This is not a Democratic or Republican issue; it's an American issue. Mr. Speaker, it was a powerful moment last November when you joined me and Reverend Jesse Jackson on stage at Englewood High School, in your home state of Illinois, and pledged to work with us. I thank you for your commitment and I look forward to working with you.

I hope we can also agree to make special efforts to support our Indian reservations, where unemployment is extreme – as high as 70%. My budget increases our investment in health care,

education, law enforcement, and infrastructure by more than \$1 billion. In this new century, we should honor our historic responsibility to the first Americans – Native Americans.

We must also fulfill our obligation to our farming communities, the lifeblood of our land. When I signed the farm bill in 1996, I feared it would work well only in good times and not in bad – especially for family farmers. In recent years, they have endured droughts, floods and historically low prices due to financial crises abroad. We simply must strengthen the farm safety net and invest in farm conservation. The Freedom to Farm Bill cannot become a “freedom to fail” bill.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on the disturbing gap between those who have the tools to succeed in the new economy, and those who don’t. That “digital divide” exists along lines of education, income, region, and race. It is one of the great civil rights challenges of this Information Age.

[We are now on track to meeting our goal of connecting every classroom and library to the Internet.] But now, we must connect all our citizens to the Internet – everywhere they live and work. My budget helps to train more teachers, wire more classrooms, and connect more communities to the economic mainstream. If America closes this digital divide, we can open a new era of opportunity for all.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

It is not enough to master the possibilities of the new economy at home. We must also lead and shape the revolution that is sweeping our world: globalization. It is the central reality of our time – a process tearing down barriers and building new connections between nations, peoples, economies, and cultures.

Globalization is irreversible, driven even faster by the explosion in information technology. Change this profound is both liberating and threatening. But our open, creative society stands to benefit more than any other – if we understand and act on the new realities of interdependence. We must maintain our military and economic might. But we cannot lead alone. And we cannot keep going forward by holding other countries, especially poor ones, back. We cannot lead without being at the center of every vital network, being a good neighbor and good partner. We cannot build our future without helping others to build theirs.

International trade now accounts for one-quarter of our economy. It creates good jobs and brings us new products and technologies. We need to keep that trade growing, and growing fairly. That means enforcing our own rules to protect our workers, our industries, and our environment. It means making international trade – and the WTO – more open and responsive to concerns about the dignity of work and the quality of life. And it means a global economy based on the rule of law.

We must also reach out to developing economies. I ask Congress to finalize our groundbreaking African and Caribbean Basin trade initiatives. This will help Americans economically, and build new partnerships for a more secure, more democratic world.

But mastering globalization means more than economics. It means seizing an unprecedented opportunity to build a future of security, prosperity and freedom, while dealing with the dangers that still imperil our national interests. Tonight I ask: What are the critical challenges we face in the coming century?

One will be to encourage our former adversaries Russia and China to emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States. Both countries are being held back from reaching their potential: Russia by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya; China by the illusion that it can buy stability at the expense of freedom.

But think how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian soldiers serving with ours to keep peace in the Balkans; Russian people democratically electing their leaders for the first time. And in China, a society more open to the world than at any time in its history. No one can know for sure what direction these great countries will choose. We can make sure that we do everything in our power to see that both are on the inside of the global community, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

Congress should support the agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO, by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations. If we do, America's companies and workers gain new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market, but China gains no new access to ours. This agreement is good for America and will promote the cause of change in China.

Another critical challenge will be to protect our security from conflicts that pose the risk of wider war, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions. Our modern world is still bedeviled by our most ancient failing – fear of those different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by cynical leaders clinging to power or waging war on their neighbors.

America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But where our interests are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. When human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction, our common humanity suffers. Left unresolved, such tragedies can throw entire regions into turmoil, overwhelm the world's capacity to help the innocent, and threaten us more directly.

We should be proud of America's role in bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace. We should be proud of our work in building peace in Northern Ireland. We should be proud of our efforts from East Timor to Africa; in promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey; in working to defuse crises between India and Pakistan, and in defending human rights and religious freedom.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who stopped the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, enabling a million innocent people to return to their homes. Today, instead of struggling to defeat something evil, we can focus on building something good: a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace for the first time in history.

When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his terror in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide. And when another American plane went down over Serbia, he flew into the teeth of enemy air defenses to bring his fellow pilot home. Captain Cherrey, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our promise to finish the work you helped begin.

Another critical challenge is to keep the inexorable march of technology from giving terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force us to live in fear again. The same advances that have shrunk cell phones to fit in the palms of our hands can also make weapons of terror easier to conceal and easier to use.

We must meet this threat: by helping Russia keep its arsenal secure and reducing both our nuclear arsenals; restraining nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran; preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors. We are increasing our preparedness against biological attack and developing a system to defend against the missiles of outlaw nations – while working to preserve our Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. My budget devotes \$2 billion to protect our vital computer systems from hackers and criminals in any corner of any country.

We must also strengthen global standards against proliferation. I hope we can have a bipartisan dialogue this year to build a consensus on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which will eventually lead to its ratification. America must remain a leader in the struggle for a safer world.

Another critical challenge is to keep global stability from being threatened by a gap between rich and poor. We cannot accept a world in which a part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the bare edge of survival. Part of the answer is expanded trade. A bigger part is the expansion of freedom.

From Nigeria to Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet new democracies need help in delivering for their people. We must stand by neighboring countries like Colombia, fighting for its people's lives – and for our children's lives – against the poison of drugs. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia; and I ask for your support. And if we want to put the drug barons, criminals and terrorists out of business, let's go after what they value most: their money. This year, I will propose legislation to crack down harder on money laundering, here and around the world.

In a world where 1.3 billion people live on less than a dollar a day, we must also reduce the debts of impoverished countries. I ask Congress to continue to support that effort.

And America must help more nations break the bonds of disease that hold down their people. It is unacceptable that last year in Africa, AIDS killed ten times as many people as war did. My budget invests \$150 million in the fight against this and other infectious killers. And I will ask the world to join us in an initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that will say to private industry: if you develop vaccines for

diseases like malaria, TB and AIDS, we will help pay for them, and together save millions of lives.

And I will ask Congress to increase our support for international family planning by \$170 million. That money will help families live healthier lives, and it will save the lives of thousands of women and children.

All this comes down to a central challenge, the most important of all: will America continue to lead? In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by the forces of history. Now America must choose: to direct the new forces of history or be driven by them. Clearly, America must lead boldly and consistently and with a clear understanding of what globalization and increasing interdependence require of us.

To lead, we must remain strong. We have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to keep our military the best trained, best equipped in the world. My budget invests in readiness and in 21st century weapons. It raises salaries for our men and women in uniform and ensures America's veterans the thanks and honor they have so richly earned.

 We must also continue to fund the one percent of our budget that supports the diplomacy that keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, Congress worked with me to maintain that commitment and resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember: building a stronger global community will only strengthen our community here at home.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

We have no higher obligation to our children, and their children, than to be wise stewards of our air, water, and land. I am grateful for the many opportunities the Vice President and I have had to honor this commitment – and finally to put to rest the notion that you can't expand your economy and protect the environment at the same time. ~~As our economy has grown, we have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste, ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families, and taken unprecedented steps to improve the air we breathe.~~

~~In the past three months alone, we have acted to preserve pristine backcountry lands in our National Forests and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres we are protecting for all Americans, for all time. Not since the days of Theodore Roosevelt has the nation come together to save so much precious land in the continental United States.~~

In the last 2 yrs, as our econ has grown we have made the air + water cleaner + preserved not just scenery (and cutn US since Reagan TE.

But our communities are growing, and our commitment to conservation must keep growing as well. So tonight, as part of my Lands Legacy Initiative, I propose creating, for the first time, a permanent conservation endowment to save our wildlands, protect our coastlines, and restore our wildlife. This endowment would provide nearly \$1.5 billion each year – by far the largest, most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

Last year, the Vice President launched a major new effort to help make communities more livable – so children will grow up next to parks rather than parking lots, and parents don't

sit in endless traffic when they could be home with their kids. Tonight, we propose new funding for advanced transit systems ... for saving farms and other precious open spaces ... and for helping the major cities around the Great Lakes protect their waterways and enhance their quality of life.

As we work to protect our natural resources, we must help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – the source of more than a quarter of the oxygen on earth. Yet these lush sanctuaries of life are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, irreplaceable forests.

The greatest environmental challenge of the new century is global warming. Scientists tell us that the 1990s were the hottest decade of the entire millennium – and that if we fail to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases now, deadly heat waves, droughts, and floods will become more frequent with each passing year.

But thanks to remarkable new technologies, we can meet this challenge – and we can do it in ways that produce more widespread, more sustainable economic growth.

Last week, at the Detroit Auto Show, automakers unveiled cars that use advanced materials and dual fuel sources to get 70 to 80 miles a gallon – the fruits of a unique partnership the Vice President has led. We've helped develop windows that drastically cut energy bills by

keeping out four or five times as much heat and cold as normal windows do. We're helping to bring the benefits of advanced space research into our homes with solar roofing tiles and fuel cells that produce all the electricity a family needs – and no pollution at all. Before you know it, we'll be producing clean fuels from crops and getting the equivalent of hundreds of miles from a gallon of gas.

To help spur these new technologies, I propose giving major tax incentives to businesses for producing clean power from crops, wind, or sun ... and to families for buying energy-efficient homes and appliances. And when new super-efficient cars hit the showroom floor, we should provide people who buy them with up to \$3,000 in tax credits, effectively cutting their sticker price and ensuring even greater appeal.

But we have the technology to make all new cars more fuel efficient right now. So tonight, I call on auto industry leaders to join us in designing a new strategy for reversing the recent decline in average fuel economy. You've committed to higher efficiency in Europe. Let's do the same right here at home.

~~We must also meet the worldwide challenge of global warming by giving developing countries the tools to grow in ways that strengthen their economies and protect the environment.~~
So tonight, I propose a new [\$100 million] initiative to help these countries adopt the newest clean-energy technologies. Nations can now achieve prosperity without following the old patterns of growth that brought us global warming. Let's help them follow a better, more modern path.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In the new century, innovations in science and technology will be key not only to the health of our environment. Sustained investments in scientific research will also yield dramatic, almost miraculous, improvements in the quality of our lives.

In the last century, the life expectancy for the average American increased from 47 to 77 – thanks to discoveries such as penicillin and the development of vaccines for many childhood diseases. Today, we are on the cusp of advances that will not only help us live far longer but far better.

Later this year, researchers will finish the first complete sequence of the human genome – the very blueprint of life. This will lead to a revolution in our ability to detect, treat, and prevent diseases from Alzheimer's to cancer to AIDS. If we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, we could empty half the nursing home beds in America.

Research at the intersection between biomedical research and engineering will also lead to amazing breakthroughs. Scientists are already working on an artificial retina to treat certain kinds of blindness, and methods of directly stimulating the spinal cord to allow people who are paralyzed to walk.

Scientists have recently identified three of the genes that cause Parkinson's Disease – and they will soon begin to test elegant therapies that will turn off these faulty genes for good.

Tonight, I want to thank these scientists for their brilliant work. I also want to salute Michael J. Fox – the talented actor, director, and producer who was diagnosed with Parkinson’s nine years ago. Michael, on behalf of the million young and older Americans struggling with Parkinson’s, I thank you for giving so much of yourself to accelerating the hunt for a cure.

Advances in science and engineering are also the engine of our economic growth. Consider the impact of information technology. Because of our early investments in developing microprocessors, satellite communications, and the Internet, America now leads the world in information technology – an industry that accounts for one third of our economic growth and that generates jobs that pay almost 80 percent more than the private sector average wage.

In the future, we will have devices that can translate foreign languages as fast as you can speak, enabling anyone to tap into the world’s knowledge instantly – from anywhere ... materials ten times stronger than steel at only a small fraction of the weight ... unimaginably powerful computers made with DNA strands rather than silicon chips. These and other breakthroughs may enhance our economy and our society even more profoundly than the Internet does today.

For all these reasons, my budget will include an unprecedented \$3 billion increase in the 21st Century Research Fund. We will boost support for biomedical research at the National Institutes of Health, double the largest dollar increase for the National Science Foundation in its 50-year history, and greatly expand funding for information technology, clean energy, university-based research, and NASA’s never-ending quest in space.

It is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment, reflecting our most cherished values.

First and foremost, we must ensure that citizens' privacy – financial and medical – is protected. Last year, our administration proposed rules to protect every citizen's most sensitive information, his or her medical records. This year, we will finalize those rules. We have also taken steps to protect our people's financial records. But these are only the first steps, as I said when I signed the financial modernization bill into law. I will soon send legislation to the Congress to complete this important unfinished business.

We will also take action to prevent genetic discrimination – so no employer ever reviews your genetic records along with your resume. We will make sure that the actions of the government itself contain strong privacy protections. And tonight, I want to issue a strong challenge to on-line companies to do more to protect their customers' privacy.

Second, we know that our medical professionals work wonders every day; but we also know that their first obligation is to do no harm. My budget makes the largest investment in history to eliminate medical errors and enhance patient safety. Because no American should ever fear that their health care will jeopardize their health.

If we do all these things, we can ensure that the march of human discovery will only quicken in the century before us – enhancing our lives, and the lives of our children, in ways that we can only begin to imagine today.

COMMUNITY

In the era of globalization, we must work even harder to strengthen the bonds of our local communities and our national community.

We should begin with ways to widen the circle of citizen service until it embraces every American. There is a new spirit of service in America—a movement we have supported with revolutionary new partnerships between government and private citizens.

Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join us in helping people move from welfare to work. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 of our fellow citizens.

Over the past seven years, we have created many other successful partnerships. To battle drug abuse and AIDS. To teach young people to read. To Save America's Treasures. To fight teen pregnancy. To prevent youth violence. To promote racial healing. To help our young people serve.

But there is much more to be done, we need more citizen servants.

Veterans of AmeriCorps, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are a pool of know-how and can-do. Tonight, I propose the creation of the Americorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

Our senior population represents a huge army of workers and volunteers who want and deserve a chance to serve. So, tonight, I say to seniors across America – we need your work, your wisdom and your service. Get involved if you are not and stay involved if you are.

If we believe that charity begins at home, we must reward lower and middle income Americans who tithe and contribute to charities. Right now, only those who earn enough to itemize can claim a tax deduction for charitable contributions. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to allow low and middle income citizens to claim that same deduction.

Faith-based organizations are on the frontlines in our communities helping Americans fight substance abuse, providing opportunities for young people to get back on the right track. We can respect the line between church and state and still do more to support the good works of these groups. [TK Specific examples to come]

There is even more we can do to breathe fuller life into the idea of citizenship. That's why we're proposing to invest more in teaching civics and English to new immigrants. That's why in this year of the census, every one of us must not only stand up and be counted. We must also stand up and be heard.

So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

We are going to use 21st century technology to open new doors to the democratic process. Two generations ago, Franklin Roosevelt used the new medium of radio for his fireside chats. Starting next month, I will use the new medium of the Internet to launch Webside Chats--- interactive discussions to connect more Americans to our democracy.

Our national community is undergoing one of the greatest demographic transformations in history. Within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in America.

In a more interconnected world, will we make diversity our greatest strength? As we have seen in recent years, from Northern Ireland to Africa...from the Balkans to the Middle East...racial and ethnic conflict too often spark terror and war. And no country is exempt from hatred—even our own.

We have seen a man dragged to death in Texas simply because he was black. A young man murdered in Wyoming simply because he was gay. In the last year, we've seen the shootings of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Jewish children simply because of who they were. We must draw the line. This is not the American way. In America, we must do more than tolerate diversity--we must celebrate it. Without further delay, we must pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

The work of building One America must be the work of all Americans. We must rededicate ourselves to the ideals of justice and opportunity for all that are at the heart of our democracy. No American should be subjected to discrimination in finding a home, getting a job, going to school, or securing a loan. Tonight, I propose the largest ever investment to enforce America's civil rights laws. Let's make sure protections in law are protections in fact.

Last February, I created the White House Office on One America to coordinate our efforts and help build community partnerships for racial reconciliation. We are reaching out across our nation – to religious leaders, to corporate leaders, to the legal community to enlist the help of American in building the One America of our dreams.

This fall, at the White House, one of America's leading scientists, said something we all need to remember: all human beings are genetically 99.9 percent the same. Modern science affirms what ancient faith has taught us: the most important fact of life is our common humanity.

My fellow Americans, each time I prepare for the state of the union, I approach it with great hope and great expectations for our nation. But there is no escaping the fact that tonight is different. For tonight, we stand on the mountaintop, with a new millennium spread out before us. Behind us we see the expanse of American achievement, and ahead even wider frontiers of possibility.

So, as we take our long look ahead, we must ask ourselves: How will we make the most of this moment of promise?

Tonight, let us pledge to ourselves and to our children:

At a time of undreamed of economic growth, we will, step by step, bring opportunity to every American in every community.

At a time of record surpluses, we will, step by step, make America debt free for the first time since 1835.

At a time when our people are living longer than ever, we will, step by step, ensure that they live healthier, with quality, affordable healthcare for all Americans.

At a time when science and technology are transforming our world, we will, step by step, realize their full promise and, at every step, harness our progress to our values.

At a time when we have proved we can grow the economy and protect the environment, we will, step by step, reverse climate change and secure our planet for our grandchildren.

At a time of steadily falling crime, we will, step by step, make America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more parents are working, we will, step by step, ensure that all parents have the tools to succeed at work and in raising their children...and that none of those children are raised in poverty.

At a time when knowledge is the key to our children's future, we will, step by step, see to it that all of them begin school ready to learn and graduate ready to succeed.

At a time when globalization brings both new promise and new perils, we will continue to be the world's indispensable nation – a strong leader and a better neighbor.

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, we will become at last what our founders pledged us to be so long ago -- one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

This is the long look ahead, unreachable in one year, but clearly within reach of a great people with big dreams, determined to work together and move ahead, step by step.

When the framers were crafting our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin reflected on a painting of the sun, low on the horizon, hanging in Independence Hall. He said, "I have often wondered whether that sun was rising or setting. Today I have the happiness to know it is a rising sun." Well, today because each generation of Americans has kept the fire of freedom burning and lighting new frontiers of possibility, we bask in the warmth of Mr. Franklin's rising sun. Now it is our time. We will be judged by the deeds and dreams we pass to our children.

And on that score, we will be held to a high standard, indeed. Because our chance to do good is so great. After 224 years, the American revolution continues. We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. That is our destiny. And this is our magic moment.

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

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DRAFT 10

Divider Title: _____

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC
January 27, 2000**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history. Never before has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity and social progress with so little internal crisis or so few external threats. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We begin the new century with over 20 million new jobs. The fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rates on record; the highest home ownership ever; the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years.

Next month, America will achieve the longest period of economic growth in our entire history.

Our economic revolution has been matched by a revival of the American spirit: Crime down by 25 percent, to its lowest level in more than 30 years. Teen births have dropped seven years in a row and adoptions are up by 30 percent. Welfare rolls have been cut in half by more than 7 million to their lowest levels in 32 years.

My fellow Americans, the state of our union is the strongest it has ever been.

As always, most of the credit belongs to the American people.

My gratitude also goes to all of you in this chamber who have worked with us to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people.

Eight years ago, it was not so clear to most Americans that there would be much to celebrate in the year 2000. Then our nation was gripped by economic distress, social decline, political gridlock, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, the title of a best-selling book asked: “America: What went wrong?”

But in the best traditions of our nation, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with a bold, new vision anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

We went beyond the debate over whether government was the problem or the solution – one of the false choices that had paralyzed Washington for too long. Instead, we reinvented government, transforming it into a catalyst for new ideas, a partner that gives our people the tools to solve their own problems.

With the smallest federal government in 37 years, we turned record deficits into record surpluses, and doubled our investment in education. We cut crime: not by choosing prevention or punishment, but by choosing both, with 100,000 community police and the Brady Law, which has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals. We protected the environment: not by pitting economic growth against environmental progress, but by choosing both – by cleaning the air and water, and protecting precious land.

We emphasized both opportunity and responsibility. That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – requiring work, but protecting health care and nutrition for children, and investing more in child care, transportation and housing for their parents who are making the move from welfare to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – with family leave, which 20 million Americans have used to care for a newborn child or a sick loved one.

In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. Today we have results. More important, America again has the confidence to dream big dreams, and the chance of a lifetime to make them real. The great question before us is how to make the most of this moment.

We live in revolutionary times: The way we work. The way we learn. The way we live. The way that, more and more, we are connected to each other and to people all around the world. My fellow Americans, we have crossed the bridge we built to the 21st Century. Now, we must shape a 21st-Century American revolution of opportunity, responsibility, and community. We must be, as we were in the beginning, a new nation.

Theodore Roosevelt, at the dawn of the last century, said that “the one characteristic more essential than any other is foresight. . . it should be the growing nation with a future which takes the long look ahead.”

So let us lift our sights and describe the view – our vision – of the century ahead. Let us set great goals, and take the next steps to reach them. At a time of expanding prosperity and receding crime, at a time of globalization, a time when science and technology are transforming our world, let us take the long look ahead and pledge:

To ensure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed. To bring prosperity to every American community, and ensure that no working parents raise their children in poverty. To eliminate the debt for the first time since 1835. To make America the safest big country on earth. To reverse the course of climate change and leave a cleaner, safer planet. And to become at last what our founders pledged us to be so long ago – one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

These are great goals, worthy of a great nation. We will not reach them all this year. Not even this decade. But we will reach them. Let us remember that the first American revolution was not won with a single shot. The continent was not settled in a single year. But the lesson of our history and the lesson of the last seven years is that we make great strides toward great goals by moving step by step: building on our progress, always gaining ground.

Of course, you can't gain ground if you're standing still. For too long this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's begin with them.

I ask you to pass a real patient's bill of rights. To pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. And, again, I ask you to raise the minimum wage.

Two years ago, I stood before you as we reached our first balanced budget and said: Let's show our responsibility to the next generation, by maintaining our fiscal discipline and saving the Social Security surplus for Social Security. Because we refused to stray from the path of fiscal discipline, we are doing something that would have seemed unimaginable seven years ago: We are paying down the national debt. If every one in this chamber will join me in staying on this path, we can pay down the debt entirely in 13 years and make America debt-free for the first time since 1835 when Andrew Jackson was president.

In 1993, we began to put our fiscal house in order with the Deficit Reduction Act, winning passage in both houses by just one vote. Your former colleague, my first Secretary of the Treasury, helped lead that effort – and he is here with us tonight. Lloyd Bentsen, you have served America well.

Beyond paying off the debt, we need to make sure that the benefits of debt reduction go to preserving two of the most important guarantees we make to every American – Social Security and Medicare. I ask you tonight to work with me to make a bipartisan down payment

on Social Security reform by allocating the interest savings from debt reduction to ensure that it is strong and sound for the next 50 years.

But this is just the start of our journey.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

First and foremost, we need a 21st century revolution in education, guided by our faith that every child can learn. At a time when education is more than ever the key to our children's future, we must ensure that all our children have that key. That means universal preschool and afterschool, the best trained teachers in every classroom, and college opportunities for every student in America.

For seven years, we have worked hard to improve our schools, with opportunity and responsibility: Investing more, but demanding more in return. Since 1993, we have nearly doubled investment in education and training. At the same time, we have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools.

Reading scores, math scores, and college entrance scores are up. And some of the most impressive gains are in schools in poor neighborhoods.

All have succeeded with the same proven formula: more accountability, higher standards, and extra help to ensure all children can reach those standards. I have sent Congress a reform plan based on that formula. It holds all states and school districts accountable for progress, and

rewards them for results. Each year, the national government invests more than \$15 billion in our schools. It's time to change the way we invest that money, to support what works and stop supporting what doesn't.

As we demand more than ever from our schools, we should invest more than ever in our schools.

Let's double our investment to help states and districts turn around their worst-performing schools – or shut them down. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making test scores go up.

Let's double our investment in afterschool and summer school programs. They boost academic achievement and keep children off the street and out of trouble. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards. And we will be on a path toward what I believe should be a goal for our nation: that in [TK] years, every public school in America will offer afterschool and summer school, and every child will be able to go.

We should achieve another goal as well: making sure every child has access to quality preschool. Since 1993, we've put nearly doubled our investment in HeadStart and improved its quality. Tonight, I propose we add another \$1 billion to HeadStart, the largest increase in the program's history. If we continue this level of new commitments, then we can provide quality preschool to every child in America by 20[TK].

We know that children learn best in smaller classes with good teachers. For two years in a row, Congress has supported my plan to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This year, I ask you to make it three in a row.

And to make sure all teachers know the subjects they teach, tonight I propose a \$1 billion teacher quality initiative. It will recruit more talented people into the classroom, reward good teachers for staying there, and give all teachers the training they need to meet high standards.

We know real public school choice works. That's what charter schools provide. When I became President, there was just one independent public charter school in America. Today there are 1,700. My budget assures that we will meet our goal of 3,000.

We know we must connect all our classrooms to the Internet. We're getting there. In 1994, only three percent of classrooms were connected. Today, with the help of the Vice President's E-rate program, more than half are. But we can't finish the job when a third of all schools are in serious disrepair, many with walls and wires too old for the Internet. Tonight, I propose \$1.3 billion to help 5,000 schools make immediate, urgent repairs. And I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools – to put our students in modern classrooms and get them out of trailers.

We know smaller high schools are safer and help students learn more. But since World War II, American high schools have grown five times bigger. [CK] We should double our

efforts to help districts convert factory-style high schools into smaller schools, where children can get more individual attention and support.

We must do more to prepare students from disadvantaged backgrounds for college and convince them that the money is there and they can go. Two years ago, Congress crossed party lines to create our Gear Up program, enabling college students to mentor at-risk middle-school students. I propose to double the number of children we reach, to 1.4 million; and to offer disadvantaged students the same college test-prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores.

We know that to make the American Dream achievable, we must make college affordable. For seven years, on a bipartisan basis, we have taken actions toward that goal: larger Pell grants, more-affordable student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE scholarship tax cut. Today, 67 percent of high school graduates do go on to college, up almost 10 percent since 1993. Yet millions of families still strain to pay college tuition. They need help.

I propose a landmark \$30-billion college opportunity tax cut. It will give middle class families a tax deduction for up to \$10,000 in tuition costs. With this new college opportunity tax cut, plus another Pell grant increase, we can say we have made four years of college available to all.

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

We need a 21st Century revolution to reward work and strengthen families. In a world where the demands on parents are greater than ever, our goal must be to give every parent the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all – raising their children. That means making sure every child has loving care and that none grow up in poverty; that all parents have the tools to bring children up right; and that every family has the support to care for aging parents.

One of the most powerful incentives to work has been the Earned Income Tax Credit for working families. The “E” in “EITC” is about earning; about working; about taking responsibility and being rewarded for it. In my first Address to you, I asked Congress to greatly expand the EITC, and we did. As a result, in 1998 alone, the EITC helped more than 4.3 million Americans work their way into the middle class – double the number in 1993.

Tonight, I propose another major expansion. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure it rewards marriage just as it rewards work; and we should expand the tax credit for families with more than two children. Our plan would provide those families up to \$1,200 more in tax relief. Americans working hard to reach the middle class should not raise their children in poverty.

In today’s world, we can’t reward work and family unless men and women get equal pay for equal work. Working women have made significant strides: the female unemployment rate is the lowest in 47 years, and the female-headed household poverty rate is the lowest ever

recorded. Women still earn only about 75 cents for every dollar men earn. We must do better by providing the resources to enforce present equal pay laws, training more women for high-paying, high-tech jobs, and passing the Paycheck Fairness Act.

Working parents need quality, affordable child care. Many spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for about 1.75 million children. But that's only a tenth of those eligible under federal law. My child care initiative, along with funds already secured in welfare reform, would make child care better, safer, and more affordable for another 650,000 children.

To help millions of parents with moderate incomes, we should expand the child care tax credit. And let's take the next big step. Let's make that tax credit refundable for low-income families. For those making under \$25,000 a year, that could mean up to \$2,400 more for child-care costs. We all say we're pro-work and we're pro-family. Passing this proposal would prove it.

Tens of millions of Americans live paycheck to paycheck. As hard as they work, they still don't have the opportunity to save. Too few can make use of IRAs and 401-K retirement plans. That is why I have long supported so-called Individual Development Accounts that help working families to save for a first home, or a college education, or a dignified retirement. I believe it is time to lift this idea to a new level. We should expand Individual Development Accounts until we can reach every low- and moderate-income family in America. We will match their contributions, however small, dollar for dollar, every year they save. I also propose

a major new tax credit for any small business that provides a meaningful pension to all its workers.

From my first days as President, we have worked to give families better access to better health care. We have made sure workers can keep their coverage when they change jobs or take time off to care for a sick loved one. We have increased coverage for preventive tests. And in 1997, we passed the Children's Health Insurance Program – CHIP – so that workers who don't have health coverage through their employers can get it for their children. In less than a year, enrollment in CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. We're on our way to our goal of 5 million.

But there are still more than 40 million Americans without health insurance, more than there were in 1993. Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's suggestion to make hard-pressed parents eligible for the insurance that covers their kids. Together with our children's initiative, this would enable over 10 million Americans to have the health care they need. With these steps alone, we can cover nearly one quarter of the uninsured in America.

And let's give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. Last year, I proposed that we let them buy into Medicare. This year, I propose that we also give them a tax credit when they do so, to make this option more affordable.

When the Baby Boomers retire, Medicare will be faced with caring for twice as many of our citizens – and yet it is far from ready to do so. We must not ask our children to shoulder our burden. We must strengthen and modernize Medicare now.

My budget includes a comprehensive plan to reform Medicare and make it more efficient and competitive. It dedicates nearly \$400 billion of our budget surplus to keep Medicare solvent past 2025, and, at long last, to add voluntary, affordable coverage for prescription drugs.

Lifesaving drugs are an indispensable part of modern medicine; no one creating the Medicare program today would even consider excluding coverage for prescription drugs. And yet more than three in five seniors now lack dependable drug coverage. We cannot let another year pass without giving all our seniors affordable prescription drugs.

Record numbers of Americans are providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. More and more this is a common but difficult and costly choice. Last year, I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. Frankly, that wasn't enough. This year, let's triple it to \$3,000 – and pass it.

And we can't forget a health care need too often overlooked: mental health. My budget makes the largest increase ever to expand community mental health services. I want to thank the person who led the first White House Conference on Mental Health last year, who has led all our efforts to break down the barriers to decent treatment of mental illness: Tipper Gore.

Taken together, these proposals mark the largest investment in health care in the 35 years since the creation of Medicare. We owe it to our people to make that investment this year.

Nearly one in three American children grows up in a home without a father – these children are five times more likely to live in poverty than children with both parents at home. Clearly, demanding and supporting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform. We have already begun to crack down on fathers who fail to pay child support. As a result, child support payments have doubled since 1993.

We must work toward the day when every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin with tougher measures against fathers who fail to pay child support, from booting their cars to denying them passports. But we should also do more to help these fathers find work so they can pay child support. My budget will help 40,000 fathers go to work and do right by their children.

If there is any issue on which we can reach across party lines it is in our common commitment to reward work and strengthen families. Remember what we did last year. We came together to help people with disabilities keep their health insurance when they go to work. And we came together to improve foster care; to support those who leave when they turn 18; and to increase dramatically the number of foster children who find loving families. A bipartisan majority worked with us to make it happen; and I thank you. And of course, I am also very grateful to the person who has led our efforts from the beginning, who has worked tirelessly for children and families for thirty years now: my wife, Hillary.

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Crime in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest decline on record, thanks to a national consensus on community police, sensible gun control, and effective prevention that we helped to forge. But nobody believes America is safe enough. So let's set a higher goal: let's make America the safest big country in the world.

Last fall, Congress supported my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, concentrated in high-crime neighborhoods. I ask you to continue that support this year.

Soon after the Columbine tragedy, Congress considered common-sense gun safety legislation to require Brady background checks at gun shows, child safety locks for all new handguns, and a ban on the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips. With courage -- and a tie-breaking vote by the Vice President -- the Senate faced down the gun lobby, stood up for the American people, and passed this legislation. But the House failed to follow suit.

We've all seen what can happen when guns fall into the wrong hands. Daniel Mauser was only 15 years old when he was gunned down at Columbine. He was an amazing kid, a straight-A student, a good skier. Like all parents who lose their children, his father Tom has borne unimaginable grief. Somehow Tom has found the strength to honor his son by transforming his grief into action. Earlier this month, he took a leave of absence from his job to fight for tougher gun safety laws. I pray that his courage and wisdom will move this Congress to

make common-sense gun safety legislation the very next order of business; and I thank him for being here tonight.

We've shown that we can strengthen gun laws and better enforce laws already on the books. [Federal] gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we must do more. I propose to hire more federal and local gun prosecutors, and more ATF agents to crack down on illegal gun traffickers and bad-apple dealers who supply guns to criminals and juveniles. We must give law enforcement the tools to trace every gun – and every bullet – used in a crime in America.

Tonight, I propose legislation requiring handgun buyers to get a photo-ID license from their states, showing that they passed a Brady background check and took a gun safety course. Every state already requires hunters and automobile drivers to have a license. They should do the same for handgun purchasers.

Today, the accidental gun death rate of children under 15 is nine times higher in the U.S. than in the 25 other industrialized nations – combined. Technologies now exist that could lead to guns that can only be fired by the adults who own them. I ask Congress to fund research in technologies for Smart Guns – guns that can only be fired by the people who own them. I also call on responsible leaders in the gun industry to work with us on smart guns and other steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands and keep our kids safe.

Every parent I know worries about the impact of violence in the media on their children. I thank the entertainment industry for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings on TV programs and video and Internet games. But the ratings are too numerous, diverse, and confusing. Therefore, I ask the industry to accept the First Lady's challenge to develop a single, voluntary rating system for all children's entertainment, one that is easier for parents to understand and enforce.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of offenders leave our prisons, only to wind up back in trouble with the law. We should make sure that ex-offenders who sincerely want to turn their lives around get the treatment and training to stay off drugs, find jobs and become responsible citizens.

OPENING NEW MARKETS

We need a 21st Century revolution to open new markets, start new businesses, and hire new workers right here in America – in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and on Indian reservations – places not yet blessed by our nation's prosperity. Over the last six months, I have traveled to many of these places – joined by many of you – to shine a spotlight on the enormous potential in communities from the Mississippi Delta to Watts to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Everywhere I've gone, I've met talented people eager for opportunity, eager to work. I say: let's put them to work.

For business, it's the smart thing to do. For America, it's the right thing to do. And if we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

I ask Congress to give businesses the same incentives to invest in America's new markets that they have to invest in foreign markets. Tonight, I propose a New Markets Tax Credit more than twice the size I proposed last year. With this and other incentives, we can spur \$22 billion in private-sector capital to create new businesses and help firms expand or relocate in inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones – which, with Vice President Gore's leadership, have been bringing prosperity to distressed areas for five years now.

I thank the business leaders who are not just seizing these opportunities – but creating them. And I challenge every business to do the same.

This is not a Democratic or a Republican issue; it is an American issue. Mr. Speaker, it was a powerful moment last November when you joined me and Reverend Jesse Jackson on the stage at Englewood High School, in your home state of Illinois, and pledged to work with us. I thank you for your commitment and I look forward to working with you.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on the gap between those who have the tools to succeed in the new economy, and those who don't. This “digital divide” is the great civil rights challenge of the Information Age.

We must go beyond connecting classrooms and libraries to make the Internet available to all citizens. My budget provides funds to establish over 1,000 community computer centers, and funds to ensure that all new teachers are trained to use the Internet. It also contains tax incentives for corporations to help close the digital divide. And I ask high-tech leaders to help America reach a great goal. By 20tk, let's make the computer and the Internet as common in homes as the telephone is today.

I hope we can also agree to make special efforts to support our Indian reservations, where unemployment is as high as 70%, and poverty remains rampant. My budget increases our investment in economic and job development, health care, education, and law enforcement by more than \$1 billion. In this new century, we should honor our historic responsibility to empower the first Americans.

We must also fulfill our obligation to our farming communities, the lifeblood of our land. When I signed the farm bill in 1996, I said there was a great danger it would work well for family farmers in good times but not in bad. In recent years, they have endured droughts, floods and historically low prices. Congress cannot stand by and watch the Freedom to Farm Bill become a Freedom to Fail bill. We simply must work together to strengthen the farm safety net, invest in land conservation, and create new markets by expanding our program for bio-based fuels and products.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

We cannot realize the possibilities of the new economy just within our own borders. We must also lead and shape another revolution that is tearing down barriers and building new networks among nations, economies and cultures: globalization.

It is the central reality of our time. Change this profound is both liberating and threatening. But there is no turning back. And our open, creative society stands to benefit more than any other – if we understand and act on the new realities of interdependence. We must maintain our military and economic might. But we cannot lead without being at the center of every vital network, as a good neighbor and partner. We cannot build our future without helping others build theirs.

We must push forward on a new consensus on open trade. Those of us who believe passionately in the power of open trade must ensure that trade is about lifting both our living standards and our values, and never about tolerating child labor or a race to the bottom on the environment and worker protection. Make no mistake: Open markets and a rule-based trading system are the only viable ways to raise living standards, reduce global poverty and assure the free flow of ideas. There is only one direction for America on trade: we must go forward.

And we must reach out to make developing economies our partners in prosperity – which is why I ask Congress to finalize our groundbreaking African and Caribbean Basin trade initiatives.

Globalization is about more than economics. Our purpose must be to bring the world together around democracy, free markets and peace. And we must resist the forces that threaten the world with deadly weapons, acts of terror and poisoned appeals to ethnic and religious hatred.

With that in mind, let me describe the fundamental challenges I believe America must meet to shape the 21st century world in a way that advances our interests and serves our ideals.

First is to encourage our former adversaries Russia and China to emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic nations. Both are being held back from reaching their potential: Russia by the legacy of communism, by economic turmoil, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya; China by the illusion that it can buy stability at the expense of freedom.

But think how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian soldiers serving with ours in the Balkans; Russian people electing their leaders for the first time in a thousand years. And in China, a society more open to the world than ever before. No one can know for sure what direction these great countries will choose. But we must do everything in our power to see that they choose wisely, to be constructive members of the global community, and not outside it.

That is why we must support those Russians struggling for a democratic future; continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals and to help Russia safeguard weapons and materials that remain.

That is why Congress should support the agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO, by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations. Our markets are already open to China. This agreement will open China's markets to us. It will advance the cause of peace in Asia and promote the cause of change in China.

A second challenge is to protect our security from conflicts that pose the risk of wider war. America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But where our interests are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. For when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction, it is our common humanity that suffers. And left unresolved, such tragedies can throw whole regions into turmoil and threaten us more directly.

We should be proud of America's role in bringing the Middle East closer than ever to a comprehensive peace; building peace in Northern Ireland; working for peace in East Timor and Africa; promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey; working to defuse crises between India and Pakistan; defending human rights and religious freedom.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who stopped the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, enabling a million innocent people to return to their homes. Today, instead of struggling to defeat something evil, we can focus on building something good: a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace for the first time in history.

When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his terror in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide. And when another American plane went down over

Serbia, he flew into the teeth of enemy air defenses to bring his fellow pilot home. Captain Cherrey, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our promise to finish the work you helped begin.

A third challenge is to keep the inexorable march of technology from giving terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses. The same advances that have shrunk cell phones to fit in the palms of our hands can also make weapons of terror easier to conceal and easier to use.

We must meet this threat: by helping Russia keep its arsenal secure and reducing both our nuclear arsenals; restraining nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran; preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors. We are increasing our preparedness against biological attack and developing a system to defend against the missiles of outlaw nations – while working to preserve our Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. My budget devotes \$2 billion to protect our vital computer systems from hackers and criminals in any corner of any country.

I also hope we can have a bipartisan dialogue this year to build a consensus on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty which will eventually lead to its ratification. America must remain a leader in the struggle for a safer world.

A fourth challenge is to ensure the stability of our planet is not threatened by a gulf between rich and poor. We cannot accept a world in which a part of humanity lives on the

cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the bare edge of survival. We must do our part, with expanded trade, expanded aid and the expansion of freedom.

From Nigeria to Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet new democracies need help in delivering for their people. We must stand by neighboring countries like Colombia, fighting for its people's lives – and for our children's lives – against the poison of drugs. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia; and I ask for your support.

In a world where 1.3 billion people live on less than a dollar a day, we must do what the Pope and so many other religious leaders have asked: reduce the debts of the poorest countries. I ask Congress to continue to support our effort.

And America must help more nations break the bonds of disease that hold their people down. Last year in Africa, AIDS killed ten times as many people as war did. My budget invests \$150 million in the fight against this and other infectious killers. And I will ask the world to join us in an initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that gives an incentive to private industry: develop vaccines for diseases like malaria, TB and AIDS, and we will help pay for them. Together, we can save millions of lives.

All these challenges come down to one question: Will America continue to lead? In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by the forces of history. Now America must choose: to shape the new forces of history or be driven by them.

To lead, we must remain strong, keeping our military the best trained, best equipped in the world. My budget invests in readiness and in 21st century weapons. And it raises salaries for our men and women in uniform and ensures our veterans the thanks and honor they have so richly earned.

We must also continue to fund the one percent of our budget that supports the diplomacy that keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, Congress worked with me to maintain that commitment and resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember: building a stronger global community will only strengthen our community here at home.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

I am grateful for the opportunities the Vice President and I have had to honor our responsibility to the environment – and finally to put to rest the notion that you can't expand the economy while protecting the environment. As our economy has grown, we have rid more than 500 neighborhoods of toxic waste and ensured cleaner air and water for millions of families. In the past three months alone, we have acted to preserve roadless lands in our National Forests and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres we are protecting for all Americans, for all time.

But our communities are growing, and our commitment to conservation must keep growing as well. Tonight, I propose creating a permanent conservation endowment to restore wildlife, protect coastlines, and save natural treasures from California redwoods to the Everglades. This Lands Legacy endowment represents by far the most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

Last year, the Vice President launched a new effort to help make communities more livable – so children will grow up next to parks, not parking lots, and parents can be home with their kids instead of stuck in traffic. Tonight, we propose new funding for advanced transit systems ... for saving precious open spaces ... and for helping major cities around the Great Lakes protect their waterways and enhance their quality of life.

We must also help other nations protect their natural resources. The rainforests are home to more than half the world's species – yet these sanctuaries are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, irreplaceable forests.

The greatest environmental challenge of the new century is global warming. Scientists tell us that the 1990s were the hottest decade of the entire millennium – and that if we fail to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, deadly heat waves and droughts will become more frequent, coastal areas will be flooded, economies disrupted.

Many people in the United States and around the world believe we can't cut greenhouse pollution without slowing economic growth. In the Industrial Age that was true. In the digital economy, it isn't. New technologies make it possible to cut harmful emissions and provide more growth.

Last week, at the Detroit Auto Show, automakers unveiled cars that get 70 to 80 miles a gallon – the fruits of a unique Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles, led by the Vice President. We're helping to bring the benefits of advanced space research into our homes with solar roofing tiles and fuel cells that produce all the electricity a family needs – and no pollution. Before you know it, we'll be producing clean fuels from crops and getting the equivalent of hundreds of miles from a gallon of gas.

To help spur these new technologies, I propose giving major tax incentives to businesses for producing clean energy ... and to families for buying energy-saving homes, appliances, and the next generation of super-efficient cars.

Because global warming is a global challenge, I also propose a new \$100 million initiative to help developing countries adopt the newest clean-energy technologies. We must help them follow a cleaner, more modern path to economic growth.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In the new century, innovations in science and technology will be key not only to the health of the environment but to miraculous improvements in the quality of our lives and advances in the economy.

Later this year, researchers will complete a first draft of the entire human genome – the very blueprint of life. It is important for every American to recognize that their tax dollars have fueled much of this research – and that this and other wise investments in science are leading to a revolution in our ability to detect, treat, and prevent disease. For example, scientists have recently identified three genes that cause Parkinson’s Disease – and they will soon begin to test therapies that will turn off these faulty genes for good. Patients with some forms of leukemia and breast cancer may soon receive sophisticated new drugs that precisely target cancer cells, with little or no risk to healthy cells. And researchers are working on methods of directly stimulating the spinal cord in ways that would to allow people who are paralyzed to walk.

Science and engineering innovations are also propelling our remarkable prosperity. Information technology alone now accounts for one third of our economic growth, with jobs that pay almost 80 percent above the private sector average. Without government-funded research, computers, the Internet, and communications satellites might not even exist.

We must continue this research. The future will bring devices that can translate foreign languages as fast as you can speak... materials ten times stronger than steel at only a small fraction of the weight ... DNA computers the size of a droplet that would have the processing power of the fastest supercomputers available today.

My budget will include an unprecedented \$3 billion increase in the 21st Century Research Fund, the largest increase in civilian research in a generation. We will boost support for biomedical research at the National Institutes of Health, double the largest dollar increase for the National Science Foundation in its history, and greatly expand funding for information technology, clean energy, nanotechnology, university-based research, and NASA's never-ending quest in space.

As new breakthroughs are made, we must use them in ways that reflect our most cherished values. First and foremost, we must safeguard our citizens' privacy. Last year, our administration proposed rules to protect every citizen's medical records. We have also taken the first steps to protect the sanctity of financial records. Soon I will send legislation to the Congress to finish the job.

We should also take action to prevent genetic discrimination – so no employer ever reviews your genetic records along with your resume. We will make sure that the actions of the government itself ensure strong privacy protections. And tonight, I challenge on-line companies to do more to protect their customers' privacy.

My budget also makes a significant investment in eliminating medical errors, which TK *[Jennings will complete]*. Our medical professionals work wonders every day, but Americans should never have to fear that their health care will jeopardize their health.

If we do all these things, we can ensure that the march of human discovery will only quicken in the century before us – enhancing our lives, and the lives of our children, in ways that we can only begin to imagine today.

COMMUNITY

Because people today must cope with so many profound changes, it is even more important that we strengthen the bonds of our local communities and our national community.

No tie binds different people together like citizen service. There is a new spirit of service in America—a movement we have supported with AmeriCorps, an expanded Peace Corps, and unprecedented new partnerships between government and private citizens.

For example, four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join us in helping people move from welfare to work. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 of our fellow citizens off the welfare rolls.

Over the past seven years, we have created many other successful partnerships with businesses, foundations, and community groups. To battle drug abuse and AIDS. To teach young people to read. To Save America's Treasures. To fight teen pregnancy. To prevent youth violence. To promote racial healing.

We can do more to help Americans help others.

If we believe that charity begins at home, we must reward lower and middle income citizens who tithe and contribute to charities. Right now, only those who earn enough to itemize can claim a tax deduction for charitable contributions. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to allow low and middle income citizens to claim that same deduction.

Faith-based organizations are on the frontlines in our communities helping Americans fight substance abuse, providing opportunities for young people to get back on the right track. We must do more to support the good works of organizations like Lutheran Social Services in Brockton, Massachusetts which runs a Second Chance Home for unwed teen mothers. We can do this and still respect the line between church and state.

There is even more we can do to breathe fuller life into the idea of citizenship. That's why we're proposing to invest more in teaching civics and English to new immigrants.

Our national community is undergoing one of the greatest demographic transformations in history. Within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in America.

In a more interconnected world, will we make diversity our greatest strength? As we have seen around the world, racial and ethnic conflict too often spark terror and war. And no country is exempt from hatred—even our own.

We have seen a man dragged to death in Texas simply because he was black. A young man murdered in Wyoming simply because he was gay. In the last year, we've seen the shootings of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Jewish children simply because of who they were. We must draw the line. This is not the American way. In America, we must do more than tolerate diversity – we must celebrate it. Without further delay, we must pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

The work of building One America must be the work of all Americans. We must rededicate ourselves to the ideals of justice and opportunity for all that are at the heart of our democracy. No American should be subjected to discrimination in finding a home, getting a job, going to school, or securing a loan. Tonight, I propose the largest ever investment to enforce America's civil rights laws. Let's make sure protections in law are protections in fact.

Last February, I created the White House Office on One America to coordinate our efforts and to help build community partnerships for racial reconciliation. Now we are reaching out across our nation – to religious leaders, to corporate leaders, to the legal community, to enlist all Americans in building One America.

This fall, at the White House, one of America's leading scientists, said something we all need to remember: all human beings, genetically, are 99.9 percent the same. Modern science now affirms what ancient faith has taught us: the most important fact of life is our common humanity.

My fellow Americans, each time I prepare for the State of the Union, I approach it with great hope and expectations for our nation. But there is no escaping the fact that tonight is different. For tonight, we stand on the mountaintop of a new millennium. Behind us we see the expanse of American achievement, and ahead, even wider frontiers of possibility.

We should be filled with gratitude and humility for our prosperity and progress, awe and joy at what lies before us, and determination to make the most of it.

When the framers finished crafting our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin stood in Independence Hall and reflected on a painting of the sun, low on the horizon. He said, "I have often wondered whether that sun was rising or setting." "Today," Franklin said, "I have the happiness to know it is a rising sun." Well, today, because each generation of Americans has kept the fire of freedom burning and lighting new frontiers of possibility, we bask in the warmth of Mr. Franklin's rising sun.

Now it is our time. We will be judged by the deeds and dreams we pass on to our children. And on that score, we will be held to a high standard, indeed. Because our chance to do good is so great. After 224 years, the American Revolution continues. We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. That is our destiny. And this is our moment.

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

